

# SCHOOLING IN GAZANKULU

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 Further, though unpublished, a number of these reports have been cited.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. *Schooling in Gazankulu* is a lengthy report and so we added a contents page. The photocopies were reductions to A5 – we have kept them at this size.

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

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## SCHOOLING IN GAZANKULU

H J Jacklin

In recent years, schools in Gazankulu regularly produced better standard ten results than did the DET or the other bantustans, with the exception of Bophuthatswana, in spite of the fact that Gazankulu is located at the more rural end of the Northern Transvaal, the poorest region in the country. Since standard ten results are one of the few means we have of comparing the outcomes of schooling across departments, we must assume that the Gazankulu Department of Education has operated more effectively than most other education departments. The easiest explanation for this is that per capita state financing for education in this bantustan was consistently more generous than for all the other self governing territories except Qwa-Qwa. (Funding for the independent bantustans fluctuated more, but per capita spending in Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana tended to be higher than in Gazankulu) (SAIRR 1986-1992). A related factor - which probably accounts for the relatively high expenditure on education - is the fact that Gazankulu had a higher proportion of qualified teachers than did many of the other former bantustans. The higher expenditure is seen by some officials in neighbouring education bureaucracies as a political reward for Ntsanwisi's success in controlling political protest in Gazankulu, particularly after 1990. The political stability would itself also have contributed to better examination results.

This positive picture of Gazankulu has another, less positive side. The GDE has nurtured greater spatial inequalities within the region than have neighbouring regions such as Lebowa and KaNgwane. This is manifest in the unusually wide variation across circuits in standard ten results and numbers of repeaters as well as in pupil:classroom and pupil:teacher ratio's.

Throughout all former bantustans, the different modes of financing school facilities inside and outside the proclaimed townships has contributed to the creation and perpetuation of spatial inequalities in schooling. Within proclaimed townships school facilities have been provided by bantustan governments. The community mode of financing leaves the provision of school facilities outside proclaimed townships largely to traditional authorities and school communities, resulting in underprovision of classrooms. This has the effect of limiting the numbers of teachers and students that can be accommodated in schools. Classrooms provided by school communities are often cheaper and more fragile than those provided by the state. They do not stand up well to the pressures of large numbers of students and the state does not maintain them. The subjection of provision of school facilities to the authority of the local chiefs has made it possible for chiefs to use schools for political purposes; consequently schools were often provided where and when it was politically expedient rather than according to need. The GDE has maintained the community school mode of providing school facilities in official policy, unlike its

neighbours who rejected this mode in principle even when they have been unable to abandon it in practice.

Inequalities between schools within Gazankulu have been extended and legitimated by the establishment of project schools which are perceived as elite schools. Gazankulu is not the only former bantustan to have opted to select certain schools for special treatment involving a different and greater input of resources. The issue of project schools is an ambivalent one. They may be seen as elite schools, but they may also be seen as an attempt to make part of the system work when it is not financially possible to make the whole system work, and to provide experimental models from which other schools would ultimately benefit. In the case of Gazankulu, the differences between the project schools (known as 'major' schools) and other schools are too great to make these schools replicable. Nor were the project schools perceived as replicable models by teachers interviewed for this research - including a teacher from one of the project schools. They were perceived as elite schools for the benefit of the children of the more powerful classes within Gazankulu.

The GDE has not attempted to redress spatial inequalities in education, unlike Lebowa and KaNgwane which have at least attempted to distribute teachers more evenly and to equalise pupil:teacher ratio's. This may be explained partly in terms of the political history of Gazankulu and the related ethos of the GDE bureaucracy. Apart from a wave of political upheavals in 1990, there has been less political activity in Gazankulu - and specifically in the education system - than in neighbouring Lebowa and Venda. While the allies of the ANC came into power in KaNgwane, Lebowa and Venda, Ntsanwisi managed to suppress the 1990 protests without conceding power to, or forging an alliance with, progressive movements. Organisations such as SADTU and COSAS did not gain a significant foothold in Gazankulu and the GDE did not concede to pressure to recognise SADTU, unlike the Lebowa and KaNgwane Departments of Education. These organisations could not effectively challenge the GDE nor call it to account. In Lebowa and KaNgwane there were attempts to discipline bureaucrats and improve the technical aspects of administration - albeit unsustainable, inadequately financed and ultimately unsuccessful attempts. In Gazankulu there was less resistance to the way administrative practices were founded in political relationships of patronage. The South African Government also chose to turn a blind eye to corruption and administrative incompetence in Gazankulu until late 1993 although it called commissions to examine corruption in Lebowa from 1988. Yet within Gazankulu education department officials, inspectors, teachers and members of education NGO's interviewed for this report all saw corruption as part and parcel of daily administrative practice in the GDE at every level. Within this political and administrative context, bureaucratic practices which privileged the more powerful and perpetuated spatial inequalities in schooling went unchallenged.

The perpetuation of spatial inequalities in schooling was also

legitimated within a development discourse and bureaucratic practices evolving within the Gazankulu Government Economic Planning Secretariat. By 1993, this ministry had developed a spatial development plan for Gazankulu which was intended to be put in place before the 1994 elections in South Africa (Interviews with department officials for this research). As part of this plan, each district in Gazankulu would be given an economic development priority rating which would determine the level of educational facilities that would be allocated to that district. Districts near towns would automatically receive higher priority ratings as 'development nodes'. In terms of this logic, those districts which already had the worst pupil:classroom ratio's, such as Ritavi 1, would be least likely to receive further educational infrastructure. (See appendix for further discussion of education and development in Gazankulu)

If the new Northern Transvaal Province Education Department is to redress spatial inequalities in schooling within Gazankulu, it will also have to reformulate the power relationships and provision practices and bureaucratic discourses which have produced these inequalities.

#### POLITICAL CONTEXT

Hudson Ntsanwisi was Chief Minister of Gazankulu from 1976 until his death in March 1993. In a region with no tradition of resistance, Hudson Ntsanwisi's style was effective. Ntsanwisi presented himself as a learned patriarch with an iron fist in a linen glove who would rather build schools than prisons. This approach prompted an ambivalent rather than an oppositional response.

In the mid eighties Gazankulu remained almost untouched by the waves of resistance in neighbouring regions. Only in 1990, with Mandela's release, did political turmoil reach Gazankulu. Resistance focused on pressurising Ntsanwisi to step down. The civil service went on strike for some months, a schools boycott was called and members of the legislative assembly joined in the opposition to Ntsanwisi. Ntsanwisi managed to reassert control by the end of the year. Part of his strategy was to cease to pay civil servants, including teachers. Apart from that period, Gazankulu has been noticeably calmer than neighbouring Lebowa and Venda. Special funds allocated to Gazankulu were used to build 'boundary schools' which demonstrate to neighbouring regions the benefits of political stability. A circuit inspector in Lebowa interviewed for this research spoke with some envy of the order and authoritarianism in GDE schools compared to the less orderly, more autonomous LDE schools.

As a predominantly rural region, Gazankulu is not easily influenced by urban political dynamics. In other regions universities often act as political catalysts but there is no University in Gazankulu other than Unigaz, a small satellite campus of the University of

the North in Giyani. Giyani itself is essentially a civil service town where an oppositional political culture would not easily be sustained.

In this context of limited oppositional political activity, control of education resources for political and personal gain, specially nepotism, has been rampant, undisguised and relatively unchallenged. Interviews for this research provided considerable anecdotal evidence of ways in which bureaucratic power was used to benefit friends (or lovers) and political supporters or to punish an individual or a community which did not toe the line. Examples of this included the power to make decisions about

- a) the location of teacher colleges and state schools and maintenance for existing state schools,
- b) posts and promotions

### Political Organisation Within Education

A number of educational organisations have been active in Gazankulu but few of them have been strong:

- \* SADTU and NECC have had a presence in Gazankulu but they have not been as strong as in other regions. Many teachers are sympathetic but few are active. SADTU was not recognised by the GDE and many teachers identified as SADTU members have been demoted or transferred. According to a high ranking GDE official SADTU is stronger in the areas bordering Lebowa and Venda.

- \* TUATU also has a presence in Gazankulu but its activities are limited; the organisation of choir festivals remains a favourite TUATU activity.

- \* COSAS is relatively strong in a few schools.

- \* School Committees are in place in most Gazankulu schools but in the more rural areas these tend to be composed of old people who do not have to commute to work.

### DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

According to the most recent census, just under a million people were living in Gazankulu of which 55% were female. This relatively high proportion of females reflects the fact that many men are migrant labourers since there are no major metropolitan areas within daily commuting range. This does not imply that all migrant labourers are men but rather that the outflow of men is greater than that of women.

Gazankulu has a particularly youthful population, even by South African standards. A high proportion of the population is under the age of 19 in Gazankulu. While only 34% of the South African African

population (excluding TBVC regions) are between the ages of 5 and 19, 44% of the Gazankulu population fall into this age group. (See table below)

#### PROPORTION OF POPULATION UNDER 19 YEARS OF AGE

	Gaz	SA *
0 - 4	20%	13,9%
5 - 14	33%	24%
15 - 19	11%	10,4%

\* African only.

Source : 1991 Census

Not only does Gazankulu have a high proportion of school age population, it also has a high unemployment rate. Consequently, each earner has a large number of dependents. According to DBSA figures there were an average of 8,4 dependents for every earner in Gazankulu. These factors combine with low average earnings in Gazankulu to produce huge discrepancies in financial resources available to each individual.

In these social, economic and demographic conditions, the direct and opportunity costs of schooling are a heavy burden in Gazankulu. Although some schools in Gazankulu have benefited from higher state inputs than schools in other bantustans, the region is not well placed to support the costs of schooling.

