

IS BOP BETTER? A CASE-STUDY IN EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION

BY
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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 Further, though unpublished, a number of these reports have been cited.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
University of the Witwatersrand
August 2018.

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. The photocopies were reductions to A5 – we have kept them at this size.

The title page of the copy of *Is Bop better?* that we used was very faint, and we retyped it.

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

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IS BOP BETTER? A CASE-STUDY IN EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION

by Johann Graaff, Sociology, UCT

[This is a provisional version of the paper and is not
to be quoted without the author's express
permission.]

1 Introduction¹

This paper has quite a long and selfconscious runup. It starts by asking whether questions about Bophuthatswana's superiority ought even to be asked. And having been asked, can they actually be validly answered? With these two issues dealt with, the paper gets slightly more self-confident, and considers the ideological context within which Bophuthatswana's education system was set up and maintained. This focuses on key figures like Ken Hartshorne and Lucas Mangope. It looks at the Liberal, nationalistic and authoritarian strands in Bophuthatswana's politics and its educational planning. Only then does the paper get into the detail of educational innovations.

Is Bophuthatswana's education system better than that of other homelands or the DET? The question may sound perverse in a time when the reincorporation of homelands into South Africa is high on the agenda, when this has already been effected by Pretoria's takeover of the 'shambolic' Lebowa administration in September, 1993, and when Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is due to stand trial for murder. The question is, however, important for a number of reasons.

First, the superiority of its education system is a major part of Bophuthatswana's claim to regional autonomy at the World Trade Centre negotiations via the consolidated Western Transvaal (SATSWA) option. Reincorporation into South Africa, they say, would ruin an important asset of the people. (Jeffrey, 1993:147) Second, I question the easy assumption that Bophuthatswana and/or Mangope will simply evaporate post-April 1994 when an ANC-led government just 'turns off the tap' of funding which maintains Bophuthatswana's existence. Already at this stage, there seems to be a fair chance that significant aspects of education will be retained under regional control in a federal dispensation. Third, even if the attempt at regional autonomy fails, it will be important to appreciate the quality or otherwise of what is being integrated into a broader education system. Fourth, it is important to document the multiple and quite subtle ways in which bantustan rural areas are disadvantaged, since there is a good chance that many of these will, either in ignorance or by force of circumstance, be perpetuated in a post-apartheid dispensation. Finally, the Bophuthatswana education system includes some interesting experiments. Perhaps there are things to be learnt from their successes or failures.

¹ I am grateful to Heather Jacklin for comment on earlier drafts of

There is another reason why the question as to Bophuthatswana's superiority in education might be inappropriate. This is because it cross-cuts numerous sectoral studies on education. These investigate spheres of education like primary education, adult basic education, or secondary education, irrespective of their spatial location. In short, what is the justification for a spatial homeland focus on education when most studies are sectorally focussed?

The answer to this question lies in investigating the impact which a certain political form, viz. a homeland government, has had in differentiating its education system from others. Bophuthatswana education, after 16 years of 'independence', is not what it used to be. It is not simply an extension of the DET. Nor is it just like other homeland education systems. Something new has emerged. This is most evident in differential education statistics like teacher-pupil ratios (TPR's), classroom-pupil ratios (CPR's) and matric pass rates.

But there is more to it than educational statistics. As an entity Bophuthatswana's people have been the objects of political efforts at 'nation-building'. Education has been embedded within broader nationalistic, Liberal, authoritarian practices. These have specific educational implications. And this has created something qualitatively different within the spatial boundaries which the apartheid system came to call Bophuthatswana. This homeland has, one might say, been a container for certain educational changes and innovations. These are the subject of detailed investigation as the paper proceeds.

How easy has it been for Bophuthatswana to pursue an independent line in education policy? This question needs asking since there are strong voices who have argued that homeland leaders are little more than puppets of the apartheid system, that they had precious little room for manoeuvre. For educational innovations presuppose some freedom from external control. (Jaff, Southall) If this were a valid view, the whole rationale for this paper would fall away. Elsewhere, with regard to homelands in general, I have argued that this is too crude a view to be followed. Education is specifically an area that has been relatively free of interference (Graaff. 1990).

There is no doubt that, through the Department of Foreign Affairs, and the Development Bank, considerable pressure has been exercised on homeland governments across a range of issues. But, for Bophuthatswana, pre-tertiary education has been relatively free of this influence. Neither the Department of Foreign Affairs, through KEOSSA, nor the Development Bank (Human Resources Division), nor

SECOSAF, nor even the IDT, have been involved much in the Bophuthatswana educational sphere at all. The exception to this is the Development Bank's role in financing the university. Overall, however, all three these organisations have found Bophuthatswana an extremely prickly customer to deal with.

If Bophuthatswana was indeed able to pursue a relatively independent line in education policy, who was responsible for this line? Bantustan governments, in general, and Bophuthatswana, in particular, are characterised by a personalised concentration of power. That means that all matters of substance pass through the hands of the president, Lucas Mangope. Individuals who constitute a threat, either ideologically or in strength of personality, are quickly removed. Individuals who have an influence usually make up a quite limited clique around Mangope. For some reason, those who have maintained their influence over any length of time, and particularly in education, have often been White. Prominent here were both members of the Bodenstein family, Hans and Christal, [Hans's brother, Wolf Bodenstein, was for many years Mangope's personal confidant and adviser]; Helen May, who was appointed first national organiser in ECE; Ken Hartshorne, a key figure in the Lekhela Commission and first university Chairman of Council, later to fall from grace; Jacques Kriel, first Minister of Health in the newly independent Bophuthatswana's cabinet, and then first Rector of the university; and Bob Smith, first Dean of Education at UNIBO, director of the Institute of Education, and chair of the National Education Commission Report in 1985-6. [Ministers of Education have not been particularly influential, and have often changed.]

Given this collection of individuals, what can one say about the terms in which education was framed in Bophuthatswana? By way of summary a number of key concepts stand out: Christianity, hostility to Bantu Education, Liberalism, Modernisation theory, Tswana nationalism. I shall examine these by way of a number of key sources: the Lekhela Commission of 1977 which sets out the initial agenda for Bophuthatswana education; Ken Hartshorne's autobiography, *Crisis and Challenge* (1992); the NEC Report of 1985-6, substantially written by Bob Smith; and Lawrence and Manson's analysis of "Bophuthatswana Official Discourse and Policy on Tribalism, Ethnicity, Nationhood and Regionalism" (1993).

The history of Bophuthatswana education starts with the Lekhela Commission Report on Education published in 1977, the same year, significantly, in which Bophuthatswana took independence. Following, as it did, closely on the Soweto uprisings of 1976, the Report is very concerned to get away from the evils of the Bantu Education system. In its deliberations the Report is considerably influenced by Ken Hartshorne, and Peter Hunter, both from Wits

University.

From this report a number of key innovations are formulated and implemented. Some of the better known ones being the insertion of a middle school level between the primary and high school levels, the establishment of Early Childhood Education at the preschool level, the establishment of a centre of excellence in school education (first Mmabatho High, and later the International School), the affiliation of colleges of education to the university rather than to the Department of Education, and the establishment of primary school upgrading (PEUP). There were a number of very interesting further innovations with regard to the University of Bophuthatswana which I shall not be dealing with here. The thinking behind most of these is explained in some detail in Hartshorne's book, Crisis and Challenge (1992). I shall pursue this in some detail in the course of paper. For the moment Ken Hartshorne's approach serves as a good introduction to many of those associated with Bophuthatswana education.

So, who is Ken Hartshorne? or more precisely, who does he think he is? Ken Hartshorne describes himself as an educationist keeping 'a foot in both camps, those of theory and practice' although more inclined to the latter. Strong early (British) influences are those of Christianity (Methodism), Socialism, especially of the kind espoused by Harold Laski, and the methodology of Professor Jimmy Neale (of London University), 'not a particularly likeable man but a punctilious historian'. Later influences include the South African Institute of Race Relations, neo-Marxist writers on South Africa and Liberation theology. (Hartshorne, 1992)

In his review of Hartshorne's book, Morrell puts Hartshorne firmly within a Liberal discourse. For him, this means a lack of 'theory', a simple, polarised world of goodies and baddies, and a lack of political economy context. His framework, says Morrell, is 'Christian-inclined, politically nursed and experientially sympathetic'. (Morrell, 1993)

What does a Liberal, Modernisation theory, Christian approach to education imply, then? In a word, it is probably politically innocent. (I assume this is what Morrell means by 'politically nursed') To be specific, with regard to an education system situated within one branch of the apartheid system, viz. Bophuthatswana, it underestimates the oscillating impact of politics and politicians, of economics and capitalists, on the education system. It tends to imbue individuals with too much freedom against encompassing structures, whether these individuals be on 'our' side or on 'theirs'. Too much freedom, too much personality.

What does Tswana nationalism mean, specifically for Lucas Mangope? What are, in discourse discourse, its positive and negative terms? And to whom is it addressed? Tswana nationalism means, in positive terms, the construction of a pattern of symbols, meanings and material interests which invite (and coerce) allegiance to an 'imagined' Tswana nation with roots traced back into mythology. This nation is Christian (the ruling party changed its name to the Christian Democratic Party), it is democratic (with a constitutional Bill of Rights), and shows significant economic and social development. Prime negative terms are British colonialism, and Xhosa/ANC-led Communist agitators bent on destroying the Tswana nation.

