

FINAL REPORT ON HOMELAND EDUCATION

BY
HEATHER JACKLIN
AND
JOHANN GRAAFF

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 Further, though unpublished, a number of these reports have been cited.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
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.

Page 23 of the copy of *Final report* 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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by Heather Jacklin (Education, UCT) & Johann Graaff
(Sociology UCT) December 1994

1 Introduction¹

This is the culminating report of a project on bantustan education which started with the NEPI report in 1992. Since then it has produced reports on education in each of the ten (now former) bantustans¹. A pertinent focus of all these reports has been the rural side of these education systems. In this the final report, we extract the main policy implications from this material. Within this broad agenda, we aim to do a number of things.

The first is a critique of some recent policy documents on rural education: the ANC's Policy on Farmworkers (1993), the ANC's Policy Framework for Education and Training (1994), and the recent government Draft White Paper on Education and Training (September 1994). Ironically and sadly, it is only the first of these which even approximates a viable policy for rural education.

The second section asks a political question: whether it is appropriate to be focussing on bantustans precisely at a time when, as discredited, corrupt and bankrupt apartheid institutions, they are busy disappearing. Here we argue that the discrimination against rural areas and rural schools will not be removed by abolishing apartheid, however thoroughly. Here we trace a number of the mechanisms which, quite independently of apartheid and bantu education, are likely to prolong the disadvantages of rural status. At the centre of all of these is the question of power.

In the third section, we examine the most important policy proposals which flow from such a power-centred analysis. These focus on the reconceptualisation of governance, the use of community learning centres, and the introduction of a Rural Coordination Committee.

In the final section we consider this report against the background of some of the existing research on bantustan education, in general, and rural education, in particular. Much of that research, emanating from institutions like RIEP, the Education Foundation, the Development Bank and the DET is strongly statistical. As such, it presents education torn from its social, economic and political context. This report, and its

¹ We wish to thank the IDT, the HSRC, and the University of Cape Town URC for funding this project.

² cf. Graaff. 1993, 1993a, 1994, 1994; Jacklin 1993a, 1993b, 1993c, 1994, 1994a, 1994b.

various sub-reports, integrates these perspectives with the statistical while putting various bantustans in comparison with each other. This section also examines the viability of any research which is based on questionable data-gathering processes. In the light of the weakness of homeland education statistics, we argue for the checking of this material against non-statistical and non-educational information, and for the upgrading of information-gathering mechanisms.

The term 'rural areas' can have many meanings. In this paper the phrase 'schools in rural areas' is used to refer to schools outside proclaimed towns. This definition intentionally includes the dense settlements in the former bantustans because schools in these areas have more in common with schools in more remote, less densely populated areas than with schools in proclaimed towns. The education departments of the former bantustans administered and financed schools in and outside the proclaimed towns differently. This has paralleled a wider spatial hierarchy in which the proclaimed towns have tended to be the centres of administrative power and infrastructural resources while the dense settlements, and rural areas, were starved of infrastructural resources and lacked political clout.

The emphasis here is mainly on schooling though, in the section which makes policy proposals, this is seen in the context of an integrated approach to education and training. While there are references to farm schools, the main concern is with schools in rural areas in the former bantustans.

From a rural perspective, we are not yet in an 'after policy' stage: the development of policies for rural areas has not been taken seriously within any of the major recent progressive policy initiatives. This is true of the ANC's Yellow Book (ANC 1994), the IPET document (CEPD 1994) and the recent White Paper (NDE 1994), all of which will be discussed below.

Underlying this neglect is a theoretical-strategic ambivalence within progressive policy debates and a political ambivalence within progressive policy research institutions such as the CEPD.

* The theoretical-strategic ambivalence flows from division between those who question the need for separate policies for education and training in rural areas and those who support separate policies. Neither position has been supported by a developed, coherent theoretical rationale. The opposition to separate policies for rural areas is sometimes based on a fear that separate policies would necessarily define 'rural' as a separate (and inevitably unequal) sector (Ardington 1993).

* The political ambivalence results from a division between those who, on the one hand, have a principled commitment to equity and redress, on the one hand, and those who see the weakness of rural claims when not backed by a strong political lobby, on the other. Rural calls for redress must compete with calls from other groupings for resources and more is likely to

go to the more organised and vocal urban based groupings.

Both these levels of ambivalence ultimately reflect the marginalisation of rural concerns within political and economic relations generally, and specifically within institutions which produce education and training policy research and theory. A central theme of this paper is that this marginalisation within policy discourse is a product of wider spatial relations of power - new policies are likely to reshape rather than remove spatial inequities in education and training.

Theoretically, we may express this position as follows. In Lefebvre's terms, 'social space is socially produced'. Since social space is a social product, we must focus on this process of production (1991: 30-46). The spatial organisation of social institutions and the distribution of resources flow from, and also reproduce, spatial relations of power. It follows that relations of power take spatial as well as other (class, race and gender) forms.

Once we understand spatial inequalities in this way we turn down paths of logic which are familiar in debates about gender, class and race inequalities: it is incorrect to understand rural-urban inequalities in education only in terms of different levels of resources (as the White Paper does). The unequal distribution of material resources is perpetuated by institutionalised policies and practices. These are more responsive to powerful urban interests than to rural interests.

It follows that real changes in policy must be achieved at the political level as well as at the academic and policy production levels. The new government has promised to be more receptive to the needs of those who live in rural areas, but this promise will only be realised at the insistence of communities in rural areas. Within the sphere of policy research and theory, rural concerns must be more clearly understood and more forcefully represented. This paper aims to contribute to this process.

2 The Policy Documents

This section briefly considers the treatment of rural concerns in four recent policy documents. Of the four, the first and oldest came closest to offering substantive policy options. Ironically, the context for these proposals was not an education and training document. It was an ANC policy for farmworkers which considered education and training as one set of factors which influenced the lives of farmworkers. As a result it was more sensitive to the spatial context of education.

2.1 ANC Policy on Farmworkers

The 1993 ANC document 'A Policy on Farmworkers' is perhaps the only set of proposals which does take the aim of providing

integrated education and training in farm areas seriously. It is informed by a clear understanding of needs and conditions on farms. It demands of policy that it

takes into account the special conditions applying in rural areas and the educational discrimination experienced there in the past.

At the same time it argues that policy intervention should be aimed primarily at making (state-aided) farm schools **less different** from other (state) schools. This document, then, comes closer than any subsequent document to grappling with the need to strive for more equal outcomes while at the same time taking into account different conditions and special needs.

Unfortunately this set of policy proposals does not grapple with the need to restructure governance so that those who live and learn in rural areas have a stronger voice in policy making at every level. It sees education as a commodity which must be delivered and governance as administration and financing. It does not consider the notion that farm communities are stakeholders in their own education and training or that policymakers are unlikely to respond to the needs and interests of farm worker communities unless their voice is heard in governance structures, **not only at the institutional level**¹. The paper makes only passing reference to institutional governance which 'shall be in the hands of the state, together with bodies of parents, teachers, students and the wider community'. It takes no account of the special conditions of power in rural areas and how these may impact on governance. It proposes a national forum but sees this only as a temporary body which will oversee the transfer of state-aided farm schools to state ownership.

