

SCHOOLING IN KANGWANE

BY

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1994

FOREWORD

In 1994 educationist Heather Jacklin and sociologist Johann Graaff, both from the University of Cape Town, completed reports on rural education in each of the ten the homelands, and then a summary report – eleven reports in all. The overarching title of the set of reports was to have been *Rural education in South Africa: a report on schooling in the Bantustans*. Unfortunately the reports were never published, although photocopies did find their way to some researchers.

The titles and authors of the eleven reports are:

- Final report on homeland education (Jacklin and Graaff)
- Is Bop better? A case-study in educational innovation (Graaff)
- Schooling in KaNgwane (Jacklin)
- Inherit the wind: a report on education in Lebowa (Jacklin)
- Education as an instrument of war: the case of KwaZulu/Natal (Graaff)
- Schooling in KwaNdebele (Jacklin)
- Schooling in the Ciskei (Jacklin)
- Teachers without classrooms: education in Venda (Graaff)
- Klein maar getrain: education in QwaQwa (Graaff)
- Schooling in Gazankulu (Jacklin)
- Rural Education Project report: Transkei (Jacklin)

Linda Chisholm of the University of Johannesburg was one of the researchers who obtained a ring-bound photocopy of the eleven reports, and she has used them in her own research. She deemed them valuable enough to warrant digitizing, and in 2017 made the suggestion to me by way of her sister Alison (my deputy). Indeed, nothing as comprehensive as these reports had been published on education in the homelands. Further, though unpublished, a number of these reports have been cited.

In 2018 I was given the go-ahead to place them on the Wits institutional repository. Both Heather Jacklin and Johann Graaff readily gave Wits permission to do so. Heather also kindly provided MS Word copies of KwaNdebele and Ciskei, which we could turn into PDFs.

Mark Sandham
Education Librarian
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August 2018.
Updated 7/8/18

NOTE ON THE DIGITIZATION OF THESE REPORTS

The eleven unnumbered reports had not been amalgamated, and each is paginated individually. We have accordingly treated them as individual works. We supplied title pages, a foreword and this note. Where pagination or other details are missing from the photocopy of the manuscript, we have added these to the PDFs. We enclosed such additions in square brackets. Pages 15 and 29 of *Schooling in KaNgwane* were unclear, and we retyped them. The photocopies were reductions to A5 – we have kept them at this size.

The work was all done by the staff of the Wits Education Library.

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H J Jacklin

A Note On Sources

This report is based primarily on interviews with officials in the KaNgwane Department of Education and Culture and on documentation produced by that department such as Annual Reports. Each individual citing from these sources has not been acknowledged separately. All other sources have been separately acknowledged, however.

Since this report depends heavily on official sources, the reliability of these sources comes into question. The detail in statistical data collected by the the KaNgwane Department of Education and Culture is not necessarily accurate since the way in which it has been collected and collated is problematic, as is the case with all former bantustans and, to a lesser extent, all education departments. Having said this, the statistics of the KCED are more coherent and complete than that of most other regions. The general picture they give is probably fairly accurate. They are the only available statistics, and are used by major research organisations such as RIEP and the DBSA.

SECTION A: CONTEXT

KaNgwane is located within the new Eastern Transvaal Province. This is one of six new South African provinces which will inherit former bantustan territories where resources and infrastructure are inferior to that in the rest of the province. These six provinces all currently have a lower GDP per capita than the three provinces that will not have to carry the extra expense of incorporating former bantustans. (Unisa Bureau of Market Research 1994 reported in Cape Times 7 May 1994).

Incorporation of education in these territories will be the responsibility of the provincial governments - five of which are controlled by the ANC - at least in so far as schooling is concerned. The ANC Reconstruction and Development Programme suggests that this will be done in ways which focus on equalising provision within and between the provinces. This aim will require specific strategies. Having a single education department does not guarantee equitable provision, as was clearly demonstrated by the differences between farm and township schools under the old DET and HoR-DEC, and by differences between schools inside and outside proclaimed townships in the former bantustans.

The Zimbabwe experience also shows that reconstruction of an education system under a liberation government does not assure the eradication of rural - urban inequalities. In Zimbabwe spatial inequalities in education provision survived the transition from colonial rule, partly because the practice that parents should build and maintain schools in rural areas continued, while parents in urban areas benefited from state

provision of facilities (See Colclough 1994). This practice also distinguishes education provision in KaNgwane, outside of the proclaimed townships, from provision in the townships and in the rest of the province. Redress of education inequalities in the Eastern Province will hinge on the willingness and capacity of the provincial government to take full responsibility for delivery of education outside the townships.

KaNgwane as a separate bantustan has been formally dissolved, along with the nine other bantustans. But this formal dissolution is only the beginning of the process of re-incorporation of the KaNgwane Department of Education and Culture (KDEC) into the new Eastern Province Education Department under a national Education Ministry. This process must be informed by an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses that the KDEC brings with it. This report will examine the state of education - specially schooling - in the former KaNgwane in order to highlight those issues which will require attention if education provision in this area is to be more equitable and effective within a new Eastern Transvaal Province.

Keeping Spatial Differences Visible

As the former bantustans are incorporated, there is a danger that the huge inequalities between education in these regions and other portions of the provinces are likely to become invisible in provincial statistics. It is important that these differences be kept visible in information systems and research so that redress can be monitored.

KANGWANE AND GAZANKULU : A COMPARISON

While there are important similarities between the various former bantustans, there are also important differences. Each former bantustan had a different administrative culture as well as different levels of resources and a different relationship with its new provincial context. The success of incorporation of each former bantustan is likely to depend as much on the resources and commitment of each new province as a whole as on the demands of the former bantustans themselves.

A comparison between the former KaNgwane and the former Gazankulu provides an interesting case. In so far as one can judge by standard test results, the Gazankulu Education system has been more successful than that of KaNgwane in the past. A number of people interviewed in KaNgwane expressed the view that the Gazankulu education department has been more successful in that it has produced more university graduates than has the KaNgwane system. By 1994 only two people who had received their schooling within the KDEC system had obtained doctoral degrees.

KaNgwane is no less impoverished than Gazankulu. DBSA economic indicators show that the people of KaNgwane have been almost as poor as those in Gazankulu and their health indicators such as

IMR's have been worse. But the Eastern Transvaal as a whole is considerably more prosperous than the Northern Transvaal. Unemployment rates are lower in the Eastern Transvaal and a higher proportion of the population are in formal rather than informal employment.

Politically, Mabuza's government gained more legitimacy than did that of Ntsanwisi. Mabuza government also took a stronger stand against corruption than did the other bantustan governments, including that of Gazankulu. The education departments of both regions initiated interventions aimed at improving the quality of education but those of KaNgwane were more far reaching.

The reason for Gazankulu's relative success in the sphere of education seems to lie in the fact that the Gazankulu education department was more favourably financed. This does not mean that the quality and effectiveness of an education system is a direct function of the level of material inputs or that other kinds of factors are not important. What it does suggest is that material inputs can make a significant difference in severely underresourced systems and that these can to some extent counteract out of school factors such as the degrees of poverty of the communities from which learners come.

Fuller argued that material inputs can make a greater difference to education outcomes in less well resourced education systems than in relatively well resourced systems:

A good deal of evidence now suggests that material factors in schools - such as more textbooks or writing materials - exercise more influence on achievement in the Third World than in industrialised countries. (1987 pg 287)

In terms of policy, this would suggest that the guarantee of basic material inputs, particularly qualified teachers, learning texts and classrooms - can go some way as a first step towards equalising educational outcomes. Once a minimum level of basic human and material resources are in place, additional material inputs do not automatically bring improved outcomes and other factors - particularly out of school factors - become more important.

While the Gazankulu education system was more successful in the past, education prospects are now rosier in KaNgwane than in Gazankulu. The Eastern Transvaal is more economically prosperous than is the Northern Transvaal and KaNgwane itself has greater untapped economic potential than does Gazankulu (DBSA SALDRU 1994). Currently, personal income per capita is nearly three times as high in the Eastern Transvaal as in the Northern Transvaal (DBSA 1994). The Eastern Transvaal will have to address a heritage of deprivation in KaNgwane and KwaNdebele, both of which are relatively small. The Northern Transvaal will have to carry the much larger Lebowa, as well as Gazankulu and Venda. The Eastern Transvaal is likely to have more resources to equalise education provision while out of school factors such as the motivation of potential employment would be more positive in

the Eastern Transvaal than in the Northern Transvaal.