#### URBANISATION

Gazankulu is a particularly rural region. Although it has seven proclaimed townships and a number of fairly large dense settlements, it is very far from any metropolitan area. Urban, peri-urban and semi-urban areas constitute about 32% of the population; this is a lower proportion than any of the other SGT's. Of the TBVC territories, only Transkei and Venda have less urbanised populations (DBSA 1989). Tzaneen is the nearest town that offers substantial infrastructure and resources.

While functional urbanisation rates provide a better picture of actual population distribution than do official urbanisation rates, the latter are of particular relevance to education provision. Until recently, procedures governing provision of education facilities in proclaimed townships were very different from procedures governing provision of facilities in settlements which fell under traditional authorities. The effect of these differences has been that communities outside of proclaimed townships have carried a higher proportion of the costs of school facilities than have those in the townships. Apart from the schools themselves other forms of infrastructure tend to be better in proclaimed

townships. Subsidised housing for teachers is still only available in proclaimed townships. Less than 6% of the Gazankulu population live in proclaimed townships (1991 Census).

## **SECTION C : THE GAZANKULU EDUCATION SYSTEM**

This section of the report provides a profile of schooling in Gazankulu. It summarises the available quantitative, descriptive information and begins to identify some of the processes that have influenced access to, and quality of, schooling. It focuses particularly on spatial differences in education provision within Gazankulu. It aims to draw attention to the importance of spatial inequalities in provision which are not systematically addressed in current policy debates.

This report does not go very far towards increasing our understanding of the quality of schooling in Gazankulu, if quality is understood to refer to what people do with what they have. Rather, it is about what people have; it is about conditions, outcomes and, to some extent, efficiency. Questions about quality are perhaps the most important questions policy researchers should be asking in the present period, where reconstruction of education seems at last to be a possibility. But a study such as this cannot establish what is actually happening in schools without drawing on other, micro studies and those are not available.

Nevertheless, this report does begin to establish an essential framework for the understanding of quality issues. It looks at what is available and why and how resources have been distributed in particular ways. It identifies some of the questions which more qualitative studies should be answering in the hope that this will help to motivate others to answer these questions.

### **A NOTE ON DATA**

This report draws heavily on official Gazankulu Department of Education (GDE) statistical data. This information is often unreliable, as is the case with official data from most other bantustan education departments. Many errors are made at the point of collection, where the filling in of forms is a meaningless ritual, and at the point of collation, where mounds of forms are still processed manually. Computer systems have been introduced into some departments but they are not yet being used effectively. In Gazankulu, information processed by RIEP is used for planning purposes because it is available long before that of the department itself. Even though RIEP data is more efficiently collated it is subject to the same errors at the point of collection as is that of the GDE.

In spite of these problems, the official GDE data does provide an overall picture and a level of detail which other sources do not offer. While the exact figures are not necessarily accurate, the general trends to which they point can be taken seriously.

The creation of a more viable education information system will be an essential element in the development of a future national and

provincial education system. Such a system will have to be meaningful and useful at the local level as well as efficient at the macro level.

#### THE GDE TRACK RECORD: REASONABLE ACHIEVEMENT IN A POOR CONTEXT

If the standard ten examination pass rates are taken as an (admittedly problematic) indicator of educational achievement, the GDE has been performing relatively well compared to the DET and the other bantustans; only Bophuthatswana has consistently achieved a better pass rate in recent years. Gazankulu pass rates dropped dramatically in 1989 (46%) and 1990 (38%) but they have since climbed back to 54% in 1992.

Gazankulu's achievement relative to other regions is reflected in a story frequently told in neighbouring Lebowa and KaNgwane, that the Shangaans always used to be looked down upon by their neighbours but in recent years they have achieved greater status than their neighbours through educational achievement. KaNgwane education officials compare their own region, which has only produced two people with PhD degrees to Gazankulu where, they believe, many bureaucrats have PhD's. (Interviews with KaNgwane Department of Education officials)

This picture is an oversimplification. Gazankulu results are only good in relation to a bleak overall pattern of achievement. They are achieved within the constraints of a the narrow subject range and uncritical approach to learning which characterises all the bantustans. Even though pass rates are higher in the examination as a whole, they are surpassed by other departments in mathematics and science. Hidden behind a relatively good average are extremes of high and low pass rates in different areas and different schools.

Nevertheless, within the constraints of apartheid education, the Gazankulu Education Department has produced better standard ten results than have other regions. This is particularly surprising since there is greater social and economic deprivation here than in most of the other regions, as was shown in Section A of this report. It would seem as if the relative success of the GDE can be ascribed to a combination of factors including political favour with the central government resulting in more favourable resourcing and less political activity in schools. Gazankulu has a lower proportion of unqualified teachers than do Lebowa and KaNgwane, and the higher education expenditure in the region is probably related to the higher salaries of qualified teachers compared to un- and underqualified teachers. It also seems likely that Ntsanwisi's personal attention to educational matters helped establish the priority of educational achievement as part of the regional ethos.

#### EDUCATION FINANCING IN GAZANKULU

Per pupil education spending is generally lower in the bantustans than in the DET and the three tricameral education departments. Although there have been considerable nominal increases in the overall education budgets in the last decade, the increase in real per pupil education spending in the SGT's from about R600 in 1986 to about R800 in 1991 has been less impressive (1990 values). (Edupol forthcoming)

The size of the education budgets allotted to the various bantustan departments are influenced by a number of factors, including the political relationship of the bantustan government with the central government and the bureaucratic capacity of the particular department. In the case of Gazankulu it would seem that Ntsanwisi's government alienated the central government less than did neighbours such as KaNgwane. This relative compliance brought some financial advantages specially from 1990 when Ntsanwisi managed to reign in political opposition in Gazankulu until the time of his death early in 1993.

In comparison to the other SGT's, education spending in Gazankulu has been relatively generous: per pupil expenditure in Gazankulu schools and colleges has generally been second highest after Qwa-Qwa in recent years. In the late eighties Gazankulu frequently managed to reserve a higher proportion of its education budget for non-salary purposes than did the other SGT's. In 1989, for example, Gazankulu spent only 85% of its current education budget on education personnel compared to an average 93% in all the SGT's and 88% in the DET. By 1993 however this advantage had diminished as salary spending encroached on capital and other spending.

In comparison to the non-bantustan education departments, education financing in Gazankulu has not been generous. The DBSA estimates that 1991 per capita expenditure was roughly half that of the non-bantustan education departments.

1991 Per Capita expenditure:

Gazankulu	R 572
Region G	R 688
RSA	R1 062
All SA	R 940 (estimate)

Source DBSA 1992b

#### ENROLMENT

The Gazankulu Education Department is relatively small, with a 1992 total student enrolment of fewer than 380 000. Compared to the whole South Africa, Gazankulu has less than 2,5% of the population, 3,3% of the school enrolment and 2,8% of the teachers.

The table below compares the 1991 GDE enrolment to that of the old Region G, the RSA and greater South Africa, including the TBVC regions, in 1991.

REGION	SCHOOLS	PUPILS	TEACHERS	PTR.
GAZ	494	338 611	8 453	40:1
REG G	3 650	1 653 800	45 298	37:1
RSA	19 968	7 816 355	246 135	32:1
All SA	26 300	10 114 846	303 770	33:1

Source: DBSA 1992 b

Within Gazankulu there are very few students outside the formal school system. Secondary student numbers are disproportionately low compared to primary education numbers. The table below shows the distribution of students but does not include the relatively small number of students at UNIGAZ, a satellite of the University of the North.

#### GDE ENROLMENT DISTRIBUTION 1992

	Schools	Role	Teachers	% Qualified Teachers
Pre-prim	20	3 410	144	
Prim	387	255 865	6 031	67%
Sec	181	104 497	2 979	84%
Special Ed	2	299	34	
Ad.Ed	388	12 438	1 657	
Ed Coll's	5	3 382	360	
Tech Ed	1	175	25	

Source GDE 1992 Annual Report

Note: The DBSA have estimated that 12,5% of children between the age of 6 and 18 in region G are not attending school. (1992b)

#### ENROLMENT GROWTH RATE

An examination of GDE enrolment figures suggests that

- the rate of growth was very high in the mid-eighties but has slowed in recent years;
- secondary enrolments growth rates are still much higher than primary enrolments;
- the enrolment growth rate has been higher in Gazankulu than in other self-governing territories.

Statistics provided by RIEP for the GDE give the following average annual growth rates for students and teachers for the years 1982 to 1991.

	Students	Teachers
Primary	6,7%	9,5%

Secondary	16,6%	11,8%
Total	8,5%	10,2%

During the eighties the rate of growth increased steadily and peaked in 1986 and 1987 when it was 9,2% for primary schools and 25,1% for secondary schools. This peak could have been influenced by the movement of students from urban areas after the political developments of 1985. Since then the rate of growth has slowed to under 4% for primary schools and under 10% for secondary schools. There was a surge in enrolment in 1991-1992 which probably resulted from political developments which drew students to Gazankulu from urban areas and also inflated failure rates in Gazankulu schools.

The following table shows that in 1985 to 1990 the rate of growth in Gazankulu was considerably higher than that of the total South African student population, the DET and the average for the six non-independent bantustans.

	Primary	Secondary	Total
Gazankulu	6%	16%	8,3%
All SGT's	4%	13%	
DET	2,8%	11,9%	
All SA Depts		7,7%	3,8%
(Sources RIEP- GDE and Edusource)			

Overall, enrolments grew at a particularly high rate in the eighties and began to even off in the nineties with political developments contributing to peaks within this pattern. The primary school growth rate is now close to the growth rate for the under 14 population growth rate (as estimated by DBSA 1991) but the secondary level enrolment growth rate is still disproportionately high.