There is a considerable level of ambivalence with regard to apartheid. For Mangope owes his position as traditional chief, and as bantustan leader to the system. His version of nationalism has important overlaps with Verwoerdian ethnic pluralism. And he is presently busy wooing the far-right political interests of the Western Transvaal. Alongside this there is much in his discourse which is energetically anti-racist. (Lawrence & Manson, 1993) Mangope has also been duped often enough by Pretoria to harbour sharp resentments against their duplicity. (This ambivalence explains why it is important to project the Tswana nation in history as being prior to, and separate from, apartheid.)

Both positive and negative terms of the discourse have been strongly mobilised in the physical protection of the Tswana nation. This means that, alongside, and in blithe contradiction with, the democratic elements of the discourse, exists an authoritarian and coercive one. As Lawrence & Manson show, Mangope went through a significant Liberal democratic phase in the first seven years after gaining independence, which gained favourable comment in even radical circles, both nationally and internationally. The year 1985, with the South African state of emergency, brought a substantial reversal of this. Prime threats to the Tswana nation become: student organisations, trade unions, opposition parties, non-Tswana group, all of these often seen as extensions of the ANC. There are numerous incidents reported in the press of police harassment and torture, political gerrymandering, and expansions of the security legislation. (Lawrence & Manson, 1993; Jeffrey, 1993)

What influence has this coercive context had on educational bureaucrats? Will they have the skills, experience, integrity and, especially, the political values to fit into a post-apartheid civil service? Given the use which an ANC government will be compelled to make of homeland bureaucrats, this is an important question to flag for further discussion. It is not one which I shall be addressing

in any detail in this paper.

Who is Mangope's prime audience? Lawrence & Manson argue that although he initially addressed himself to a 'rural constituency' [I assume this means traditional chiefs], this base has been overshadowed by other interest groups in mining, agricultural and the business sector, as well as the homeland bureaucracy. (Lawrence & Manson, 1993:7) ² An important further audience is the international community. Mangope has made strenuous efforts to have Bophuthatswana recognized internationally. He has addressed the United Nations, had a lobby group within the British House of Commons, and maintains close links with Israel.

What has all this meant for education? This is an area which needs further investigation. For the moment, note the emphasis on history and the Tswana language in schools in the building of the Tswana nation, the suppression and harassment of student and teacher organisations, the presence of an 'international' school in Mmabatho, the creation of an Institute of African Studies at the university aimed at cultural research (and a Setswana dictionary), the exclusion of educational NGO's, a number of modular manpower training centres aimed at the business sector, and the parading of matric pass rates in the media. Further on I shall examine in some detail the implications of Mangope's coercive style for the non-Tswana of the Winterveld area.

If the question on Bophuthatswana's educational superiority ought to be asked, can it actually be answered? This is an important issue relating to the quality of available data. The main empirical base of this paper is (i) interviews with departmental personnel, (ii) departmental annual reports, (iii) DBSA and RIIEP research, often derived from (i) and (ii). Take one example. During my visit to Bophuthatswana in July 1993 the government mainframe had gone down with a virus. The Department of Education Annual Report for

² The importance of mining, tourism and secondary industries in B development necessitates a widening of the ambit of Mangope's nationalism. Transkeian nationalism under the Matarzima's, by contrast, was much more narrowly focused, with the result that it excluded significant (White-owned) interests from entering the homeland. There are, for example, very few supermarkets chains in Transkei.

The degree to which Mangope has managed to persuade the bureaucrats to follow his line needs some substantiation. Peires argues that the Transkei that the oligarchic nature of government alienated the civil servants, the teachers and the business community (Peires, 1990)

1992, which had just appeared, had immediately been withdrawn as a result of substantial errors. Or consider interviews. Gaining access to senior departmental personnel is a major undertaking calling for considerable reserves of patience and serenity. One such interview, having first cleared the hurdles of etiquette and political mistrust, can reveal only a tiny portion of what really needs to be uncovered. Nor is it altogether clear to what extent senior personnel are in touch with what happens further down the line.

In this paper, then, I take the sections on Early Childhood Education and Primary Education Upgrading to be fairly sound. Government expenditure, being subject to internal audit, is an unknown quantity. Enrolment statistics, TPR's and CPR's, and everything derived from them, must be treated with considerable caution.

So, finally, is Bop actually better? The short, simple and provocative answer to this is, Yes. In a number of ways Bophuthatswana stands out in comparison with the other homelands. Barring the Ciskei, it exhibits far higher levels of urbanisation and industrialisation than the others, situated as it is adjacent to the PWV complex at one end, and Bloemfontein at the other. The opportunities for industrial expansion via the extension of existing industries into the areas immediately to the north and north-west of Pretoria have been much more fruitful than those related to other metropolitan areas. The advantageous proximity of a massive consumer market within commuting distance from Bophuthatswana has also been the catalyst for extensive developments in the tourist industry via the developments at Sun City. All this together with extremely wealthy platinum mines at Rustenburg (linked in happy partnership with Sun City) have boosted internal budgetary income substantially.

Among the TBVC states, then, it has the biggest budget (R2.3 bn.), the lowest infant mortality rate (50 per 1000), one of the highest per cap. expenditures on education, and by far the highest matric pass rate at 72%³.

The rest of this paper is a more careful (unprovocative) look at the question of how good Bop's education system is. It can be divided into two parts. The first considers a number of the

³ Among the various homelands and DET circuits, the next highest is Venda with a matric pass rate in 1992 of 50%. In this year the DET's matric pass rate was 40%. (Edusource Data News (2)1993)

innovations introduced into the Bophuthatswana educational system since the Lekhela Commission Report of 1977. The two particularly successful innovations in the Bophuthatswana education system are its Primary Education Upgrade Programme (PEUP), and the Early Childhood Education (ECE) programme. The third concerns the insertion of a middle school between primary and high school levels. The fourth concerns the affiliation of teacher training colleges to the Institute of Education at the university.

The last section of the paper considers the position of schools in rural areas in Bophuthatswana. This section starts with a detailed examination of the Bophuthatswana education budget, with particular attention paid to the financing of rural schools. It then draws on some detailed studies done during the mid-1980's and some more fragmentary material in recent times. It considers the numerous and indirect ways in which rural populations and rural schools are disadvantaged in Bophuthatswana.

From this discussion my conclusion is once again, yes, Bophuthatswana's education is actually better than the others, but not in the ways we might expect. And it has at least one very bad bit which results from its repressive practice, namely the Winterveld area.

2 The Primary Education Upgrading Programme (PEUP)⁴

2.1 Originally recommended by the Lekhela Commission, PEUP is an attempt to improve the quality of primary education over a wide spectrum of aspects. It is a 'total package' which addresses buildings and facilities, teaching materials, teaching methods, teacher motivation and community participation.

To be specific, first of all, PEUP personnel will only accept a school into the programme which has adequate buildings, which does not use double sessions and has a teacher-pupil ratio of 1:50 maximum. In order to achieve this, parent communities have needed to collect money to ensure the expansion and upgrading of buildings.

Second, teachers are retrained away from the traditional rote, repeat-by-shouting methods, into a child-centred mode. The programme has effectively taken over in-service training in the

⁴ This section draws on: the NEC Report 1985-6 pp.46ff., Hartshorne, 1992; Macdonald, 1990; various interviews with Bill Holderness and unpublished material provided by him.

primary sector, situating it in the field rather than in the colleges. This has been substantially facilitated by the new control structure of in-service education, as we shall see.

Classrooms are repainted in bright and varied colours. The emphasis is on learning led by curiosity, independence and creativity, problem-solving and self-discipline. Schools contain a variety of learning areas so that classes can be split into groups doing different things. (cf Macdonald, 1990:4,16)

Third, PEUP has brought about a major change in teacher motivation. Moving away from authoritarian, survival methods in teaching towards more creative and problem-solving styles is itself already an important shift in teacher morale. Teachers also gather in school-based Subject Groups to construct their own versions of the curriculum. Teachers are involved in evaluation of the success of their own initiatives. Apart from the initial training in PEUP methods, there is ongoing backup and support from PEUP organisers.

Diffusion of PEUP ideas occurs by assigning a number of schools as satellites to a central 'model school' in a particular area. Satellite schools, in their turn, become model schools for further satellites. Each year a number of teachers are sent overseas for training courses. Finally, there is a considerable amount of devolution of decision-making authority to circuit teams. There is one Organiser responsible for each of the 17 circuits, and each circuit has its own Circuit Fund. All this has brought about a considerable change in the way teachers approach their work, and has worked to sustain the innovative momentum.

Fourth, PEUP has introduced a whole range of new materials into the teaching process. Some materials have been designed and adapted for local use by teachers and organisers themselves. Although it originally focussed on a wider range of subjects, PEUP now concentrates on the languages (English and Setswana) and Environmental and Health Education. PEUP is presently considering integrating health-oriented materials into their activities via the Child-to-Child programme.