Since these proposals are part of a policy on farm workers they are, of course, limited to farm schools. No comparable document exists for schools in the former bantustans.

2.2 The ANC Yellow Book

The section on 'the special case of rural and farm schools' in the ANC Policy Framework for Education and Training (1994) achieves considerably less than the Policy on Farmworkers. It does little more than assert the principles of state responsibility for provision and to redress. There are a few specific but disjointed and undeveloped proposals which gesture towards state control of land and community learning centres.

2.3 The White Paper

¹ The term, institutional level, refers to structures like PTA's or PTSA's which attached to a particular school. When a governance structure brings together a set of nearby schools, we refer to the local level of governance.

The White Paper does attempt to address rural issues but manages only to reveal the ignorance of its scribes regarding conditions and issues in rural areas. It does no more than mention the key issue of the future status of state-aided community and farm schools .

Its information about schools in rural areas is incorrect. For example, the proportion of rural schools that are community schools is not 87%, as in the White Paper since most of these schools have been formally declared state schools. [I just don't understand this next section.] The embarrassing IPET statement that only 3% of DET students are in farm schools is repeated in the White Paper; the true figure is around 18%. It does not mention the 15% or so of the enrolment in former HoR state aided (mostly farm) schools .

Most important, perhaps, is the fact that it does not consider some ominous implications of new policies for rural areas . There are examples here. The White Paper proposes distance education for teachers and secondary/further education students as well as the removal of over age students into different 'cheaper' types of provision. There is a real danger that these cheaper forms of provision will be introduced mainly in rural areas where existing provision is most inadequate, and that they will become a permanent substitute for mainstream provision, a cheaper second class rural track.

Secondly, the White Paper glibly refers to 'funding partners' for ECD and ABET. These partners - employers and NGO's for example - have tended to be very thin on the ground in rural areas.

Taken as a whole, The White Paper policies for rural areas suggest a greater concern with access than with quality.

3 Policy Issues in Context

This section discusses three aspects of schooling in rural areas that need to be addressed in policy. These are bureaucracies, teachers, and gender. The discussions which follow are condensations from work done in the various bantustans. This list could be substantially expanded, and will no doubt at a later stage.

3.1 The Bureaucracies

As a general rule, education in the former bantustans has been severely underresourced. But, even resources that were available were often inefficiently used or wasted as numerous 'corruption reports' have shown. In the Transkei, for example, money allocated for the building of schools has repeatedly been re-absorbed into central government coffers at the end of successive financial years due to inefficient financial procedures and the inability to use funds quickly. In other cases, the distribution

of funds and other resources were frequently guided by political considerations rather than administrative goals. The authority of officials was limited by their subordination to the whims of bantustan politicians and the prescriptions of various agents of the central government, like the Department of Foreign Affairs, the DBSA and the DET. The selection and promotion of officials was frequently based on patronage rather than competence. In short, the work of education departments has often been undermined by the abuse of political power, a lack of technical competence and capacity and financial constraints.

Within this broader pattern there were important variations and exceptions. There were a number of attempts to bring new vision and energy to bantustan education departments and there have been some success stories. These efforts have, however, battled to overcome the cumulative effects of inadequate resources, illegitimate administrations and the political manipulation of finances by central government.

The capacity of the former bantustans to plan and administer the delivery of education and training in rural areas has been undermined in a number of ways.

Firstly, the state-aided community mode of financing meant that communities and traditional authorities had to initiate their own school building activities. As a result education departments had limited influence over where and when schools or extra classrooms would be built, what type of schools these would be, what size they should be or whether they should be primary or secondary schools.

Secondly, proper educational planning was been undermined by inadequate administrative capacity. this has been particularly severe in three areas: middle management, technical support, and information systems. (The University of OFS's RIEP has often intervened here to shore up information processing and forward planning.)

Thirdly, within the old community school financing mode, education departments had **very little influence over the disbursement of subsidy funds**. For a long time, traditional authorities (TA's) were responsible for the allocation of land, the siting of the school, the collection and control of community funds and the procedures for claiming subsidies. This created the opportunity for some TA's to use schools to serve their own political ends. For this reason, quite often, the administration of school subsidy funds was made the responsibility of the local magistrate.

In some cases school subsidies were controlled by the Chief Minister's office and not by the education departments. Thus the allocation of subsidy finances for schools (and sometimes also teacher's colleges) could be, and were, used by chief ministers

to reward or punish particular TA's.

Fourthly, education departments could not determine the distribution of different levels of schools. Communities would generally fund primary schools first and could not afford to build secondary schools. State funds were more frequently used to add classrooms to existing schools than to start new schools, partly because this required smaller allocations. Although it was state policy in the 1960's and 1970's to concentrate secondary schools in bantustans, this was limited to urban areas. Classroom pupil ratio's (CPR's) are higher in secondary schools than in primary schools in the Ciskei and Lebowa. In the Transkei CPR's are considerably lower in the secondary schools, but the overall shape of the enrolment pyramid is also much narrower at the higher level. This suggests low rates of access rather than more adequate quantity of facilities.

The provision of school facilities takes different forms in different bantustans. This has produced, in its turn, different forms of discrimination against rural areas.

We have only to look as far as pupil:classroom ratio's to see that the education and training system has failed dismally to provide facilities in the former bantustans. In Kangwane, for example, the primary PCR is 1:66 while the secondary PCR is 1:61. Figures for Transkei, Lebowa and Gazankulu are not much better. But behind these averages lie two sets of distinctions which tell of the unequal spatial distribution of facilities within the former bantustans.

Firstly, there is a distinction between classrooms defined as permanent and those that are defined as temporary. These terms have different meanings in different regions but they generally provide some indication of acceptability. The community school system of financing has resulted in a predominance of permanent classrooms in the proclaimed towns and a predominance of temporary classrooms outside the proclaimed towns. In the Transkei, for example, the 1992 primary PCR was 1:69 if all teaching spaces including 'every bus, rondawel and church hall' were counted. If only permanent classrooms (defined here as classrooms of an acceptable quality) were counted, however, the primary PCR was 1:191 (TDE 1992)

Secondly, the PCR's are much higher in some circuits - generally the more rural circuits where there are fewer proclaimed towns - than in others. In Lebowa, for example, the primary PCR was 1:57 in 1992. Across different circuits, however, primary PCR's varied from 1:35 to 1:83. (LDE 1992)

The unacceptably low levels and uneven distribution of facilities must be explained in terms of the community school mode of school financing. Prior to 1990, the South African government defined the provision of school facilities as an internal bantustan

responsibility. No central funds were initially provided for this purpose. [I AM NOT SURE THAT IS RIGHT] Within the bantustans, the government financed schools in the proclaimed towns but relegated this responsibility to communities and traditional authorities outside the towns. Initially community funds were matched by the government on a R1 for R1 basis.