#### FACTORS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ENROLMENT GROWTH RATES

In addition to broader systemic factors such as initial underprovision, high enrolment growth has also been influenced by developments specific to Gazankulu. These include the inflow of refugees from Mozambique.

#### Mozambiquan Refugees

In some Gazankulu schools refugee children constitute up to half the enrolment. This affects some areas more than others. The Cunnningmoore circuit, for example, has a total primary enrolment of 12 514 of which 4 417 (35%) are Mozambiquan refugees (GDE Annual Report 1992).

Cunnningmoore Circuit enrolment figures support a generally held view that there are more Mocambiquan refugees in the primary

schools than in the secondary schools. In 1992 there were only 713 refugees in the circuit's secondary schools out of a total enrolment of 4 422 (i.e. 16%). (Cunningmoore Circuit Annual Report)

A number of people interviewed for this research believe that many refugee children do not attend school at all; they ascribe this to social conditions, language problems and impermanency rather than intentional exclusion. It appears to be common practice in Gazankulu (and also in KaNgwane) to channel refugee children into sub A regardless of the school level they had reached in Mocambiquan schools, on the grounds that they cannot speak English and/or Tsonga. They are then promoted as and when their language competence improves. It is likely that this demotivating, time consuming and expensive process discourages many from persevering with their schooling. There is less classroom space in secondary schools than in primary schools and it is likely that local students have an advantage over refugee students in competing for places.

Generally the presence of refugee students has added to the pressure on existing schools. There has been no planning in response to their presence and no extra facilities have been provided for refugee students.

#### **Departmental Initiatives**

The introduction of limited quantities of free stationery and text books has boosted enrolment since 1990. One official suggested that the enrolment also grew in response to the abolition of corporal punishment. A more cynical observer suggested that inflated enrolment numbers were falsely reported to acquire more books and stationery.

#### **Boundary Disputes**

In the mid to late eighties there were disputes between the Gazankulu and Lebowa governments about the allocation of land and resources along the boundaries. This dispute was followed by the withdrawal of Tsonga as medium of instruction in Lebowa schools and the establishment of new 'boundary' schools in Gazankulu. These developments engendered hostility between residents of Gazankulu and Lebowa. Students who had previously crossed the boundaries to the nearest schools were redirected to schools within the bantustan in which they lived.

#### **Increases in Adult Education Learner Numbers.**

The increase in the number of adult education learners and tutors indicated in the GDE Annual Report has been surprisingly large - an 88% increase in number of tutors and a 59% increase in number of

context of reduced adult education activity within the DET and of reports that the adult education system in Gazankulu is very ineffectually administered. Anecdotal evidence and experiences in other regions would suggest that some teachers of adult education classes might be inflating numbers of students in order to claim higher fees.

According to the Director responsible for Adult Education, the demand is higher in the townships than in the more remote areas.

#### **ENROLMENT: GENDER**

There is a similar pattern in Gazankulu to that in other bantustans in that there are more boys than girls in the lower classes (sub A - Standard 3) and more girls than boys in the higher classes. In 1992, 48% of the junior primary enrolment were girls while 56,7% of standard 10 enrolment were girls. In some circuits the balance is more even while in others there is a greater imbalance; in Cottondale and Mkhuhlu over 60% of matriculants are girls.

Some possible explanations for these discrepancies are emerging from this research. These include

a. Boys seem more likely to repeat, fail and drop out in the earlier years. Boys tend to 'dam up' in the lower classes before beginning to drop out from about standard three. While both boys and girls are expected to help with domestic duties at home, boys' duties are more likely to require missing whole days of school. Boys are also more often required to take on the responsibilities of absent parents.

b. There is some inconsistency between the statistical evidence and the insights offered by interviewees regarding the progress of girls in the senior classes. Many interviewees seem convinced that the failure and repeat rate is higher for girls in the senior classes. Girls then 'dam up' at these levels. Although many do drop out, many return to try again, so that overall numbers of girls do not fall substantially. There are some indications that girls who fail at the higher levels are more likely to return and repeat than are boys. Almost all interviewees - regardless of their gender or ideological perspective - agree that the number of girls who leave school temporarily or permanently because they are pregnant is inordinately high.

In spite of these views, repeater figures for girls do not seem to be disproportionately high. The discrepancies between the two sources might be explained either by stereotypical views of women which are not borne out by the evidence or by weaknesses in the data gathering system, or both. It is likely, for example, that girls who drop out and then return a year or two later are not counted as repeaters.

c. Boys who have not completed their schooling seem to be more easily able to find employment than do girls. Those who have some secondary education are more likely to find semi-skilled work

than are girls. If girls find work at all, it tends to be of the most mundane, unskilled type with little hope of improvement. Thus boys have more options open to them if they leave school before the end of matriculation than do girls. (See Lebowa report).

#### **ENROLMENT : AGES**

According to all reports, children under the age of five and a half are not accepted into sub A in Gazankulu. School readiness tests have been introduced in Gazankulu; officials claim that they are done by all sub A's in the first month of school and at a few pre-schools. At the other end of the scale, 8,5% of all pupils - and 68% of standard tens - are 19 or over.

#### **EFFICIENCY: Retention capacity of the system.**

Since there is not sufficient information available to track a cohort through the system, a cruder picture of the efficiency of the system is provided by the distribution of students across the enrolment pyramid in a single year. This picture does not show the effects of repeater rates, numbers of students 'dropping in' from outside the system and the rate of enrolment growth at sub A level.

In Gazankulu there were 38 standard tens for every 100 sub A students in 1992. Within Gazankulu, some circuits appear to have a much better retention capacity than others; in the worst circuit there are only 18 standard tens for every 100 sub A students while in the best there are 49.

The table below shows the number of standard four and standard ten students to every 100 sub A students.

#### **1992 Enrolment ratio's**

	SUB A: STD 4	SUB A:STD 10
Gazankulu	100:66	100:38
Best circuit	77	49
Worst circuit	35	18

The ratio of primary to secondary pupils in Gazankulu is similar to that of the DET i.e. 2.7:1 in 1991. This is higher than the equivalent ratio in most of the other bantustans with the exception of Transkei (4,7:1) and KwaZulu (3:1). (Education Foundation Sept 1992). Since there are many possible explanations for a high primary to secondary enrolment ratio, more information would be required to establish what the ratio's mean in each context. Certainly high primary enrolment growth rates would contribute to this. Relatively high pass rates in secondary schools would also help to keep numbers down as students do not 'dam up' as repeaters as much as in other former bantustans such as Lebowa.

The number of repeaters in a system only tell part of a story about the efficiency of an education department; the full story requires information about drop-outs and failures too. This information is not available in Gazankulu since the GDE head office does not collect data about drop-outs and numbers for failures are collected by the head office only for standard seven and standard ten. Isolated figures suggest that large numbers of students who enter classes at the beginning of a year might not even write the examinations. In 1990, for example, 5 324 students registered to write the standard ten mathematics examination but only 3 363 (63%) actually wrote. The drop out rate may have been higher than usual in 1990 but there was also a substantial drop-out in earlier years; in 1988, 22% who registered for the standard ten Mathematics examination did not write.

In 1992, almost one in five (19%) of all GDE students were repeaters. This proportion was highest at the senior secondary level (34%) specially std 10 (39%) and lowest at the senior primary level (13%).

Males constituted a greater proportion of repeaters throughout the primary and junior secondary phases although this is most marked in the junior primary phase. Here males constitute 52% of the enrolment but 59% of repeaters. In the senior secondary phase males constitute the same proportion of the repeaters as they do of the broader enrolment. Throughout the school system males constitute 50% of the enrolment and 54% of repeaters.

The repeater rates are much higher in some circuits than in others. In 1992 the proportion of repeaters in standard 10 varied from 22% in the Giyani Central Circuit to 71% in the Hlanganani South Circuit. Similarly, at sub A level the proportion of repeaters was 29% in the Hlanganani North Circuit compared to 15% in the Giyani Central Circuit. The overall proportion of repeaters in Hlanganani South (29%) was more than double that in the Giyani Central Circuit (14%).

## **CURRICULUM**

### **SCOPE OF THE CURRICULUM**

Gazankulu is similar to other bantustans in that the curriculum in practice is very narrow while syllabi are inherited from the DET. Most secondary students select their subjects from a narrow range of subjects: Tsonga, English, Afrikaans, Mathematics, Science, History, Geography, Agriculture and Religious Education. Art and Craft is a compulsory subject in lower primary schools but is often not offered due to a lack of qualified teachers and materials. Needlework, Gardening and Art and Crafts are elective subjects in the higher primary phase. In 1992 only three secondary schools offered art. There has been an attempt to introduce the DET's Skills and Techniques course but this was unsuccessful here, as in other bantustans.

Apart from the activities of the Science Centre (described

below), the GDE has developed very little capacity for curriculum innovation. On the whole, the DET curriculum is still passively relayed through the GDE. Gazankulu officials have sat on joint committees with the DET but have been perceived as observers and recipients rather than active participants.

Mathematics is seen as a key subject; the GDE has attempted to make it compulsory from sub A. This process has been undermined by a shortage of appropriately qualified teachers. Judging by the 1992 matriculation results, the emphasis on mathematics has not yet born fruits in Gazankulu (See section on matriculation examinations below).

## **CURRICULUM SUPPORT**

A range of NGO's offer curriculum support for Gazankulu schools. There is no co-ordination of this however and the effects tend to be patchy. Many of the NGO's focus on English. These include SSERP, British Council subsidised training, READ and Shuter and Shooter. Other organisations offer courses such as CASCADE and the 'Day by Day' courses.

The Capricorn Trust is developing curriculum support materials and programmes focusing on English, Maths and Science with the aid of the HSRC and UNISA. A programme for the teaching of English at std 3 level is being implemented in two circuits by the Uptrail Trust as part of the Capricorn initiative. This programme is largely financed by the IDT.