The potential to improve education provision in KaNgwane will not automatically be achieved. This will depend on the effect of provincial policies regarding the spatial redistribution of resources within the province. BBB has argued, for example, that former bantustans should remain separate sub-regions. Since power, resources and infrastructure will still be concentrated in the more urban areas, this kind of separation could facilitate the perpetuation of spatial inequalities.

An important unknown factor in this process is the role of the central government in education redress. Ultimately, inequalities inherited by the provinces will have to be addressed at this level.

POLITICAL CONTEXT

The former KaNgwane bantustan is a small propeller-shaped territory with two of its three prongs reaching around the Northern boundary of Swaziland. The first tribal authorities were established here in 1957, a legislative assembly introduced in 1977 and self-government imposed in 1984.

There has been some dispute as to whether KaNgwane should be incorporated into Swaziland. An attempt by the South African government to effect incorporation was successfully opposed by the KaNgwane government in 1984. (DBSA Development Information File 1889)

For the greater part of the decade in which KaNgwane had self-governing status, the government was headed by Enos Mabusa. Mabusa started off as a primary school teacher before entering politics at the invitation of hereditary chiefs. As Chief Minister he refused to opt for independence and was the first of the bantustan leaders to enter a co-operative arrangements with anti-apartheid structures. In 1986 his party (the Indiyandza National Movement) publically aligned itself with the ANC and Mabusa declared himself willing to resign from his post as Chief Minister when the bantustan system was abandoned. From that point on he walked the tightrope of working with anti-apartheid groups from within an apartheid structure. He saw his role in the bantustan government as a temporary one. This was symbolised in his rejection of the trappings of bantustan power. He took pride in the lack of ostentation of his government. In contrast to the conspicuous consumption of neighbouring bantustan governments, he drove a Toyota Cressida rather than a more expensive car. The government buildings at Louisville were temporary prefabricated structures unlike the expensive, fortress like buildings of the Gazankulu and Lebowa governments.

The contradictions inherent in the role Mabusa adopted emerged in practices which were inconsistent with his progressive stance such as the use of the KaNgwane armed forces to quell student unrest. He was also not completely innocent of the forms of

patronage commonly associated with bantustan powers: he did, for example, conform to the common practice of rewarding his home village for their loyalty with the construction of an unusually attractive primary school built at government expense. Since very few schools have been built by the government outside of proclaimed townships in KaNgwane, this was a case of preferential treatment rather than standard provisioning.

Hartshorne pointed to evidence of political intervention and patronage in education in KaNgwane in his 1988 report:

There is sufficient evidence to suggest that there have been cases of political intervention in the education system, for example in placing pressure on principals of educational institutions to admit certain individual pupils and students who had failed to gain admission through the normal channels; and secondly, in the appointment and transfer of teachers, principals and officials. There is certainly a widely held perception in the teaching profession that this is so, and it is having a very negative effect on relationships between teachers and the department and teachers and the government. (Hartshorne 1988)

Hartshorne's report is itself evidence of the ambivalence of the KaNgwane government. It confirms that the officials within the KaNgwane government engaged in corrupt practices similar to those which have been common in the other bantustans. But, since the report was officially commissioned by Mabuza and subsequently accepted and used by the KaNgwane Department of Education, it also manifests an attempt to acknowledge and address those practices.

In spite of these contradictions, Mabuza earned a degree of legitimacy in that his acceptance of the bantustan system was seen to be conditional and temporary. But this legitimacy was not a sufficient basis on which to build an effective government which could deliver education. This would have required adequate material and human resources. As a bantustan, particularly a bantustan which dared to defy the Pretoria government and align itself with the anti-apartheid forces, KaNgwane had neither of these.

The contradictions manifest in the role of Mabuza as a leader are not only indicative of his role as a somewhat atypical bantustan leader but also of the structural possibilities and constraints operating in a bantustan context. It was possible to adapt bantustan structures but not to escape them. Within these structures it was possible to temper abuses of power, but not to change its forms. Ultimately, the effectiveness of the bantustan government was determined as much by its political and economic relationship with Pretoria as it was by developments within the bantustan.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

Mabusa saw KaNgwane as 'the poor relation' of the Bantustans in terms of financial support from the South African Government (Mabusa 1989). While this was a favourite complaint among bantustan leaders, a comparison of education financing suggests that KaNgwane was indeed worse off than most of the others (See below).

Although KaNgwane lies in one of the most economically prosperous regions in South Africa, its people have been only marginally less poor than those of Lebowa and Gazankulu. According to a 1994 DBSA - SALDRU report, the 1991 average per capita income for KaNgwane was R122 compared to R117 in Lebowa and Gazankulu and R203 in Venda. The extreme poverty of both regions is reflected in the fact that over 71% of adults (over 14 years old) in Gazankulu and a slightly smaller proportion of adults in KaNgwane had no income at all in 1991. Nevertheless the proximity of the Eastern Transvaal has brought benefits for KaNgwane residents. A significantly higher proportion of KaNgwane workers are in formal rather than informal employment in KaNgwane than in Gazankulu and Lebowa, for example (DBSA SALDRU 1994).

Although only 11% of the KaNgwane population live in its eight proclaimed townships (1991 Census), KaNgwane is essentially an urban area with over 90% of the population functionally urbanised. The majority of these live in large villages and dense settlements (numbering 87 in 1982). The biggest of the proclaimed townships are Kabokweni and Kanyamazani, near Nelspruit (See DBSA-SALDRU 1994).

DEMOGRAPHY

KaNgwane was one of the smaller bantustans with a population of nearly 900 000 in 1993 (DBSA sectoral Report 1993). According to the DBSA this population has been growing at the rate of 7% p.a. since the mid 80's. The growth rate has slowed down since the previous decade when it was over 10% and it is marginally lower than the rate in Gazankulu (7,4%) and Lebowa (7,8%) (DBSA-SALDRU 1994). The rate of population growth in KaNgwane is much lower than the rate in the Eastern Transvaal as a whole, which the DBSA estimates at about 3.03%; it is likely that population movement into KaNgwane accounts for some of this difference (DBSA Sectoral report 1994).

The portion of the KaNgwane population under the age of 14 is high - nearly 49% - but marginally lower than in Gazankulu and Lebowa where it is over 50% (DBSA-SALDRU 1994). This age group constitutes a much higher proportion in KaNgwane than in the rest of the Eastern Province; the DBSA estimated that only 38% of the population of the old region F is under 14 years of age. It is likely that this uneven distribution does not only reflect different family sizes but also results from the fact that families are split with children staying in KaNgwane and parents moving out to find work outside KaNgwane.

If the 1991 census is accurate 15% of the children in the age group 10-14 and 30% in the age group 15-19 were not in school in 1991. (This is based on a comparison of the census figures with 1991 school enrolment figures for each age group. The breakdown of census figures for age make it difficult to compare the 6-9 age group.)

These demographic dynamics will have to be taken into account when a unified Eastern Province government takes over the administration of schooling. Initially, the combined effect of the uneven age distribution of the population, the high proportion of out of school children in KaNgwane and a need to redress past inequities in the quality and quantity of provision will mean that schooling in the KaNgwane region will require special provisioning and financing strategies.

REFUGEES

It is likely that census figures do not include an unknown but substantial number of Mocambiquan refugees in KaNgwane and other parts of the Eastern Transvaal. Since their presence is illegal, refugees would tend to avoid official tallies. They have generally not been taken into account for planning purposes in KaNgwane or elsewhere. Reports from education officials in KaNgwane suggest that refugee children of all ages are often taken up in primary schools but seldom in secondary schools. According to interviewees, this is because the refugees need to learn SeSwati and English before they can be taken up at the higher levels. It is likely, though, that the competition for scarce places in secondary schools, specially outside the townships, encourages exclusion of refugee students.