Each bantustan education department responded to demands for state provision in different ways. Generally the effect was to reshape spatially unequal provision. In the Ciskei, the Transkei, Qwaqwa, Venda and Kangwane the category of community schools was formally abandoned in response to communities demands and new DET policy. In practice, however, the abandonment of the category of community schools sometimes significantly reduced funds to rural schools.

In Gazankulu a variation of the R1 for R1 system was retained and supplemented by increased provision of facilities by the state. Lebowa attempted to increase access to state financing of facilities but borrowed from the DET the notion that lower standards and cost norms could be applied to facilities in rural areas (Jacklin 1992). These shifts were supported by injections of once off extra-budgetary 'backlog funds' from the central government to most bantustans around 1990 (derived mainly from the sale of oil reserves).

During the late eighties and early nineties the central government began shifting the responsibility for school facilities in disadvantaged areas to non-state institutions like NGO's and parastatals. . Not only the IDT but also regional organisations such as the Capricorn Trust in Gazankulu and the Transkei Alternative Technology Unit in the Transkei were involved in school building. These organisations undoubtedly helped to provide additional facilities but at the same time they weakened the claim of communities to state provision.

In each of the former bantustans the range of school financing and governance models was not limited to community and state schools. There was also in some places a small number of relatively elite schools, usually located in the capital, occasionally in other towns, but seldom outside the towns.

Earlier versions of these schools were inherited from the old Department of Bantu Education, staffed predominantly by seconded white teachers and equipped with state funded equipment. At times this even included vehicles. More recent versions of 'elite' schools were established to provide the kind of curriculum which was seen to be desirable but which departments could not afford to provide throughout the system. Often these schools prioritised mathematics and science. There were also small numbers of well resourced private schools, farm schools. In some instances, there were highly resourced and luxuriously appointed 'international' schools to attract top advisers and skilled

personnel to the area. Bophuthatswana's version of this cost R_x p.a. to build, and R_y million p.a. to run.

The distribution of various types of schools has emerged from competition for resources and entitlement to state provision..... between rural and urban communities. This competition has been mediated by those who have been able to use political or bureaucratic power to influence policies, such as politicians (including traditional authorities), bureaucrats and civics. In the past these struggles occurred in the wider context of relations between former bantustans and a central government, both of which sought to redefine the responsibility for financing facilities on their own terms. The new political dispensation brings new boundaries, new spatial shapes for new political and economic relations and a new set of conditions in which these struggles will be carried forward.

3.2 The Teachers

Figures supplied by the DBSA assure us that teacher pupil ratio's (TPR's) in most former bantustans have been acceptable (See for example DBSA 1994a). These ratio's do not distinguish between qualified teachers (assumed here to mean teachers with an M+3 qualification), unqualified teachers and underqualified teachers. They also tell us nothing of the mismatch between types of teachers (in terms of the level or subject they are qualified to teach) and the posts to which teachers are actually appointed. And they do not indicate the huge differences between PTR's in different schools and circuits and at different levels in the system.

If we disaggregate the PTR's in terms of qualifications, levels and localities we begin to see wide discrepancies in teacher distribution. Gazankulu, for example, had an overall TPR of 1:40 in 1992. If only qualified teachers are taken into account, the ratio was 1:55. At the primary school level the ratio of qualified teachers to pupils was 1:63. In the two circuits with the lowest proportion of qualified teachers the ratio of qualified teachers to students was 1:107 in the primary schools and 1:99 in the secondary schools. (GDE 1992)

Another example: Transkei had an overall TPR of 1:50 in 1992 but in the junior primary phase the ratio was 1:87. Although 50% of all teachers were qualified, 68% of junior primary teachers did not have an M+3 qualification (TDE 1992).

A shortage of classroom space has been one of the factors limiting the overall numbers of teachers employed. In most cases this works indirectly but in at least one case the DBSA tried to establish a more direct link. In 1992, the DBSA (acting on behalf of the South African Government) initially refused to accede to requests from the Transkei Department of Education (TDE) for grants for extra teacher posts on the grounds that there were

insufficient classrooms to accommodate the teachers. Only when the TDE argued that the number of classrooms it had submitted did not include a substantial number of 'temporary' classrooms was the request granted (TDE 1992 and interviews).

The principle that there should not be substantially more teachers than classrooms makes sense; where there are many more teachers the number of class groups tends to be determined by the number of available teaching spaces. Timetables are organised according to subjects - even in the senior primary schools - so that only the number of teachers equivalent to the number of classes are teaching at any one time. The remaining teachers are to be found in the staffroom. This problem is particularly severe where there is a great discrepancy between TPR's and CPR's. In Lebowa, for example, the secondary TPR was 1:36 for secondary schools in 1992 while the CPR was 1:60 (LDE 1992). But in a context where communities have to pay for classrooms while the state provides the teachers, limiting the number of teachers to the number of classrooms means that the number of teachers are also ultimately limited by the capacity of communities to pay for classrooms.

While there are limits to the number of teachers that are trained and employed there has been a huge demand for places in teacher training colleges. Teaching has been one of very few forms of post-school qualification and employment available in the former bantustans and there has been great pressure on the colleges to accept more students than their funding allows. According to Lebowa education department officials, students who apply for places in colleges number up to forty times the number of actual places available. (Interviews 1993).

The DBSA has encouraged education departments to ensure that the numbers and types of teachers who are trained conform to regional needs in terms of level and subjects. In most regions, the DBSA has advised education departments to reduce the number of teacher training colleges (Based on interviews with DBSA officials 1993; Orbach 1992). Unfortunately the DBSA approach has been based on actual numbers of students and teachers presently in the system. It has not taken into account out of school students, particularly at the senior secondary/further education level. In regions such as the Transkei access to standard ten has been very constrained and this approach assumes that this will continue to be the case. The DBSA has also assumed that the fact that there are enough teachers standing in classrooms in some regions means that the training system is producing sufficient numbers of teachers. It has not taken into account the fact that a large number of teachers do not have three years of post school training. Schools have often been forced to employ unqualified teachers because qualified teachers were not available.

Former bantustan education departments have attempted to increase the numbers of teachers for 'scarce subjects' such as mathematics

and science. This has been difficult since teachers have not had the opportunity to learn these 'scarce subjects' when they were at school. Only a small percentage of students register for these subjects in standard ten and of these the vast majority fail (Edusource 1993).

Because of the scarcity of employment in the former bantustans and the inadequate numbers of qualified teachers, young unqualified men and women often teach in schools as stopgap jobs until they can find more desirable, permanent employment.

The effects of inadequate numbers of qualified teachers and of an inappropriate distribution of teachers across subjects and levels has affected rural areas more negatively than urban areas. Since teachers have preferred to teach in urban schools, urban schools have been in a better position to find teachers with appropriate qualifications for a particular level or subject. Schools in rural areas have found it difficult to attract the better qualified teachers or teachers who of scarce subjects. Rural schools, built with community funding, generally also have fewer facilities and higher PCR's, further limiting the number and variety of teachers that can be accommodated. The lack of special purpose rooms such as workshops and libraries in rural schools has exacerbated the difficulty of drawing teachers of subjects with a practical component such as science. According to the Director of Curriculum Services in the Transkei, rural schools are actually discouraged from offering these subjects when they do find a teacher because of the difficulty of sustaining the subject when the teacher leaves (Interview 1993). Rural schools tend to have a higher staff turnover as teachers try to move to more comfortable schools closer to their urban homes.

