

RURAL EDUCATION PROJECT REPORT:

TRANSKEI

BY
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1994

FOREWORD

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

The titles and authors of the eleven reports are:

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

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 Further, though unpublished, a number of these reports have been cited.

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

Mark Sandham
Education Librarian
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. The photocopies were reductions to A5 – we have kept them at this size.

Rural Education Project report: Transkei is divided into sections, and the author had supplied a brief contents page – we added an amplified contents page. In the photocopy we used for scanning, Page 2 was miss-collated. We have moved it to its correct place, Page 3.

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

Metadata by Mark Sandham and Alison Chisholm.

Scanning directions by Mark Sandham.

Scanned by Celine Mdakane and Tshifhiwa Ramuhulu, using a Zeta TS-0995 overhead scanner made by Zeutschel.

In-image editing and photo-shopping by Celine Mdakane and Tshifhiwa Ramuhulu, using Adobe Acrobat DC Pro. Images were cropped on the Zeta scanner.

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RURAL EDUCATION PROJECT REPORT
TRANSKEI

H J Jacklin

SECTION A : KEY EDUCATION INDICES

SECTION B : THE CONTEXT OF EDUCATION

SECTION B : THE EDUCATION SYSTEM
POLICIES AND PRACTICES

RURAL EDUCATION PROJECT REPORT: TRAHSKEI

SECTION A : KEY EDUCATION INDICES

PUPIL "EL:JIOLENT" (1992)

Pre-Primary (TDE subsidised)	10	412
Primary	1 006	279
Secondary))1	665
TOTAL	1))7	944

Enrolment increase 1991 to 1992 : 11, 61

Females in matric 631

Enrolment Pyramid Std 10 as I of sub A : 9,41
Std **4 as** I of sub **A** :)) 1

The ratio of matriculants to sub A pupils varies across circuits from 21 to 211.

OUT OF SCHOOL CHILDREN (1992)

There are 422 189 more children in the 15 - 19 age group than the total school enrolment. There are 263 438 more children in the 5 - 14 age group than the total primary enrolment. While these figures include five year olds that are not yet at school, they don't include those over the age of 19 who are still at school or those over the age of 14 who are still in primary school.

TEACHERS (1992)

Primary	14	2)7
Secondary	12	492
TOTAL	25	729

PUPIL: TEACHER RATIO'S

Pimary	71 : 1	
JP		87 : 1
SP		5) : 1
Secondary	27 : 1	
JS		26 : 1
SS		29 : 1
Average	50 : 1	

ESTIMATED TEACHER **BACKLOG**
(estimated by TOE in 1992)

Primary	-10	975
Secondary	+ 2	592
TOTAL	8	383

Teachers due to qualify **at** the end of 1992 :

Primary	1	51
Secondary	1	700

1992 Final year pass **rate at** teacher training **colleges** 16,9\

TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS 1992

	Qualified	Unqualified
Junior Primary	2 117	5 076
Senior Primary	2 161	4 463
Junior Secondary	5 567	3 538
senior secondary	1 172	215
TOTAL	13 437	13 292

PROFESSIONAL SUPERVISORY **STAFF** and CLERICAL **STAFF**
(from Fehnel et al 1993)

Number 266
Ratio of PSS to pupils 1 : 5 070

Number of clerical staff 328
Ratio of clerical staff to pupils 1 : 4 079

FACILITIES

Backlog of classrooms (estimated by the TOE on the **basis** or a target of a 40: 1 pupil classroom ratio, 1992) : 25 000 classrooms

PUPIL **CLASSROOM** RATIO'S

	All venues	Permanent classrooms only
Primary	69 1:	191:1
Secondary	18 1:	64:1
Average	57 1:	

EXTERNAL EXAMINATION RESULTS 1992

Standard 10 Passes 42%
Standard 7 Passes 43%

Private Candidates

40% of those who wrote the matriculation examination in 1992 were private candidates. Many private candidates did not write six subjects. Of those who did write six subjects, 27% passed.

SECTION B : THE CONTEXT OF EDUCATION IN THE TRANSKEI

Transkei is the largest of the bantustans. It has the second largest population (after Kwazulu) and the second lowest number of people per square kilometre (after Lebowa) (Egero 1991). It was the first bantustan to become 'independent' in October 1967.

The Political Context

Not all bantustans are equally 'rural', impoverished or politically illegitimate. Compared to the other TBVC regions, the Transkei is more rural and impoverished. In spite of this, Holomisa has engineered a degree of political legitimacy within the constraints of the Transkei's economic dependence on Pretoria. Roger Southall argues that Holomisa has managed to obtain 'conditional legitimacy' for his rule by favouring reincorporation, establishing a relationship with the ANC and allowing the PAC space to organise (1993). Interviews I conducted with SADTU executive members in May 1993 substantiated this view. SADTU called off an effective strike in that month - and persuaded COSAS to call off a march - when it appeared that their action could seriously destabilise Holomisa's government.

In spite of its rural character, the Transkei is not politically passive. Peires, Southall and others have documented the history of worker organisations, the ANC, the PAC and the official Transkei National Independence Party as well as the relationship of these organisations to groupings of chiefs. In the sphere of education, SADTU has a large and organised following while other organisations such as the NECC and COSAS are also present.

The Economic Context

In terms of the economic regions defined by the current government, the greater part of the Transkei falls within region D which is, in many ways, the most underresourced region in South Africa. Within region D the Transkei has a less attractive economic profile than other areas such as the Ciskei and the East London - Queenstown corridor (See Hilary Southall 1992). In the last decade poverty has deepened; there have been declining rates of employment in the mining and manufacturing sectors and agricultural subsistence has been undermined by the drought (R Southall 1993). Public sector employment within the Transkei has increased but this has meant that salaries have been pitched at Transkei levels, where minimum wages are lower than those in the RSA.

Transkei has particularly low urbanisation rates of about 15% as compared to 85% in the Ciskei. Although rates are relatively low, the rate of urbanisation appears to have increased substantially in the last decade as a result of continuing economic and agricultural decline and drought. These conditions have pushed people from rural areas to the RSA cities as well as Transkei towns and have resulted

in the expansion of squatter communities and peri-urban settlements (R Southall 1993). These developments have increased the pressure on the Transkei Education Department to expand provision of education in urban areas. Interviews within the TDE suggest that these areas are given preference over demands for improved education provision in rural areas when scarce resources are allocated.

There is potential for economic improvement, given the right development conditions; both Fox (1992) and Southall (1993) agree that the low agricultural productivity rates of the Transkei could be improved dramatically. Improved quality and access to education and training would be crucial to improved regional economic performance.

To date the Transkei has not developed a capacity to generate wealth for its residents; it receives 80% of its budgetary requirements from the RSA (Southall 1993). It nevertheless receives relatively less support than other TBVC states from the South African government. The 1991 annual grant from RSA amounted to R550 for each person compared to R1 120 per capita in the Ciskei (Keeton 1992 and SA Barometer 1991)). This difference is evident in education spending which appears to be substantially lower, per capita, in the Transkei than in the Ciskei. Budget figures are not currently available but it is hoped that the DBSA-CEPD-World Bank financial study will soon provide details.

