

INHERIT THE WIND
A REPORT ON
EDUCATION IN LEBOWA

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 Further, though unpublished, a number of these reports have been cited.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. Where pagination or other details are missing from the photocopy of the manuscript, we have added these to the PDFs. We enclosed such additions in square brackets. The photocopies were reductions to A5 – we have kept them at this size.

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

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SECTION A

In 1971 the Lebowa Legislative assembly was created to take over responsibility for various government functions - including education - from the territorial authority. In September 1993 the South African government reclaimed control of Lebowa's finances on the grounds that moneys had been mismanaged in ways which might incur further expenditure for the South African government and in 1994 Lebowa was formally re-incorporated into the new Northern Transvaal Province. In the intervening 22 years the Lebowa Department of Education (LDE) had grown to accommodate over a million students. Operating in the poorest region in the country with minimal resources, capacity and legitimacy, the LDE emerged from these years with little more to show than its large numbers of students and an ostentatious head office within the lager of Lebowa's government buildings.

Lebowa was a particularly problematic child of apartheid - dependent and weak yet irresponsible and unruly. Politically and economically, Lebowa was more vulnerable than the three larger bantustans - KwaZulu, Transkei and Bophuthatswana - and less co-operative than some of the smaller ones such as Qwa-qwa and Gazankulu. The South African Government turned to Lebowa first in its programme to assert control over the bantustans on its own terms prior to the April 1994 elections, though KwaNdebele and Gazankulu were soon to follow.

Lebowa's internal inefficiency and weak external relations also characterised its education system which was underresourced and mismanaged. After 1990 the RSA government intervened to introduce a technically stronger administration as part of a broader structural adjustment programme, but these changes were not far-reaching enough, nor were they supported by adequate funding or steps towards greater political legitimacy. Lebowa is set to enter a new provincial education system with very little to offer.

LEBOWA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NORTHERN TRANSSVAAL PROVINCE

The new Northern Transvaal Province will not be well placed to support redress of education inequalities between Lebowa and historically more privileged areas in South Africa. According to the DBSA the Northern Transvaal Province has a much lower personal income per capita than any other province. The province has the second highest unemployment rate (after KwaZulu) and a ratio of workers to dependents which is much higher than that of any other province. The demands on the education system will be exacerbated by a population growth rate of 3,95% per annum which is higher than that of any other province. The DBSA has developed a human development index which takes into account a range of development factors: the Northern Transvaal Province is given a much lower rating on this cumulative index than any other province. (DBSA 1994)

The Northern Transvaal Province has one of the lowest official urbanisation rates but one of the highest population densities (DBSA 1994). This reflects the large number of dense settlements in the region. These settlements do not have any of the infrastructural advantages of proclaimed towns, nor can their residents take advantage of subsistence agricultural activities. Education in dense settlements has fallen under the control of traditional authorities and has generally received lower levels of state input than have the proclaimed townships.

The educational infrastructure inherited by the Northern Transvaal Province as a whole will be weak compared to that of other provinces since almost the whole of the education system will be made up of former bantustans. The Lebowa Education Department will constitute the major part of the new Northern Transvaal Education Department. The 1993 enrolment of the LED constituted 58% of the total enrolment for the region which comprises the new province. The combined 1993 enrolment of the three former bantustans in the province add up to 98% of the total enrolment for the province. (DBSA 1993)

Since the Northern Transvaal Province will have less internal financial capacity to finance redress of educational inequalities than will the other provinces, redress is unlikely to happen unless it is funded by the central government. Apart from redress funding, the Northern Transvaal Province will need to establish a new commitment and ethos within its inherited education bureaucracies, based on a new vision and innovative and effective use of resources.

THE POLITICAL CONTEXT

Politically, Lebowa was relatively stable with little organised resistance outside the sphere of education. Chief Minister Ramodike aligned himself with the ANC in the negotiations. At the same time, the daily lives of people in Lebowa were characterised by maladministration which was particularly marked in the education sector and which contributed to ongoing education boycotts. During the unsettled 1990 period, for example, there were four waves of protest action in Lebowa all of which were related to education (Jarvis 1990). The Lebowa Civic Association, the LebowaKgoma Civic Association, the Sekhukhuneland Teachers' Trade Union and the College SRC Co-ordinating Committee all called for protest action around education issues (NLC 1990). In subsequent years education continued to be the main arena for organised resistance. In spite of his association with the ANC, Ramodike never achieved the kind of 'conditional legitimacy' which, for example, Holomisa achieved in the Transkei partly because, unlike Holomisa, he did not follow through by building internal political alliances with progressive organisations such as SADTU.