Teachers who teach in rural areas have to cope with difficult physical circumstances and inadequate support in the classroom and outside. Housing subsidies cannot generally be utilised outside the towns so teachers have tended to board or commute from the nearest town or city.

Most teachers (like most other people) do not choose to work and live in rural areas, for good reasons. Many teachers choose to become teachers in the first place because it offers them a route out of underresourced impoverished rural areas. Their training assumes urban classrooms as a norm and teaches them that 'normal' classes have thirty students and normal schools have photocopiers and libraries. They are encouraged to continue their studies and prefer to live near higher education institutions. They prefer to live in houses with electricity and running water near literate friends with similar interests. If they have children of their own they prefer to send them to well resourced 'good' schools.

Often (though obviously not always) teachers find themselves teaching in rural areas because they have lost the competition

for the more desirable urban jobs. Education officials interviewed for this research reported that it was commonly assumed that the competence of a teacher could be measured by the distance of the school where he or she taught from an urban area.

Within a broader context of inadequate provision, the reluctance of teachers to live and work in rural areas has influenced the organisation of schools as well as social relationships within schools.

The phenomenon of commuting teachers has become common in rural areas that are accessible to towns and cities by public transport. In the Transkei the term 'taxi schools' has been coined to refer to schools that are staffed exclusively by teachers who arrive every morning by taxi. At these schools the daily programme is often determined by the bus or taxi schedule. Initiating and sustaining extra mural activities becomes even more difficult than usual under these circumstances. When public transport is interrupted by weather, taxi wars or for other reasons the school does not open.

There are potential tensions between parents and teachers in rural areas which are exacerbated by the tendency of teachers to commute. These tensions have recently surfaced in parts of Kwandebele where parents and teachers recently came into conflict about the selection of a new teacher: teachers wanted the most well qualified applicant to get the job while parents insisted on the appointment of someone who lived in the area. In Kwandebele a large proportion of teachers commute from metropolitan Mamelodi, bringing with them an urban political and social perspective. Many parents, on the other hand, are still loyal to traditional authorities (TA's) and still wish to respect traditional practices such as initiation schools for young men and women. Parents often support the presence of representatives of the TA on the school council while teachers do not. Teachers have relatively high levels of formal education, parents frequently do not. Teachers bring ideas about gender relations which are unacceptable to parents. Teachers are active within SADTU of which parents are often suspicious.

Equally telling is the case of Moutse where parents, teachers and the traditional authority have co-operated to achieve a positive culture of learning in schools which is reflected in consistently good Standard Ten results throughout the area. Teachers also commute here, but the disadvantages have been outweighed by their identification with a coherent political and social culture which has been achieved from within the Moutse community. This culture is founded in a history of solidarity in resistance to incorporation to Kwandebele.

There are other similar stories, for example at Imbuzini in a remote part of Kangwane. Here teachers from all the local schools

and other members of the community have formed a local education committee which has taken control of the coordination and improvement of education and training in the area with great success. These success stories cry out for attention from policy research.

3.3 Enrolment and Gender

It is difficult to examine questions about gender in the context of education and training in the former bantustans, not least because the statistics that are available frequently don't reflect gender. Examination results are not recorded by gender, for example, where they are recorded at all. The information that is available nevertheless shows that there are clear gender differences in access and achievement. This discussion does not consider gender differences between urban and rural schools; there is simply not sufficient information available to do this. Instead, it identifies some of the characteristics of the gender patterns of enrolment in the former bantustans generally.

At the level of macro statistics, we can map substantial and consistent gender differences in the ways males and females move through schools. In the first five years, and particularly in the first year, more boys than girls fail, repeat and eventually drop out.

Failure and drop out rates are particularly high at sub A level, and more so for boys than for girls. This is consistent with figures for all South Africa. A calculation based on national DBSA figures referring to African enrolment only shows that 40% percent of sub A boys who were six years old or younger in 1990 either repeated sub A or dropped out at the end of the year. For girls, the figure was 33% (DBSA 1993).

In the former bantustans the higher failure rates for boys, initially, in higher enrolments for boys as they 'dam up' in the system. By about the fifth year, the proportion of boys decreases as boys begin to drop out rather than repeat while repeater rates for girls begin to catch up and, in some regions, overtake those of boys. By standard nine and ten, there are substantially more females than males in the system.

An examination of enrolment in Lebowa from the mid seventies suggests that this pattern has developed since the early eighties, during a time when numbers increased and examination results deteriorated dramatically. Thus present gendered patterns of access to schooling have emerged in the context of the systemic failure of the schooling system.

The increasing ratio of females to males in standard ten cannot necessarily be explained in terms of better examination results for females. Although 56% of standard ten students in Kangwane in 1992 were female, only 30 of the 100 students who achieved the

highest results were female.

Subject choices also do not support the idea that females have been more successful in schools than males. Although the subject choice available to students in most bantustan schools is much narrower than in non-bantustan schools, there are marked gender differences in the distribution of males and females across the range of subjects. Numbers of males are relatively high in Mathematics and Science, although females are well represented in subjects such as Business Economics, where this is on offer.

On the whole it seems as if females have achieved higher rates of access to senior secondary education but that this does not necessarily reflect higher rates of achievement in the form of better results. A possible explanation for this is that females are simply more persevering because there are fewer opportunities available to females than males if they drop out before they have completed their schooling.

This explanation is supported by the findings of a 1989 study by Geerdts which reflects gender patterns in access to different strata of the labour market in Lebowa (1990). According to Geerdts, females are well represented at the top and bottom ends of the spectrum, but not in the middle: 49% of those in the professional and managerial positions were female, while 43% of those in the unskilled category and 72% of the unemployed were women. On the other hand only 28% of routine semi-skilled labourers and only 7% of supervisory semi-skilled positions were filled by women.

Since females have fewer avenues of participation available to them in all these spheres, they are more likely than males to persevere against great odds to gain whatever advantage schooling can bring. Within the schooling system itself, females are still at a disadvantage, in spite of their greater numbers in standard ten classes. They nevertheless persevere in spite of this disadvantage. In more remote contexts, the disadvantage is greater, the opportunities are fewer and the perseverance is greater.

There are parts of this story that can only be told if the voices of students, teachers and parents are brought into the process. We (i.e. policy analysts, policy makers and education researchers) only have guesses as to why boys fare so badly in the early years, and our guesses are not well informed. While we are able to trace some of the structural factors influencing the decisions of males and females faced with the obstacle course of an inadequate school system, we know nothing about the meanings these decisions have for the people involved.