The strain on the under-resourced KaNgwane education system has been further exacerbated by the presence of refugee children. Refugees tend to cluster together, so that some villages - and schools - accommodate more than others. There has been no official response to this problem; no extra facilities have been provided and no attempt has been made to assess where the refugee children are, how long they are likely to stay, whether they have special educational needs such as language problems and what impact their presence has made on the education system as a whole.

GENDER

One of the effects of apartheid-capitalism has been the uneven spatial distribution of gender resulting from the differential access of males and females to different sectors of the labour market. This has implications for education: Girls and boys - and their parents and teachers - have different expectations and different perceptions of the education and employment opportunities available to them, which influences their decisions about schooling. There are also different demands made on boys and girls in the home, particularly where one or both parents are

migrant workers and children have to take over their domestic responsibilities.

As in other former bantustans, the KaNgwane adult population has been predominantly female. In 1991 there were four adult females to every three adult males in KaNgwane (in the 15 to 64 age group) while in the other northern Transvaal former bantustan areas there are nearly twice as many females as males in this age group. These ratios reflect migrant labour outflows which are higher for males than females.

The gender imbalance is greater in some age groups and also in the more rural areas. Not surprisingly, the imbalance is insignificant in the under 15 age group who are generally not employed: in KaNgwane, 49,5% of this age groups are male. The imbalance begins to show in the 15 to 19 age group, which is 48% male. It is greatest in the 35-44 age group where only 40% are male. In the areas outside of proclaimed townships in the more rural Nkomasi district only 34% of the 35 to 44 age group are male. (Based on 1991 Census)

Gender imbalances within the population have important implications for education. There are two relevant issues: a) the implications of the imbalance of the adult population on the schooling of children and b) the extent of gender imbalances in school enrolment and the reasons for these imbalances. The second issue is discussed below. The first has not been explored, here or elsewhere, except in the most general terms. Since it seems self evident that the lives and schooling of children would be seriously affected by the absence of one or both parents, there is a great need for the kind of research which would help us to understand this matter better and address it more effectively.

SECTION B:

PROFILE OF THE KANGWANE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POLICY INTERVENTIONS

In 1988 a series of steps were taken to improve the education system in KaNgwane. Peter Buckland, known for his willingness to criticise the apartheid establishment, was brought in as new Secretary of Education in March 1988. A consultant (Lynn Hurry) was brought in to co-ordinate NGO involvement in education. In the same year, Mabusa commissioned Ken Hartshorne to evaluate the KaNgwane Education Department and make recommendations on the basis of his findings. This report informed a series of attempts to improve the KaNgwane education system.

Hartshorne's report pointed to a number of weaknesses in the internal functioning of the administration of the Kangwane Department of Education and Culture (KDEC):

- i) There was no statement of education policy and no cohesive policy making process. Decisions were made in line with policies and practices inherited from the DET and DET directives or they were made on an ad hoc basis.
- ii) The KaNgwane government did not have a strong voice in bodies that determined the allocation of funds to the KCED, such as the Committee of Ministers of Education.
- iii) The functions of the Minister, the Secretary of Education, and senior officials were not clearly spelt out and authority was not delegated.
- iv) Infrastructural and logistical support was inadequate. The delivery of supplies was not adequately planned or stored, for example.
- v) Inefficient administration of staffing matters contributed to dissatisfaction and low morale among teachers.
- vi) The administrative structure imitated that of the DET and included regional structures which were not justified by the size of the department. At circuit level, the monitoring and support for schools was unsystematic and inefficient.
- vii) There were no channels for stakeholder groupings to participate in policy making and planning, other than through ineffective school committees and governing bodies which only operated at the school level. There were also no procedures for informing interest groups of education developments or for conflict resolution.
- viii) There were not adequate structures through which teachers could pursue their interests

Hartshorne discussed problems relating to teacher qualifications and teacher education and made specific recommendations to address these. He made a number of recommendations focusing particularly on the administrative restructuring of the department and the organisation of teacher training (INSET and PRESET).

Hartshorne had acted as consultant to a number of bantustan

education departments prior to 1988. His views and position were as contradictory as were those of the KaNgwane chief minister. Like Mabusu, he opposed the bantustan system in principle yet worked to make it more efficient.

Hartshorne's ambivalence is illustrated by his approach to NEUSA, the anti-apartheid teacher organisation of the day. In his report he recommended that a 21 member consultative council be established including three representatives from the officially recognised ATASA and one member from NEUSA. He recommended that the professionalism of teachers should be recognised so that they would be less likely to

set themselves up in trade unions which would be to the ultimate benefit of neither the teacher, the department nor the community which the teacher serves (Hartshorne 1988 pg 33).

This statement indicated a rejection of NEUSA's decision to constitute itself as a union rather than an association and an attempt to plat down NEUSA's support among teachers. At the same time, Hartshorne's recommendation implied that NEUSA should be officially recognised. KaNgwane subsequently became one of the first bantustans to give official recognition to SADTU, NEUSA's successor.

Hartshorne's report was used to guide an attempt to restructure the KDEC. In the following year (May 1989) the Minister of Education, Professor SS Ripinga, delivered a policy and budget speech to the KaNgwane government which reflected many of Hartshorne's recommendations, some of which had already been implemented. Ripinga emphasised plans to restructure the administration of the KDEC, reorganise teacher education linked to university recognition for qualifications, expand technical and vocational education and introduce a special projects committee which would co-ordinate NGO activity. In the months that followed the KDEC began to develop the school curriculum with the emphasis on science and mathematics. Another focal area was the development of the Subject Advisory services. Attempts were also made to forge links between the education and training system and employers so that the curriculum should feed into local employment opportunities.

In spite of these efforts, the most basic problems could not be addressed within the financial limits of the departmental budget. Hartshorne's report recognised these constraints without acknowledging the nature of the struggle required to shift them. Instead, he seemed to assume that there might be some spontaneous change of heart on the part of 'the politicians' (pg 4).

In the years that followed it became more difficult than ever to provide qualified teachers or build classrooms on anything like the scale that was needed while administrative restructuring was undermined by the freezing of administrative posts. While there were budget increases, these did not begin to match enrolment growth and inflation. The KaNgwane DEC seemed to have been

singled out for financial retribution, probably because the KaNgwane government was not as politically compliant as were the governments of other bantustans such as Gazankulu. By 1994 the KDEC was being financed at only 40% of the level determined by the SANEP subsidy formula that guided the allocation of funds to the various education departments. By comparison, Qwa-Qwa was financed at approximately 80% of the level determined by the same formula and the DET at approximately 70% (Interview with KDEC officials).

By early 1994 the KDEC manifested evidence of earlier attempts at interventions and of the failure of these attempts to change education provision on the ground. KDEC officials had developed a more sophisticated approach to administration and management than was evident in many of the other former bantustans. This is reflected in the KDEC Annual Reports which include mission statements and strategic plans, unlike reports of other departments which show little evidence of this kind of management discourse. It is also reflected in initiatives such as the establishment of a curriculum centre and participation in National and Regional Education and Training Forums. In spite of these kinds of managerial innovativeness, there were boycotts in many schools and both Teacher Training Colleges sparked off by issues which were essentially administrative. These included the annually recurrent problem of the delivery of stationery to schools, the monitoring of examinations and the appointment of staff to vacant posts. The KDEC also struggled each year to pay teachers their January salaries before March.

PROFILE OF THE KDEC: ENROLMENT

KaNgwane was one of the smaller of the 17 education departments with 315 schools at which some 262 000 pupils were enrolled in 1992. This amounted to 2.5 percent of the total South African school population (RIEP). A further 8 700 learners were enrolled at pre-primary schools (333), a Technical College (187), Colleges of Education (2 097) and adult education classes (6 133).

An estimated 15% of the 10 to 14 age group and 30% of the 15 to 19 age group were not in school in 1991. (Based on a comparison of census and enrolment figures).