Lebowa government officials believe that the RSA penalised Lebowa for adopting a pro-ANC position and for their failure to control protest action within Lebowa. In support of this view they point

to the new schools across the Gazankulu boundary which they believe were built to consolidate Gazankulu's claims to land which Lebowa also claimed and to 'discredit the Lebowa government'. They also point out that Lebowa is the only bantustan which was not invited to nominate a representative on the DBSA Board of Management. The relatively low per capita contribution which the RSA made to Lebowa's budget would support the idea that Lebowa was not a favourite (Interviews with LDE officials).

MISMANAGEMENT, CORRUPTION AND THE LEBOWA EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

In 1988 the South African government chose to pay attention to the reports of corruption and misuse of public funds in Lebowa. The Dekker Commission was established in May 1988. Its brief was expanded in 1989 and taken over by the De Meyer Commission. De Meyer released an interim report in 1990 and four final reports in 1992 and 1993. While these reports are commonly referred to as the 'corruption' reports, their findings focus on misuse of funds due to maladministration and lack of middle management capacity in Lebowa government departments and suggest that these provided the preconditions for actual cases of overt corruption.

Since mismanagement and corruption is a common theme in the recent history of many of South Africa's seventeen education departments, the Lebowa experience provides an opportunity to consider these issues more closely.

The Lebowa Education Department features prominently in De Meyer's reports. The 1990 Interim Report focused on the misuse of funds allocated for the purchase of school textbooks between 1982 and 1990. Problems included inadequate management, planning and control of the text book buying process as well as the channelling of business to shops owned by the Minister of Education, two Secretaries of Education and other interested parties employed within the Lebowa Education Department. In some cases bookshops took profits of up to 527% on school books (De Meyer 1990).

The 1992 De Meyer report details other instances of mismanagement and corruption relating to education in Lebowa. These include mismanagement of school building procedures, although the Department of Public Works was more directly involved here than the LDE. According to the reports, many contracts for schools built in proclaimed townships between 1987 and 1989 were given to companies with inadequate capacity, or which gave unnecessarily high quotes, when more suitable companies were available. The actual building processes were also not adequately monitored and controlled. Consequently, many schools were not completed and the quality of work was often bad.

The Third De Meyer Report, released in 1993, criticises school committees particularly in terms of control of school funds. Bursaries and financial assistance schemes are criticised for

the same reason.

The De Meyer reports focus on forms of corruption and maladministration which directly involve the misuse of funds. The interviews conducted for this research suggest that other resources have also commonly been used for personal gain - or for the benefit of the family, friends or community of origin of officials - whether this be material gain, social and political influence or sexual favours. Jobs, promotions and school facilities are scarce resources and informants suggested that powers to make decisions about appointments, promotions and the allocation and siting of school or college facilities have often been wielded in nepotistic ways. Reports of nepotism in Lebowa and Gazankulu point most frequently to favours - for example promotions - for sexual partners. This would suggest that there are strong links between gender relations, power and corruption which are yet to be explored.

While there is abundant evidence that public funds and other resources were misused in Lebowa and other bantustans, the response of the RSA government between 1988 and 1993 must be explained in terms of their broader changes in political and economic strategies relating to the bantustans. In previous years the RSA government would turn a blind eye to the misuse of funds in the bantustans, in line with the terms of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act of 1971:

After the budget for the respective self-governing territories is approved by the RSA Parliament and the allocated funds are paid over to these territories, all responsibility of the RSA Parliament, political office bearers and the officials of the central government service in connection with these funds is terminated and is passed on to the Legislative Assemblies, Ministers and officials of the territories concerned. (Quoted by Minister Fourie, 19 November 1993)