This discussion has focused on the gendered patterns of school enrolment. There are many other questions about gender and schooling at the spatial peripheries which we are not ready to

answer. Although we know that school governance structures tend to be male dominated, specially at secondary schools, we know almost nothing about the implications of this for women and girls. While we know that political and economic conditions in the former bantustans have nurtured corrupt practices which often take gendered forms, we know nothing of the ways in which women interpret these practices.

The point is that we cannot begin to understand schooling unless we open up our enquiries to the voices of those who are on the inside. And we should not try to address the problems without the benefit of their insights.

3.4 Some Implications for Policy

Two principles which should govern policies aimed at more equitable delivery of education and training in rural areas have emerged:

- 1 Policies must ensure equal outcomes but must also identify where this requires different methods. In order to do this policies must be sensitive to actual conditions and special needs in rural areas. This includes, but is not exhausted by, the need for redress which should be targeted at the most marginalised areas.

- 2 Policies must act on spatial relations of power, in so far as these are manifest within the education and training system, to strengthen the influence of those who have been marginalised. This begins with the restructuring of governance at the institutional level and **at every other level** so that learners, their parents and their teachers can actively participate in shaping a system that serves their interests. Since the claims of those in rural areas must compete with the claims of other groups, there must be specific channels for a rural voice. And since the interests of those who live in rural areas are not homogenous, governance structures must be shaped in ways which strengthen the possibilities for participation by those who have been most marginalised. In other words, the democratisation of governance structures must take into account the particular kinds of asymmetries in power relations which prevail in rural areas and between rural and other areas.

4 A Set Of Specific Proposal

This section attempts to translate ideas about what is required of a policy for rural areas into a concrete set of proposals. These proposals are premised on the understanding that policies in rural and urban areas should be different in affirmative ways which benefit rural areas and not in ways which disadvantage rural areas, as in the past.

Education and training in rural areas has suffered particular

neglect, thus it is important that particular attention be paid to redress, in the short term, and to ensure that the structures and practices that have institutionalised neglect are eliminated. In the long term, it is necessary to ensure that all aspects of education and training are adapted to special needs and conditions in rural areas and, more importantly, to ensure that unequal spatial relations of power do not lead to the perpetuation of rural urban inequalities in education and training, possibly in new forms.

These proposals do not attempt to stipulate the way in which every detail of delivery should be adapted for rural areas. Instead, they suggest an approach to the provision of education and training in rural areas which should ensure that all aspects of provision are reconsidered from a rural perspective.

A theme in all the strategies proposed here is the strengthening of a local level of the education and training system in rural areas in terms of administration, governance and institutional restructuring. This is a way to strengthen stakeholder participation at the local level and to improve communication between the local level and other levels of governance and administration.

In summary, these policy proposals have the following aims

- * Redress of past inequalities
- * Adaptation of the delivery system so that the special conditions and education needs of communities in rural areas are accommodated.
- * To strengthen the voices of stakeholders in education in rural areas in order to ensure that education and training does meet the interests and needs of people who live in rural areas; this is potentially the best way to avoid the emergence of new forms of inequality.

Achieving these aims would require three sets of strategies

- administrative strategies
- institutional restructuring
- governance strategies

4.1 Administrative Strategies

Put simply, the education departments must do the same job in rural areas as in urban areas, and they must do it effectively. This might seem obvious, but education departments have never accepted responsibility for equitable, planned, systematic delivery of education resources and services in rural areas before. Taking responsibility for provision in these areas now will require a number of steps.

The first step is to eradicate inappropriate differences (i.e

differences which reproduce inequality) in the administration of education in urban and rural areas. The most important element in this set of strategies is the delivery of ten years of free, compulsory, systematically planned **state** schooling in these areas. Farm, community and unsubsidised private schools were established as a response to the lack of state provision in rural areas and were not the result of the choice of communities. In the medium to long term, these must be replaced by state schools on state controlled land. This is what communities in the former bantustans and on farms have been demanding. Unfortunately the White Paper is ambivalent regarding the conversion of state-aided schools in rural areas to state schools. But only this step would **guarantee** (in principle, if not in practice) the financing of an acceptable level of non-salary resources such as curriculum material, equipment and facilities.

In this context state schools refer to those in which

- 1 the education department formally accepts responsibility for funding an acceptable level of all essential requirements including facilities and equipment as well as curriculum materials and teacher salaries, in terms of national norms and standards. This does not mean that a school community cannot choose to raise **additional** funds.

- 2 the education department relates the individual institution to a broader plan to ensure efficient distribution of resources and integrated delivery of all education and training services.

In the past, neither of these criteria have applied to community schools, farm schools or unsubsidised private schools.

The second step is to ensure **redress** of past inequalities. The WP has acknowledged that national and provincial education departments must ensure equitable and efficient delivery of education resources and services to these areas and attend to redress where necessary. This would include equity in PCR's and PTR's, equitable delivery of learning resources such as textbooks and the equitable provision of support services. Redress programmes proposed in the White Paper such as school rehabilitation programmes and a register of need must be applied to rural areas. Teachers must also have access to similar kinds of support (such as INSET) and similar conditions of service. They must, for example, be able to utilise housing subsidies in rural areas.

The third step is to **correct past neglect at the level of planning**. The provision of state schooling in rural areas is not only a matter of providing adequate resources but also of ensuring that these are part of a well planned system. In the past matters such as the location of the various types and levels of education and training institutions were not planned, since

the initiative for provision was not taken by the relevant education department but by non-government parties such as communities, traditional leaders, farmers, and churches. A comprehensive planning exercise will be required to ensure a coherent distribution of all appropriate sectors and levels of education and training. This implies that there must be mediation between the needs and demands of a particular community and the broader priorities of a region or province.

A fourth step is to attend to the special needs and circumstances in rural areas which would sometimes require **additional interventions and resources** not needed in urban contexts. Hostels and/or transport for students are examples of such additional requirements. Another example is the tendency of teachers to avoid living in rural areas; a large proportion of teachers at schools in rural areas live in urban areas and commute to work. Where ever possible education departments must attend to the factors that discourage teachers from living in rural areas, such as unpleasant conditions of work, the difficulties of utilising housing subsidies in these areas and the inadequacies of teacher support. Creative ways of encouraging teachers - specially more experienced teachers - to live and work in rural areas should be explored.

A fifth step is to ensure that an awareness of rural as well as urban contexts routinely inform all planning and provision processes within the national and provincial education departments. Teacher training provides one example: conditions in urban classrooms tend to be taken as the norm for which teachers are prepared. Teachers are seldom prepared for conditions in rural classrooms either in terms of skills or attitude. A second important example is the way in which research has tended to reflect conditions in urban rather than rural education and training institutions while data collection has been less inefficient in urban areas than in rural areas. Consequently policy and planning has tended to be oriented towards urban rather than rural conditions.

It is proposed that one official be designated within every major division of national and provincial education departments whose brief is to ensure that administrative policies and practices be oriented to rural as well as urban conditions. In each department, these officials would collectively constitute a **rural co-ordination committee** which ensures that the administration of education is adapted to conditions and needs in rural areas.