The Development Context

Finances from RSA have been channelled through the Foreign Affairs Department and the DBSA which was established in the early eighties to structure aid along donor-receiver lines. Three bodies have been instrumental in determining levels and priorities for spending - including education spending - in the TBVC territories. KEOSSA, a committee of the RSA department of foreign affairs is responsible for project aid to the TBVC such as the proposed school building project in the Transkei. SECOSAF (The Secretariat for Co-operation in Southern Africa) guides TBVC departments - including the education departments - in developing budgets, policies and plans. DBSA officials also operate within SECOSAF as consultants. The DBSA itself provides project loans for specified sectors including post-secondary education. Its largest current education project is the rationalisation of teacher education in all the bantustans. The DBSA can also intervene in education in the bantustans on a smaller scale from within its technical aid project or as a pilot project section.

Clearly, the DBSA has been a very important influence on the direction of education policy in the Transkei and other bantustans. Its dealings with education departments are guided by its own education structural adjustment programme developed in its policy section. Strands of World Bank, Unicef and RSA ERS thinking can be traced in DBSA documents and practices. (DBSA 1993)

Education provision in the Transkei has also been influenced, though to a lesser degree, by the IDT which is intent on promoting and structuring the non-government education sector. The IDT has been instrumental in creating a network of education trusts which co-ordinate NGO education activities, specially school building, across all regions in South Africa.

A third force in this process of restructuring education is the network of Regional Development Forums which focus particularly on promoting 'human resource development', i.e. those sectors of education which relate most directly to the employment market such as training and ABE. The Border-Kei Development Forum based in East London includes the Transkei within the ambit of its operations.

While the DBSA, IDT and Development Forums each have their own identity and policies they are structurally and discursively related. The DBSA contributed R181 000 of the total R360 000 Border-Kei Development Forum budget in 1993 (DBSA 1993). The Chairperson of the DBSA Board of Directors (Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu) is also the Chief Executive of the IDT and the two organisations have joint working groups (DBSA Sept 1993). All three these organisations promote non-governmental forms of education provision and thus help to structure the privatisation of specific forms of education provision.

Tapscott has argued that the DBSA has promoted the development of a Transkeian bourgeoisie and an embryonic private sector that is open to apolitical and technocratic doctrines (1993). There was indeed evidence in interviews with education officials of the technocratic discourse which characterised the DET in the late eighties. The clearest example of this is the approach to planning for the erection of new schools 'purely on the basis of need' according to a system closely resembling that of the DET. This system has not actually been implemented, however; competition for very limited resources has ensured that the older method of prioritising according to influence has continued to prevail.

In the period since 1990 the DBSA, the IDT and the Border-Kei Development Forum have engaged in a more complex process of incorporating local political organisations into their strategies as part of a process of legitimation. The DBSA has prevailed upon education departments to obtain the consent of relevant sectors of their constituencies for DBSA funded projects. In its dealings with the non-government sector in projects such as the establishment of school building trusts, the IDT has drawn in key participants such as the NECC, SADTU, COSAS and the PAC as well as education department officials. In the Transkei, as elsewhere, NECC officials are drawn into high profile positions within the Trust. The discourse of all these organisations focuses on the co-ordination of key players. (See e.g DBSA Annual Report 1993 and the Border-Kei Development Plan Project Description, 1992). Implicit in this discourse is the premise that political organisations represent interest groups while the co-ordinating/development organisations are neutral/technical groupings that operate as 'honest brokers' in

the interests of all.

The Bureaucratic Context

Within the Transkei the policies and practices of the education bureaucracy are influenced by a range of factors. The material constraints affecting the work of head office personnel are immediately visible to a visitor. Top officials share cramped offices and keep documents in corridors. Reports bewail the effect of a lack of transport on department activities. According to a study by Fehnel et al (1993) there were 266 professional supervisory staff in the Transkei in 1992; this suggests that the ratio of pupils to professional staff in managerial and supervisory positions in the Transkei is high (5 030 : 1 in 1992 compared to 841 : 1 in the DET and a TBVC average of 3 355); only Lebowa has a higher ratio. Yet interviews suggest that there is a greater sense of professional directedness among the Transkei top management than in some other education departments, such as the Ciskei Education department. The TDE manages to produce a substantial annual report, unlike the CDE which has not produced an annual report for three years.

The TDE bureaucratic hierarchy is not homogenous; officials in some sections are highly critical of the existing system and able to articulate a clear vision of alternatives, other sections are characterised by unimaginative conservatism. In the Transkei, as in other bantustans, the Inspection Services appears to be staffed by the least qualified, most conservative officials who are least flexible and most defensive in their response to current crisis issues. This is likely to be a consequence of the particular appointment and promotion procedures which apply in this section, based on long service and political loyalty rather than competence or qualifications. Inspectors are in direct contact with on the ground problems which they are ill qualified to solve. Since Inspectors are the officials who liaise most closely with schools, weaknesses in this section undermine all the relationships between schools and the head office.

It is commonly held that corruption is widespread in the Transkei at both the macro and the micro levels although it has subsided under Holomisa's reign. Segar observed that "corruption was a way of life, so much so that it was not even commented upon" (quoted in Spiegel 1993:400. The effect of corruption on education practices have not been documented, but the following areas of concern are worth noting: a) The Department of Works and Energy, which has been identified as a site of extensive corruption, is also responsible for building schools. Since schools are a scarce resource, it is likely that the priority given to particular school building projects and the location of schools has not always been determined according to need. b) In rural areas the interests of chiefs are likely to prevail over the interests of students and communities in the location and erection of schools. Evidence from Gazankulu suggests that chiefs have on occasion allocated land for schools at

a distance from the settlements where schools are needed in order to establish new villages and so to expand their fiscal base. Chiefs also generally manage the finances which communities collect for school, which creates opportunities for abuse. c) Education offers many resources which can be allocated on the basis of patronage rather than need including teaching posts and promotions.

In spite of a common belief that the Transkei has taken more advantage of its independence to introduce innovation in its education department than have other TBVC education departments, DET policies and practices have continued to be relayed to the TDE. The RSA government has a strong, if indirect influence on long term planning through the involvement of KEOSSA, SECOSAF and the DBSA. More short term and specific policy interventions are mediated through the DBSA and KEOSSA offering or withholding finances for specific projects.

In the Transkei examples of policies and practices which emulate trends in the RSA and DET include :

- freezing of syllabus development
- the shift to prioritising primary education and vocational education
- structures and strategies for control and administration of examinations
- the shift towards distance education of teachers.
- the (unsuccessful) introduction of the DET subject 'skills and techniques'.

In addition, TDE officials (and probably also CDE officials) are very conscious of the fact that they are preparing students for an RSA labour market and RSA tertiary institutions. This limits the space for innovation. Students must be equipped with qualifications that are recognisable to RSA employers and equatable to RSA education department qualifications.

On the whole the most significant differences between the education system of the TDE and the DET are not to be found in policy innovations but rather in the degree to which finances could support the emulation by the TDE of the DET.