FEATURES OF SCHOOL ENROLMENT AND STUDENT PROGRESSION

In the last two decades, the KCED has had to contend with high growth rates in enrolment complicated by enormous fluctuations as students moved into the KDEC from urban areas at times of political unrest. In addition, Mocambiquan refugees and students from farm areas outside KaNgwane have put pressure on the system and made planning more difficult.

Refugees have had more impact in some circuits than others. Refugee children are more often taken up in the primary schools than in the secondary schools, regardless of age. This helps to

account for the higher ratio of primary to secondary students in some circuits. In Nkomasi, for example, 76% of all school students are in primary schools compared to Mgwenya, where only 61,6% of students are in the primary schools.

Between 1985 and 1992 the primary enrolment growth averaged 6,8% which is a little lower than the overall KaNgwane population growth rate estimated at around 7%. Average annual growth rates for Sub A during this period were slightly lower at 6,7%. (Estimates based on DBSA/SALDRU 1994 and KDEC Annual Reports). Since Sub A enrolment increases would automatically lag behind overall population increases, these figures would suggest that the growth in sub A intake has more or less matched the rate of population growth.

The secondary enrolment growth rate averaged 16,9% between 1985 and 1992 and has come down to around 12% in 1990-1992. In 1978-9 and 1987-8 (the years following the 1976 and 1985 student protests) the annual growth of secondary enrolment shot up to 27% and 30%.

There are such great differences in the annual rate of growth of enrolment across the system that it is worth looking at more recent figures for each level separately, as shown in the next table. For this table a three year average has been given as well as the figure for the most recent year available (1992) because there are considerable fluctuations from one year to the next.

**Annual Enrolment Growth: a) 1989 to 1992 Average and
b) 1991 to 1992**

Primary

Level:	Sub A	Sub B	Std 1	Std 2	Std 3	Std 4	Std 5	Prim
a	3,4	3,3	5,7	7,3	7,5	4,9	5,3	5
b	,1	2,4	3,2	3,6	10	8	4,6	3,9

Secondary

Level	Std 6	Std 7	Std 8	Std 9	Std 10	Sec
a	9,1	11	13,6	13,8	21	12,8
b	7,1	14,6	13,1	10,4	21,3	12,5

Repeaters

The above table shows much greater annual increases in enrolment at the higher end of the system. This is not only the result of more students staying on in the system but also of increasing numbers of repeaters inflating numbers in the secondary school. This is illustrated in the following table which compares the percentage of repeaters at all levels in 1992 with the same data for 1986. The table shows that the proportion of repeaters has come down slightly at the primary level; at the secondary level the proportion of repeaters has almost tripled.

**A Comparison of Repeaters as a Percentage of Enrolment:
1992 and 1986**

	Sub A	Sub B	Std 1	Std 2	Std 3	Std 4	Std 5	Prim
1992	17	14	13	10	12	10	7	12,7
1986	17,7	15	16,5	9	13,8	9	8	13,7
	Std 6	Std 7	Std 8	Std 9	Std 10	Sec		
1992	22,3	18,3	20,5	20,8	33,5	22,7		
1986	10	10,5	3,8	5,7	10,3	8,3		

Repeater rates vary considerably across circuits, specially at the secondary level. In 1992 the percentage of repeaters in primary schools varied across circuits from 10,7% to 14,7% while the proportion of repeaters in secondary schools varied across circuits from 12% to 38%. The variation across circuits was even more marked in specific problem years: Sub A repeater rates varied across circuits from 9,6% to 21,7% while standard ten repeater rates varied from 17% to 55,7%. Of the seven circuits, repeater rates were generally lower in Khulangwane and Ningizimu and highest in Mgwenya.

Failure

Pass and failure rates for all classes other than standard ten are usually very difficult to track down in the former bantustans. This also applies to KaNgwane. Figures were available for 1993 (see table below). These were very high, specially at the secondary levels.

Failures as a Percentage of Those Who Wrote Examinations: 1993

Primary:

Sub A	Sub B	Std 1	Std 2	Std 3	Std 4	Std 5	Primary
23,7	19,3	20,7	20,1	19,6	16,9	16,3	19,9

Secondary:

Std 6	Std 7	Std 8	Std 9	Std 10	Secondary
35,5	33,1	30,5	32,8	67,9	39,9

Note that the failure rates are given as a percentage of those who wrote the examinations. This does not take into account the number who did not write, generally because they dropped out prior to the examinations. In 1992 there was a net loss of over 3% of primary school students and over 7% of secondary students between March and September.

Drop Out Rates

The net proportion of students who drop out in the primary school has stabilised in recent years. The 1992 standard four enrolment

total amounted to 65% of the 1987 Sub A enrolment for the same cohort. By comparison, the 1985 standard four group amounted to 64% of the 1980 Sub A group of the same cohort. This means that the net loss between sub A and standard four has remained in the region of 35%.

After the first six years actual numbers in a cohort appear to remain fairly constant. There is very little net loss since numbers of drop outs are counterbalanced by numbers of repeaters, returnees and new students entering the system from outside KaNgwane. This can be illustrated by tracking the numbers of the 1986 standard four cohort to standard ten in 1992:

Enrolment in Consecutive Years: Std 4 to Std 10

1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Std 4	Std 5	Std 6	Std 7	Std 8	Std 9	Std 10
12 621	11 547	16 495	12 631	12 566	11 317	12 639

Because of the high numbers of failures, repeaters, students who drop out and return after some time and students who enter from outside KaNgwane /, an enrolment pyramid tells us little about the progress of students through the system. There is a great need for studies which track a group of individual students in a cohort in order to find out what actually happens to students as they work (or fight) their way through the system.

Problem Years

In KaNgwane as in other former bantustans, the schooling system has been very permeable in the sense that there has been a lot of movement in and out of the system at all levels. Students who have dropped out or who come from outside KaNgwane frequently enter at the beginning of an institutional block i.e. std 3 or std 6, or in standard ten. Failure and repeater rates tend to be higher at these levels, while overall enrolment is also higher in each of these years than in the preceding year for the same cohort. This pattern has been evident in enrolment figures for standards three and six since 1982 and for standard ten since 1986.

Sub A, standard six and standard ten seem to be the most problematic years in terms of the smooth progress of students through the system. These are discussed below.

Sub A

The drop out rate between Sub A and Sub B is high and has been increasing. The number of Sub B's as a proportion of the Sub A's of the preceding year has decreased from around 87% a decade ago to 78% in 1991/1992, thus the net loss of students has increased from around 13% to over 20%. This difference results not only from high drop out rates but also from high repeater rates which

boost the number of Sub A's. This can be illustrated with reference to the 1991 Sub A cohort. In 1991 there were 38 637 Sub A's (of which 15 % were repeaters). In 1992 there were 30 205 Sub B's of which 4 333 (14 %) were repeaters. This means that only 25 872 or 67 % of the 1991 Sub A group progressed to Sub B. Of the remaining 12 765, 6 517 (17 % of the original cohort) repeated Sub A while 6 248 (16 % of the original cohort) dropped out.

Standard Six

Many students in standard six are either drop outs who are re-entering the system, or failures from the previous year. Failure and repeater rates are higher in standard six than in any other year except standard ten. In 1992, 22 % of standard sixes were repeaters. In 1993, 36,5 % of those who wrote the standard six examination failed.

A comparison of standard six and standard five enrolment and repeater figures shows that at least 10 % of 1992 standard sixes entered schools from outside the system (i.e. they were not in standard five or six in KaNgwane the previous year). This is shown by a breakdown of the standard six enrolment:

Total	21 913
Intake from 1991 std 5	14 782 (Max)
Repeaters from 1991 std 6	4 881
Intake from outside the system	2 250

The age statistics also show that there are students who enter standard six who were not in standard five or six in KaNgwane the previous year. In 1992, for example, there were over 600 more 13 year old's in standard six than there had been 12 year old's in standard five the year before. These students may have entered KaNgwane schools from elsewhere, or they may have dropped out lower down the system and re-entered at standard six level.

Both the enrolment growth rate and the actual enrolment for standard sixes were higher than for the preceding standard five year from 1986 until 1992. Between 1986 and 1991 the average annual enrolment growth rates for standard fives was 9,3 % while the standard six enrolment growth rates for the same cohorts between 1987 and 1992 was 12,9 %.