Fifth, it is a PEUP requirement that school upgrading is parent driven. (What is the weight of influence between teachers and community?) PEUP does not enter a school unless so requested by the community. It is from community collected funds that school building improvements are partly funded. In addition, elected school councils oversee the whole process of innovation in the school.

2.2 PEUP can be regarded as a major success in a number of

ways. To begin with, PEUP is now active in all the primary schools of Bophuthatswana. It was first introduced into a number of schools in the Tlhabane Circuit (near Rustenburg) in 1979. In 1982 it was officially accepted by the Bophuthatswana Department of Education. By 1983 PEUP had taken over 77% of all primary schools, and 96% by 1986. The last more remote rural schools were gathered into the system from 1986-1993.

Second, the programme has been effectively owned by the organisation and the teaching personnel. It is significant that when, in 1986, the programme's initiator and moving spirit, Mrs Christel Bodenstein, resigned, and the programme was effectively without a central executive for a number of years, PEUP was able to maintain its momentum and continue its spread.

Third, the programme was accepted by, and integrated into the Bophuthatswana government's Department of Education in 1982. It has become official policy and a matter of some national pride. This is a key factor in PEUP's phenomenal spread.

Fourth, at the same time, it is significant that the programme has been able to maintain its innovatory progress despite being absorbed into a government bureaucracy. As in the ECE case, this is an interesting case of how the organisational benefits of an NGO can be combined with the advantages of a macro-bureaucracy. PEUP has provided the initiative, experimentation, flexibility, contact with the community, the motivation, the drive and private sector finance. It is significant that PEUP has recently set up a headquarters office in Mmabatho town away from government offices.

The government, for its part, has, most importantly, not opposed the programme. It has, in fact, adopted the programme. In addition, it has provided the bulk of the finances (to pay salaries and transport) (see Sub-Section 3 below), and the administrative framework within which PEUP has been able to operate. This is a key factor in the massive spread of the programme, and one which distinguishes itself sharply from innovations initiated by NGO's elsewhere. While educational NGO's have been good at coming up with and implementing new ideas, they have been less good at taking government along with them, or consequently, in 'going to scale'.

Fifth, while it is difficult to isolate the exact impact of PEUP on learning outcomes, it is significant that Bophuthatswana's primary school dropout rate has decreased significantly over the last decade and is presently the lowest among all the homelands (and the DET)(?) While Grade 1 figures have stayed more or less static (more of which later), Std4 figures have increased steadily (from 1989 they drop off somewhat). Of the 1976 Grade 1 cohort, 61% reached

Standard 4 in 1981. Of the 1985 Grade 1 cohort 74% reached Standard 4 in 1990. ²

Finally, Macdonald's assessment of PEUP concludes: "Much of what PEUP set out to do, they have achieved." (Macdonald, 1990:90) This does not mean there are no problems. I will address these shortly.

2.3 Finances

In 1993 it cost R2.06 million to run PEUP. The bulk of this was provided by the Department of Education for salaries and transport. See Table * below. Outside funding has been provided by private companies, the IDT, the Bophuthatswana National Library and the Bophuthatswana National Parks Board. The bulk of this item goes into running the PEUP Centre in Mmabatho. The PEUP Fund which derives from community contributions/fees is used for upgrading/constructing buildings, and purchasing furniture. The university pays the salaries of three part-time staff, and of the national director.

Table 1: PEUP Funding Sources

1993		Perc.
Dept of Education	1,406,850	68%
Outside Funding	260,300	13%
PEUP Fund	161,500	8%
UNIBO	236,500	11%
Total	2,065,150	100%

2.4 Difficulties

As an external observer it is extremely difficult to rank the

² But note that the figure for the 1979-1984 cohort was also 74%, and 78% for 1983-8. It may be that other factors, like political unrest, are far more significant in retention figures than teaching methods although this is less likely at primary than secon

importance of the various problems mentioned below. Two categories of problem, however, stand out. One concerns administration, and the other physical facilities.

Administrative Problems

(a) While PEUP has enjoyed the support and recognition of the Department of Education, working with the Department is not always easy, nor is the Department particularly efficient. This has given rise to a series of obstacles. It took a long time to get the Department to accept the programme, and it takes enormous amounts of time to implement changes. PEUP staff complain that at times their work is ridiculed by departmental staff. (Holderness, 1993)

(b) In consequence of (a), PEUP has had great difficulty in expanding its methods from the junior primary levels into the senior primary or middle school levels, and from the schools into the teacher training colleges. It is disappointing that many PEUP children get bogged down in unenlightened teaching methods further up the school and possibly lose what they had before. (Holderness, 1993)

(c) Also following from (a), PEUP has struggled to get sufficient administrative posts approved or adequate transport to do their jobs. PEUP operates on a skeleton staff. Circuit organisers are overwhelmed with administrative work. It has still not filled the position of Chief Organiser. As for transport, "At the moment this is the most demotivating factor for organisers..." (Holderness, 1993:20)

(d) In addition, PEUP suffers from inappropriate and, at times, corrupt intervention by senior departmental personnel. This is most glaringly obvious in the matter of textbook production, since a senior department member himself writes Setswana textbooks. (Holderness, 1993)

Physical Facilities

(e) Whereas the PEUP programme required TPR's of 1:50 in order to start, subsequently TPR's have deteriorated substantially. There are reports of teachers having to cope with 80-90 pupils in a class. In addition, teachers have been overloaded in the number of subjects they teach. (Macdonald, 1990:68; NIEC, 1993)

(f) With the demand for a maximum TPR of 1:50, some children

were excluded from schools. It is not clear how widespread this phenomenon is. (Holderness, 1993) Nor is it clear how this aspect can be reconciled with the overcrowding of classrooms mentioned in (e) above. Added to this is the exclusion of non-Tswana children in the Odi district. I return to this in more detail below.

(g) Apart from the shortage of buildings, PEUP schools have also suffered from shortages of textbooks, the absence of electricity, running water and toilets, and the unavailability of laboratories and libraries. (Macdonald, 1990:68; NIEC, 1993)

The lack of facilities is particularly acute in rural areas. Schools in rural areas often have the less qualified teachers and higher TPR's. (NIEC, 1993)

Staff

(h) In any innovative effort one of the main tasks is to maintain motivational momentum. After 10 years it is to be expected that this aspect will be problematic. So, staff do complain of insufficient workshops, or insufficient stimulation and new ideas. (Holderness, 1993; NIEC, 1993)

(i) Since departmental inspectors have not been familiarised with PEUP principles it is very difficult for them to play their usual role in primary schools. There are suggestions that PEUP staff be appointed as inspectors. The same problem applies in the teacher training area. At times, teacher college staff have not been recruited from the primary schools, nor have they been sufficiently exposed to PEUP practices. (Holderness, 1993; NIEC, 1993)

(j) While the HSRC Report by Macdonald is, as we have noted, overall positive about the PEUP programme, the level of teacher competence comes up for repeated comment. In the two PEUP schools studied in this report (in the Moretele region) teachers were making elementary language mistakes in English. They were not extending pupils to their real capacity. More importantly, central aspects of the child-centred philosophy which underlies PEUP were quite foreign to them. They did not regard it as part of their teaching task to get positive response from children. Some teachers were administering corporal punishment. (Macdonald, 1990)

(k) At the time of the HSRC study, PEUP teachers were complaining about the disparity between their salaries and

benefits and those paid in the DET. As we shall see, this was a longstanding complaint dating back to the NEC report of 1986. Macdonald reports that the Department was busy addressing the issue. (Macdonald, 1990)

(k) One commentator has argued that PEUP children do not actually read any better than other DET children. PEUP appears to make very little difference at this concrete level. (Flanagan)

(l) The same source argues that PEUP gives teachers very little independence, and very little intellectual grounding in how the system works. PEUP has become a teacher-proof package broken down into fragments which teachers have no control over. (Flanagan)

In the final analysis, what is one to conclude about the PEUP initiative in Bophuthatswana? Note, to start with, that the available evidence is very fragmentary. The one in-depth study by the HSRC limited itself to two schools, one urban and one rural, in the Moretele district. For the rest, two remarks can be made quite safely.

The first is that PEUP is an extremely worthwhile initiative, that if it is achieving half of what it set out to do, it will have made a substantial difference in Black primary schools in Bophuthatswana. Organisationally it is a valuable mix between bureaucratic and NGO-type institutions. Pedagogically it is built on a firm child-centred foundation. Socially it involves communities in schooling in ways that they have not been before.

The second remark is that clearly there are still considerable problems in the realization and follow-through of the programme. Three main areas appear acute: communication and cooperation between PEUP and the Department of Education; the provision of facilities especially in the rural areas; and training and upgrading of staff. Many of these have to do with PEUP as an innovative initiative, as a source of change embedded in an old system.

Whatever the problems that PEUP experiences, these pale into insignificance when compared to what is happening in most other homelands and in the DET.

3 Early Childhood Education (ECE)*

Alongside PEUP, the second success story in the Bophuthatswana education system is its ECE programme. In 1977 the Lekhela Commission recommended the development of ECE within the Department of Education for social, economic and emotional purposes, and that this should be based on a community-government partnership. Both these aspects of the original philosophy have been implemented and sustained.