By the mid-eighties the South African government had recognised that economic separation between the RSA and the bantustans was not viable. Once the principle of the economic integration of the bantustans and the greater South Africa was conceded it became necessary for the RSA to renew control over the economies of the bantustans. With the establishment of the DBSA the RSA government attempted to restructure its relations with the bantustans along similar lines to those of major aid agencies to 'less developed' countries; financial input became conditional upon policy and expenditure guidelines. After February 1990 various steps were also taken towards re-integrating the administrations of the various bantustans into that of the RSA. Minister Fourie himself recounted some of these steps in the media statement accompanying the release of the De Meyer and Parsons reports. These included the establishment of a Joint Financial Adjustment Committee (JFAC) in 1990 and the establishment of a Structural Adjustment Programme (SAPRO) in 1992 through which

joint decisions are taken by Central Government and the

respective self-governing territories in the application of funds, personnel and supplies (Fourie 1993).

In 1993 two acts were passed - the Act on the Revocation and Assignment of powers of Self-governing Territories and the Act on the Joint Administration of Certain Matters - aimed at dissolving the autonomy of the self-governing territories and re-integrating the administration of self governing territories with the line functions of the central government. A new clause was also inserted into the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act which allows the State President to take over the executive powers and functions of a bantustan government where there is maladministration which might result in the collapse of the bantustan administration or unreasonable financial expenditure.

In the broader context of political transition the spotlight which the South African government placed on maladministration in Lebowa in 1993 was clearly intended to provide justification for the effective administrative re-incorporation of Lebowa into the RSA on the Nationalist government's own terms prior to the spatial restructuring of regions under a new constitution.

The De Meyer report's recommendations give a completely technical analysis of the causes of corruption; the emphasis is on bureaucratic management capacity, procedures and controls and bad planning by politicians. Not surprisingly, no consideration is given to the deeper causes of corruption to be found in political and economic relations with the RSA government and the absence of political accountability of bantustan governments charged with the impossible task of governing without adequate autonomy and resources.

Corruption in Lebowa and elsewhere has undermined the legitimacy and effectiveness of education. It is important to understand its causes sufficiently well to act against it in a post-apartheid provincial educational dispensation. To this end we need to ask what conditions predispose education bureaucrats to corrupt practices and how a culture of corruption can be eliminated. These questions have not been considered within current education policy debates. This report can do little more than raise these questions. The contribution of Harsch (1993) is considered as a first step towards putting these issues on the education policy agenda.

Harsch argues that corruption should be explained in terms of its economic as well as political functionality. It is not only a means of building political support but is also a means of accumulating private capital within an emerging capitalist system where resources are monopolised by the state. In this view, a 'tiny undercapitalised business class' strengthens itself by siphoning off what it can from the state sector. A portion of the fruits of corruption is used to establish and expand private business. Thus corruption is seen as a mechanism for class formation and capital accumulation. In the long term, Harsch argues, this mechanism becomes counter productive as a business sector develops which is less directly dependent on the

manipulation of state resources and which is at a competitive disadvantage in relation to the sector suckled from within the state. Corruption then 'complicates the task of building a reliable administration capable of efficiently serving the long term interests of an emerging capitalism'. Even when it is counterproductive, however, corruption does not automatically disappear. It's eradication requires 'less dependent economic and political structures' than those of most African countries and depends on the 'political capacity of the excluded population to protest vigorously' (Harsch 1993).

Harsch's analysis is intended to apply to nation states in Africa. Harsch does not extend his analysis to take into account the relationships between a smaller economic entity - whether this be an African nation state or a bantustan - and the greater regional and global complexes of which they form part. While the economy of Lebowa was interrelated with that of greater South Africa, these relationships were generally mediated either through the movement of labour or the transfer of state funds and did not support direct investment in business or industry within Lebowa. This would suggest that it was not Lebowa's isolation so much as the nature of its economic and political relationships with the South African economy that created the conditions for the development of corrupt practices in Lebowa. These relationships would have to be taken into account in a satisfactory analysis of corruption in Lebowa.