Students who enter or re-enter the system in standard six do not necessarily arrive at the beginning of the year. In two of the seven KDEC circuits the September 1992 enrolment for standard sixes was higher than the March enrolment. In these circuits there was a net gain of students. It is likely that many students also entered during the year in other circuits although overall drop outs outnumbered new entries.

Standard Ten

The standard ten enrolment figures show similar dynamics to those for standard sixes, suggesting a highly permeable system. There are high failure rates and high numbers of repeaters. High numbers of students enter - or re-enter - the schools in the standard ten year and many drop out during the year, before writing the examination. In some of the seven circuits the net loss of students between March and September (1992) was as high as 18%, 14% and 12% while in another circuit there was a net gain of 10% in student numbers during this period. The scale of the drop out rate is also indicated by the number of students who register for the standard ten examination and do not write: in 1993 5% of those who registered did not write the examination.

Age statistics show that there were students in standard ten in 1992 who had not been in standard nine or ten in KaNgwane in 1991; in 1992 there were 1 210 sixteen year olds in standard ten although there had only been 393 fifteen year olds in standard nine the year before. This suggests that two thirds of this portion of standard ten students either 'skipped up' from lower down the system or, more likely, entered KaNgwane schools from outside KaNgwane.

Historically the standard ten failure rate increased as the enrolment grew. Prior to 1983 matric results were much higher than they are today, with pass rates between 61% and 75%. From 1983 until the end of the decade the percentage of standard ten students who passed was typically in the forties with two better years (1985 and 1989). Since 1990, the percentage pass has been below 40% every year but one, with an all time low of 32% in 1993. This is considerably lower than the pass rate for standard six to nine which averaged 33,5% in 1993. Of those who do pass, very few achieve a C aggregate or better. In 1993 over 11 000 wrote the examination. Of these, only three achieved B aggregates, and 35 achieved C aggregates. Only 624, or 5,6% of those who wrote, achieved a matriculation exemption. At only 7 of the 79 secondary schools did more than 50% of the students pass.

As standard ten failure rates increased, so did repeater rates. In 1992, for example, 34% of the standard ten group were repeaters.

Enrolment and Age

The statistics indicate that the majority of students enter sub A when they are six or seven years old. In 1992 16% of Sub A students were eight or older but many of these are likely to be repeaters. It is nevertheless problematic that there are students up to the age of 17 in sub A. The wide age distribution might be caused partly by the practice of insisting that Mocambiquan refugees enter schools at the lower level so that they might learn SeSwati and some English before progressing to higher levels.

There is a wide spread of ages at each level with a fairly high proportion of students who can be considered old for their class. The following 1992 statistics illustrate these two features of the enrolment pattern:

- * In the standard six year, 5% of standard sixes were aged 13 while 34% of standard sixes were 16 or over and 10% were aged 18 or older. Any single standard six class is likely to have included students from the age of 13 to the age of nineteen or more. It seems likely that this age range would present difficulties for both learners and teachers.
- * 43% of standard tens were 20 or older.

In policy terms this enrolment pattern invites planners to consider a 'catch up' programme for students over the age of 15. In view of the ANC proposals for a new curriculum, this should be targeted at students who have not completed standard seven. It would offer students the opportunity to achieve the new General Certificate and prepare them to re-enter the system at the higher education level if they choose. This would leave the new mainstream general education system free to serve younger students for whom education will be compulsory. Such programmes have already been developed, for example within SACHED, and could usefully be considered for regions such as KaNgwane.

Enrolment, Progression and Gender

Across most of the former bantustans, girls tend to constitute fewer than 50% of the enrolment in the first five years of schooling and more than 50% in the remaining years. This also applies in KaNgwane, though the differences are not as marked as in some of the other regions. According to the 1991 census there are slightly more girls than boys in the under 15 age group in Kangwane (50,5% girls). The explanation for the gender imbalance in the enrolment is not only a matter of who drops out but also of who fails, who repeats and who returns after dropping out. In the first five years, for example, the numbers of male repeaters are much higher than the numbers of female repeaters. Thus the higher proportion of boys is a result of inflated male enrolment due to higher numbers of male repeaters and not only of higher numbers of male drop outs.

It is not possible to analyse these patterns fully since data for drop outs and failures are not available by gender, when they are available at all. The following table, which compares the female proportion of enrolment with the female proportion of repeaters, gives some idea of these dynamics.

Comparison of i) females as percentage of enrolment with
 ii) females as percentage of repeaters (1992)

Primary:

	Sub A	Sub*B	Std 1	Std 2	Std 3	Std 4	Std 5
i)	47,6	47,6	48,7	50,2	49,8	52	51
ii)	41,9	43,4	43,2	47	43,6	52,6	40,4

Secondary:

	Std 6	Std 7	Std 8	Std 9	Std 10
i)	53,3	54,3	53,7	55,6	56
ii)	53	52,4	53,9	56,9	58

As more girls than boys reach standard ten, (or women than men, considering the ages) it is often assumed that females generally fare better than males in former bantustan schools. Yet, of students who achieved the top 100 results in the KaNgwane 1993 standard ten examination, 70 were males. (Since results are not recorded by gender, an official was asked to indicate the gender of each student on a list of names of the top 100 students. He did this by identifying first names as typically male or typically female.)

According to numerous interviewees - including officials, teachers, students and NGO workers - a high proportion of female students drop out of secondary school due to pregnancy. Many return later to complete their studies. This is a very specific problem which could be attended to at the policy level, in co-operation with health departments. A first step would be to determine the actual scale of the problem, the ways in which it affects the lives of those involved and the extent to which it is perceived as a problem by those who are affected. There is an urgent need for a sex education component in the curriculum which would also focus on related problems such as AIDS. If this were introduced, it would have to be accompanied by INSET and other forms of curriculum support. In the short term some more practical and less conventional creative responses might be called for, such as the provision of pre-school educare at secondary schools for the children of students, staff and others in the community.

Quality, Efficiency and Effectiveness

Since the terms quality, efficiency and effectiveness are often used as if they are synonymous, it is worth defining the way they are used here. Quality refers to the perceived value of the schooling process and its outcomes; effectiveness refers to the achievement of specified outcomes such as examination results while efficiency refers to the costs of achieving those results, including the cost of extra years students spend at school. It is possible to move students efficiently through a low quality system.

Drop out, repeater and failure rates show that schooling in KaNgwane is inefficient and ineffective. The issue of quality cannot be measured in the same way and is not explored here. Nevertheless, views expressed in interviews for this research suggested that teachers, students and officials in KaNgwane perceived schooling in KaNgwane as being of a low quality. To give but one example: a class of standard ten students in Kanyamasane felt strongly that their standard ten certificate would have little value because they had not been able to choose what they regarded as useful subjects.

In KaNgwane the issues of quality, efficiency and effectiveness of schooling are, if anything, more urgent than expansion. There is no point expanding the schooling system if this simply means expanding the numbers who repeat and drop out. High repeater rates also add to the costs of schooling. In 1992 the KDEC had to carry the costs of an additional year of education for 13% of primary school students. In a more efficient system, this money could have been put towards the schooling of the estimated 15% of out of school children of primary school age.

A somewhat crude but revealing measure of the efficiency of an education system is the cost to the system, in number of student years, for each standard ten graduate. Between 1981 and 1992 the KaNgwane system invested an average of 35 years of teaching (instead of a minimum possible average of 12) for each standard ten that passed in 1992. This gives some indication of the cumulative effect of high failure, drop out and repetition rates.

CURRICULUM

Like all the former bantustan education departments, the KDEC has offered a fairly narrow school curriculum. This has resulted from a historical preference for the more academic subjects, a lack of teachers and teacher trainers for other subjects, and a lack of resources for any subjects which required equipment. 1991 figures show that fewer than 9% of trainee secondary school teachers were preparing to teach science subjects, although as many as 38% were preparing to teach commercial subjects. Like other former bantustans, KaNgwane has resorted to appointing science and mathematics teachers from other African countries.