The only substantial curriculum initiative organised by the GDE is a science centre system established in 1989. While this programme is officially a GDE initiative, the organiser has reported directly to the Chief Minister and not to the Director General of the GDE. The programme is run from two centres in Giyani and Mhala and includes in-service teacher training, curriculum enrichment for selected students and a study and advice centre. The programme focuses on Biology, Chemistry, Computer Science and Physics. Each year an additional 30 schools are selected from schools that apply to participate in the programme; in 1993 there were 90 participating schools. Equipment is supplied to the schools through the centre. Plans include provision of a full laboratory to two schools every year although finances may not support this.

The Science Centre programme is linked to a 'major school' system. Each year ninety selected standard eight students are relocated to 3 'science major' secondary schools in Gazankulu where they are given extra attention and support. While all the other hostels at schools have been closed in recent years, the boarding arrangements at these schools have been re-opened to accommodate the selected students. 'Major schools' are visited weekly by science centre staff unlike other participating schools which are visited by science centre staff only once a term.

(See GDE AR 1992 pg 19-20)

Giyani has benefitted more from these developments than have other areas in Gazankulu. Two of the three major schools are in

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(See GDE AR 1992 pg 19-20)

Giyani has benefitted more from these developments than have other areas in Gazankulu. Two of the three major schools are in Giyani as is one of the two science resource centres. The other school and centre are both in the Mhala district in the south. All three major schools are township state schools, not community schools. It seems likely that schools and teachers that are close to the two centres would have much easier access to the programme as would schools with qualified science teachers and secure facilities. Schools that have not been selected to participate in the programme also don't have the benefit of the equipment provided in the programme. The Giyani centre does however have a mobile laboratory which visits schools that do not have a laboratory or electricity.

#### **EXAMINATION RESULTS**

Officially the GDE organises external examinations at 7 and 10 level. Standard 10 exams are set and marked by the DET. Standard 7 exams are set and marked by the GDE. In earlier years there was an external examination at standard 5 level but this has fallen away, partly because of political opposition and partly because the GDE could not sustain the extra finance and efficiency required for external examinations.

#### **Standard Ten Examination Results**

The number of students writing standard ten examinations in Gazankulu has increased at a rapid rate over the last few years. Between 1988 and 1992 the number of standard ten candidates increased from 8 447 (i.e. 2,9% of the total enrolment) to 19 353 (i.e. 5,3% of the total school enrolment). (See GDE AR pg 92 and DBSA 1992a pg 18)

The overall 1992 standard ten results for Gazankulu compared favourably with those of the DET and the other bantustans. The 1992 pass rate was 53% which was almost the same as the overall South African average of 54%. Of the bantustans, only Bophuthatswana achieved a higher pass rate (73%). The average pass rate for the self-governing territories was only 38%. (Note: These statistics, from Edusource 1993 No 2, are based on preliminary results. In some cases final results differed from preliminary results by two or three percentage points.)

In 1991 Gazankulu also produced a higher standard ten pass rate than the DET and seven of the other nine bantustans (excluding Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei) (Edusource 1992 No 1).

In the last decade Gazankulu pass rates have declined. The proportion of passes decreased from a high of 74,2% in 1987 to 37,8% in 1990 and then crept back to it's present level.

In spite of efforts to focus on Maths and Science matric results in these subjects do not compare favourably with other departments. Of all the SA education departments, only Kwandebele and Lebowa had a smaller proportion of matric students pass these two subjects in 1992.

#### Standard Ten Mathematics Results 1992

	Total candidates	No wrote maths	No passed
Gaz	18 841	3 523 (19%)	737 (4%)
All African	342 848	83 933 (24%)	23 868 (7%)
All SA	447 904	146 317 (33%)	78 895 (18%)

#### Standard Ten Science Results 1992

	Total Candidates	No wrote Sc	No passed Sc
Gaz	18 841	2 138 (11%)	987 (5%)
All African	342 848	50 791 (15%)	24 965 (7%)
All SA	447 904	90 306 (20%)	62 672 (14%)

Source: EDUSOURCE 1993

There is wide variation in results from school to school and circuit to circuit. (See tables in appendix 1). 15 of the 114 schools at which candidates wrote achieved a pass rate over 71% (highest 94,2%) while 23 schools had a pass rate below 40% (lowest 04,4%). Across the 15 circuits the pass rate varied from 39,2% to 66,8%

Factors contributing to the relatively high standard ten (and other) results in Gazankulu include

- 1) higher per capita expenditure compared to most of the self-governing regions (except QwaQwa).
- 2) relative political control and stability
- 3) a competitive approach to results. Prizes and trophies are allocated to schools and individuals who achieve the best results. Matric results are publicised in the Annual Report.
- 4) NGO support in some subject areas, especially English and Science

#### Results at Lower Levels

The GDE previously organised examinations at standard five and seven level but in recent years the standard five external examinations were abandoned by most schools. In 1992 about 83% of those who wrote the standard 7 exam passed. (GDE Internal Documents)

As in other former bantustans such as the Ciskei and the Transkei, no records are kept centrally of examination results for internally set examinations. These results are supposed to be recorded at circuit level but in practice this is not generally done very efficiently. Results for 1993 in the Cottondale circuit suggest that, typically, more than 80% of each class passes- although there are numerous exceptions (Cottondale Circuit Office records). Results in other circuits are not likely to be lower since Cottondale is one of the less well resourced circuits.

## **PERSONNEL**

### **Professional Staff**

Fehnel et al (1993) suggest that the number of professional staff employed by departments in managerial or supervisory positions provides one measure of bureaucratic capacity. Gazankulu has a lower pupil to professional staff ratio than six of the other bantustans while Qwa-qwa, Bophuthatswana and, more surprisingly, KwaNdebele have lower ratio's than Gazankulu. The Gazankulu ratio is 2 153 pupils per professional staff member compared to over 10 000 in Lebowa (the worst) and 1 390 in Qwa-qwa (the best). Ratio's in the tricameral departments and the DET are all below 1 000 pupils per professional staff member. (Fehnel et al 1993)

### **Teachers**

In 1992 there were a total of 9 010 teachers employed at schools in Gazankulu of which 6 031 were primary school teachers and 2 979 were secondary teachers (GDE AR 1992). a further 419 were employed at pre-primary and tertiary education institutions. Over the preceding two years the number of teachers in Gazankulu had increased by 13,9% from 7 908 to 9 010. This rate of increase was faster than in any other department; the overall increase in all departments during this period was 7,4% (EduSource Dec 1993).

The term teacher generally refers to those who are working as teachers regardless of whether they are qualified as teachers and the level of their qualifications. According to EduSource figures, only 53% of all South African teachers are qualified; a further 39% are underqualified while 8% are unqualified (EduSource No 4 1993). Edusource conforms to the current trend of taking as the minimum acceptable level of qualifications matric plus three years of appropriate training, including a professional qualification. Those who do have a professional qualification but do not have a matric as well as three years of training are classified as underqualified.

In Gazankulu 28% of all teachers were un- or underqualified in 1992. The proportion is higher in the primary schools (33%) than in the secondary schools (16%) (Calculations based on GDE AR 1992). While these percentages are unacceptably high, they compare favourably to those of other former bantustans such as Lebowa and KaNgwane, particularly at the primary level.

There is considerable regional variation in the proportion of qualified teachers in Gazankulu. In the Cottondale circuit only 50,4% of teachers were qualified in 1992 (and 47% in 1993) while in the Ritavi II circuit 97,6% of teachers were qualified in 1992.

In addition to the problem of qualifications, there is also the as yet unquantified problem of inappropriately placed teachers. Officials in all bantustan education departments report that many

teachers are not teaching in the subject area or at the level for which they qualified.

Some education departments, including the GDE, are drawing attention to the problem of unqualified teachers by defining two TPR's - one for all teachers and one for qualified teachers.

The table below shows the ratio of (a) qualified teachers and (b) all teachers to students in Gazankulu.

It should not be assumed that the average indicated in the ratio reflects actual class sizes. There is considerable variation in actual class sizes. In addition, the number of classrooms places a limit on the actual number of classes taught at any one time. Many classes are taught outside, under trees, but this is not generally regarded a workable arrangement. Since there are generally more teachers than classrooms, the number of classrooms available acts as a limit on school enrolments. The classroom to pupil ratio, shown in the table below, provides a better indication of average class sizes than does the pupil to teacher ratio.

#### TEACHER PUPIL RATIO'S AND CLASSROOM PUPIL RATIO'S IN GAZANKULU, 1992

	QT:P	All T:P	C:P
Primary	1:63	1:42	1:69
Secondary	1:42	1:35	1:62
Total	1:55	1:40	

Source GDE Annual Report 1992.

While the average TPR (based on all teachers) does not compare badly with that in other regions, the ratio of qualified teachers to students is unacceptably high.

Real class sizes are more likely to be determined by classroom: pupil ratio's than by teacher:pupil ratio's, since the former are much higher (see discussion below.).

#### TPR'S : VARIATION ACROSS CIRCUITS

TPR's for circuits show that teachers are not evenly distributed. While TPR's are at an acceptable level in some circuits, they are disturbingly high in others.

Primary TPR's range across circuits from 1:41 to 1:107. Secondary TPR's range across circuits from 1:33 to 1:99. These TPR's are based on numbers of **qualified** teachers.

#### TEACHERS IN MORE REMOTE AREAS

Most teachers prefer not to teach in remote areas, for reasons that have been discussed at length elsewhere. It is difficult to persuade teachers to accept posts at the more remote schools and difficult to keep them there. Consequently, there is a high turnover of teachers in remote schools. Those who do remain are often those with the least impressive curriculum vitae. Students who come from outlying areas to the Colleges of Education often do not want to return there. In the view of one college lecturer, women with children were more likely to return to their own communities than other students.