A related limitation of Harsch's analysis is the fact that it applies only to forms of corruption which emerge in contexts where capitalist development is embryonic; it does not apply to corruption in more highly developed countries, including greater South Africa. In a new provincial dispensation, Lebowa enters a provincial sector of the greater South African economy. Harsch does not help us to understand what effect these new boundaries will have on an existing culture of corruption in Lebowa.

The culture of corruption is too widespread and deeply embedded in education practices in Lebowa (and other education departments) to simply disappear when Lebowa is incorporated into a new system. This makes it imperative that this matter receive explicit attention in theoretical as well as policy debates.

THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT

Lebowa was the fourth largest of the ten bantustans. Its population and land coverage was almost as large as that of the remaining six bantustans combined. The area that comprised Lebowa has 16 proclaimed towns of which the largest is Seshego near Pietersburg, with a population of over 60 000 while the smallest is Senwamokgope with a population of around 3 000 (De Meyer 1990). It also has sprawling dense settlements, particularly around Bushbuckridge in the east. Throughout the Lebowa area agricultural sources account for a very low proportion of income (Geerdts et al 1990). Nevertheless people in the former Lebowa think of the region as being completely rural, in the sense that

its townships and settlements do not have the kind of infrastructure and resources which they associate with the term 'urban'.

Lebowa's poverty can be explained in terms of low actual and potential internal economic resources and low levels of financial contribution from Pretoria. In 1990, for example, it received R552 per capita from Pretoria. The RSA government contribution to the other bantustans was higher, ranging from R616 to R1 535 per capita in 1990 (NLC 1990 - This does not apply to KwaZulu and KwaNdebele, since figures are not known for these regions)

Within this general context of poverty, there is wide differentiation within Lebowa both between regions and between proclaimed townships and dense settlements or more remote rural areas. A number of factors influence the level of poverty and employment opportunities available in a particular settlement or town. These include proximity to the nearest white town and the nature of the economic activities in that town, be it mining activities in Phalaborwa or commercial and industrial activities in Pietersburg, Tzaneen and Potgietersrus. LebowaKgoma, the capital, offers very different opportunities: it accommodates most bureaucrats and its economic impetus is drawn from this rather than from its proximity to Pietersburg.

This report will draw on a study by Geerdts et al (1990) to map the internal economic differences within Lebowa. It is argued that these spatial differences in socio-economic conditions are an important determinant of the spatial differences in education provision. Social and economic conditions influence both the ability of students to take advantage of schooling and the actual levels of provision. The influence on the ability of students to take advantage of schooling relate mainly to opportunity costs and the ways in which conditions at home might support or undermine schooling. The influence on actual provision arise mainly from the community school system of financing facilities in terms of which parents have to pay half or more of the costs of school buildings. Thus the community school system of financing facilities acts as one mechanism which yokes the level of provision to the level of poverty in a particular area.

Geerdts's study is based on information gathered from a sample population in all districts and five proclaimed towns in Lebowa in mid 1989. The study shows that there are considerable spatial differences in socio-economic conditions between **districts** as a whole as well as between proclaimed towns and more remote rural areas. Unfortunately the study did not consider dense settlements as a separate category, thus these are included in the category of 'rural areas'.

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

There are substantial differences between districts and between rural areas and townships in the educational levels of adults, as is reflected in the following table:

	Below std 3	Std 10 & above
All Lebowa	35%	13%
Lebowa - rural	36%	13%
Lebowa urban	17%	31%
Thabamoope district	26%	17%
Lebowa Kgoma (capital)	5%	56%
Bolobedu district	45%	10%

The factors that act to the advantage or disadvantage of one district over another include the number of proclaimed townships in the district and opportunities for work arising from, for example, proximity to towns outside Lebowa.

The difference between LebowaKgoma and all other areas in Lebowa stands out. The Lebowa government was the main employer of those with higher educational qualifications who would be based in the capital. Civil servants would be in a better position to supplement the costs of education and to put pressure on the government to provide educational resources. Thus the capital would draw and produce more educated people.

INCOME

According to Geerdts' study, 65% of households had an income below the minimum living level in mid 1989. The real levels of absolute poverty are probably considerably higher today since a) as Geerdts' acknowledges, the MLL probably underestimates the minimum income required for survival, b) economic conditions have deteriorated since 1989 and c) poverty tends to be greater in larger households so that more than 65% of people live in poorer households.