At primary schools all students do three languages and Mathematics. At lower primary level students also do Environmental Studies, Health Education, Gardening (predominantly for boys) and Needlework (girls only). At higher primary level students do Social Sciences, General Science, and either Agricultural Science or Needlework.

At junior secondary school the majority of students are in the general stream and do three languages, General Science, Agricultural Science, History and Geography. An increasing number of schools offer commercial subjects and a few offer technical subjects.

Almost all standard ten students do Afrikaans, English, SiSwati, and Biology. In 1992 the only other subjects selected by more than 10% of students were Agricultural Science (47%), Biblical Studies (47%), Business Economics (35%), Geography (30%), Mathematics (26%), History (26%), Physical Science (15%) and Accountancy (11%).

In recent years (specially since Hartshorne's report) the KCED has attempted to expand the number of secondary schools offering commercial subjects such as Accounting, Business Economics, Economics, and Type-writing. This has been least successful as regards type-writing, possibly because of the difficulty of obtaining type-writers.

Gender inequalities appear to be well entrenched in the organisation of the curriculum. It is accepted, for example, that technical orientation centres should be used by boys only.

PRE-PRIMARY SCHOOLS

The first KDEC registered pre-primary school was established in 1986. By 1992 there were still only two pre-primary schools registered with the KDEC in 1992, accommodating 333 learners. However the number of teachers employed at these two schools had jumped from two in 1991 to ten in 1992.

Although there were ten pre-primary teachers in 1992 there were only 5 classrooms, so that the pupil\teacher ratio was 1:67.

ADULT EDUCATION

The first adult education centres were established in 1983. Since then, numbers of centres and learners have been increasing at a steady pace. By 1992, 6 133 learners were registered at seventeen KDEC adult education centres. These centres use school premises in the afternoons and evenings. In some circuits there are as many as five such centres while in others there is only one. A literacy centre is responsible for the development of literacy materials and the training of teachers. This centre is accommodated at a primary school, with a staff with a staff that has been reduced from six in 1990 to two in 1992.

Departmental adult education systems are notorious throughout the country for a lack of administrative control and the possibilities they offer for fraud. A KDEC official acknowledged that this was a problem in KaNgwane also; he believed that teachers who taught at adult education centres frequently claimed payment for more students than were actually taught. Interviewees working in NGO's said that KDEC adult education classes were 'not visible' to them.

POST SECONDARY EDUCATION

There are few post-secondary facilities in KaNgwane or, for that matter, in the Eastern Transvaal. As usual, Teacher Training at one of the two KaNgwane Colleges or one of the two KwaNdebele colleges offer the easiest route to a tertiary qualification. A DET registered Technikon was opened in the region in 1992. Most of the courses offered here focus on Public Administration and Personnel. KaNgwane has only one technical college. There are eight more in the Eastern Transvaal, but prior to the elections KaNgwane students were excluded from six of them, if not officially then by pressure from the white community.

The only way to gain access to a university in KaNgwane is to study by correspondence or to do a teacher qualification which is recognised by UNISA for degree purposes. Most students travel further afield to the University of Zululand or to the Pretoria University satellite at Witbank.

TEACHERS

The 1992 teacher pupil ratio's in KaNgwane were not dramatically high compared to other former bantustans, although they are still higher than a maximum acceptable level of 40:1 and 35:1 :

Primary	42:1
Secondary	37:1

These ratio's include all teachers. If only qualified teachers and under qualified teachers are taken into account the ratio's are

Primary:	65:1
Secondary	47:1

It will be argued below that this is a more useful set of ratio's for planning purposes.

There is not as much variation in pupil:teacher ratio's across circuits in KaNgwane as elsewhere, specially at the primary level. Ratio's in primary circuits vary from 40:1 to 44:1 while secondary ratio's have a greater variation from 34:1 to 43:1. (These ratio's refer to all teachers including unqualified teachers in 1992.)

The actual size of classes is more likely to be determined by the pupil/classroom ratio's than by the pupil/teacher ratio's, since the former are much higher (See below).

Teacher Qualifications

Of the 6 426 school teachers employed by the KDEC in 1992, 59% did not have the commonly accepted minimum of standard ten plus three years (including a professional qualification). The

proportion of under and unqualified teachers is much higher in the primary schools (75%) than in the secondary schools (33%).

Distribution of Qualifications, 1992

	Primary	%	Secondary	%
Unqualified	1 513	35	443	21
Underqualified	1 700	40	260	12
Sub-Total	3 213	75	703	33
Qualified	1 094	25	1 416	67
Total	4 307	100	2 119	100

The underqualified teachers are mostly older teachers who obtained certificates before training for diplomas was available. These teachers are often very experienced although they would probably benefit from appropriate INSET support which is recognised for salary and promotion purposes.

The unqualified teachers are mostly younger people who have obtained a standard ten with no professional qualification. For them, teaching provides an immediate employment opportunity whether or not they plan to be teachers in the long run. Teaching is often a temporary stop gap for them while they seek other employment or further their studies in other directions. Consequently, the turnover of these teachers is high. From the point of view of the schools, these teachers were appointed mainly because insufficient trained teachers were available. It can be argued that these unqualified teachers should not be counted as part of available teaching 'stock' when planning for future training needs, unless they have a minimum number of years of teaching experience. The DBSA - which has been the major planning influence on teacher training strategies in the former bantustans - tends to accept untrained teachers as part of the available stock of teachers. On the basis of this approach, the DBSA has argued that most of the former bantustans are producing adequate numbers of teachers.

If only qualified teachers are taken into account (including underqualified teachers but excluding unqualified teachers), the pupil:teacher ratio in KaNgwane looks much less rosy as is shown by the ratio's given above (i.e. Primary: 65:1; Secondary 47:1

If unqualified teachers are discounted, the KDEC was in need of an estimated 2 154 primary school teachers and 943 secondary teachers at the beginning of 1993. (This assumes pupil/teacher ratios of 40:1 and 35:1 at primary and secondary levels. Enrolment increases are taken into account and it is assumed that 5% of the remaining teachers would leave annually for one reason

or another). KaNgwane two teacher training colleges were produced 230 primary teachers and 232 secondary teachers at the end of 1992. Clearly pre-service teacher training within KaNgwane is not producing adequate numbers of qualified teachers, specially at primary level.

In KaNgwane, as in other former bantustans, the problem of un- and underqualified teachers is exacerbated by the fact that many teachers with the required qualifications are not teaching the subjects, or at the levels, for which they were trained. As usual, there are too few teachers trained to teach mathematics, science and commercial or technical subjects while too many teachers are trained to teach subjects such as history and religious studies. This problem is particularly severe in the more remote areas since the 'scarce subject' teachers, and qualified teachers generally, are at an advantage in the competition for places in the township schools.

PRESET

There are two Teacher Training Colleges in KaNgwane which accommodated 2 119 students in 1992. The majority of the 153 lecturers at these colleges have degrees, although there are 29 who only have diploma's (of whom 24 are white). This means that there is a very favourable lecturer/student ratio of 1:14. Unfortunately the student classroom ratio is much higher at 1:51. It is likely that this higher ratio determines the actual size of groups.

Attempts to improve the quality of teacher education have centred on the linking of college education to university accreditation, initially with Unisa and mor recently with Wits. These plans are not yet finalised. The DBSA has made further funding of the colleges conditional upon the introduction of a new curriculum and linkages with Wits.

INSET

The high number of under- and unqualified teachers in KaNgwane means that INSET will necessarily be an important part of teacher training in this region for decades to come. KaNgwane had no formal INSET institution. Instead, the KCED relied on a combination of NGO projects and distance education institutions to provide upgrading of qualifications as well as classroom support. Providers have included NORITE, VISTA, UNISA, Molteno, TELIP, EASL, and the Shuter and Shooter Pre-School Programme. In addition, about 200 teachers without professional qualifications have been sent to the Transvaal College of Education at Laudium.

Cumulatively, these programmes have reached substantial numbers of teachers. Nearly 1 000 teachers were registered with the four year NORITE programme alone, intended to provide unqualified primary school teachers with an M+3 professional qualification.