Part of the job of the Rural Co-ordination Committee would be to **avoid the introduction of new kinds of rural-urban inequalities**. Many of the proposals in the White Paper, for example, would have different implications in rural circumstances than in an urban context. The introduction of open education and distance education are examples of strategies which would have different effects in rural areas where these forms of education could

easily come to **substitute** rather than **supplement** other forms of education and training, specially at post compulsory levels, because of the lack of existing secondary school facilities. This could limit the opportunities available in rural areas.

Another example is the reliance on provision partnerships for the provision of ECD and ABET. In rural areas, there are simply fewer potential partners, and reliance on such partnerships could result in lower levels of provision in rural areas. This means that all policy implementation should be adapted to conditions in rural areas in order to ensure that **equitable outcomes** are achieved.

A sixth step is to invigorate education and training in rural areas at the local level. This will require a local administrative presence responsible for the ongoing adaptation of education and training to local needs and conditions and for liaison between the education administration, at the local level, and local and institutional governance structures (Proposals concerning institutional restructuring and local governance structures follow below). Thus a local education and training official of a certain type is a key element in improving education in rural areas. These objectives call for the appointment of **rural Local Education Development Officers** (LETDO's) to act as agents of change at the local level within provincial education departments. LETDO's would provide the departmental link within a strengthened local level of the education and training system.

4.2 Institutional Restructuring

Some of the proposals in this section have much in common with the idea of Community Learning Centres. That term has not been used here simply because it has come to be used to refer to a diverse range of institutional options. It seemed more useful, here, to spell out actual proposals than to use a term which is unclear.

Rural areas offer advantages as well as disadvantages for the restructuring of education. There are advantages of scale which offer the opportunity to provide a more integrated approach to education and training more closely related to local development priorities. This section proposes that institutional restructuring of education and training be introduced in order to

- 1 turn the different scale of education and training provision in rural areas to advantage.
- 2 promote a more integrated approach to education and training which is also more closely linked to local development initiatives
- 3 optimise the use of available facilities

The key to the restructuring of education in rural areas is the **clustering** of education and training institutions and/or sectors. This has three dimensions.

- 1 The clustering of institutions
- 2 The clustering of functions, or sectors and
- 3 A common governance structure at the local level (i.e. for the cluster) which would deal with all the concerns that are common to the different institutions and sectors.

Cluster Facilities

In the most sparsely populated contexts such as farms, there might only be one set of facilities which would be used to serve different sectors while in larger settlements a cluster might consist of two or three secondary schools, five or six primary schools and all the other education and training institutions in the area.

Facilities would be used for **multiple purposes** so that, for example, primary school classrooms may be used after hours for adult education or as study centres for secondary school students. Scarce resources such as laboratories, libraries or vehicles would be shared. Common problems such as a need for secure storage space would be addressed collectively.

In some contexts, this strategy could facilitate **rationalisation**, deracialisation and more equitable access to resources that have been concentrated at historically more privileged schools.

Resource Centres

Each cluster of institutions should include a **resource centre**. These centres would be something like the Community Learning Centres described in the White Paper (18.40). They will also be used as a base for teacher support including INSET, NGO input and curriculum development. Initially, resource centres would not necessarily be accommodated in special, separate or new facilities. Instead, the most appropriate available space within the E&T cluster would be utilised for this purpose. The resource centre would be managed by the LETDO in consultation with the local education and training governance committee (see below).

Clusters would be associated with governance strategies which are discussed below.

4.3 Governance

Institutional Governance

Communities in rural areas have struggled for the right to state schooling. Once these are in place, the general principles defined in the WP regarding governance structures would also apply to these schools.

There are particular problems which frequently complicate the issue of institutional governance structures in rural areas. These include

- the influence and participation of those who hold power in rural areas, particularly traditional authorities and fathers
- tensions between supporters of different forms of local government such as civics and traditional authorities
- the relationship between teachers (relatively well educated, often urban based and not always sympathetic to rural perspectives) and parents (often less highly schooled and resistant to urban influences)
- established gender relations which marginalise women
- limited governance capacity in terms of certain kinds of technical skills and resources.

The first two problems would be alleviated by the transition to state schools which should have the effect of reducing the intrusion of local political dynamics into school matters. State schools should allow parents and teachers greater involvement in governance by limiting the influence of those who historically controlled the land on which state-aided schools were located. This does not mean that farmers, chiefs and churches would no longer be allowed to participate in school governance but rather that they would be involved in appropriate ways when school communities support such involvement.

In order to address the remaining three problems it would be necessary to provide support for governing bodies, particularly for parents who participate. This could include workshops organised for parents prior to the election of governing bodies. A gender quota is a possible short term strategy to address the gender ratio problem. Ideally, the ministry should be willing to subsidise selected NGO's which would be able to provide this kind of support in rural areas.

Local Governance

A local level of education governance has been absent in the past. It is widely recognised that the success of development initiatives often depends on community participation. At the same time, establishing such participation is difficult for those communities that are politically incoherent and unorganised. The same advantages and difficulties would apply to the establishment of local education stakeholder and governance structures. It is important not to be unnecessarily pessimistic about the possibility of establishing local governance structures, however. There are already a number of examples of communities who have established such structures to the benefit of education and training in their areas.

The WP recognises the importance of local education and training stakeholder bodies, or Local Education and Training Forums (LETF's). The purpose here is to spell out some of the

implications of the role of these structures in rural area in relation to other proposals made here.

The provincial education departments must motivate, support and affirm such structures where they do exist and ~~help to convene~~ them where they do not exist. LETDO's can be instrumental in convening such structures.

Such structures would work with the LETDO's to:

- 1 adapt education and training resources to community values, needs, priorities and conditions
- 2 lobby for education and training resources and optimise and supplement existing resources. This would include drawing in NGO support. The distribution of staff would be planned according to the needs of all the institutions in the cluster.
- 3 ensure integrated delivery across sectors and relate education and training to developmental priorities
- 4 address education and training issues which cut across or lie beyond the reach of existing educational institutions. This would include interaction with other local government structures.

The local education and training governance structure should include representatives of all education and training institutions in the cluster as well as representatives of the broader community. It follows that the envisaged local education and training governance structures would be on the same scale as the institutional clusters proposed above.

The local education and training governance structures should define their own relationship with local government, depending partly on the viability of local government. Since formal local government is likely to operate on a larger scale than the education and training structures envisaged here, the relationship would have to be developed at various levels.

Governance at Higher Levels

It is important to bring a rural perspective to stakeholder groupings at every level, including the provincial and the national level. All organisations involved in education and training in rural areas are encouraged to participate in stakeholder groups such as the national and provincial education and training forums.

There is a great need for the establishment of a national rural education and training lobby group. The initiative for this must come from existing regional lobby groups and local education and training governance structures or forums.

National and provincial education departments should promote existing lobby groups by including them in invitations to stakeholders to participate in policy processes and structures,

such as the specialist committee to be appointed by the national Ministry to review policy.

5. A Methodological Assessment of the Homeland education Project

Research in rural areas is difficult. They are far removed from the well-funded research institutions in metropolitan areas, so there is no much baseline material to go on. In bantustans, information-gathering activities are rickety. Departmental annual reports are thin or non-existent. Statistical material gathered via official form-filling by the school principals is one of the only ways to gather information.