As far as its basic aims are concerned, the ECE programme has consistently emphasized the development of life-skills rather mere cognitive ones. ECE organisers have throughout strenuously rejected the notion of 'bridging', an accelerated learning conception. In an angry note to the National Education Commission in 1986, the then National Organiser objected to the introduction of a bridging year at the start of the primary school years. "To consider the learning process of a young human to be ONLY A TRAINING FOR FORMAL SCHOOLING is to negate the value of learning and growing as an individual."

The ECE programme has, on the other hand, also distinguished itself from an elementary daycare or crèche service which does no more than look after very young (age 0-3) children while their mothers work. In Bophuthatswana this is the domain of the Department of Health. We shall see in a moment that is the source of some conflict between the Departments of Education and Health.

As to its relationship to the community, ECE has, much like PEUP, relied on community initiative and cooperation to spread its activities. Community educare centres apply for registration with the ECE programme, but they are only admitted under certain conditions. The main requirements for registration in this regard are the quality of physical facilities (classroom space, toilet, water) and the existence of a parent committee.

Following its acceptance as national policy by the Department of Education and the appointment of a National Organiser, both in 1982, the ECE programme has spread extremely rapidly. In the 1982-8 period 426 early learning centres were established reaching some 25,000 children. By then 6 Organisers had been appointed to

* This section relies on information from: Department of Education Annual Reports 1990-2; Report of the Second National Education Commission of 1985-6; letter to Minister of State Affairs from ECE National Organiser 3/8/1987; interview with present ECE National Organiser.

administer the programme on a regional basis. In 1993 there were 524 centres serving 32,000 children employing 1626 women. There are now 9 Organisers.

If one assumes that the ECE programme is three years long, then it is reaching only about 11,000 five-year olds. If one assumes further that there are approximately equal numbers of five- and six-year olds, and that most six-year olds are accommodated in SSA (64,000), then only one in every six five-year olds is being catered for (11,000 out of 64,000). Clearly the ECE programme has some way to go to provide educare facilities for all children.

Like PEUP, the ECE programme is an integral part of the Department of Education. This is an interesting arrangement given the fact that educare institutions elsewhere in the country rely heavily on independent NGO activity. As we have indicated above, integration into a national bureaucratic structure can bring with it some loss of flexibility, initiative and sensitivity to community interests. The Bophuthatswana ECE programme appears to have combined the best of both worlds. Being part of government bureaucracy gives them access to considerable funding and personnel support. ECE teacher training has been formalised in courses at Hebron and Tlhabane Teacher Training Colleges.

The ECE programme has, however, managed to maintain a measure of autonomy by having a separate organisational structure which runs parallel to that of the Department. It also, like PEUP, has administrative and resource centres which are not situated in government offices. It has its own registration, training and inspection procedures. The programme has also retained non-Tswana's as National Organisers.

The programme has worked hard to maintain motivational momentum. Regional organisers are in continuous interaction with the ELC's in their region via training, enrichment and orientation courses, support and advice. In addition, much is made of community involvement in the centres. In some regions community enthusiasm has resulted in annual celebratory gatherings.

Reliance on community initiative has, however, meant, as it always does, an uneven and somewhat slower spread of resources across the country. On this basis it is difficult to plan the equal distribution of facilities across the region and particularly into rural areas. But there are difficult choices to be made here: one either has community initiative and enthusiasm, or one has formal (and compulsory) planning. It is not always possible to have both. As the National Organiser commented on this scenario to the NEC in 1986,

"If (compulsory ECE) is a plan or a possibility then 6 years of careful orientation to and involvement with the families and local authorities is lost.... the conditions of the people in relation to their children and in relation to their attitudes to education were assiduously and carefully assessed and understood before setting out the *modus operandi* which has been gradually developing".

Ironically, the community base of ECE work has at times benefitted rural areas over urban ones. Urban areas often lack the community structures on which to build school participation.

Integration into the government bureaucracy provides substantial financial benefits. The Department of Education pays the salaries of all ECE staff. In addition, building costs are subsidized by government to the tune of R12,000 per centre. Communities collect the remaining funds. Maintenance and training costs are covered by a R4.00 levy which is paid into the ECE Trust Fund. Private sector organisations have contributed by donating toy-kits to the value of R3,500 each. (At one per centre, this amounts to a sum of about R1.8 million.)

Problem areas in the ECE programme relate to community poverty, and to bureaucratic inefficiency and infighting. In some areas, for example, communities find it difficult to pay the fees, or to find the funds for building schools. In consequence, there is at some places a shortage of classroom and overcrowding in the centres. Some children suffer from poor nutrition.

As far as bureaucracies are concerned, Circuit Education Officers at times appoint untrained primary school teachers into positions at ELC's in preference to ECE-trained staff. This situation may have been aggravated by the rapid spread of ECE, and the resulting shortage of appropriately trained staff.

In addition, there is competition from the Department of Health whose responsibility is supposed to be daycare. This department appears to appropriate ELC's into their jurisdiction, putting them under the guidance of matrons. There seem to be further problems from private educare centres who pressure ECE for registration. At times this is accompanied by bullying endorsement from senior departmental personnel or politicians.

4 The Middle School

One of the most interesting innovations recommended by the Lekhela Commission was the introduction of a middle school phase after primary school. The rationale for this distinct phase (Stds 5-7)

between primary and high school levels, as expressed by Hartshorne, is the need to mark a discreet break in the tasks to which schools address themselves. It would serve as a strong signal of change in established ways of doing things. Primary schools must set themselves the goal of establishing the basic platform from which further learning takes place, comprising literacy, numeracy, social and health skills, and the ability to use the language of instruction.

The aim of the middle school, by contrast, would be to strengthen the basics and to focus pupils outwards from the community and family to the nation. It would introduce them to

"the country and its people, to the realities of the economic and political life of the new South Africa, to begin to help pupils to understand what democracy is and how it can be developed in society, and to begin to build an understanding of the relationships of education to the world of work". (Hartshorne, 1992:88)

In the original proposal a new subject, Development Studies, would gradually replace History and Geography, and other syllabuses would be rewritten by the CEC to serve the changed goals. The middle school phase would end with the pupil's first external examination.

The NEC Report notes the successful completion of the structural change in 1985, but worries about the lack of an appropriate teacher training programme, the spread of the PEUP principles into the higher levels, and notes the level of disruption caused by the innovation prior to 1985. (NEC, 1986:54-57)

5 Teachers

For our purposes, the 'Bantu Education system' to which the Lekhela Commission was reacting, comprised two main elements. Both of these were driven by a sharp hostility to the missionary system it was replacing. First, teacher training was to be located inside homelands. Many urban institutions were closed. (In 1991, only 15 of 74 African colleges were outside the homelands. NEPI:5) Secondly, the colleges were to come under departmental control.

The consequence of this was that they became suffused by an ethos of authoritarian control, cultural separatism via Christian National Education, technicist and apolitical practice via Fundamental Pedagogics, and the dramatic decline in competence in the English language. Students were being admitted with quite inadequate qualifications. In 1988, for example, 93% of those entrants with SC had 'F' aggregates (33-39%). College staff overall

were not properly qualified for their tasks. Hartshorne sums up the situation as follows:

"The result of this situation.... was that in many colleges the teaching was both authoritarian and prescriptive; in many there was an almost total dependence on the textbook and on notes that had to be learnt off and fed back to the lecturer; there was little free discussion, questioning or use of the library. Because the timetable required about eight periods of instruction per day, there was little time for individual or self-directed study." (Hartshorne, 1992:242)

Given his influence in the Lekhela Commission, Hartshorne's analysis and its solution to the problem is important. The Commission recommended that the control structure of the colleges of education be shifted from the Department of Education, to the university's Institute of Education. In this way they would jettison the old DET curricula, examinations and certification procedures. Students would be given the opportunity to convert diplomas into degrees through university study. In addition, all two year courses would be replaced by three year post-Std 10 courses. The NEC notes that all these recommendations were in fact implemented (NEC, 1986:74)

The NEC was, however, still disturbed by the inadequate supply of teachers from both the university and the colleges, and the underqualification of the existing teacher body. The shortage of teachers was particularly acute at the primary and high school levels. The NEC recommended that by 1992 the colleges and the university should be producing 6,300 teachers per annum, divided between primary, middle and high school as follows: 3,300; 1,000; 2,000 (of which 1200 would come from the university). PTR's for primary, middle and high schools in 1984 were 42, 46, and 31 respectively. In 1984, only 30% of teachers had matric with a professional qualification. The NEC was further worried by the drift of Bophuthatswana teachers to the RSA system as a result of wage differentials.

In fact, by 1992 68% of 19,433 teachers had the required M+3 qualification. Enrollment at the colleges had risen to 5,466 and 1,505 at the university. TPR's for primary, middle and high schools were 32, 28, and 27 respectively. (Annual Report, 1992)

6 The Numbers Game

6.1 Dropout Rates and Retention

The conventional and easiest way to measure the success of an

education system is to examine available statistics of dropouts rates. Given the shakiness of government statistics (the 1992 Education annual Report had been withdrawn on account of a virus in the mainframe computer in Mmabatho), and the continual flow of pupils back and forth across homeland boundaries, such calculations are all inherently suspect. Statistics are also unable to capture the really important qualitative aspects of pupil and teacher motivation, although one might argue that these should show up in the statistics. However, for the record, this is what this exercise produces in the Bophuthatswana context.