At the same time the broader logic of policy discourse of officials in the TDE and the CDE is at times more consistent with the dominant logic of the DET in the late 80's than in the nineties. This applies for example to the definition of responsibility for education, particularly at the pre-primary and post-primary levels. TDE officials still operate on the assumption that provision in these areas is, in principle, the responsibility of the state unlike DET officials who have elaborated a discourse which limits the responsibility of the state at these levels in specified ways. TDE officials are being carried towards emulating the current practices of the DET by pressure to adopt a range of specific policies rather than by the internalisation of the underlying rationale of RSA/DET education policy trends. This process is

facilitated by the passive (though not uncritical) attitude of officials who are very conscious of the dependence of their departments on RSA money.

Urban/ Rural Differences in Education Provision

The study shows in considerable detail how rural/urban differences are manifest in education in the Transkei. It suggests that, while different financing modes (i.e. the difference between community and state schools) are an important factor contributing to rural/urban differences, this is no longer a formal policy distinction. There are state schools in rural areas and there may well be community schools in urban areas. There is a danger, though, that the different financing modes could be formalised in policy if current RSA provision practices involving a range of provision models are extended to the Transkei.

There are a number of other ways in which urban/rural differences are structured. These include the approach to teacher training, teachers' conditions of work, the distribution of 'scarce subject' and better qualified teachers, the differentiated quality of facilities and the implications of all these factors for curriculum. Infrastructure and transport are also important.

Rural/urban differentiation has different manifestations at different levels of schooling. At Sub A level it tends to affect quality more than access while at senior secondary level it affects both.

Rural/urban differentiation should not be over generalised. Conditions in a specific urban or rural area may be very different from the average. These differences are not evident in a macro study such as this. Some examples of factors which can influence levels of provision in specific contexts did emerge in interviews, however and others can be drawn from other studies. Such factors would include

- * the political history of an area. A number of interviewees suggested that the eastern part of the Transkei was privileged during Matanzima's reign since that is the region from which he hailed.
- * cultural traditions. Interviewees suggested that the Mfengu tend to value education more highly than do others.
- * infrastructure and employment resources. Employment and social investment opportunities provided in rural areas by, for example, a mine or a hospital can significantly improve the education profile of the area.

NGO's in the Transkei

There is much less NGO activity in the Transkei than in the neighbouring Ciskei particularly in the sphere of education. The

Early Learning Centres do have an important role and Woz o' Bona also works in pre-school education. SACHED plans to open an office in Umtata. There is also an adult literacy centre (linked to the NLC) in Umtata. SADTU, NECC and TATU, all of whom are discussed more fully elsewhere in this report, are present.

There do seem to be some curriculum support projects operating in the Transkei but on the whole the scale of their activities seems to be small. These include SEP, Molteno, and a school readiness programme pilot project introduced by a group of publishing houses.

There is a network of 18 NGO's based in Umtata (The Fieldworkers Network) but the work of most of these NGO's is only indirectly related to formal education. Exceptions include Woz'obona and an adult literacy organisation.

Educational/Political Organisations in the Transkei

SADTU is strong and well organised in the Transkei. It has achieved recognition and has established channels of communication with Holomisa's government and the TDE. In May 1993 a teachers' strike was called involving 18 000 teachers i.e. two thirds of all TDE teachers. SADTU has also effectively excluded inspectors from many schools since 1991 thus challenging the authority of the TDE to assess teachers' work.

According to the SADTU General Secretary, SADTU activities tend to focus on improving conditions of work for teachers and conditions of study for students. This includes putting pressure on the government to subsidise school facilities and to establish rural development projects to provide water, electricity and roads. Communities are encouraged to establish self help schemes and site committees which guide self help projects. The SADTU programme also includes working with parents by setting up literacy groups and encouraging parents to support their children's studies. SADTU favours afternoon and weekend study groups for students.

The NECC is active in the Transkei but they do not appear to have the same degree of popular support as SADTU. Generally the NECC aims to develop policy positions on specific education issues and to engage the state on these issues. This process is translated into a series of national and regional campaigns. NECC projects in the E Cape include workshops to debate NEPI policy.

In the Transkei the NECC focuses on improving resources and specially on providing classrooms. The NECC has developed a school building programme in co-operation with the IDT with an initial budget of R30 million. A Trust - The Transkei Community School Building Trust (TCSBT) - has been set up. The NECC views this Trust as IDT sponsored, i.e. independent of the IDT in terms of policy though accountable in terms of control of funds. Decisions are made by the TCSBT committee which includes representatives from the PAC, COSAS, SADTU, SASCO and the IDE. There has been conflict between

TCSBT and IDT about the degree of control which the IDT should hold and the extent to which the IDT may specify procedures; the NECC claim, for example, that the IDT is insisting on the involvement of chiefs and the introduction of particular procedures relating to the formation of PTSA's. The Trust intends to diversify its funding in order to limit the influence of the IDT.

The Trust began building schools in March 1993; six schools are currently being built. It is planned that initially schools built by the Trust should be distributed equally across the 29 districts although in the long run more schools might be built in areas that were disadvantaged in the past such as Pondo, Flagstaff and Lusikisiki. The NECC acknowledge that school building should also be related to political and economic planning.

The Transkei NECC programme includes other projects:

- * The national NECC programme for popularising NEPI documents is on the agenda in the Transkei.
- * The NECC plans to engage with the state in order to influence the broad restructuring of education. Within this process priorities include
 - teacher upgrading,
 - accommodation for teachers in rural areas,
 - the restructuring of the curriculum towards a more technical and vocational orientation and a primary curriculum geared towards producing more self-sufficient students
 - the restructuring of governance to ensure accountable and competent officials
 - the improvement of infrastructure such as transport
 - the expansion of ABE programmes.

3 COSAS : The role of COSAS and other political/education organisations was not explored.

Current relationship between bantustan governments and political-education organisations

- Holomisa has been much more accommodating of political organisations, specifically SADTU and NECC, than his predecessors were. This has resulted in a degree of loyalty from left wing political organisations e.g. SADTU and COSAS's decision to end a teacher boycott and student march when these threatened to topple Holomisa's govt.

- In spite of the use of negotiations rather than confrontation between teachers and the state in the Transkei (unlike in the Ciskei) there is clearly considerable aggression between the officials of the TDE, particularly in the Inspections section, and progressive education organisations. This was evident in interviews and is also reflected in various comments in the 1992 Annual Report which criticise the strategies of SADTU and indicate support for a prefect and monitor system in preference to PTSA's and SRC's. (See for example pg 39)

SECTION C : EDUCATION PROVISION PRACTICES AND POLICIES

This section focuses on the shape and operation of the education system with particular reference to discourses, conditions and institutional practices underpinning the marginalisation of rural schools. Provision of facilities, school governance, provision of teachers, student enrollment, and curriculum are considered.