While these programmes have no doubt benefitted the teachers involved, this patchwork approach to INSET did not amount to a coherent INSET strategy. On one level there is a need for all courses to be recognised for salary and promotion purposes. At present contact courses such as TELIP and MOLTENO are not given this recognition, even though they are arguably at least as beneficial to teachers as the distance education courses. This could be addressed within the new National Qualifications Framework envisaged in emerging ANC policies.

At a different level, there is a need to harness INSET to broader teacher training strategies so that teachers benefit from INSET in their daily work. At present, INSET activities are often so far removed from the classroom work of teachers that teachers have to divide their energies to cope with both, to the point where classroom work is often undermined. For example, teachers often study subjects which they do not teach.

Teachers' Ages

Over half (51%) of the teachers employed by the KCED were under the age of 25 in 1992 and three quarters were under the age of 30.

Teachers' Ages (1992)

Age	<21	21 -25	26 -30	31 -35	36 -40	41 -45	46 -50	51 -55	56+
%	19	32	23	15	5	2	1	1	2

The high proportion of teachers under the age of 21 reflects the fact that school leavers are employed when qualified teachers are not available. The low proportion of teachers over the age of 35 result partly from the rapid expansion of the system and partly from the fact that teachers often move into other jobs when the opportunity arises.

The age profile of teachers in KaNgwane and other former bantustans has implications for future teacher employment policies. There is a need to draw teachers with experience into this region and to encourage teachers who have some experience to stay. Teaching needs to become a more attractive long term career option. There is a danger that policies aimed at increasing the numbers and reducing the cost of teachers will downgrade this career option even further and encourage more unemployed young people to use teaching as a holding bay while looking for other employment.

Teachers: Gender

Sixty percent of teachers in KaNgwane are women. The distribution of teachers reveals clear gendered patterns.

- * Women are a majority in the primary schools (72%) and a minority in the secondary schools (37%). All ten pre-school teachers are women. At the 60 schools which are only for lower primary classes, 93% of the staff are women. At the 14 schools with only higher primary classes, 54% of teachers are women.

- * While more men are employed to teach in secondary schools, those women who are employed in the secondary schools are more likely to be qualified: 72% of women and 64% of men teaching in secondary schools have an M+3 qualification. A similar proportion of men and women in the secondary schools (i.e. 12%) have partially or fully completed degrees.

- * There is a lower proportion of women among young and unqualified teachers: 28% of female teachers are unqualified as opposed to 34% of men. 21% of male teachers and 17% of female teachers are under 21 years of age.

- * On the other hand, a higher proportion of women are underqualified i.e. 36% of women as opposed to 21% of men. This suggests that more women with the old type of qualifications have remained in the system.

- * Women are a majority among both staff (54%) and students (65%) at the two teacher training colleges.

In general, it is assumed that women should teach younger children while men should teach at the higher levels. The predominance of women in the Colleges of Education is partially the result of the preference given to white women, most of whom have lower qualifications than their black colleagues. Twenty-two white women (and only four black women) without degrees were employed in the colleges in 1992.

The comparisons listed above also suggest that women need to rely more on qualifications and are more likely to remain in the system as teachers than are men. In spite of this, men are in exclusive control of the top positions in the education bureaucracy.

FACILITIES

The financial arrangements developed by the South African government for schooling in the former bantustans assumed that facilities would be funded internally within the bantustans, either by the bantustan governments or by communities themselves. As late as in 1987 the SANEP funding formula allocated very little (about 17%) to capital projects. In practice, even this low proportion was not provided after the first year.

Between 1990 and 1994 the urgency of the resulting shortages was acknowledged when 'backlog funds' derived from ad hoc sources such as the sale of oil reserves were earmarked for school building in the bantustans. In the case of KaNgwane, these funds amounted to R40 million over three years.

The distribution of the available funds favoured secondary schools over primary schools and schools in the proclaimed townships over those under traditional authorities. Prior to 1990 all primary schools were considered to be community schools and even in 1994 the capital funds allocation to primary schools was much lower than to secondary schools.

Only 45 (14%) of KaNgwane's 315 schools are in the proclaimed townships, including a higher proportion of secondary schools (23%) than primary schools (11%). In the past schools in the proclaimed townships were built by the government while those outside the townships were subsidised on a R1 for R1 basis depending on the availability of funds.

Officially, this system has been abandoned and schools in the townships have the same status as schools outside the townships. In practice the distribution of scarce resources is determined by the political pressures claimants can bring to bear and township schools are still more likely to attract more government resources, specially for facilities. These differences are reflected in the wide variation in pupil/classroom ratio's across more and less urban circuits.

Average pupil/classroom ratio's are 66:1 (Primary) and 61:1 (Secondary). These vary across circuits from 54:1 to 80:1 at the primary level and from 51:1 to 73:1 at the secondary level.

The DBSA has estimated that KaNgwane's schools were accommodating over 60% more students than their intended capacity in 1993. (DBSA Sectoral Report 1993)

Unlike in some other former bantustans, there is very little NGO activity in the field of school building in KaNgwane. There is an Eastern Transvaal Education and Training Development Trust funded by the IDT and based in Nelspruit. By early 1994, this Trust had contributed to the building of four schools. The new school at Mbuzini village is one of these. Communities have been expected to raise 10% of the cost of these schools, amounting to R250 000 in the case of the Mbuzini school.

PLANNING PROCEDURES

As in the education departments of most former bantustans, planning is weak in the KDEC. It is predominantly reactive with the focus on the provision of facilities, equipment and stationery. There is little forward planning and reconceptualisation of provision. The budget allows little discretionary leeway: around 82% is regularly spent on salaries and a further 5% on textbooks.

Education and Training Planning has been fragmented. The KDEC has not been consulted by other departments that provided education facilities, such as the Chief Minister's Department which has built classrooms and the KaNgwane Parks Board which built an agricultural school.

The annual planning ritual starts in March with the collection of the forms filled in at schools. Information from these forms is used as the basis for projected needs. Circuit Inspectors are then asked to submit their priorities, in consultation with the local chiefs.

The available funding falls far short of the need. Ultimately, the distribution of what is available is determined as much by political pressure as by needs and priorities. It is generally acknowledged, for example, that all chiefs must receive part of the annual allocation whether or not the need in their area justifies this. In 1993, the Ningizimu circuit with an average classroom:pupil ratio of 66:1 received 27% more of the available capital allocation than did the White Hazy Circuit which has an average classroom to pupil ratio of 72:1.

Within circuits, political pressures again come into play. Areas where organisations such as COSAS are strong may be given preference. Schools that do not have a political voice are often neglected. The KaNgwane farm schools located in forestry areas are at a particular disadvantage because they do not fall under chiefs who can represent them. In the competition for resources, schools in the proclaimed townships still have the upper hand in relation to those that fall under traditional authorities.

The areas from which the most influential politicians come tend to be favoured for new education projects. In early 1994 many interviewees agreed that Elukwatini, home of the Minister of Finance and ex-Minister of Education in the South Western portion of KaNgwane, was the current favoured area.

Students have come to understand the political dynamics of the KCED and to play the system by its own rules. When students in Kanyamazane wanted to put pressure on the KCED to deliver overdue stationery to their schools, they picketed a local garage owned by the Minister of Education. Stationery was delivered to schools in this area within days, while delays continued in other areas.

SECTION C

SCHOOLING IN KANGWANE: TWO SNAPSHOTS

So far, this report has offered a predominantly statistical macro picture of schooling in KaNgwane. This approach can never capture the possibilities and constraints that apply in any one school or classroom. The following brief descriptions give some idea of conditions in particular schools.

1 Mbhudula High School

Mbhudula High School is located in the Mbuzini village high up in the mountains near the Swaziland and Mozambique borders. Although Mbuzini is a relatively large village, it is one of the more remote villages in KaNgwane. Most of the adults in the village are unemployed and engage in subsistence farming.

There are five schools in Mbuzini: four primary schools and Mbhudula High School. Most of the teachers at the five schools are young and unqualified or underqualified. Only three of the 21 secondary school teachers had degrees in 1994. The pupil:teacher ratio at the secondary school is 43:1.