Table 2 shows enrolment figures for the various standards in Bophuthatswana from 1976 to 1992. There are a number of curious aspects to these figures. [Note that the St.5 figure for 1992 is clearly mistaken - this must be a computer/printing error.]

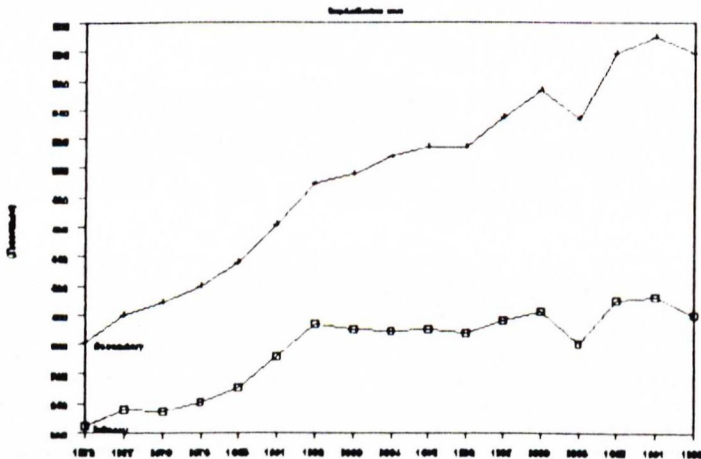
6.2 SSA (Grade 1) Enrolment

It is remarkable that SSA (Grade 1) totals show a net drop over this period of time. They show a rise from 1976 - 1982, then decline gradually so that the 1985 figure is below that of 1976. From 1986 the totals rise again, peak in 1988 and then drop again consistently until 1992. In 1992 the figure is once again below what it was 26 years earlier in 1976!!⁷

Total primary enrolments likewise stabilize in 1982, and stay constant, with minor upward variations, until 1992, i.e. for all of ten years. (See Figure 1)

⁷ Probably in consequence of these rollercoaster trends, enrolments after Grade 1 show something similar. In all the standards, Grade2-Std4, the enrolment figures peak along the 1982/3-1987/8 cohort and then decline.

PB & SS ENROLMENT 1977-1992



Already in its 1986 Report, the NEC was 'very concerned' about this lack of growth in Grade 1 figures and concluded that there are "tens of thousands of children between the ages of 5-9 years (Grd1-Std2) who are not going to school" (p.50). The Report speculated on the possible causes, but could only think of four factors to account for this: greater family planning activities in the population, shortage of classroom space, inability to pay school fees, and the lack of textbooks and stationary. But at least three of these explanations cannot hold water since (a) the overall Bophuthatswana population has continued to grow unabated since 1976; (b) classroom space cannot shrink significantly from one year to the next (unless it is being used for something else), and (c) the lack of textbooks may account for a high dropout rate, but not failure to register children in the lowest standard. "

* Other possible factors to consider: (i) 1976 and 1985 schools unrest may have pushed parents into registering their children temporarily in Bophuthatswana schools, and then withdrawing them later, but this would not account for the overall decline, but only the

A much stronger possibility is the diversion of the younger children from Grade 1 into Early Learning Centres. The ECE programme in Bophuthatswana picks up considerable momentum from 1985 onwards. In 1985 there are already about 22,000 children involved, and this rises to 32,000 by 1993 (although, as I have noted, this represents only about 11,000 five-year olds). It is possible that children who previously would have been pushed (smuggled) into Grade 1 are now in a pre-school. (See above)

6.3 Middle and High School Enrolment

In the post-primary levels, however, enrolments have risen strongly and consistently, with the most dramatic increases in Standards 9 and 10. Matric numbers have, as a result, multiplied 17 times over 16 years. This growth has consistently outstripped predictions by government commissions. Table 3 below shows the compound growth rates for the various standards over this period.

Table II: Growth Rates of various standards 1976-1992

How does one account for this energetic growth in secondary enrolments alongside the more modest, at times, negative growth in primary levels? There are a number of considerations.

First, this follows a national trend. Throughout South Africa a great deal of attention has been paid since the late 1970's to expanding and upgrading secondary level education, significantly aggravated by media

Standard	Growth p.a. 1976-92
Std 10	19.4%
Std 9	16.9%
Std 8	10.3%
Std 7	6.4%
Std 6	2.4%
Std 5	2.3%

peaks and troughs in the growth graph; (ii) the impact of the various droughts through loss of agricultural income - but this assumes that income from agriculture makes a substantial difference to household income in rural areas which it does not, nor does this explain the drop in urban enrolments. (Graaff, 1986)

focus on worsening matric results. Bophuthatswana's expansion rate has, however, been noticeably lower than in the rest of the country. By RIEP's calculations Bophuthatswana enrolment has grown by only 0.6% at primary level during the 1982-1993 period, and 4.8% at the secondary level. This is very low on both levels. Only the Ciskei has lower growth rates. The DET during the same period grew by 3.6% at the primary level, and 14.4% at the secondary level. (RIEP, 1993)

Second, it appears to be Bophuthatswana policy to expand secondary enrolments instead of going for UPE. (ECT, 1992) As indicated below, the Department has over the last 3 years built 12 double-storey high schools 100% funded from the Sports Fund. (Of these, 6 have been in the Odi and Moretele regions north of Pretoria.)

Third, the results of the ECE and PEUP could have worked through the system (although this is less likely where ECE/PEUP methods have not continued into middle and high school levels). Whatever the reasons, Bophuthatswana matric pass rates (at 72% in 1993) are much higher than the DET and the highest of the homelands. (Matric pass rates actually declined quite significantly over the 1976-1986 period, from 76% to 58%. This is to be expected where expansion is very rapid. Both the Lekhela Commission and the NEC Report warned against the too rapid growth of high schools. NEC Report, 58,118) (But note that DET matric pass rates declined much faster, from 72% in 1970, to 67% in 1975 to 38% in 1989. In contrast to the Bophuthatswana trend, they have continued even lower in the 1990's. (Unterhalter, 47))

Fourth, parents may be sending their children to Bophuthatswana to avoid schools unrest in the townships.

The NEC was further worried about two main aspects in high school education. One is the drift into 'soft' options, like languages, Biology and History, and shift away from Maths and Science. In the 1979-85 period, the percentage of pupils taking Maths dropped from 42% to 30%. (NEC, 59) This trend has continued into the 1990's. Of 24,786 matric pupils in 1993, only 26% took Maths, and 21% took Physical Science. * [In 1993 the 31% of matriculants in the DET took Maths. However, only 9% passed, compared to Bop's 13%. (Edusource, 3, 1993)]

* The 1992 Annual Report mentions the spread of the Science Education Project (SEP) into one middle school each in 7 circuits.

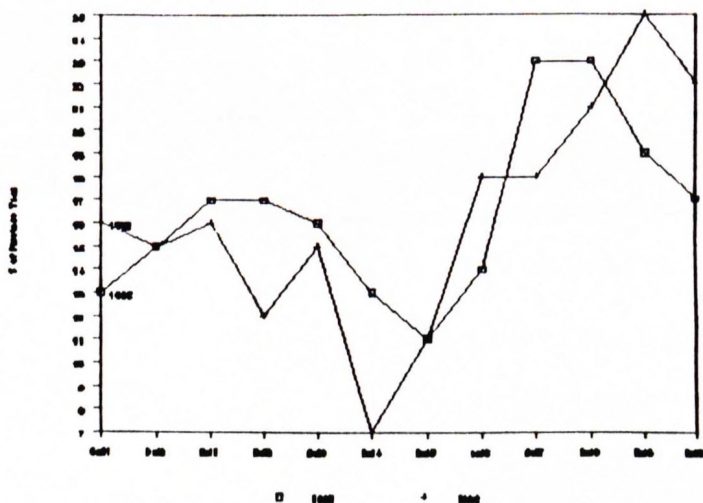
6.4 Repeaters and Dropouts

Table III: Repeaters by Standard, 1985,1992

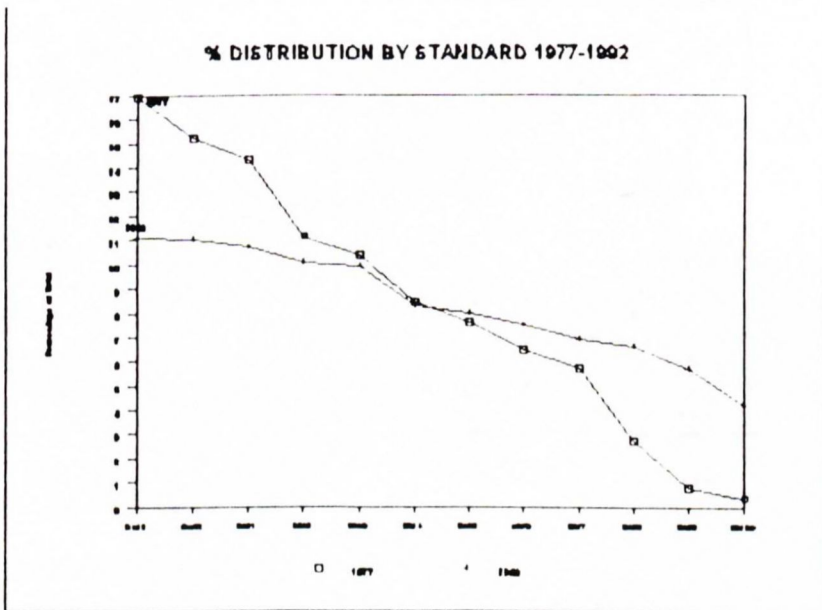
Level	G 1	G 2	S 1	S 2	S 3	S 4	S 5	S6	S 7	S 8	S 9	S10
1985	13	15	17	17	16	13	11	14	23	23	19	17
1992	16	15	16	12	15	7	11	18	18	21	25	22

(Figures from NEC Report, 1992 Annual Report. 1992 figures include new repeaters.)