And behind all this it is a question of funding, political influence, and power. The discrimination against rural areas and rural schools that is amply shown in this research, is nicely reflected in the state of educational research.

In this section, then, we consider the difficulties of rural research and how this influences our results. We consider the shortcomings of existing research and our attempt to overcome that. Our main effort has been in putting educational numbers in context – in economic, political and social context.

5.1 Research Methods

The material for this research was gathered during visits, typically lasting one week, to each of the ten bantustans. During this time, personnel of education administrations, NGO's, teachers' unions and local universities were interviewed. Written material was collected in the form of government commission reports, departmental annual reports, research reports and consultancy reports. All of this was then integrated with material from research institutions like the Development Bank of SA, the Research Institute for Educational Planning (RIEP) at the University of the OFS, the Education Foundation, the Bureau for Market Research (UNISA) and publications from other universities.

To an experienced researcher, this mode of operation is unsatisfactory for a number of reasons. First, with regard to interviews. In the course of what is usually no longer than an hour-long interview, one attempts to get to know an individual and their specific biases, explain one's own project and credentials, establish their trust in you, identify their area of particular expertise (since this does not always correlate with their present administrative position), and gain information which is relevant and detailed enough to be of some use. Ideally, one would like to talk to someone who is a long-time acquaintance, to meet several times in easy and relaxed circumstances, and to pursue issues in some depth. Although this was fortunately possible in a number of interviews, in most cases the circumstances were hardly desirable. We often met with people who were either very busy or uninterested, who had to be reminded

several times to keep their interviews, who viewed us with suspicion and impatience, or who were anxious and preoccupied about the process of being integrated into provincial structures.

Even under the worst circumstances, however, interviews can be still be extremely useful. Being physically present and walking through the offices of government officials or other personnel often conveys a wealth of information. Some places communicate an air of competence, cohesion, a sense of direction and commitment. Others palpably exude administrative confusion, a lack of control, alienation and demotivation. Senior officials operate without secretarial support. Telephone exchanges are a nightmare. Buildings and gardens are poorly maintained. Office garbage lies uncollected in corners.

So, too, merely driving, or better, walking through the town which houses these offices tells you about the kind of commercial and industrial concerns providing employment, about the level of wellbeing of the population, the kind of transport they use and the shops they patronise. In some places there are donkey-carts in the main street, dozens of pavement vendors, small shops, hardly any supermarkets, and no beggars (since there is no-one to beg from). Anyone who has walked through Mmabatho will know that it is a dramatically different place from Thohoyandou or Phuthaditjaba. The point is that you would not know the difference unless you had been in both.

Possibly more important in being there is the access one gains to research, consultancy or merely routine reporting documents which would otherwise have remained unknown. When asked, officials can extract information from files and computers which would normally be impossible to get.

In short, as a basis for this report, the material gathered from visits to homelands and interviews of educational personnel has delivered very mixed results. In some places, previous contacts and acquaintances have delivered interview material that is rich and detailed. This is true of the reports on Bophuthatswana and Qwaqwa. [And which others ??] In others, like Venda, interview information was sparse and fragmented, and one is thrown back on the availability of written material.

In addition to this, some areas have been well served by the proximity of energetic universities and research institutions. This is particularly true of Bophuthatswana, Qwaqwa, Ciskei and Kwazulu which have benefitted by their connections with metropolitan areas. [And which others ??] Others, by contrast, have been relatively neglected, despite the presence of universities and research institutes. Unhappily, these latter are often the historically black universities specifically created for homelands and weighed down with teaching. Venda, Kwandebile, Gazankulu, Kangwane and Lebowa are all examples here (?). A glance at the bibliographies of our various regional reports, in

consequence, shows quite variable coverage, some richly and fully served with research material, others quite thinly. This is a dimension of urban-rural differentiation with subtle, but quite profound consequences.

This points to one of the reasons for the difficulties we face in addressing rural concerns in policy processes. We simply don't know very much about what happens in schools in rural areas. Even the routine statistical data collection procedures have broken down partially or completely in most of the former bantustans. More qualitative research in rural areas is rare. Policy making is consequently informed by urban centred understandings of education and training.⁴

This differentiation of policy research extends to different categories within the broader notion of 'rural'. More research has focused on farm schools than on schools in the former bantustans, partly because some farming areas are accessible to metropolitan areas where universities are based. This relative advantage of farm schools in the research literature and the fact that emerging national policies have been written in Johannesburg have contributed to the greater visibility of farm schools, as compared to schools in the former bantustans, in recent policy documents.

Fortunately the relatively small body of rural education research in the former bantustans has been growing in recent years. There is a real danger now that this kind of research will be contained within the boundaries of the new provinces. This would mean that we would continue to know little or nothing about education and training in rural areas in those provinces which do not have universities, such as the Northern Cape, and from those where there has been no strong base for this kind of research such as the Northern Transvaal.⁵

⁴ Policy theorists such as Ozga argue that policy should be informed by particular kinds of information. She calls for a policy theory and policy research which relates the micro-politics of personal politics to a wider analysis of power (1989). The kind of policy research which Ozga calls for is generally thin on the ground in this country, and more so in rural areas.

⁵ It is important to acknowledge again that there has been some work of a completely different kind, work that is premised on the understanding that urban-rural inequalities are produced by - and help to reproduce - unequal power relations (though the spatial nature of these power relations are not explored). Nasson, Christie, De Clercq, Lawrence, Gordon and Graaff have all contributed to this. Their work has taken us closer to an

5.2 Rural Research In Context

How, then, does this report make any advance on the quite detailed statistical reports produced by the Development Bank or RIEP or the Education Foundation? How does it compete with the equally detailed sectoral reports done by specialist consultants on, say, teacher education, or curriculum development, or the backlog in schoolbuildings?

The answer to these questions must start by saying that this report does not attempt to compete with these pieces of work on their own terms. This report does not claim, on the one hand, to produce more comprehensive statistics or better projections of pupil enrolments. Nor, on the other hand, does it claim to provide more thorough insight or more detailed knowledge of specific sectors.

The claims it makes are of a different order. First, this report analyses educational statistics according to variations over time, gender and space that have not been looked at elsewhere. It looks, for example, at the growth (or in this case, non-growth) in the numbers of SSA pupils in Bophuthatswana over a period of 25 years. Or, to take another example, it investigates the shifting gender imbalance in Venda over the same period in urban and rural districts. The normal pattern of male predominance at the Lower Primary level, and rising female predominance from then on to matric, is upset in Venda, both in rural areas and in the urban areas during the 1970's. (Graaff, 1994)

Secondly, this report brings together information on various sectors of the education system. Unlike specialist sectoral reports, it shows how preschool, primary, and vocational sectors fit together and influence each other. This report is very like a government education commission report in this sense. In fact, often a large part of our work was updating existing commissions reports. This report emphasizes the interrelatedness of educational issues.