Mbhudula High School has attracted attention to itself by producing the highest standard ten results in KaNgwane for a number of consecutive years. In 1992 over 80% of standard ten students passed. In 1993, when the pass rate in KaNgwane was down to 32%, over 70% of the students at Mbhudula passed and about 20% met the university entrance requirements. Only the PROMAT College, which offers standard ten tuition as part of an INSET programme for teachers, produces comparable results.

Mbhudula High School has made the most of the resources available to it, producing not only good standard ten results but also a cohesive and committed school community. The success of this school can be ascribed to the efforts of a school principle who set up participatory structures to govern education in all the schools in the village, and to the subsequent efforts of participants in these structures. The history of the school community is worth describing as it offers strategies which can be adopted elsewhere. The most significant of these is the importance of an effective local education governance structure.

Each school in Mbuzini village has its own school committee. In addition, a Village Education Committee has been established to co-ordinate all education activities in the village. This committee was convened by one of the principals and was mandated at a meeting of the whole village community. All five principals are represented on this committee, along with five other teachers, one businessman, a civic leader, a representative of a religious organisation and the Chief's representative. It has taken on a number of projects including building classrooms,

lobbying for IDT funding for an additional secondary school, negotiating with ISCOR, ESCOM, and government departments for infrastructural improvements and establishing an educare centre with a school feeding scheme. It is envisaged that the planned new secondary school will be used as a community centre after school hours.

An important part of the work of the committee is to manage staffing for the five village schools. Future teachers are identified from among students at the secondary school, and training and financing is organised for those who are selected. To date, ten or more students have been sent to the University of Zululand and elsewhere for further education and training. The schools are yet to benefit from these efforts as these students have not yet completed their studies. Committee members believe that teachers from the village are more likely to stay, while teachers from elsewhere tend to remain at the village schools while they complete correspondence qualifications after which they move away. The distribution of staff among the five schools is also managed by the committee.

The committee has involved itself in daily work of teachers in supportive ways. It has approached and liaised with NGO's on behalf of the schools. It has also organised the use of the primary schools as study centres for secondary students at night and it has set up Saturday classes in Mathematics and Science for primary school pupils.

The education committee has gradually extended its terms of reference and has considered projects relating to the economic development of the village as a whole.

The ethos established within the secondary school has been a key factor in the broader education committee. This has centred on the leadership style of the principal who has developed a committed group of senior staff. The leadership style is participatory. Decisions about new appointments are made in consultation with senior staff. The school has a PTSA with nine elected members (three students, three teachers and three parents) and the principal as a tenth ex officio member. The principal himself has a heavy teaching load and also teaches Saturday classes. He wields his authority in matters such as the refusal to employ staff who are known to drink alcohol.

Gender

The secondary school is unusual in that the majority (around 60 %) of standard ten students are male. This would partly result from the fact that enrolment ratios are not complicated by high repeater rates. Other reasons can only be guessed at, but it seems likely that male students in this village would have less reason to leave and more reason to stay. Because the village is quite remote, there are fewer employment opportunities to tempt males away from school, while the school's good standard ten results would motivate them to stay on. In these circumstances male students would assert the full advantage given them by a patriarchal society

students would assert the full advantage given them by a patriarchal society in the competition for scarce places at the secondary school. The composition of the PTSA suggests that there is little awareness of gender inequalities: eight of the committee members including all the teachers and all the students are male. The composition of the Village Education Committee reinforces this impression: only one of the 13 members - a school principle - is a women.

Problems

The Village Education Committee has had to contend with a number of problems. The relationship with the local chief has been problematic. He had ideological differences with the predominantly ANC Committee and saw the secondary school principal and the Committee as a threat to his authority. These tensions were exacerbated when the committee opposed his attempt to take a wife by force. He was unable to disband the committee in the face of substantial community support and was persuaded to participate by selecting someone to represent him on the committee.

Other problems include high absentee rates, specially at the primary school where boys still have farming duties. These duties seem to affect primary school pupils more than secondary school students. Pregnancy is a problem at the junior secondary school; female students at the senior secondary school appear to be able to avoid pregnancy.

Another problem is a form of hysteria which is attributed to witchcraft. Individual students are affected but the problem soon spreads to others and disrupts the whole school. There have been periods when the secondary school has had to close early each day to allay mass hysteria.

Finally, the schools have to contend with the common problems of excessive wear and tear on school facilities under pressure from greater numbers than they were intended for, exacerbated by vandalism and theft.

None of these problems are unusual in KaNgwane. What is unusual is the way the village school community has undertaken to address each problem in turn and succeeded in establishing a viable local education system in spite of the odds.

SNAPSHOT TWO: Dudu's School

'Dudu' is a history teacher at a large secondary school in Kanyamazane, near Nelspruit. The school is a large double story structure with electricity, running water and a neglected garden. Unlike most KaNgwane schools, this school has an administration block and offices for Heads of Departments. Ten of the 40 teachers at the school have degrees. Many are active SADTU members.

Today Dudu walks with me to school from her house nearby. The township around the school is pretty, with neat houses in lush sub-tropical gardens. As we enter the school in the morning we see some students leaving the school. Dudu recognises them as students who should be in the class she is about to teach but does not call them back, commenting that there is no way of controlling these students. Her own child attends a private school at the cost of R2 200 per annum.

There are only 50 students in 10C, Dudu's first class of the day, unlike her other classes which number up to 70. Ten of the fifty students are older than Dudu, who is 30. Today the students talk about their perceptions of schooling in KaNgwane, for my benefit. They are concerned that their standard ten qualification will not be much use when they look for jobs or apply to study at universities, specially since they are doing subjects which they do not consider to be particularly useful. They are sharply critical of schooling within the KCED, pointing to the school buildings as evidence of the inadequate quality of provision. Many of them hope to study at university and to obtain bursaries to pay for this.

Throughout the discussion only male students participate; the female students talk neither to the class as a whole nor among themselves.

As I leave Dudu's school my main impression is of angry students who feel they have been cheated, and who still harbour expectations that are unlikely to be realised.

SOME LESSONS

The introduction to this report argues that the guarantee of basic material provision would go some way towards improving schooling in KaNgwane and that the Eastern Transvaal Government should be well placed, economically, to provide this.

This report points to two other priority areas for the improvement of schooling in the KaNgwane region. The first is planning. In KaNgwane there have been some significant attempts to improve the management of the education system generally and the approach to planning in particular, these have not been fully developed or sustained. Nor did they reach beyond upper management to the middle management level. Work by Urwick (1993)

and others points to the importance of the planning skills of middle management in the efficient allocation of resources.

Improved planning would also require a more effective education information system. Ideally, this should be integrally related to planning at every level, including the institutional and local level. The information system should be designed to provide information which is perceived as useful - and used - at these levels as well as the more macro-levels.

The second way in which schooling can be improved is less obvious and more interesting: this is the role of participatory management at the local level in the optimum use of available resources. Case studies by Harber in Tanzania point to a similar conclusion. Harber concludes his discussion of a case study involving two school in Tanzania thus:

Staff and pupils in the two Tanzanian schools described in this article were clear that the benefits of a more democratic school structure outweighs any disadvantages. Although the context and problems differ, this matches findings from Europe and America that more participant organisation increases school effectiveness as well as enhancing democratic values and skills. (1993 pg 299)

The description of a village school in KaNgwane at the end of this report suggests that the participatory management structure created at village level has allowed the village community to take control of their schools, to begin to solve problems and to optimise the education resources available to them.

Related to the issue of greater autonomy for school communities is the issue of responsibility for the financing of provision. There is a strong tradition in the former bantustans of expecting communities outside the proclaimed townships to finance their own school facilities. In the last few years in which they were in power, the Nationalist government developed a discourse which equated greater institutional autonomy with greater responsibility for material provision in all schools. This discourse informed many of the structural changes introduced at that time such as the creation of model C schools and it is kept alive by structures created in that period, including parastatal organisations such as the IDT.

If full advantage is to be taken of the benefits of greater autonomy at the institutional and local level and more democratic governance structures, there must be a clear definition of the responsibility of the state to guarantee acceptable levels of material provision and to redress historical inequalities.

[END OF REPORT]