REPEATERS BY STANDARD 1985,1992



A comparison of the repeaters for 1985 and 1992 shows an overall drop in this period, but problem areas are still the final years of high school. (See Table III and Figure 2) Here there is considerable damming up with repeaters totalling up to 25% of all students. This is the result of poor matric results during the



previous year.

What is curious is that the number of repeaters in SSA (Grade 1) has risen somewhat since 1985 despite the spread of Educare institutions throughout the country. Repeater rates are usually high in SSA when parents use this first grade as a childcare institution. One would expect this to drop once alternative educare facilities become available. Yet the 1992 Bophuthatswana rate is higher than that in, for instance, Qwaqwa, where there are quite rudimentary educare facilities.

Figure 3 shows the proportion of pupils in various standards for the years 1977 and 1992. This is another (rather crude) way of showing the improved retention of pupils from primary to secondary levels. Note that the proportion of SSA (Grade 1) pupils has dropped

from 17% to 11%, while the proportion of matric pupils has risen from 1% to 5%.¹⁰

6.5 Teachers and Classrooms

TPR's in Bophuthatswana have dropped substantially over time. At present it has the lowest TPR at secondary level for all the homelands and the DET, and one of the lowest at primary level. See Table 4.

CPR's have likewise dropped sharply over time such that Bophuthatswana presently has, comparatively speaking, the lowest CPR at secondary level, and one of the lowest at primary level.

What does one conclude from this? Probably two main things: one, that Bophuthatswana has been successful in training and/or attracting teachers; and two, that it has managed to build the schools which its growing numbers of pupils demanded.

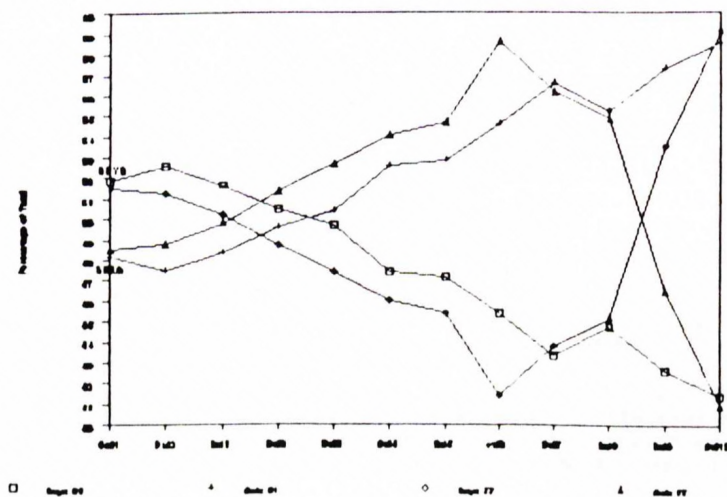
Table IV: Bop TPR's/CPR's 1984-1993

TPR's	Primary	Secondary
1974	66.2	27.6
1984	46.4	29.2
1988	39.5	26.3
1993	35.6	21.3
CPR's	Primary	Secondary
1977	60.8*	
1986	49.7	25.9
1990	47.9	29.5
1993	44.1	29.8

* This is the CPR at all schools, not just primary. It includes all schools in the Bop schools. (AR, 1977:14)

¹⁰ This is very similar to the 1990 spread in Qwaqwa.

BOP GENDER PROPORTIONS 1977,1991



7 Gender Differentials

As in other homelands, boys predominate in the first three years of schooling (up to st1.), and girls from the fourth year (from st.2 onwards)¹³. See Figure 4 over the page. The predominance of girls in middle and high schools is most marked in the Ganyesa, Kudumane and Lehurutshe circuits, while it is least so in those circuits north of Pretoria, Jericho, Garankuwa, Mabopane and Moretele. (AR,1992,1990)

¹³ Note that in the whole African continent there are only three education systems where girls predominate; these are South Africa's Black education systems, Botswana, and Lesotho.

What is interesting about the Bophuthatswana pattern is that boys predominate in st.9-10 in the years 1974-77. In this year, boys predominate in Standards 9 and 10 (or Forms IV & V as they were then known)

8 Winterveld/Mabopane Circuit

The presence of non-Tswana speakers in Bophuthatswana has brought the authoritarian elements of the Bophuthatswana government to the fore in two areas, Thaba 'Nchu and Winterveld. In Thaba 'Nchu this resulted in the resettlement of Sotho speakers to what is now known as Botshabelo (50 km. east of Bloemfontein) in the early 1980's. The conflict with non-Tswana speakers in Winterveld (north of Pretoria) has been a longstanding one, originating with Bophuthatswana's independence in 1977, and still unresolved. In both cases, education has been used to pressure people into compliance. It is, however, only in the Winterveld case that this aspect has been adequately documented.

Within the Bophuthatswana education system, Winterveld has a very particular significance. (Winterveld comprises the southern section of the Odi Region of Bophuthatswana situated just north of Pretoria.) First, it concentrates a considerable proportion of the Bophuthatswana population, and, if one is to believe most demographic projections, it will continue to do so. Second, the majority of the population in this area is not Tswana, which for the Bophuthatswana government has been a problem for a long time. In order to understand the situation, we need to put it into an historical context.

The Odi region of which Winterveld forms part, has exercised a powerful attraction for people since the 1940's. At that time Africans could acquire freehold title to land, something not permitted under the apartheid laws operative in the Pretoria townships. More important, people could move to within commuting distance of the major employment centres without contravening the Pass Laws. These employment centres were not only in Pretoria itself, but also in industrial decentralisation areas to the north of it, namely Garankuwa, and Babalegi, which gathered considerable momentum during the 1960's and 1970's.

To these workseekers were added during the 1970's people removed from the townships around Pretoria (Lady Selbourne, Eastwood), and those retrenched from White farms. In the 1980-5 period the commercial farm population in South Africa decreased by one-third. With severe drought in the early 1990's in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, it is likely that this movement has continued. In the late 1970's and mid-1980's unrest in the schools caused people to move there in search of peaceful schooling for their children. And finally during the 1980's there was an influx of immigrants from Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

These are all factors which pulled people into the region. During

the 1980's, however, an important negative factor has entered the equation, Bophuthatswana independence. Right from the time of its formal independence in 1977, Bophuthatswana has been concerned about the squatter conditions in the area, and the fact that most of them were not Tswana's. Prior to independence there was already an agreement with the SA government that the development of the area would not be handled by the Bophuthatswana government. Subsequent to that there has been continuing conflict between Winterveld residents and the Bophuthatswana government. In 1984, one of Mangope's ministers, David Mokale, speaks of Bophuthatswana being "infested with the cancer of squatters....squatters must go and we must not be apologetic about this matter". A special 'Squatter Squad' is created in the Department of Law and Order "...to purge the squatter-infested areas". (Graaff, 1985) Conflict between Winterveld residents and Bophuthatswana reaches a peak in March 1986 when police fire on a mass meeting, killing 11 people. Three months later the police officer commanding the operation, Col AM Molope, is shot dead in his house. (Jeffrey, 1993:59) Another wave of protest in this region followed the release of Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC by the South African government. This led to the declaration of a state of emergency by the Bophuthatswana government in March 1990. (Jeffrey, 1993:82) By 1992 matters had cooled down somewhat and a Winterveld Development Association (WDA) has been constituted with representation from the Development Bank, the Bophuthatswana government, and local communities. (Jeffrey, 1993:39)

One of the key aspects of this conflict has been the Bophuthatswana government's refusal to allow non-Tswana languages as medium of instruction in the schools. This has led to a number of important educational consequences. First, communities have set up private schools to accommodate their language preferences - mostly Zulu, English and Shangaan.¹² In 1992 there were 14 of these schools with a total of 5,500 children. (In the Winterveld section of the Mabopane circuit, there are approx. 20,000 children in official government schools.) In short, one-fifth of all school children in the area are in private schools. (ECT, 1992)

But these schools are generally of poor quality, and mostly at the primary level. Their facilities are inadequate, their teachers are less qualified, their TPR's and CPR's much higher than the Bophuthatswana schools. Nor are their pupils permitted into official government schools since they have, as unregistered

¹² The other possibility is that there was a general shortage of schools, and that people set up private schools as a response to this rather than specifically to the language issue. (Jacklin - pers. comm.)

schools, not written the required exams.