Facilities - School Building

The provision of facilities is a limiting and structuring factor governing other dimensions of education. Put simply, the quantity, quality and form of buildings often determine what can and does happen inside those buildings. Of course the impact of physical space on education processes is affected not only by the space itself but by the way people use spaces and by the meanings which people place on that space; thus the inadequacies of facilities are exacerbated by inadequate teacher training which does not provide teachers with the skills to cope with spatial constraints. As the Deputy Rector of Trinset pointed out in an interview, teacher training tends to assume that conditions in middle class schools with electricity, running water and photocopy machines are the norm. Teachers may come to assume that teaching and learning is dependent on (rather than aided by) these facilities so that their ability to cope is hindered on the level of attitude as well as skills. While these comments suggest that the issue of facilities is complex, this complexity should not be overestimated in the context of bantustan schools. On the global, national and local level there are conventions, expectations and demands governing what should happen in classrooms; regardless of the ingenuity of the teacher, these things cannot happen in classrooms where minimal physical requirements such as protection against the weather, reasonable space to move and toilets are not provided.

Financing of School Buildings

From the point of view of the Transkei education department there is no official policy for the creation of a system of state schools in urban areas and community schools in rural areas. They explain the different ways of financing facilities as the result, rather, of the unplanned but unavoidable outcome of attempts to respond to variable needs and demands with extremely limited finances and of the different conditions in rural and urban areas. They do not see the community school mode of financing facilities as part of a system but rather as a response to the financial inability of the system to reach all communities.

In the Transkei departmental bureaucrats currently see community payment for school facilities as an unacceptable mode of provision. In the past the R1 for R1 system was a systematically organised mode of provision. In the RSA community payment for facilities is

increasingly forming part of the systematically organised and legitimated mode of provision of the DET and the DEC HoA although it has been contested within the HoR and the HoD. There are indications that those mechanisms which were introduced to legitimate community payment for facilities in the RSA - such as the formalisation of large scale state aided provision and the channelling of funds through parastatal organisations and N.G.O's - are also being introduced in the Transkei.

The Transkei is disadvantaged compared to other bantustans as regards expenditure on capital projects by particularly inflexible financing procedures: education funds are drawn directly from the main budget and not deposited in a separate account/Trust so that moneys which are not drawn by the end of the financial year are not rolled over but re-absorbed. Invariably the budget is only approved some months after the beginning of the financial year; in the few months between the release of the funds and the end of the financial year only a portion of the allocated funds can be used and the rest is effectively lost. In the 1991/2 budget, for example, only R28 million was allocated to school building of which 17 million was not spent. In 1992/3 R70 million was allocated of which R35 mil was suspended. Of the remaining R35 million only R6 million was spent for classrooms for primary and junior secondary schools. (Transkei Dept of Ed Annual Report 1992)

Planning Procedures for School Building

The Transkei has planning procedures for school building programmes which are similar, on paper, to those of the DET (see Jacklin re shack schools for a description of DET procedures). In theory, this system allocates new schools and classrooms purely on the basis of need. The locations for new schools are identified by the education departments, mainly on the basis of pupil: classroom ratio's in existing schools. Significant differences between the approach of the TDE and that of the DET include :

- mediation of funding and planning by the RSA Department of foreign affairs and KEOSSA
- different levels of funding
- the involvement of the bantustan Departments of Public Works in the building of schools in the bantustans; the RSA DET has it's own building section and does not have to work through another department. All departments do have to co-operate with other state departments regarding matters such as demarcation of school sites. Recent corruption reports such as that relating to the Dept of Works in the Transkei suggest that this co-operative procedure may have introduced additional complications in school building procedures. The involvement of the Dept of Public Works in the bantustans also means that there is a strong separation between school building and school maintenance functions since maintenance is the responsibility of the TDE's school development section. Thus planning, maintenance and construction are spread across three

sections in two departments.

School Building Practices

Although the Transkei has a planning procedure for school building similar to that of the RSA DET, the Director concerned with planning did not believe it possible to implement the plan properly within the financial constraints and budgetary procedures that currently apply. He thought there was a possibility that the Transkei would also enter into a relationship with KEOSSA, similar to that of the Ciskei, so that a more systematic school building programme could be implemented. According to the 1992 annual report, the consultants Van Wyk and Louw (who also prepared the Ciskei Phase Four document) will prepare an application for submission to KEOSSA sometime in 1993.

The TDE have two categories of classrooms: permanent and temporary. Any space that is used to accommodate classes of children can be counted as a temporary classroom while only classrooms of an acceptable standard are counted as permanent classrooms. It would be reasonable to assume that most temporary classrooms are located in rural areas while most permanent classrooms are located in urban areas. The TDE only takes permanent classrooms into account when calculating the backlog of classrooms.

Transkei - Backlog of Classrooms

There is some agreement that the backlog of classrooms is roughly 25 000 assuming a target average pupil: classroom ratio of 40:1 in primary schools and 35:1 in secondary schools. This calculation is elaborated in the following table from the 1992 TDE Annual Report:

	Primary	Secondary
Enrolment	1 006 279	331 665
Perm. Classrms	5 259	5 173
Temp. classrms	9 384	3 502
Tot. Classrms	14 643	8 675
Teachers	14 237	12 492

These figures would suggest that early in 1992 the overall pupil: classroom ratio was 69:1 for primary schools and 38:1 for secondary schools. If only permanent classrooms are taken into account, the equivalent figures are 191:1 and 64:1. Pupil: teacher ratio's are 71:1 for primary schools and 27:1 for secondary schools.

These figures should be read with the understanding that the median class size is likely to be much higher than the overall average. Clearly, teaching space limits the number of teachers that can teach at any one time thus the median of actual pupil: teacher ratios is unlikely to be lower than the median of actual

pupil:classroom ratios. According to the TDE 1992 Annual Report, the DBSA suspended a proportion of funds allocated for teacher salaries in 1992 on the grounds that there were not sufficient classrooms for the originally estimated number of teachers:

It has been very difficult to provide schools with the required teaching personnel due to lack of understanding and misinformation in estimation of teacher demand and supply by and between this section and the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

Our statistical data did not show the number of occasionally used classrooms which are now used by the communities due to the shortage of permanent classrooms. This lack of information led to suspension of additional grants for this current year. These were released late in August this year and were not all filled in time as most teachers sought work outside Transkei. (Annual Report 1992)

These kinds of pressures made it necessary for the department to work with different definitions of 'classroom' for different purposes. Every "bus, rondawel and church hall" is counted as a temporary classroom.

The current backlog of classrooms can be calculated on the basis of the above figures if it is assumed that:

- the figures given above are accurate
- only permanent classrooms should be counted when classroom needs are assessed and
- a ratio of 40:1 is desirable for primary schools and 35:1 for senior schools
- an average figure provides a ballpark indication of the minimum number of classrooms needed.

These calculations suggest that Transkei currently needs at least 19 898 primary school classrooms and 4 303 secondary school classrooms. At R50 000 for a basic classroom (the figure used by the Department) this would cost well over a billion rand. (The TCSBT allocate R60 000 per classroom)

Clearly the actual number of classrooms needed could be around double this number, for the following reasons:

- Averages tend to underrepresent need
- These calculations are based on current enrolment and do not take into account children and youth who are not enrolled at schools. The figures suggest that the current enrolment is very low at the secondary level. According to the 1991 census there were 1 760 133 people between the ages of 5 and 19 in the Transkei in that year. This is 422 189 more than the number enrolled at schools in 1992. This suggests that the backlog might be closer to 30 000 than 20 000 classrooms. (The difference between the number of 5 to 14 year olds and the primary school enrolment is 263 438).
- The need for pre-primary classrooms attached to schools is also

not taken into account

On the one hand, these figures raise obvious policy questions regarding both equity and affordability. On the other hand, the current budget for school building in the Transkei (effectively R11 million in 1992), as well as the capacity of the TDE to use its budget effectively, is completely inadequate.