Because posts in remote areas are perceived as undesirable, it is particularly difficult to persuade teachers of 'scarce subjects' to teach there since their qualifications are in demand in the townships.

The GDE has employed a number of expatriate teachers from countries such as Ghana and Nigeria; these teachers seem more willing to teach in remote areas and they are often willing to teach the 'scarce subjects'.

#### COLLEGES OF EDUCATION

Gazankulu currently has five teacher education colleges one of which one was opened in 1992. (Steps have been taken towards establishing a sixth though it is not clear whether this process will be completed.) These colleges accommodated 3 382 students in 1992 of which 665 were in their third year. If all these students passed, they would have boosted the total number of teachers by about 7%, which just about matches the current percentage increase in enrolment. This number does not allow for teachers who leave nor does it allow for the replacement of unqualified teachers.

There is considerable variation in the type of institutions providing teacher education from under-equipped 'glorified high schools' to the Giyani College of Education which is (relatively) a prestigious institution linked to Wits University. Unlike in the Transkei, however, the overall pass rate for students is relatively high - over 85% of first and second year students passed in 1992. (Most results for third year courses are not available.)

As in the case of schools, the location of colleges of education has on occasion been based on political considerations rather than educational need i.e. they have been located in the domains of the most influential chiefs.

The DBSA is using its influence to persuade the GDE to rationalise its colleges of education; this would mean reducing the number to two - Hoshani and Giyani. Since there is currently a growing backlog of qualified teachers in Gazankulu the envisaged size of the two colleges that are retained would be a crucial issue.

## **Student Organisation at Teacher Colleges**

Although student organisation has not been strong in Gazankulu it has strengthened in recent months; NECC and SASCO have a presence and a federation of SRC's has been formed across colleges in Gazankulu. The renewed energy has partly been a response to a decision to withdraw bursaries of first year college students from May 1993. At one college - Tivumbeni near Tzaneen - there has been considerable conflict between a particularly authoritarian administration and more vocal students.

## **An appropriate Curriculum for Teacher Education**

There are many thorny issues relating to a curriculum for teacher education in a rural context. These include whether teachers should be prepared specifically for conditions in rural schools and whether subjects such as agriculture should be taught in schools in rural areas. Some of these questions are currently being debated within the Giyani College of Education. There is a useful debate among college staff about 'resource blindness' and the need to alert teacher trainees to the resources they do have. There is some support at the college for a shift away from a purely academic curriculum and the establishment of an agricultural course.

## **INSET**

There is minimal provision of INSET in Gazankulu. The INSET that does take place is fragmentary and unco-ordinated and is focused mainly at the secondary level. This includes

- a) the activities of the Science Centre in Giyani,
- b) the activities organised by subject advisors in the various subject areas. The activities of subject advisors tend to be very examination oriented, though there are exceptions.
- c) Inspectors provide administrative support rather than curriculum support. Inspectors and subject advisors are based in Giyani although a subsidiary office has recently been opened near Tzaneen. Since there is limited transport, more attention is given to schools near these centres than to others.

There is no INSET College or separate INSET institution in Gazankulu. The Director who is in charge of INSET envisages a school based INSET system rather than an institution based system.

## **SCHOOL FACILITIES**

The classroom-pupil ratio (CPR) for Gazankulu shows that the provision of facilities is a major problem in the region:

Gazankulu    Worst Circuit    Best Circuit

Primary CPR	- 1:69	1:89	1:56
Secondary CPR	- 1:62	1:107	1:45

Source: GDE AR 1992.

Primary CPR's range across circuits from 1:59 to 1:89 . Secondary CPR's range from 1:45 to 1:102. CPR's are based on numbers of **permanent** classrooms. Since the GDE bases it's definition of classrooms as permanent or temporary on an assessment of the actual building, community school classrooms are counted as permanent if they are in good condition. According to the GDE 1992 Annual Report, only about 5% of all classrooms are categorised as temporary.

### State and Community Schools

Unlike in most other departments, the distinction between state and community schools is still formally retained in the GDE. This distinction reflects different modes of financing school facilities. Officially, community schools can apply to a fund located in the chief minister's office (not in the Education Dept) for R4 to every R1 provided by the community. In practise money is not generally forthcoming for this purpose. Communities may receive a smaller amount or none at all. A Trust fund has been set up within the GDE to hold monies contributed by sponsors; communities can apply to this fund for a subsidy of 70c for every Rand provided by the community but since the fund is not substantial there is no guarantee that the subsidy will be forthcoming.

Officially the GDE provides books and furniture as well as teachers salaries for community schools. The following stock audit list of furniture and equipment at a community lower primary school with 892 pupils in 23 classes illustrates the inadequacy of provision in some contexts:

#### Furniture

- 442 chairs
- 200 tables
- 16 teachers tables
- 23 teachers chairs
- 6 stools
- 13 cupboards
- 180 desks

#### Equipment

- 1 Melodica
- 1 Stamp pad and stamp
- 1 Calculator
- 1 Wheelbarrow
- 3 Pots

- 1 Rake
- 1 Shovel

(From Mugigi Lower Primary School 1993 Annual Report to Cottondale Circuit Inspector)

There are no accurate records indicating the ratio of state schools to community schools in Gazankulu. The Director General estimated that close to half of the schools in Gazankulu are now state schools (Interview with Director General). The DET Annual Report provides very different statistics, but this research indicates that these are not accurate. According to DET statistics for 1992, 52 out of a total of 523 Gazankulu schools i.e. 10% were state schools. (DET AR 1992). In the two circuits visited for this research, 32 out of a total of 110 schools, i.e. 29%, were state schools. Since these were two of the less 'urban' circuits, this would suggest that the proportion of state schools for the whole of Gazankulu is higher than 29%. It is possible that DET figures have not been updated to take into account community schools that have been upgraded to state schools and the new 'boundary schools'. It would be possible to obtain accurate figures from the various circuits. As in other regions, the proportion of state schools is higher at secondary level than at primary level.

Two groups of state schools have been built in rural areas (i.e. outside proclaimed townships) by the GDE :

1 There is a generally accepted principle that at least one state secondary school should be built in the domain of each chief. The distribution of these facilities has been influenced by political considerations. In some areas where there are headmen rather than chiefs schools have not been provided. In the Cottondale district, where the chief fell out of favour with Ntsanwisi in 1990, no new state schools have been provided and no maintenance has been provided for existing state schools since 1990. It is not necessarily in the interests of the chiefs to locate schools in areas where they are most needed; a chief may locate a school in a relatively unpopulated area in order to establish a village and so draw more people into the area and increase the chief's revenue base. It appears that Colleges of Education have also been located in the domains of powerful chiefs when there has been greater need for them elsewhere.

2 A second group of state schools was built in rural areas in 1988. An ad hoc amount of money which had been provided from the central government from sale of strategic reserves funds (approx R58 million) was used to build about 1200 new classrooms including about 65 new schools. Of these, about 19 were built along the Lebowa/Gazankulu border. The official reason for the choice of location for these schools was the withdrawal of Tsonga as medium of instruction in Lebowa schools resulting in the return to Gazankulu of students who had been attending Lebowa schools. Local residents believe, however, that the schools were intended to be seen as a reward to Gazankulu for the relative political quiet in

the area, and that they were placed along the boundary so that the message would also be clear to Lebowa residents.

State schools are often not new schools; they may be community schools that have been upgraded and extended. The state then accepts responsibility to renovate, fence and maintain the buildings and to provide administrative buildings and a watchman. In recent years plans for state schools have not always included administrative buildings.

In Gazankulu the actual building of state schools is done either by the Department of works or by contractors appointed by that Department. When contractors are used the cost per classroom is considerably higher. The working estimate of the cost per classroom is R60 000. If the cost of administrative buildings is included, the average per classroom cost is R70 000

In recent years the amount earmarked for education capital costs has been minimal; it is likely that all capital projects will be frozen for 1993/1994.

Non-state organisations have recently become involved in school building in Gazankulu. These include the IDT, which is still trying to establish a viable structure after some initial set backs. The Phalaborwa Trust, which was set up by a mining company, has built a number of schools in the area close to mines.

The most significant non-government organisation involved in school building is the Capricorn Trust, since this has the potential to become a mechanism for the structuring of non-state responsibility for school building. This organisation is similar to TATU in Transkei in that it provides guidance and training for communities who wish to build their own classrooms. School building is seen as a vehicle for the development of local entrepreneurial and technical skills. Communities are expected to make the bricks and build the schools. Only a small number of classrooms have been built so far. The Capricorn Trust draws money from a range of sources such as Gencor and the European Economic Community.

## **PLANNING PROCEDURES**

The GDE have a priority listing procedure similar to that of the DET and other departments. This procedure prioritises places where new classrooms or schools should be built on the basis of need, defined mainly in terms of pupil: classroom ratio's. In practice, this list is only used when ad hoc funds are available and even then various political pressures may override the priority list.

## **PROCEDURE FOR ESTABLISHING A COMMUNITY SCHOOL**

The initiative to establish a new school may come from a community or from local education officials who might 'motivate' a community to build a school. Generally the first meeting would be called by the local Induna, or tribal authority. The Tribal Authority and the Department of agriculture must agree on a site for a community school. In recent months the Gazankulu land use committee would also have to agree to the allocation of a site. The inclusion of this committee potentially facilitates a link between decisions about the location and distribution of schools and the broader development programme of the Gazankulu Government Economic Planning Secretariat as described above.

Money collected for new classes would be taken to the tribal authority who would approach the Chief Minister's office for a subsidy. The money would typically be controlled by the District Control Officer. Communities are 'encouraged' to use GDE plans for the buildings.