Second, parents either move or send their children to schools in, Soshanguve. (This is the eastern section of the town originally called Mabopane, subsequently bisected by the Bophuthatswana border in order to accommodate non-Tswana residents.) In 1992 6,500 pupils from Winterveld were attending school here. Soshanguve, itself, has grown at breakneck speed over the last five years, from 68,378 in 1985 to 126,970 in 1991. This is a compound growth rate of 11% per annum!!

Third, parents are sending their children to schools in Mabopane or Pretoria outside of Bophuthatswana. In 1992 there were 6,500 children in this category.

Fourth, almost one-third (31%) of all children from the area are not attending school at all.

In short, alongside the 20,000 children attending official government schools in Winterveld, another 18,500 are outside of the system, either in private schools, or in Soshanguve, Mabopane or Pretoria; and a further 15,000 are not at school at all. (ECT, 1992) (See Table 6 below.)

Table 6: Distribution of Children in Schools around Winterveld

1992	Enrolments	Percent
Government Schools	20,969	38
Private Schools	5,500	10
Soshanguve	6,538	12
Pretoria/Mabopane	6,500	12
Out of school	15,179	29
TOTAL	54,686	100

Quite evidently the problems related to the Winterveld will not go away easily. Many of the forces pulling people into the region remain, and there is a good chance that the forces pushing them away from it, namely the intransigence of the Bophuthatswana government, could disappear. In 1985 already 50% of the

Bophuthatswana population lived in the Odi, Moretele and Bafokeng areas fringing on the Pretoria metropolitan area. By one calculation, this population is expected to more than double, from 960,000 people in 1985 to 1.9 million in 2000. This will make up 57% of the Bophuthatswana population. (Urban Foundation, nd.)

9 Financing

The financing of homeland education raises a number of interesting general questions: where does the money come from? what are the strings attached to external funds? how does per capita expenditure compare with that in other homelands and the DET, also how fast has it grown? More specifically, how are rural areas financed?

9.1 Sources of Finance

Bophuthatswana's claim to financial independence from Pretoria turns on the status of two budgetary components paid into the homeland budget by Pretoria. The first is payments from the SA Customs Union, which covers tariffs on foreign goods entering SA destined for Bophuthatswana. The other comprises tax payments levied by Pretoria on Bophuthatswana citizens resident outside the homeland. Both of these are major budgetary items paid by Pretoria to Bophuthatswana. By a curious twist of logic, the Bop government claims that these payments belong to it by right, and cannot be withheld, even though both are premised on first recognizing Bop's status as an 'independent' nation. Having once acknowledged its equivalence in status to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, all members of the SA Customs Union, the argument naturally holds. Remove this equivalence and it collapses. (cf. Daphe & de Clercq, 1992)

Within this general framework, the major sources of finance for homeland education are the following:

- (i) the Development Bank
- (ii) Department of Foreign Affairs
- (iii) the IDT
- (iv) private sector donations
- (v) homeland treasury
- (vi) other government departments
- (vii) school fees, urban and rural
- (viii) local sources.

The first three sources of funding mentioned above are significant in other homelands. But they are, interestingly, of minor importance in Bophuthatswana, largely because the Mangope

government has jealously guarded its independence from external sources. The fourth item appears only in the context of PEUP and ECE and then in quite small amounts. These four items will not be discussed in any depth here.

9.1.1 Department of Education Treasury

Table VI: Budget Expenditure 1979-1993

	1979/0	1985/6	1986/7	1987/8	1992/3	1993/4
Public Works		20m	4.1m	17.25m	?	?
Education	28.5m	155.6m	185m	218.6m	868m	927m
Total Budget	175m	862.5m	958,9m	1.1nb	4.5bn	4.7bn
Ed as % of Total(*)	16.3	20.4	19.7	21.4	19.3	19.7
Per cap Expend.		293	347	375	1452	

*Includes the amount from Public Works and includes the amount for UNED where these are known. Where unknown they would tend to balance each other out.

Source: Bophuthatswana Government, Finance, Estimates of Expenditure.

Three comments on Table **

(a) In the 1980's Bophuthatswana's education budget grew at a gradual pace, although increasing a little as a percentage of the total budget. From 1990, the education budget has increased dramatically, as has the total budget. Once again education as a percentage of the total remained fairly constant at or just below 20%.

(b) Is this sufficient? The NEC Report of 1985/6 was very concerned about a 'chronic shortage of funds' for education, on the grounds that 18,6% of the total budget (as it was in 1986) did not match either the percentages spent on education in other African countries, nor the 25% recommended by the Lekhela Commission.

(c) In 1992, Bophuthatswana per cap expenditure figures were higher than any other homeland, as well as the DET.

9.1.2 Other Departments

Sports Aid is the name of a fund drawn from the tax on gambling. This brings in about R100 million each year, and various government departments can apply for funding from it. Over the last 5 years Education has drawn R12 million each year in order to build double story high schools. These cost R4 million each, and three of them have been built each year for the last 5 years. These are the only buildings which are 100% government funded.

The Department of Public Works builds Education's urban schools (and some of its rural schools). This department also contributes a certain amount each year to the cost of school buildings. This is reflected in the budget of this department rather than that of Education. The amount varies quite considerably from year to year.

Agricultural training at agricultural schools and colleges falls under the Department of Agriculture. Manpower training falls under the Department of Manpower.

9.1.3 School Fees

Contrary to common belief, urban parents do pay for school buildings via a levy on their property rates and taxes. They all pay 35c in the rand which goes for school buildings. But the item in the Estimate of Expenditure (1993/4), Towns: Rents, Rates, etc. only generates R1 million in revenue in the 1992 budget. (The only buildings which are not part funded by fees are the double-storey high schools, teacher training colleges and special schools (for handicapped children)).

In rural areas things work differently. Here parents collect money, get a school built under departmental supervision, and then apply for government subsidy @ R4,000 per classroom. Considering that classrooms cost in the region of R30,000-40,000, this is a minimal subsidy, even taking into consideration that local builders might be able to erect a structure for something less than R30,000. Schools can also apply for funding for furniture and equipment. Each year the budget reflects an amount for: building subsidies (R3.5 million in 1992), furniture R2 million in 1992), equipment (R1.5 million) and Books (R6.6 million). It is not clear how many rural schools there are.

The way the subsidy is paid has, for a long time, been a problem. It entailed long delays, and was usually paid into the tribal authority's treasury. From here it was subject to considerable misappropriation by headmen and chiefs. One part of this system has been removed in Bophuthatswana, since this subsidy is not paid to

the local headman or chief as in the past, but to the local magistrate. This is clearly an improvement on an old and abused system, but it is a system which unfairly disadvantages poorer rural people.

The system of financing rural school buildings was the subject of a government commission in 1984, the Mokotime Commission. This Commission reported on a number of further problems. There was, said the Commission, a backlog of 3,400 classrooms, and many rural school buildings were dilapidated and badly sited. Many people felt that the state should be responsible for schoolbuilding costs, and not the community. Members of the community simply did not trust chiefs to handle the money paid to them. It was also difficult for community leaders to collect money since migrants were often not available, and people evaded payment. Finally, the subsidy did not cover school offices and ablution blocks. Most important, however, was the inadequacy of the available funding. There was just not enough money being budgeted. In 1983/4 this amount was R2.8 million. It is a simple calculation to show that, at R10,000 per classroom, this amount was quite inadequate to deal with the classroom backlog. [3,400 classrooms at this price, subsidized on a R-R basis, would cost the state R17 million]

In 1992 one also finds an item for expenditure on Transport Subsidy for the amount of R37 million. Out of this same budget R12,000 is paid as subsidy for the erection of Early Learning Centres. Once again, for an Early Learning Centre of three classrooms, this is a minimal amount.

9.1.4 Local Sources

There are, it seems, circuits which generate their own finances for school building. I suspect this refers mainly to the Bafokeng circuit where the Chiefs Treasury benefits from very substantial payments in terms of mining rights (platinum). This amount runs into many millions every year.

10 Rural Areas

There are a number of important ways in which rural areas and rural schools are disadvantaged in the homeland context. The first, and most obvious of these I have already broached, namely, the differential financing of rural schools. This has further ramifications which I shall discuss in a moment. There are, however, two further sets of factors which, though not directly educational, have key importance for what happens in rural schools. One of these is the various aspects of the apartheid policy, more specifically, the population resettlement programme, the position

of chiefs, the urban- and capital-intensive bias in development programmes, and the political legitimacy of homeland leaders. The other set of non-educational factors are those which derive from rural poverty. Rural households, particularly those headed by women, cannot afford the costs of schooling. Children from poor households do not do well at school tasks. Teachers in isolated rural schools tend to be lonely and unmotivated. And rural households are frequently oriented towards urban areas for income, employment and for consumables.