While the TDE officials aspire to a system of planning based purely on need, defined in relation to the goal that there should be the same pupil:classroom ratio in all areas, the school building operations reported on the 1992 Annual Report were all in 'selected urban areas'. (Pg 16)

As is the case in the Transkei, the TDE has resorted to platooning to cope with the lack of space in urban schools. Platooning has been introduced at about five schools in Umtata and Butterworth.

Facilities : Senior Secondary Schools

The Transkei system of provision provides an interesting example of the way in which underprovision can be institutionalised. There are only 258 senior secondary schools in the Transkei and the matric enrolment is less than 10% percent of the sub A enrolment. Clearly there is a demand for more schools at this level since a large number of communities (20 in 1992) are finding the funds to build their own schools. Yet the TDE bases its plans for the number of teachers required on present senior secondary enrolment figures. The number of available classrooms is the limiting factor which determines the supply of other resources such as teachers. It is TDE policy to utilise available funds to build primary and junior secondary schools; for the last six years no senior secondary schools have been built by the TDE.

Obviously there is no point training and appointing teachers if there is nowhere for them to teach. Pupil:teacher ratio's are already considerably lower than pupil:classroom ratio's. The point is that the state* takes responsibility for the provision of teachers (largely) but not for the provision of facilities.

(* Here 'state refers to both South Africa and the bantustan since financial responsibility is effectively deferred from the latter to the former)

The underprovision of senior secondary school facilities has particular implications at a time when the Transkei might be re-absorbed into a South African education system. This would mean that the Transkei would enter the national system with a considerably lower stock of senior secondary schools than other areas. If the state does not take responsibilities for provision at senior secondary level - as the policies of the current RSA government suggest might be the case - the disadvantages in this region would be consolidated.

The prioritisation of primary education should not be seen only as a response of the TDE to conditions in the Transkei; primary education is one of many education policy priorities of the RSA government which have been relayed to the Transkei through the financial influence of the DBSA.

Secondary Schools in Rural Areas

It is likely that most 'temporary' classrooms are in rural areas and most 'permanent' classrooms are in urban areas. Forty percent (3 502) of secondary classrooms are 'temporary' while 64% (9 384) of primary classrooms are 'temporary'. Since a majority of Transkeians still live in rural areas, this would suggest that the undersupply of secondary schools is considerably greater in rural areas than in urban areas. As the provision of secondary school classrooms would add considerably to the burden on parents in rural areas who have already built primary classrooms, it may be expected that many communities manage to build primary schools only. In spite of this a considerable number of secondary schools are currently being built by communities. The following paragraph from the TDE 1992 Annual Report gives some indication of the procedures followed for the registration of senior secondary schools which have not been built by the department, and of the scale of community provision at this level:

Twenty applications for the establishment of new senior secondary schools for 1994 in various districts in Transkei have been approved with the precondition that they have proper buildings which will have to be inspected by the Department not later than September 1993. (Pg 17)

Sites for State Schools

While in practice the TDE builds few schools in rural areas, there is an official procedure in place for allocating land for schools. In terms of this procedure, the local chief and the local community must agree on a site which must then be assessed for suitability by technicians from the Dept of Works and Energy. In urban areas municipalities would allocate sites for schools.

N.G.O Contribution to School Building

The Transkei Alternative Technology Unit (TATU) appears to be the N.G.O. most involved in school building. Within N.G.O circles TATU has been viewed as a parastatal; it is on these grounds that the fieldworkers network refused membership to TATU until recently. TATU's funds come from the DBSA via (i.e. approved by) the Transkei government.

TATU have a number of projects of which school building is only one. As regards the school building specifically, they provide

funds for materials, a mud brick making machine and training in the use of the machine. In the past communities were expected to contribute 20% of costs but it seems as if this requirement has been quietly and unofficially dropped in recent months. A large number of schools have been built and at one stage an evaluation of the quality of schools was submitted to the DBSA. This report indicated that essentially the structures built were of a temporary nature since the mud could not stand up to many years of weathering. TATU were nevertheless requested to keep building apace. The 1992 TDE Annual Report lists two senior secondary and four junior secondary schools where building by TATU was in progress or completed in the year under review.

In addition to TATU the TCSBT has been set up by the NECC, the IDT and others to build schools. (See discussion under above) This Trust has an initial budget of R30 million and has started building six schools.

The channelling of DBSA funds through an N.G.O to the construction of temporary schools in rural areas raises interesting questions about state policy concerning the spatial differentiation of social provision. It may be concluded that the South African state has established two distinct and systematic modes of funding schools in the Transkei

- the formal system of building state schools in urban areas, governed by formal building regulations and standards. Up until now these schools have been built entirely at the expense of the state;
- the non-formal system of funding mud brick schools in rural areas. Parent communities have contributed to the cost of materials and have provided the labour for the building of these schools.

The very existence of the TCSBT confirms the principle that school building is not essentially the responsibility of the state and that the standard and location of facilities is negotiable. The TCSBT is unlike the TATU project, however, in that the political orientation of participating organisations gears it towards equalising the distribution and quality of provision.

School Financing and Management Models

The fact that, officially and formally, the predominant mode of financing and managing schools in the Ciskei and the Transkei is the state school mode is significant at this time when the absorption of the bantustan schools into a single education department is under consideration. In the RSA the state-aided mode of provision is currently being elaborated, formalised and expanded by the government.

While state schools are, officially, the predominant mode of provision in the Transkei and the Ciskei, most of the schools in rural areas are, in effect, state-aided schools in that costs of facilities have been borne by parents. If the same system of modes

of financing is adopted in the bantustans as that which is in place in the RSA there is a danger that the category of state-aided or community schools would be legitimated and formalised. This would substantially weaken the claim of these communities to equitable provision and redress of historical inequities. Ironically, it might be even more difficult for bantustans education authorities to resist the introduction of these models than it was for the DEC HoD and DEC HoR because of the financial stranglehold in which they are held by RSA state and parastatal institutions.

School Governance : School Committees and The Impact of Political Developments on Education

Since most of my interviews were conducted at the level of department officials and not at the school level I did not form a clear picture of dynamics within schools. I did however gain the following impressions

- School committees are not generally very strong nor has the NECC call for PTSA's received a strong response.

- Teachers, on the other hand, are well organised. SADTU is an effective organisation with wide spread support. Generally teachers would have higher educational qualifications and a higher income than parents. Thus teachers tend to have a stronger voice as a group than parents - and possibly also than students - specially in rural areas. Many teachers have rejected the authority of inspectors many of whom have qualifications no higher than those of the majority of teachers. Thus teachers and principals have considerable ad hoc authority regarding the governance of schools.