Once a school has been built the community applies for registration. A school which applies for registration must, officially, have a minimum of 5 classrooms as well as toilets for staff and pupils.

In the words of a circuit Inspector, this procedure leaves plenty of room for 'things to go wrong' as regards the control of funds.

#### **PRESTIGE SCHOOLS**

The lack of equity in the provision of facilities and other forms of provision is not only manifest in the distinction between state schools and community schools but also within the category of state schools. Three prestige schools have been established as part of the science project - two in Giyani and one in Mhala. These schools are known as major schools; they have more favourable T:P and C:P ratio's, more highly qualified teachers and better equipment.

There is one private school which was established for the children of white officials working in Giyani and living in the still exclusively white, fenced in suburb of Kremetart. This school - Kanyisa - receives only teachers' salaries from the state but has received large amounts from funders including R25 million from Anglo America.

#### **HOSTEL ACCOMMODATION**

Available hostels are not in use; they were closed in response to student unrest in 1990. Only students selected for the special science project are accommodated in hostels.

#### **BOOKS AND STATIONERY**

The GDE has adopted a policy of providing free books and stationery in but the supplies are not adequate. It appears that in Gazankulu, as elsewhere, the provision of free stationery since about 1990 has boosted enrolment.

## CONCLUSION

This report has argued that in Gazankulu overall provision inputs indicated by per capita expenditure are better than those of the other SGT's (excluding Qwa-Qwa). Standard ten results have tended to be better than those of the DET and all other former bantustans except Bophuthatswana. This may be somewhat surprising in view of the level of poverty in Gazankulu and the remoteness of Gazankulu from the resources of metropolitan areas and large towns. It suggests that, where schooling is generally under resourced, differences in material inputs do matter. Apart from material inputs, Gazankulu has benefitted a higher proportion of qualified teachers, relative political stability, an achievement oriented school ethos and policies which have minimised the debilitating effects of having large numbers of repeaters in the system.

A second theme of this report has been the spatial inequalities in schooling within Gazankulu. These are even greater than in neighbouring former bantustans. These differences have been explained in terms of

- i) the different modes of financing schools within and outside proclaimed townships and
- ii) the founding of administrative practices in political relationships and development discourses which advantage some areas over others.

Paradoxically, it is possible that the unequal distribution of resources has contributed to Gazankulu's success in that at least some schools have been adequately resourced.

There are numerous unanswered questions raised in this report, for example: what is the relationship between relatively high repeater rates throughout the GDE schooling system and relatively high standard ten pass rates, compared to neighbouring regions? Was there less pressure on the GDE to follow a pass one pass all policy at the lower levels? Were more students excluded from the examinations in Gazankulu - perhaps because they did not pay examination fees - than in other regions? These questions highlight the need for more qualitative research in Gazankulu and other regions, aimed at improving the quality, efficiency, and effectiveness of schooling.

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# APPENDIX 1

## MATRIC RESULTS 1992

### VARIATION ACROSS SCHOOLS

% OF STUDENTS	Pass rate No of schools	Matric ex No of schools
<10%	2	43
11-20%	4	48
21-30%	6	16
31-40%	11	1
41-50%	18	2
51-60%	30	3
61-70%	22	1
71-80%	10	
81-90%	5	
91-100%		

### VARIATION ACROSS CIRCUITS

Pass rate	No of circuits
<40%	1 (Lowest:39,2)
41-51%	5
51-60%	5
61-70%	4 (Highest:66,8)

## **APPENDIX 2**

### **Programme**

#### **Mon 4 July**

Gaz Govt Economic Planning Secretariat - Chris Barnard  
GDE - Mr Maswanganyi - Out Of School Education  
Mr Nyathi - Chief Inspector (Subject Advisors and INSET)  
Mr Chuma - Chief Education Planner - Subject Advisers

Akanani staff (Mark Wegerif), Elim  
SADTU/NECC - Mr Sampson Phophi

#### **Tues 5 July**

GDE - Mr Vukela Director-General  
Mr WE Layne GDE Liaison Officer  
Mr Mona Dep DG Financial Administration  
Mr Soundy GDE Chief Education Planner (Exams)  
GDE Science Centre, Giyani - Mr T G Sombhane

#### **Wed 6 July**

GDE - Mr Ngobeni, Chief Inspector (Inspectors)  
Mr Mavangwa Education Planning  
Prof Mahlangu

GCE - Sue Cowan  
Guy Bostock

SASCO/SRC Federation - Tebogo Setihwane (GCE x130)  
NECC/SADTU - Ben Mhlongo (Tel 0158 20808 or Box 2002 Giy 0826)

#### **Thur 7 July**

Wits Rural Facility - Deon Delport  
GDE Circuit Inspector (Thulamashashi) - Ms Mabunda  
Lebowa Educ Dept Circuit Inspector (Mapulaneng) - Mr Tladi

#### **Fri 8 July**

GDE Circuit Inspector (Cottendale) - Mr Shipalana  
NETWORK - Andrew McKenzie

#### **Mon 11 July**

Dr Floris Pelser - DBSA  
Sian Elliffe - DBSA

### EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN GAZANKULU

This section explores ways in which national and regional development strategies influence education provision in rural areas, with specific reference to Gazankulu. It argues that national and regional development strategies influence education provision practices in important yet inadequately explored ways. A brief overview of the international literature will highlight the implications of national development and education strategies for rural areas. This will be followed by a review of rural development strategies in South Africa and their implications for education in rural areas. Finally, the current development strategies of the Gazankulu government will be considered along with a case study of the actual effects of current strategies in a particular village.

### EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

There is a substantial body of international literature which places debates about the relationship between education and development within poorer countries in historical perspective. (See Cornwell (1988) for a useful overview). Generally the focus of this literature is national; rural urban and regional distinctions are seldom systematically explored. The phrase 'rural education' is as often used to refer to the fact that whole countries are predominantly rural as to distinguish between areas within countries. It is nevertheless frequently acknowledged that rural-urban and regional differences constitute the predominant form of inequality within African countries.

Typically, this literature takes as its starting point the argument that expanded access to education in the sixties and seventies did not generally result in economic growth or greater social equity in the less developed countries. Carnoy and Samoff (1990) argue that the transitional countries (including China, Cuba, Tanzania, Mozambique and Nicaragua) have had greater success than post-colonial capitalist countries in transforming social relations but that they, too, have had limited success in achieving economic growth. Education was only one of a number of factors which contributed to greater equity in these countries. In capitalist less developed countries, the expansion of education has, if anything, tended to benefit the elite in urban areas and economically advantaged regions and increased social inequalities. In more recent years many of the less developed countries, particularly poorer African countries, have not been able to afford universal access to education, particularly post primary education. Real per capita spending on schooling has dropped in many of the poorer countries (Youngman 1993, World Bank 1990 and Ki-Zerbo 1990). In low income African countries, social inequalities have most frequently been spatially organised, with marked differences

between people living in rural and urban areas or in different regions. Where attempts to improve access and quality in education have faltered, it is inevitably people in rural areas and historically disadvantaged regions who have lost out.

There has been a dual response to the failure of attempts to provide universal schooling of acceptable quality and disillusionment about benefits of present forms of schooling.

Firstly, aid agencies have spearheaded an international movement which re asserts the importance of universal education. The experience of pacific rim countries, where universal access to education preceded economic growth is frequently cited. The 1990 Jomtien conference, sponsored by the World Bank, the United Nations, the International Children's Emergency Fund and the United Nations Development Programme introduced an Education for All campaign which has been sustained with various publications, regional conferences and national programmes. Subsequent World Bank policy papers re-assert the importance of improved access to, and quality of, general primary and secondary education. The 1990 World Bank report on primary education sees primary education as an important factor in development with benefits for individual earnings, productivity, quality of life and smaller family sizes. The report acknowledges that per capita expenditure on primary education has fallen in the last decade, specially in the lowest income countries. It offers no solution to the problem of affordability other than to encourage increased and more diverse funding, including increased international aid. Targeting a limited constituency is tentatively and circumspectly considered.

Where insufficient resources are allocated to pursue both [effectiveness and expansion] simultaneously, the most practical strategy is to concentrate resources on effectively educating a limited number of students. However, in countries with growing school-age populations and a large number of children still out of school, such a strategy would be economically and socially detrimental and politically unacceptable. (pg 39)

According to the 1991 World Bank Policy Paper on Vocational and Technical Education and Training, secondary education is as important as primary education; it is a prerequisite to expanding modern manufacturing and service sectors within the economy and it improves the chances of individuals to engage in self employment or to maximise agricultural production. This would imply that secondary education is desirable for both rural and urban contexts.

It is difficult - and too early - to assess the impact the push for universal access to education by international agencies has had on national policies and practices. In South Africa, Unicef has orchestrated an evaluation of the status of children which might have some impact on child health and early childhood educare but is unlikely to affect schooling.

A second response to the failure to provide expanded education of an acceptable quality relates to differentiation. Education is no longer represented in international development literature as an homogenous process which extends from pre-school to tertiary education. Instead debates focus on questions of priority, affordability and quality and the appropriate types and levels of education for particular contexts. There have been strong arguments, for example from Unesco, in favour of differentiated forms of education for different constituencies. Distinctions are drawn between basic and further education, and between formal and non-formal education. Unesco proposes that non-formal basic education be extended to those who have not been reached by the formal system. In poorer African countries, formal education facilities have generally been concentrated in the urban areas. It would follow that the distinction between formal and non-formal education would be a rural-urban distinction. Unicef documents suggest that expanded basic education would have important social benefits in that women would be influenced to have smaller families and to care more effectively for their children. The emphasis is on life skills and preparation for self-employment. These emphases suggest that basic and non formal education would prepare learners to enter the nonformal economic sector, unlike formal education which would lead to further education and incorporation into the formal economic sector.