We have only to look as far as the White Paper to see the consequences of an approach which treats related elements as if they are discrete. The White Paper presents different manifestations of rural disadvantage (for example pupil teacher ratio's, pupil classroom ratio's and community school type financing) as separate problems which can be addressed

understanding that the challenge to policy for rural areas is to reshape power relations within the education and training system. (For a recent example see De Clercq 1994). But this work does not appear to have had any influence on emerging policies.

separately. In fact all three are a consequence of the way state responsibility for provision has been defined within a state aided model - an issue which the White Paper does not address decisively.

Thirdly, this report combines material across a number of disciplines. It integrates political, anthropological, economic and sociological materials with educational information. It takes seriously the fact that education systems are embedded in particular contexts, with specific histories, and often at the mercy of powerful individuals with special, not to say eccentric, agenda's. It underlines the profound weaknesses of what Hartshorne has called "the numbers game". There are three specific aspects of this weakness.

1 One cannot separate in-school factors from out-of-school factors. The fact that Venda, for example, is one of the poorest regions of the poorest province in the country, says a great deal about the children who are entering the school doors, quite irrespective of how good the teachers are, or how many desks there are in the classrooms. The fact that many of the people who were moved during the 1970's into Qwaqwa's villages came off Free State farms, also says a lot about the nature of their children.

Sometimes the two sets of factors are yoked together by bureaucratic policies and practices. This is most clearly illustrated by the community school (i.e. state-aided) form of school financing which links the quantity and quality of provision of resources to levels that communities can afford.

2 Resources (of all kinds) tend to agglomerate, to cluster together spatially. The inverse also applies. It is more difficult to introduce resources where few are already in place. It is easier to build a school where there are roads and it is easier to draw teachers to good facilities than to bad.

This principle does not only operate on a practical level. In some cases departmental criteria for the provision of facilities have been set lower for rural than for urban schools. (Jacklin 1992 and RURED reports 1993,1994). This is the inverse of the principle of redress. As the apartheid government became increasingly unable to defend racially differentiated social provision, it formulated reasons why social provision should be spatially differentiated according to the economic profile of spatially defined communities. This was linked to the increased privatisation of social provision.

This means that new policies aimed at spatial redress will have to think of new reasons to support innovative redress

options. This task has not yet been accomplished in the White Paper.

3 Unequal social relations tend to be exacerbated when layered together. Thus in rural areas, the poor tend to be poorer and women tend to be more disempowered than in urban areas. The gender issue is discussed more fully below but it is worth referring here to a study which illustrates this point. It was conducted in the mid eighties in KwaZulu by May, Julian and Rankin (1990) and is cited by Budlender:

Respondents in the study were classified according to where they lived i.e. in a Durban township, in another urban area, in informal settlements (e.g. squatter areas) or in rural areas. In all four types of areas a larger percentage of men than women were employed, but the situation was worse for women the further they lived from metropolitan areas whereas that for men remained virtually unchanged. (Budlender 1991:7) (our emphasis)

We may be tempted, on the basis of this example, to generalise about the relationship between gender and spatial inequalities. But it is not that easy. The section on enrolment and gender which follows below points to some of the uneven and contradictory ways in which males and females have responded to spatial inequalities in schooling.

One of the assumptions of ^{our} this method is that each bantustan is regarded as an entity in its own right. Bantustans are not simply passive extensions of a uniform Bantu Education system. Each of them has made something different of what they started with. And this 'something different' is a function of personalities, politics, economic development and historical accident. They combined their preschool, primary and secondary components in very particular ways. Which means that they each enter the new dispensation with varying capacities, strengths and weaknesses.

^{our} This point of view starts from the assumption that bantustans have been something more than puppets of the apartheid system. At a certain time, this puppet-view had considerable currency in both academic and popular literature. Following the embarrassments to the NP caused by bantustan leaders like Buthelezi or Mangope, this view is less prevalent. Nevertheless, it is worth underlining here that what has happened in bantustans, in general, and their education systems, in particular, has not all been planned and executed by bureaucrats sitting in the Magistergebou in central Pretoria.

Interdisciplinary connections of the kind pursued here also operate as an important control on educational statistics of doubtful validity. Remember that a large number of education

research institutions rely for their information on the E22 form filled in by all school principals in March of each year. This is not the place to analyse in detail that form or the process by which it is administered each year. Suffice it to say that probably the most important source of educational statistics in the country has critical gaps in its coverage. It is administered and filled in by people who have not been fully informed or trained in the process. Questionnaires are collected and collated by equally untrained bureaucrats. Some of it is published in departmental annual reports, many of which are shot through with elementary errors of entry and calculation, or appear only sporadically.

Some of it is processed by RIEP in a significantly more efficient fashion. (I am not sure whether the data is also collated and captured by RIEP.) In short, the quality of this material is by no means clear and needs to be treated with some care. One way to check on conclusions drawn from this material is triangulation via other statistical sources or economic, sociological and demographic data.

This report also combines material, not only across disciplines, but also across bantustans. We are in the unusual position of being able to compare the systems of Bophuthatswana and Qwaqwa, or Kwazulu and Kangwane. We are able then to hold certain variables constant and speculate quite fruitfully on the reasons for differences between bantustans. If, for example, we have two bantustans, like Venda and Gazankulu, which are both relatively small, poor and unurbanised, what accounts for the significant differences between their matric pass rates? We are able to show that some regions have experimented with interesting new ideas which have not been tried elsewhere. Bophuthatswana's remarkable preschool programme is a case in point. We are also able to show how the same idea has worked in one place but not in another. Bophuthatswana's Primary Education Upgrade Programme (PEUP) has been considerably more successful there than when it was transplanted to Venda.

A particular focus of this report has been the fate of rural schools. This is a remarkable blind spot in a wide range of material and people. Our thesis throughout has been to show the varied and often unintended strategies by which rural schools have suffered disadvantage.

In summary, this report makes claims of a particular and limited kind. It does not compete with more extensive statistical reports, or with specialist sectoral reports, on their own terms. This information is, however, severely limited by its decontextualised and technicist nature. This report needs to be placed alongside those. It is aware of its own limitations. It needs to be followed up with a considerable amount of more detailed qualitative research.

What this report can provide is primarily [context] and comparison. It shows the relationship between educational sectors and their education systems, between education systems and their political, economic and social circumstances. It considers how ex-homelands measure up to each other, and whether both positive and negative lessons learnt in one cannot be applied in another. More specifically, it considers how rural areas have fared in each region, and the various mechanisms which have ensured their continued disadvantage.

It is imperative that a new information system be put in place as a matter of urgency. This should not simply be a more effective version of the old system of routine data collection. It should be locally sensitive and locally useful. There should be channels for stakeholder groups to define the questions it answers. These should include questions about gender and spatial differences in education and training needs outcomes.

This brings us back to the point that the production of official policy has its own political economy within which rural issues have been marginalised. It follows from this that the neglect of rural concerns in policy must be addressed in political as well as academic ways. Only when communities in rural areas find a political voice, in the form perhaps of a national rural education lobby, will this change. Academic work can support this but cannot be a substitute for it.

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