- There was mention of cases in the Transkei where existing school committees have been ousted and replaced by more democratically elected bodies.

Teacher Supply : Transkei

According to the TDE Annual Report, teachers were distributed as follows in 1992:

Junior Primary	7 413*	Ratio 87:1
Senior Primary	6 824*	53:1
Junior Secondary	9 105	26:1
Senior Secondary	3 387	29:1
Average		50:1

* Late in 1992 the DBSA released additional grants to take the total number of primary teachers to 15 449

The TDE estimated at the end of 1992 that they require a further 10 975 primary school teachers if they are to achieve a 40:1 overall average pupil teacher ratio. However if the surplus of 2 592

secondary school teachers is taken into account the shortfall is 8 383. There are not sufficient classrooms (permanent and temporary) to accommodate this number of teachers; the present stock of classrooms could only accommodate a further 2 954 teachers.

The numbers of teachers in training is considerably lower than the required number. At the end of 1992, 3 054 trainees were expected to qualify of which 1 351 were training as primary school teachers.

Historically, teacher training was a function of the mission schools. Initially teacher trainees required only a std six and later a std eight. A two year post matric training programme was only introduced in about 1970 and a three year programme in 1982; the first of these teachers qualified in 1984.

Currently there are 14 education colleges in the Transkei. These all offer primary and/or secondary teaching diploma's while the Transkei College also offers a CHED. In the words of an official, most of the colleges are in fact just glorified high schools (except the Transkei College at Umtata which is something of a showpiece). Most of the colleges have inadequate, dilapidated facilities and some do not have libraries and sportsfields. The TDE have set 12:1 as a target student:teacher ratio in the colleges. Currently the average student:teacher ratio is 14:1 and the student:classroom ratio is 22:1.

The TDE plans (influenced by the DBSA) include the rationalisation and upgrading of the colleges. The total number is to be reduced to 7. The facilities at three of the seven upgraded colleges are to be completely replaced. Six colleges are to offer primary teacher training while only one is to offer secondary teacher training. The TDE have developed a masterplan for teacher education based on the expectation that the DBSA will fund improvements.

In the last two years at least two colleges of education have been established without the sanction of the TDE. The TDE has put pressure on these colleges to close but only one has done so. Department officials claim that the motive for establishing these colleges is profit.

If the examination results are anything to go by, academic conditions at the colleges of education are poor. In 1992 the average pass rate at Course 3 level excluding supplementaries was 16.9%. There are indications of dissatisfaction on all sides with the way colleges function. On the one hand students frequently query examination results, on the other hand the TDE Annual Report expresses concern at 'the declining moral standards and discipline' at the colleges.

Expatriates have been employed to supplement teacher numbers in the Transkei as they have in other bantustans. According to a TDE official, expatriates are more willing than Transkeians to accept posts in the more rural areas.

Teacher Qualifications

The proportion of unqualified teachers is highest in the junior primary schools and becomes progressively lower at the higher levels. The majority of teachers have a primary teacher's certificate which is usually a two year qualification; these teachers have not necessarily matriculated. Fifty percent of all teachers are qualified, in the sense that they are matriculated with a teacher's diploma.

Of the junior primary teachers, 49% do not have a matric and 68% do not have a diploma. Less than one percent have degrees.

At senior primary level, 42% do not have a matric and 65% do not have a diploma. Fewer than 2% have degrees.

At Junior Secondary level 16% do not have a matric while 51% do not have qualifications that are geared to secondary school teaching, mainly PTC's and Primary Teachers Diploma's. 39% do not have a teacher's diploma. Under five percent of Junior Secondary School teachers have degrees.

Almost all the teachers at the senior secondary schools have matric, most have a secondary teaching qualification and about half have degrees. 93% have diploma's.

The proportion of unqualified or under qualified teachers depends on the definition of 'qualified' and the definition of 'teacher'. According to the Trinset proposal for teacher resource centres 80% of Transkei teachers are either under- or unqualified and 52% have qualifications lower than a senior certificate. It is not clear how these figures were reached but they possibly reflect the fact that many teachers do not have qualifications appropriate to the actual level and subjects that they are teaching. A number of officials have pointed out in interviews that the qualifications statistics do not take these factors into account,

The assumption that higher qualifications are needed to teach higher classes and vice-versa, is reflected in the distribution of qualifications across the system. It is TDE policy that all teachers with degrees should be placed in secondary schools; teachers at primary schools who obtain degrees are moved to secondary schools.

Inset

The Transkei has one Inset college (Trinset) located in beautiful buildings in Umtata. Primary and Junior Secondary teachers in each district have selected representatives to attend courses at Trinset who are then expected to disseminate their new knowledge and skills at district level. All Senior secondary teachers may attend courses at Trinset. The main thrust of courses at Trinset has been in

According to an interviewee the approach at the college has been to 'put out bush fires' i.e. to respond to the bad matric results. The focus has been the senior secondary school. Methods have tended to be prescriptive and 'school like'. More recently the focus has begun to shift to primary school and junior secondary school teachers, specially since the DBSA has shown an interest in supporting more work in this area.

Inset work is inhibited by the absence of syllabus renewal and curriculum development in the schools since teachers insist that inset should relate to the syllabi they are currently using. Work in the schools is also inhibited by material constraints e.g. Trinset only has one vehicle to transport staff to schools.

Access to Trinset is difficult for teachers who are far away from Umtata. TRINSET officials hope to create a network of teacher resource centres - primary/main resource centres and satellite resource centres - spanning the Transkei, but this 'depends on obtaining funds from the DBSA'. This system of provision would cost considerably more than the present budget provides. The DBSA annual allocation for Inset in the Transkei is R3 million. Since the proposal for a network of resource centres was developed internally at TRINSET it remains to be seen whether the TRINSET definition of 'distance educations' (involving considerable infrastructure and support) is sufficiently close to the DBSA definition of distance education to justify funding.

Inspectors conduct Inset courses at district level. Critics of the inspectors (including other TDE officials) point out that inspectors are not necessarily more qualified to conduct such courses than the average teacher and that their approach is often very authoritarian. Inspectors often have no competence in the subject areas which are perceived to be particularly problematic, such as maths and science.

The idea of distance education for teacher preset and inset (as proposed in the ERS of the RSA DNE) has appeared in planning documents of the TDE such as the TRINSET Proposal for the establishment of Teacher Resource Centres. An interviewee suggested that the DBSA is 'encouraging' these ideas. The nature of DBSA influence on inset planning is also reflected in the TRINSET newsletter:

...a warning was given that funding was unlikely to become available for any further physical expansion of TRINSET and that staff would have to begin to look ever more towards distance education to achieve their objectives. (TRINSET Times Nov 1992)

The Provision of Teachers in Rural areas

While teachers are a strong political presence, they are also a resource and the distribution of this resource contributes to the rural-urban differentiation of education in terms of both access and quality. In the bantustans, as elsewhere, teachers tend to prefer to teach in urban areas. There are a number of reasons for this, some of which are more obvious than others. Teachers themselves wish to be near the resources and comforts which urban areas offer. Perhaps more important is the fact that employment practices assume an urban context and no allowance is made for the ways in which rural contexts do not conform to this context. Teachers can, for example, utilise housing subsidies in urban areas while in rural areas they cannot do so. Instead of buying their own houses where they could live with their families, teachers in rural areas often have to board with other families. Understandably, this discourages teachers from accepting posts in these areas if they have any choice. In the competition for the more desirable jobs in urban schools, the teacher with the least attractive curriculum vitae is often relegated to the more farflung schools. Under these circumstances teachers often regard posts at rural schools as a temporary fill in until they can get a post in town. Given these conditions and the fact that teacher training is generally geared to urban school (i.e. schools with electricity, running water and a separate classroom for each standard), it is not surprising that rural schools are stigmatised as places of employment.