Critics of the approach of the international agencies argue that such a dual system would simply consolidate existing inequalities along spatial, class and gender lines. They argue that the structural adjustment policies of funding agencies - particularly the World Bank and the IMF - have contributed to the financial squeeze which undermined education provision in the eighties. Current World Bank policies would further exacerbate these problems by their insistence on the introduction of user fees, increased privatisation of schooling and restricted access to post compulsory education. (See for example Turok 1993)

## **THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT**

In South African literature, debates concerning the relationship between education and development have been boosted by transitional political developments since 1990, particularly within government, NEPI and Cosatu policy processes. These debates have attempted to address the tension between economic development and equity objectives within the constraints of affordable options. The most concrete products of these debates have been three sets of education policy proposals emerging from the government, NEPI and the ANC-COSATU alliance. Each of these reflects particular views of the ways in which education should support economic development as well as other objectives. All three sets of proposals aspire to the highest level of compulsory education that the country can afford.

The government's ERS envisages introducing four institutionally separate streams at the secondary level - academic, vocationally

oriented, vocational and non-formal. In the context of wide social disparities and a stratified labour market, such streaming is likely to reflect and perpetuate social inequalities.

The ANC proposals envisage a more homogenous system of general education with subject choices but without streaming. A complete restructuring of the institutional shape of education and training is proposed which would maximise articulation across different education sectors; the objective, in terms of the economy, is to extend the skill and qualification levels of workers. (See Kraak 1992)

None of these sets of proposals addresses the relationship between education and rural development specifically; each adopts a national (and implicitly urban) perspective. The ANC does move a little further in this direction than do the others; in its Farmworkers policy document it examines schooling on commercial farms and in a section of its education policy framework document it attempts to address the legacy of underprovision in rural areas. The government's ERS strategy does not attempt to address spatial inequalities but instead includes a number of proposals that are likely to perpetuate the disadvantage of learners in rural areas. In particular, streaming and differentiated forms of provision - for example different models and distance or contact schooling - are likely to result in spatially organised patterns of differentiated provision of unequal quality and social value. The education policy initiatives discussed above focus on the ways in which education can be reconstructed in order to support economic growth. In the South African education literature little attention has been given to the ways in which development strategies impact on education, more specifically in rural areas. (Important exceptions are De Clerq's work in Bophuthatswana - also Paterson and Lawrence - discuss their stuff briefly()). In progressive journals such as *Matlhesedi* debates have tended to focus instead on the political and bureaucratic mechanisms which resulted in unequal resourcing of community schools outside of the bantustan townships.

The DBSA based journal *Development Southern Africa* has also paid scant attention to the ways in which development strategies influence education. A small number of articles in the DSA - in fact 2% of the articles in the first ten volumes - do relate to education but almost all of these examine the implications of particular aspects of education provision for development. None take as their main focus the ways in which development strategies have actually helped directly and indirectly to shape education provision.

#### **THE IMPLICATIONS OF OFFICIAL RURAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES FOR EDUCATION IN RURAL AREAS**

The next part of this discussion will examine DBSA accounts of rural development strategies in South Africa in order to draw out

the implications for education provision. As an agent of the South African government, the DBSA has managed rural development strategies in the bantustans for the last decade. Its primary academic mouthpiece is the Development Journal of Southern Africa (DSA) and hegemonic development discourses can be traced in debates running through successive editions of DSA. The flagship article in the first (1984) issue of DSA by Ligthelm and Coetzee of the DBSA provides a useful starting point.

Ligthelm and Coetzee critique the 'conventional development approach in the Third World' and propose what they see as a more appropriate alternative. Their argument will be summarised at some length. It shows how earlier development strategies disadvantaged rural areas. It will also be contrasted to a later DSA Editorial in order to show how - and why - Coetzee, the DBSA and the DSA Editors backtracked later towards an approach which disadvantages rural areas just as much as the approach they critique so persuasively here. This will be followed by a consideration of the relationship between development strategies and education provision practices and the mechanisms which translate development strategies into education provision practices.

L and C begin by citing various indicators of poverty in LDC's in Africa, and summarise this section with a quotation from a 1980 OAU report

Africa is unable to point to any significant growth rate or satisfactory index of well being in the last twenty years

They blame this lack of progress on the

growth or modernisation approach, which concentrates strongly on urban development, advanced technology and large scale development projects producing modern products and services {which} has benefited only a limited elite in the LDC's, while no trickle down of benefits to the poor section has taken place.

Turning to the 'national states' they agree with Thomson's view that

like in so many Third World countries most of the emphasis has hitherto fallen on the few urban areas...and on large scale agricultural, forestry, infrastructure and industrial projects where the link with rural communities is often minimal. On the whole, grass roots rural development has actually been neglected

Ligthelm and Coetzee bemoan the neglect of social services to the 'national states'

Apart from a low income which does not grant lesser privileged groups access to basic products like food and clothing, governmental priorities were of such a nature that collective

products like education, health and infrastructure were made available only to a limited elite. (L and C 1984 pg 11)

Regionally, the conventional approach

has a tendency towards polarisation between rich and poor resulting in differences in growth rates between different regions and countries (pg 16)

At the theoretical level, argue L and C, these problems arise from the reduction of the meaning of development to economic development and the neglect of other dimensions of development in areas such as health and education. This is accompanied by the belief that economic growth is the vehicle of development and that the fruits of development would be distributed to all sections of the community 'more or less automatically'. Within this approach, the driving force behind economic growth is the market mechanism.

This approach, based on large scale industrialisation in urban areas,

promised spill-over effects to the rural economy and finally modernisation of the whole economy - a belief that has been severely criticised in recent years.

L and C conclude their critique of the conventional approach by agreeing with Richardson that

a complementarity is needed between urban and rural development and ... a certain compatibility is needed between growth strategies and the modern day development approach. (pg 16)

L and C are operating within the official ideological frame which pertained prior to 1984; they represent the bantustans as separate countries "linked into the economic framework of an economic union with the RSA". They therefore see the role of the RSA - presumably through the DBSA - as 'exogenous' to development in the bantustans.

L and C propose an alternative approach to development which distinguishes between the responsibilities of the RSA and those of the bantustan governments. The responsibilities of the RSA are limited to financial support, demarcation of development regions, institutional development and the decentralisation of economic activities with the main emphasis on "placing the geographic location of employment creation centres ... as close as possible to the labour sources." These steps mainly concern the 'modern sector' within the bantustan economy.

On the other hand,

the programmes and instruments concerning the development of

the less developed sector are more endogenous in nature, because they relate to the influence which the governments of the national states as such can exercise upon the development of those states.

While L and C emphasise programmes which benefit the rural poor, all the elements of the alternative approach which are aimed at incorporating the poor and those in rural areas into economic development are designated the responsibility of the bantustan governments. L and C propose that these governments do not neglect the non-economic factors in development (including education). Development should be self-reliant, based on labour intensive programmes and appropriate technology. The main aim is to fulfill the basic needs of the broader population and it's success requires the participation and political support of those at whom it is aimed.

In effect, L and C were saying to the bantustan governments, " Do as we say, don't do as we did" while abrogating to them responsibility for organising social services and jobs in rural areas which they have neither the resources, the administrative capacity or the political will to provide .

Within two years the DSA Editorial committee and the DBSA had completely abandoned this 'alternative approach to development'. This is evident in an Editorial in the August 1986 edition. (SF Coetzee who co-authored the L and C article was still one of the associate editors.) Here the emphasis has shifted firmly and unambiguously back to prioritising the urban. According to this editorial, a development policy should include serious consideration of

the priority of urban development, especially of those urban areas with potential and available facilities. (pg 354)

So, what had changed between 1984 and 1986? The Editorial itself points to three major developments. Firstly, the South African government had been forced to acknowledge the economic integratedness of South Africa, including all the bantustans. This called for a single regionalised economic strategy rather than separate strategies with endogenous and exogenous components. It was no longer possible to preach rural development as the responsibility of others within a dual strategy.

Second, the government's orderly urbanisation strategy and the abolishment of influx control meant that it was no longer necessary to take the jobs to the workers. Instead, it was possible to 'concentrate on centres with the required potential.'

Third, urban based political movements had forced the government to prioritise the needs of urban constituencies. In the following quotation the meaning of the term 'need' is virtually reduced to the need to 'promote legitimacy'

Development programmes should be aimed at those who need it most. If the needs are highest and the most urgent in the urban areas, they should receive correspondingly more attention compared to development work in the rural areas. It so happens that civil unrest is presently concentrated in the urban environment. To the extent that one of the motives behind the development programmes is to promote legitimacy of the authorities and of official structures, development programmes in such areas should promote priority attention.

While the editorial goes on to caution that development should not become a political instrument, it is clear that that is exactly what it is.

After 1986 development strategies which prioritised urban areas became established within the regional economic development policies of the Nationalist government. In a 1993 review of regional economic policies, Wilsenach and Ligthelm argue that industrial policy is at the heart of current regional economic development policies, embodied in the 1991 Regional Industrial Development Policy; this policy, they say, represents a shift away from an emphasis on socio-political objectives towards a predominantly economic orientation. Rural development and non-economic factors appear to have slipped off the policy agenda completely.