10.1 Let us consider the position of tribal authorities. Prior to the Bantu Education of 1953, most African education was missionary education. But, for Dr Verwoerd, missionary education was too thinly spread and it was ideologically suspect. One of the most significant effects of the Bantu Education Act was to bring all African education under state control. For homeland rural areas, this meant placing schools under the authority of chiefs and headmen via the Black Authorities Act of 1951. [The provisions of this act are by and large repeated in Bophuthatswana's Traditional Authorities Act of 1978. (Jeppe, 1992)] By that act, not only did traditional authorities become paid state functionaries, but there was considerable political manipulation in the appointment of these chiefs. In short, the control which chiefs exercised over schools was itself significantly influenced by Pretoria. The appointment and dismissal of chiefs in Bophuthatswana at present falls to the President. (Jeppe, 1992; Paterson) This power Mangope has exercised with some energy, particularly following the failed military coup in 1987. (Lawrence, 1993)

The Black Authorities Act of 1951, however, did more than undercut the power of chiefs politically. It also undermined it administratively and financially. For a start, chiefs' administrative functions were substantially curtailed. The performance of their remaining administrative functions was made extremely difficult since they were provided with neither the funds nor the personnel to carry them out. Nor did chiefs necessarily have the required skills and education. Some chiefs are themselves migrants, and only present in the village over weekends. (Lawrence, 1993) Over time, the institution has been degraded and the individuals who man them have become often, corrupt, lazy and inefficient. (Wiechers)

Following on the Wiechers Commission investigation into tribal authorities in Bophuthatswana two measures were implemented which have the potential for changing matters as far as rural schools are concerned. In 1990, the Governor's Act of Bophuthatswana, created a system of second-tier regional government. This entailed the appointment of a district Governor in each of the 12 districts of

Bophuthatswana. One of the functions of the district Governor is to keep a close watch on the work of traditional authorities. (Jeppe, 1992a) It is not at present clear how well this system has worked. The other change implemented was the exclusion of chiefs from financing in rural schools. Government subsidies are no longer paid to schools via the chief, but via the local magistrate. (Lekubu)

Given the range of problems encountered, it is small wonder that the schools under the charge of chiefs and headmen have likewise suffered. Traditional authorities have had neither the political clout, nor the administrative capacity, nor the will to mobilise communities in taking such initiative as is required of rural people to launch schools. Some have, indeed, gone so far as to oppose community initiatives in schoolbuilding. There is a sense in which community education is in direct conflict with the notion of tribal authority. (Lawrence, 1993)

Does this constitute a clearcut case for the complete removal of rural schools from any TA control? If not the abolition of the institution of chieftainship? Lawrence argues strongly against the blanket dismissal of TA's, and by implication, their influence on schools. First, there are strong grounds for arguing that the corruption of the institution in rural areas is due to structural circumstances rather than anything inherent in the institution. This indicates that a change in circumstance can produce a very different kind of institution. The adaptation and survival of TA's in urban contexts is a case in point.

Second, it is extremely dangerous to generalize about chieftaincy. A significant number of chiefs have over many decades been at the forefront of opposition to apartheid. The formation of CONTRALESA is only the modern manifestation of an older process. There is ample evidence of popular energetic and politically progressive chiefs who have done a great deal for the spread of schooling in their areas.

Third, and most crucially, chiefs do still enjoy considerable legitimacy in some rural areas. It is a nice democratic irony that given the choice, some rural people would probably retain this (by definition) undemocratic institution. While lessons from elsewhere in Africa are difficult to transfer to South Africa, there are cases (Zimbabwe, Mozambique) where attempts to do away with chieftainship have encountered substantial resistance. (Lawrence, 1993)

10.2 We have already discussed the details of financing school buildings in rural areas. The basis of this system is that school building relies on community initiative. It is not the result of a

planned grid of schools aimed at covering an area comprehensively. Schools may pop up in quite random ways. And what determines this randomness is the presence of community leaders who have the drive and the influence to get things going. The result is that, in Bophuthatswana, some rural areas have benefitted from chiefs, inspectors, school principals, or business people who have been able to make things happen. Other areas have remained stagnant. This came out clearly in studies done in Lehurutshe, Taung and Ganyesa regions. Some rural communities are far better resourced than others. (Graaff & Lawrence, 1986; de Clercq) The DET, which is responsible for rural schools in White farming areas, has attempted to ensure that no rural child has to walk more than 5 km to get to a school. The Bophuthatswana Department of Education does not carry out such spatial planning exercises.¹³

10.3 The second factor directly related to apartheid policies concerns the population resettlement programme. The Surplus People's Project calculated that about 3.5 million people were moved into homelands during the 1960's and 1970's. It is not necessary for us to go into the detail of these removals. From the point of view of rural education, it meant that dozens of communities were uprooted to places where educational facilities were inadequate, where contacts between teachers and children and parents had to be built up again, where schools lost contact with families and who was or was not sending children to school. The movement of people from place to place, for whatever reason, is always a disruptive process for education. It is especially so where the numbers are so great and the conditions so traumatic.

Resettlement programmes were particularly widespread in the Western Transvaal bordering on Bophuthatswana. The SPP called this area one of the most resettled in the whole country. We should expect the Kudumane circuit to show the effects of this.

10.4 Development expenditure within homelands is, in most cases, concentrated on urban areas, in general, and capitals, in particular. Homeland capitals, like Mmabatho or Umtata, concentrate an inordinate proportion of the investment in development projects. (de Clercq & Daphne, 1992) In educational terms, that means that universities, training centres, technical colleges, teacher training colleges, high schools, private schools and 'international' schools are disproportionately located in the capital. People in Bophuthatswana say "Independence has been for

¹³ Interviews Lukubu, Holderness.

the urban areas."

The International School has been the subject of particular critique, "built at a cost of some R60m and funded annually at a rate of R6m to R11m to defray running costs. By contrast, schools in other parts of Bophuthatswana 'do not have roofs'." (Jeffrey, 1993:27) This is a high school teaching O and A Level Cambridge Exams. Built ostensibly to accommodate the children of 'expatriates', in 1992 the school planned to have 480 students and 49 full-time teachers. About three-quarters of the students are boarders. Bursaries are available for children who are citizens of Bophuthatswana. (Annual Report, 1991:60)

This concentration is not something which should surprise us. Urban areas in most countries of the world concentrate the wealthy, the powerful and the vocal. But within the political context of South African homelands this imbalance gains a particular dimension by the concentration of political power in very few hands. As a rule, homeland politics is dominated by individuals who are surrounded by a small clique of confidants. Often these are the leader's relatives. It is rare that elections bring about any change in the incumbents of state institutions. In these circumstances, the power which rural representatives can muster is frequently minimal. Rural people stand at the back of the queue when the cake is divided.

10.5 The concentration on urban areas and the neglect of rural areas in the homelands is not just a problem of differential political power. It is also a matter of how development is conceptualized. Of the various theories of development current during the 1970's, modernisation theories tended to concentrate on the conditions for achieving economic growth. Radical theories, by contrast, aimed to maximize social development and the more equal distribution of resources throughout the population.

In many homelands, leaders and their advisers worked with an implicit modernisation theory of the way development operates. In this view, the most promising sectors of the economy and the country are favoured with the expectation that a measure of inequality would follow. Over time, it was expected that the benefits accruing to the wealthier sections of the population would 'trickle down' inevitably to the poor. They would benefit eventually, but in an indirect fashion and somewhat belatedly. An important consequence of this conception is a focus on urban, industrial development. (de Clercq, 1984)

Where rural development was undertaken, it was capital-intensive, highly technical and it benefitted very small numbers of the rural people. There are frequent examples of homeland irrigation projects

undertaken at enormous cost, with highly trained managerial personnel. Their eventual benefit, even to the small number of farmers who did participate, was often minimal. Within this conception, investment in rural schools did not enjoy a high priority. (Fisher, 1988, Roodt)

Since that time, as a result of influence from the World Bank, the Development Bank, and the successes of Zimbabwean programmes, rural development has been much more directed towards developing the viability of small commercial farmers via SFS (Small Farmer Support) Programmes. This entails the facilitation of financial loans, technical advice, transport, fertilizers and seeds to peasant farmers. The idea is to create farmers who can make a living from the land which compares with urban incomes.

There are, however, some serious problems with this way of thinking about rural development, argues Gavin Williams. For, particularly in less fertile areas, this is not what people want to do with land. For substantial numbers of people rural land does not mean agricultural production. On average, agriculture provides only about one-tenth of village income. The largest proportion of income is derived from pensions and remittances. People retain, and maintain their rights to rural land by way of security, and for community membership (which itself an important survival resource). It is usually one arm of a multifaceted household survival strategy which spans urban areas, commercial farming areas and bantustan rural areas. (Francis & Williams, 1993)

This has important implications for the way we think about rural schools. In an important sense rural schools are not really rural. Their pupils are not destined to stay in rural areas. Nor, indeed, will they spend much of their time in rural areas. And, even if they do stay for any length of time, what they do in rural areas will not be particularly agricultural. The inclusion of 'appropriately rural' curricula in schools must be viewed with some scepticism. Such curricula will be relevant and useful only in adult education for quite limited numbers of people.

[More to come here on the position of rural teachers, and the influence of poverty on parental ability to pay fees, their evaluation of the economic value of education, opportunity costs of schooling which feed straight into gender differentials in school enrolments.]

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