The stigmatisation of rural schools has curriculum implications at the senior secondary level where there is some subject choice. Since there are fewer teachers of maths and science than are needed and these are regarded as important subjects, these teachers tend to find posts in urban areas. According to the Director of Curriculum Services in the Transkei Department of Education, schools in rural areas are actually discouraged from offering these subjects since the Department does not believe it could fill the posts.

Another category of sought after teachers are teachers with professional qualifications and degrees and it is likely that these would also tend to move into urban schools. It is known that many rural schools employ private, unqualified teachers although official figures do not reflect the extent of this practice.

It is fairly common for teachers who are assigned to rural schools to maintain a base in town and commute to the school on a daily or weekly basis. There are cases, for example, of schools at which the whole staff commute together in a reserved taxi. This means that the functioning of the school is subject to the times at which taxis run and the passability of roads.

Student Enrolment

According to TDE officials, the annual enrolment is still increasing substantially. The number of students who registered for external examinations in std seven and std ten in 1992 was 10% higher than the number in 1991. According to RIEP the total 1991 school enrolment was 1 198 469 while the TDE record the total 1992 enrolment as 1 337 944. This suggests an overall rise in enrolment of 11.6% which is considerably higher than the 5,8% which the DNE gives as the 1991 percentage growth figure in 'self-governing territories.' (RIEP gives the overall growth rate in black schools for 1991 as 5,8%)

According to the TDE Annual Report (1992) the 1992 student enrolment was distributed as follows:

	Girls	Boys	Total
Pre-primary	5 500	4 980	10 480
Junior Primary:Sub A-std 1	321 881	321 683	643 564
Senior Primary:Std 2 - 4	190 750	171 965	362 715
Primary Total	512 631	493 648	1 006 279
Junior Secondary:Std 5 - 7	138 752	96 204	234 956
Senior Secondary:Std 8 - 10	61 119	35 590	96 709
Secondary Total	199 871	131 794	331 665
TOTAL SCHOOL ENR.	712 502	625 442	1 337 944

Transkei : Enrolment at Institutions Other Than Schools

Ten Technical and Vocational Schools - Enrolment:	3 487
One Technikon	-
Seven Special Schools	1 019
Six Private Schools	953
14 Colleges of Education	8 404
One University	-

FEATURES OF THE ENROLMENT DISTRIBUTION

The Transkei enrolment distribution across standards has similar features to that in the Ciskei, i.e.

* There is a substantial decrease in numbers at every successive level with greater drops after sub A and std 7. In 1992 the sub B enrolment was 180 443 compared to the sub A enrolment of 308 897. The difference in numbers between std 7 (67 826) and std 8 (36 923) is similarly dramatic. The drop after std 7 (at the end of the junior secondary school) might be explained partly in terms of the smaller number of available classrooms at senior secondary level.

Overall, the Transkei enrolment pyramid has an even broader base than that of the Ciskei. In 1992 the std 10 enrolment was only 9% of the enrolment figure for Sub A. (Again, I need to try to get hold of stats for previous years to follow a cohort through the system.)

* If the std 10 enrolment as proportion of the sub A enrolment is taken as an admittedly rather clumsy index of secondary access compared to need, a wide regional variation in access can be deduced. In the Elliotdale district, for example, the 1992 matric enrolment was only 2% of the sub A enrolment while in the Butterworth district the matric enrolment figure was 21% of the sub A enrolment figure.

* As in the Ciskei and Gazankulu, there is a greater dropping off of boys than girls in the higher classes. In 1992 girls constituted 50% of the total enrolment up to std 2 but from std 3 onwards the proportion of girls increased in every successive year i.e. 53% in std 3, 55% in std 4, 57% in std 5, 59% in std 6, 62% in std 7 and 63% from std 8 to std 10.

* There are no statistics available concerning Sub A's in the Transkei but one official indicated that children spend an average of three years in sub A before passing to sub B. Generally, he said, sub A's were streamed on arrival into three ability levels. This would suggest the possibility that only the students in the 'top' group pass and that students' fate is sealed in the first week of school. Another official described the practice of 'umlumiso' (a yeast or culture) in Sub A. This referred to the keeping back of those students who achieved the best results at the end of Sub A to act as tutors to the next year group. While this practice is not officially sanctioned it is not uncommon.

* There were no official statistics available for drop outs but an official estimated that about 3% of std seven students and about 7% of std ten students dropped out in 1992 before the final examinations were written.

A Transkei SADTU official suggested that the following factors contributed to the high drop out rate:

- * Student's domestic chores.
- * Distances between homes and schools
- * Health and nutrition
- * The demotivating effect of teachers' approach to discipline which involves punishing students for matters over which the students have no control such as late coming. In his opinion, the teachers are often perceived as wardens.
- * The counterproductive coping strategies of students such as copying work.
- * The differences between the culture of the schools and the culture of homes e.g. re questioning authority and gender roles.
- * The difficulties of coping with English as medium of instruction.

Curriculum

The distribution of subjects throughout Transkei secondary schools is summarised in the accompanying tables (See Appendix).

A number of insights can be drawn from the tables:

* The Secondary school curriculum is very homogenous for the large majority of students and schools. At the junior secondary level most students do English, Xhosa, Maths, General Science, Biology and Agriculture. At the senior secondary level most students do similar subjects. When General Science is split into Biology and Physical Science most students do the former while only 20 - 25% do the latter. Between 26 and 36% of students do Mathematics at senior secondary school.

* Very few students do vocationally oriented subjects (such as Economics and Accounting) 'cultural' subjects (such as music or art) or practical subjects (such as woodwork or typing).

* It is probable that the current distribution of subjects is the result of the availability and distribution of staff and resources rather than student choice. It would be worth exploring which schools do or do not offer particular subjects, such as Physical Science, and why others do not.

Curriculum Development

The TDE inherited its syllabi from the Cape Education Department. There has been some elaboration if these syllabi but very little curriculum development. The TDE has not developed a capacity for curriculum development. Clearly resource constraints were a major reason for this but TDE officials also argued that the TDE needed to keep it's curriculum as similar as possible to that of the RSA so that employers and tertiary institutions in the RSA would be more likely to recognise and accept products of the TDE system.

Subject Associations

A subject association system has been introduced in the Transkei but it appears to have been weak, particularly in recent years. There has been an effort to resuscitate them in the last year. The main function of subject associations has been to contribute to the setting of examinations and assessing examination results. They have also participated in elaborating the received Cape Education Department syllabi for use in the Transkei.