In 1993 the DBSA presented a new rural economic strategy which indicated that it had come full circle in its views. The strategy is presented in a 1993 paper which bemoans the neglect of rural development strategies in South African economic policies. It argues for an integrated rural and urban economic policy which takes social and economic redress as one of its aims. While it focuses on access to land and agricultural policies, it also points out that farming accounts for less than a third of economic activities in rural areas. Consequently, the development of non-agricultural economic activities in rural areas as well as basic needs and human development are also given priority. Local government is identified as an important arena for rural development. (Eckert and Van Rooyen 1993)

Since 1990 the World Bank has entered the South African development policy sphere with its 1993 rural development policy document. This defines rural development primarily in terms of restructuring agriculture and land use in rural areas. No specific mention is made of education outside of agricultural training and only passing mention is made of non-economic factors more generally:

Redistribution will not provide land for everyone. The programme will have to be complemented by a rural safety net and by programmes for urban groups. (pg 47)

While this document does not address the relationship between education and development in rural areas explicitly, it does have implications for schooling. Those households that benefit from the

redistribution of land are likely to be in a better position to subsidise their own schooling. But the rest - a majority - would be no better off than before. Landholders are likely to have more political and economic clout and more influence than others on schooling. This would suggest that schooling should constitute an important element within the 'rural safety net'.

The ANC Reconstruction and Development plan (1994) also places emphasis on the redistribution of land in its section on rural development. Unlike the WB document, however, it explicitly links this to an elaborate plan for social reconstruction in rural areas through strategies such as improved education, health services and job creation programmes.

#### **GAZANKULU GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES**

The Gazankulu government's Economic Services Planning Division have their own development model, or structural Adjustment Programme, which 'responds to Keyes' direction' and which they hoped (in July 1993) to put in place by March 1994. Education is seen as an integral part of this process. The plan specifies that the model would determine what slice of the budget is to be allocated to education at every level and the way in which the education allocation would be distributed. Thus education provision would be orchestrated to support the four main development strategies:

- To facilitate household survival
- To utilise the comparative economic advantages of an area
- To develop a functional spatial hierarchy of development nodes
- To conserve natural resources.

The second strategy - the development of a functional spatial hierarchy of development nodes - is to be realised by the creation of six district development plans. Development committees are to be established at village, district and regional level to implement the plan. Education officials would participate in these committees at every level so that education planning can be co-ordinated with the broader development plans. (Officials claim that committees at the village level have already been in place for some time). Each town or village will be given a priority rating which would determine the level of infrastructure - including schools - located there. Villages that fall within the Tzaneen or Phalaborwa urban cores, such as some of the Ritavi 2 and Lulekani villages, would receive the most infrastructural development including upgrading of existing schools and the addition of ablution blocks and workshops. Other districts, such as Ritavi 1, would have no villages with a high priority rating and would therefore not receive further investment in education infrastructure. The Ritavi 1 circuit currently has the worst classroom pupil ratio in Gazankulu.

The Gazankulu government officials concerned with evolving the SAPRO model (interviewed in July 1993) envisaged the creation of a non-government trust to be responsible for school building, they

believed this trust should manage monies from government and other sources. Decisions about where to locate schools - particularly post basic level schools - will be made in line with broader development objectives.

It is clear that the 'functional spatial hierarchy' of the Gazankulu government's development strategy would also amount to a social hierarchy which would perpetuate existing spatial inequalities in Gazankulu.

#### OTHER PARTIES INVOLVED IN DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION.

It is not only the development strategies of the Gazankulu government which impacts on education in Gazankulu. Although there is less non-government activity in Gazankulu than in other regions more proximate to metropolitan areas, a range of parastatal and non-government organisations have intervened in various ways.

Many of the non-government organisations have grouped together to form larger bodies which can impact more strongly on policy and funding processes. These include:

- \* the Hlubukani Regional Literacy Association,
- \* the Progressive Front which was established in March 1992. This consists of 44 organisations including SADTU and the NECC. Its brief is to engage with state and parastatal organisations on a range of social and development issues including education and health.
- \* the Northern Transvaal Regional Development Forum. The NTRDF is based at Pietersburg and linked to the National Development Forum. Participants include liberal and progressive NGO's, unions, civics and the DP. There has been an attempt within the NTRDF to set up a Trust with IDT money. The Trust was to undertake classroom building and broader education development programmes. The Trust has been suspended due to disagreements between the IDT and other participants (including NECC, SADTU, Cosas and PAC/Paso) about state participation. The NTRDF is more clearly aligned to progressive movements, with a weaker business and state presence, than is the case with development forums in other regions.
- \* a negotiating forum initiated by IDASA which is also based in Pietersburg. Local NGO's perceive this forum as strongly DBSA influenced.

The bigger organisations participating in education in Gazankulu include the DBSA, the Gazankulu Training Trust, Wits University, the Capricorn Trust and the Akanani Project. The activities of these organisations merit fuller discussion:

1. The DBSA has intervened directly in the planning of the Gazankulu education department in order to implement its regional structural adjustment programme, particularly in the sphere of teacher education. The main brief of DBSA projects has been teacher education (Preset and Inset) and the rationalisation of colleges.

DBSA is also concerned with capacity building within state dept's (including education departments) and the provision of technical and vocational education. It can provide support to NGO's and CBO's within the area of it's mandate. Its activities include

- a) capital investment, particularly in teacher training colleges and support for teacher training curriculum development focusing on particular curriculum areas such as competency based modular training

- b) technical assistance which involves capacity building and the development of policy and strategy, for example the development of a teacher training strategy.

- c) policy development for a range of areas including education and training within a macro-economic frame. This includes strategic analyses (sectoral analyses) and the production of position papers as well as pilot projects. Currently the DBSA is developing a education financing data base in co-operation with World Bank and CEPD.

The DBSA plans on a regional basis. It's strategy for the rationalisation of teacher education colleges aims at the reduction of the 23 colleges in the northern Transvaal to 12 (or 14) i.e. from 6 to 3 in Gazankulu, from 12 to 7 (or 5) in Lebowa, from 4 to 2 in Venda and to retain two in Kangwane.

The plans for rationalising teacher education include

- a) providing alternative avenues for tertiary education particularly in the sphere of technical education,
- b) supporting projects which enhance quality such as resource centres, libraries and curriculum programmes and
- c) support for the introduction of distance education and development of distance education models
- d) support for the decentralisation of Inset.

In addition to it's work in the sphere of teacher education, the DBSA has also liaised with Gazankulu and other bantustans on behalf of the RSA government on matters relating to education policy and planning. More recently this liaison function has been taken over by SAPROM (Structural Adjustments Programme) within SECOSAF which is linked to the RSA Department of Foreign Affairs. SECOSAF is a nominally independent Section 2 organisation which provides financial and economic services. DBSA officials are still called in on a contract basis.

2. The Gazankulu Training Trust is located within the Gazankulu Development Corporation (GDC). The GDC produces policy position papers relating to education and training. It is particularly interested in establishment of technical centres to be used by clusters of schools. Other concerns include a focus on quality rather than access, capacity building and a regional approach to planning for formal education. (See HRD extract from GDC document.

3. Wits University has established a rural facility in Gazankulu. This is likely to provide resources (including education projects such as teacher INSET) to nearby areas in both Gazankulu and Lebowa. There are also plans for the establishment of a Community College at Acornhoek; this project is a partnership between Wits, the local health service and the local community.

4 Capricorn Trust. 'Project Capricorn' was established by Grinaker System Technologies (GST). Currently funders include GST, Gencor, Anglovaal and the CSIR. The Trust aims to provide management and curriculum support for teachers and technical and entrepreneur training for communities involved in the establishment of schools and school infrastructure. Curriculum support would focus on English, Mathematics and Science; Unisa and the HSRC are contributing to the development of curriculum materials.

5 Akanani is a fairly large NGO based near Elim. Its activities focus mainly on development work but it has also taken on specific education projects such as literacy classes and winter schools.

Other NGO's in the region include the Ithuseng Community Health Centre, Tushaning (linked to Learn and Teach), SEPROF (the Sekhukhuni Educational Projects Forum), Ikageng (a study project) Small Beginnings, (an educare project) Itereleng (part of the Trust for Christian Outreach) and Operation Hunger. Churches such as St Mark's, St Joseph's and St Brendan's also have social outreach programmes. While these projects do not respect b'stan boundaries, they tend to be more active in Lebowa and Venda than in Gazankulu. Other state and private sector initiated projects include the Phalaborwa Trust and the Social and Economic Reconstruction and Development.

All these organisations have influenced education provision in Gazankulu from their own particular understandings of rural development. In the Northern Transvaal region these organisations still remain fairly polarised, ideologically. To date, no institution, such as a Regional Education and Training Forum, has managed to draw them into a common negotiating forum. It is likely that the forthcoming elections and the new regional dispensation will change the power relationships between ideologically diverse groupings which will also be drawn into new institutional forums.

#### **ON THE GROUND: THE OUTCOME OF PAST DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES**

In a case study of a particular rural village in Gazankulu, De Waal (1991) finds that past development projects have had little impact on social provision, including schooling, or employment. He concludes

District development planning in Gazankulu hardly affects the economy of rural settlements. Development planning is aimed at aggregate district production results and may be successful in terms of technical aims, but is at the same time unsuccessful

in the social sense because it reinforces the position of privileged sectors of the population and thereby creates resentment among the majority. (pg 354)

De Waal is sceptical about claims that village committees are involved in development planning

It is often stated officially that local people are involved in development planning in Ritavi. This only means, however that the tribal authority, officials and other members of the privileged category are consulted in top-down exercises, whereas there is no participation in decision making by the rest of the population. At formal settlement meetings as well as in informal discussion the areas of concern most often raised by the settlement inhabitants are infrastructure, transport, education, day-care and similar needs of the inhabitants. In order to address these needs democratic structures which will facilitate the expression of needs and decision making by the people concerned are required. (pg 355)

## CONCLUSION

From the global to the local scale, past and current development strategies have tended to impact on education provision policies and practices in ways which exacerbate socio-spatial inequalities. These economic processes have interacted with political and bureaucratic processes which disadvantage people living in the more remote areas. As one of the more predominantly rural areas in South Africa, Gazankulu provides a case study of the ways in which such processes have perpetuated spatial inequities in access to, and quality of, education.