Curriculum - Technical and Vocational Education

In the Transkei as elsewhere the issue of access to vocationally

oriented education is being given increasing emphasis in education discourses. Interviewees - officials, teachers and N.G.O members - all viewed greater access to vocationally oriented education as a priority. Clearly there has been an attempt within the TDE to respond to this perception. In 1992 technical subjects were added to the school curriculum at four junior secondary schools. Computer practice has been introduced as a subject in 10 pilot schools. Funding from Gold Fields was utilised to establish a Vocational school geared to trades applicable to the mines. A Technical Teacher's Diploma has been introduced at the Unitra Technikon in Butterworth to train staff for the Technical Colleges and vocational schools.

There are currently 10 (?) technical and vocational schools in the Transkei. There are plans for upgrading of six of the existing technical schools to Technical Colleges.

A pilot project has been initiated to introduce 'career directed' education in schools. This programme was borrowed from the DET - where it is known as skills and techniques - and DET officials were brought to the Transkei as consultants. The programme proved unsuccessful partly because it required expensive materials. Teachers who had been involved in the initial pilot offered to continue the programme after the DET consultants were withdrawn and to adapt it to Transkei conditions. The programme has caught the imagination of the teachers and is supported by parents who believe a technical education will give their children more marketable skills. It has been found that attendance at the schools is much higher on the days that this programme is presented. It has only been introduced at sub A and B level.

There are plans that 29 schools should be provided with special classrooms within this project but this has been delayed along with the bulk of the building programme. The DBSA has indicated to the TDE that they would encourage and support technical education initiatives.

Syllabus Development

Syllabus development for std 8 - 10 was frozen in the Transkei, as it was in the RSA DET, in 1992. The subject advisors' work continued though some committees function more effectively than others.

Examinations: Procedures and Results

The TDE examinations section followed the RSA in two developments - The shift from the JMB to the South African Certification Council for moderation of matriculation examinations.
- The adjustment of senior certificate results so that more students pass. (Students who fail at one level are passed at a lower grade.)

The results of 1992 external examinations at the std 7 and matric level (excluding private candidates) are similar to those of the DET:

Std 7	43,31% passed
Std 10	42,38% passed

An increasing number of students are attempting to pass matric as private candidates; in 1992 40% of those writing matric examinations were private candidates. Most of the private candidates were writing fewer than 6 subjects. Of those who attempted 6 subjects 22% passed.

A TDE official in the examinations section believed that examination results tend to be better in urban areas than in rural areas, particularly at senior secondary level, although isolated rural schools do produce good results. According to this official, urban senior secondary schools can select their students which also contributes to better results. (Interestingly, officials in the Inspection Services section believed that results tended to be better in rural areas because these schools were 'more disciplined'. The view of the officials in the examinations section seemed to be based on familiarity with the actual results while that of the inspectors seemed to follow from their anger at being excluded from more politically active schools.)

Books and Stationery

In 1992 the TDE provided free books and stationery for the first time. This resulted in an unexpected and substantial increase in the number of students presumably because students who had dropped out because they could not afford books returned to school. The TDE estimated an enrolment of 1 160 000 for 1992; officials believe that the additional 170 000 who turned up were responding to the provision of free books and stationery. The amount allocated for books and stationery in 1992 was R85 million.

Transkei : Pre-schools

The TDE 1992 Annual Report indicates that there are currently 157 TDE sponsored pre-schools in the Transkei with 10 412 pupils and 218 teachers (all women). These are unevenly distributed; the Umtata circuit has 21, for example, while the Mt Fletcher, Port St Johns and Tabankulu circuits collectively have only 2. No teachers are trained by the TDE although many are trained by the Early Learning Centres. The TDE plans to establish a pre-school education programme in 1994. Since 1992 it has been TDE policy to attach new pre-schools to existing primary schools and to provide subsidies though it is not likely that more than one or two pre-schools could be established per circuit, initially.

According to an official, the TDE would like to introduce a

professional pre-school teacher's qualification. The motivation of the TDE to expand pre-school education is based partly on parent demand and partly on the belief that this would reduce the problems at Sub A level.

The NGO's which have been involved in pre-school education include the Early learning Centres, the Catholic centre in Umtata and the IDT. An official made the point that NGO's not only responded to the demand for pre-schools, they also encouraged communities to express their demands.

Transkei : Adult Basic Education

According to the TDE 1992 Annual Report there are 150 literacy schools in the Transkei. Training as literacy teachers is offered to people who have a minimum of a Junior Certificate. In 1992 61 people were trained as literacy teachers.

Appendix

Transkei Subject Distribution - Std 5 - 7

	Std 5	Std 6	Std 7
Enrolment	87 658	79 472	67 826
Eng	89 301*	75 897	62 083
Xhosa	87 072	74 672	62 772
Maths	95 762*	74 050	73 278*
Gen.Sc	87 442	74 499	63 226
Geog	79 441	72 495	58 784
History	78 036	72 980	60 986
Agric.Sc	60 454	54 389	45 805
N/work	10 751	10 453	9 521
Afrikaans	10 929	9 202	5 326
Sotho	3 521	3 177	1 824
Econ	2 767	2 626	2 106
Typing	2 712	2 428	2 024
Acc	2 706	2 640	2 256
Bibs	581	636	340
Music	564	596	371
H.Ec	537	527	487
Art	188	182	137
B.Ec	180	186	50
W/Wrk	13		
M/Trade		56	29
M/Work		32	
T/Drawing		52	68
E/Theory			29

There are some anomalies in the tables, particularly subject totals that are higher than enrolment figures. This may result from the fact that statistics were collected at different times of the year so that drop outs would account for the different totals.

Transkei Subject Distribution Std 8 - 10

	Std 8	Std 9	Std 10
Enrolment	36 923	30 854	28 932
English - L1	2 466*	1 008	1 837
- L2	35 429*	29 281	26 332
Xhosa	35 347	29 734	26 726
Biol	23 537	20 132	19 762
HG	11 765	6 781	5 927
- SG	15 630	14 683	14 007
His	9 010	4 736	4 849
HG	10 286	7 851	6 871
- SG	11 586	7 701	5 856
Agr.Sc	8 985	9 178	7 277
HG	10 767	8 946	7 970
- SG	6 630	5 095	3 559
Maths	6 777	3 729	3 960
HG	4 902	3 274	10 518)
- SG	7 236	8 209)
Phys.Sc	5 199	3 790	3 486
HG	4 687	2 788	3 137
- SG			
Afrik	5 200	4 020	4 167
Econ	3 792	3 411	2 667
B.Ec	2 054	1 890	1 463
N.Wrk)	2 021	1 641	1 585
H.Ec)	1 521	1 302	1 221
Sotho	1 944	1 262	1 099
Acc	1 751	1 165	903
Typing	637	317	204
Art	79	47	47
Music	62	17	11
Com.Maths	55	0	
Merc.Law	45	34	24
Crim.Law	33	33	55
LawCP&E		17	10
Chem	42	20	29
T.Drawing	42	31	22
W.Wrk	32	19	31
M.Wrk	13	8	11
Zulu	20	1 526	22

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