In 1989 the average per capita income in Lebowa was R99,54 per month. There was a considerable difference between the urban average (R207.57) and the rural average (R92.24) and between districts (R157.31 in Thabamoope and R64.57 in Bochum). There was also a considerable difference between Lebowa Kgoma (R406.55) and other towns where the average income ranged from R172 to R205.

Migrant remittances constituted 34% of the income of rural households as compared to 6% of urban households. The DBSA estimated a male absenteeism rate of 42,9% (DBSA 1990). Pensions and self employment also contributed more to rural households than to urban households. Agriculture was not an important source of income, even in rural areas. In urban areas, wages were the most important source of income.

While average incomes were higher in urban areas, the range of

incomes was also greater, suggesting greater inequality than in rural areas.

EMPLOYMENT - UNEMPLOYMENT

According to Geerdts' 1989 study, 75% of potential workers in Lebowa were employed, though not necessarily full time. The unemployment rate varied between districts (from 20% in Mokereng to 31% in Sekhukhune, Nebo and Naphuno) and between rural and urban areas (19% in the five townships of the study and 28% in rural areas). Some 65% of workers were migrants most of whom were employed in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. On the other hand most of those in professional or managerial positions were employed inside Lebowa, presumably by the Lebowa government.

On average, those who are employed in the towns support fewer dependents than those in rural areas. The Geerdts study estimated that there were on average 3.1 dependents per earner in rural areas while in urban areas the average was 2.42. In Lebowa/Kgoma the average was 1.94 while in some rural districts it was as high as 3.65. (The DBSA estimates for number of dependents per worker is higher i.e. 6.2 in Lebowa as compared to 4.8 in region G in 1990 - DBSA 1990)

EMPLOYMENT AND GENDER

From an education perspective, the distribution of women in the labour market is of particular interest since there are distinct gender patterns in school enrolment in the bantustans. Geerdts' study suggests that there were few women employed in semi-skilled jobs in Lebowa in 1989. While women filled 49% of professional and managerial positions, 40% of white collar jobs and 43% of unskilled jobs, only 28% of routine semi-skilled and 7% of supervisory semi-skilled positions were filled by women. This might help to explain why more girls than boys stay in school until std 10 level: since semi-skilled work for women is scarce they must either persevere until they obtain higher levels of education or they must resign themselves to unskilled work. An LDE official interviewed for this study supported this explanation: he believed that girls persevered in trying to complete their schooling because there are fewer options available to them if they leave school before completing standard ten. (Interview 1993)

Overall, women are at a disadvantage in the job market in spite of the fact that more girls matriculate every year than boys. Women constituted 72% of the unemployed in Lebowa in 1989.

This disadvantage is greater in rural areas: women constitute 67% of the unemployed in urban areas as against 72% in rural areas.

On average, women also earn less than men. In 1989 the average personal income of women workers (excluding migrants) was R387.26 compared to R497.34 for men.

The general assumption that the majority of migrants are men is not confirmed by Geerdt's study which found that 52% of migrants were female. Most migrants held less skilled jobs and were based in rural areas.

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Although Geerdt's statistics show that employment opportunities improve at higher levels of education, matric does not guarantee a job in Lebowa; 11% of those with a matric or more were unemployed in 1989.

Those with higher levels of education tend to stay in the towns (specially LebowaKgomo and Seshego) whether or not they find employment there. Consequently the unemployment levels for those with a matric or more is highest in the towns - 28% of those who had a matric or more, in LebowaKgomo, were unemployed in 1989.

EMPLOYMENT AND AGE

Younger job seekers are in a similar position to women in that young people with qualifications are strongly represented in the more highly paid jobs than in the middle categories where older workers predominate. Younger people are also predominant in the unemployed sector.

POVERTY AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Geerdt's study reflects wide differences in the spatial distribution of levels of poverty and opportunity. It will be shown below that there are similar differences in access to, and achievement in, schooling. But lower access and achievement are not only an indirect result of poverty; they are also a direct result of the different modes of financing education inside and outside the proclaimed townships. The Bolobedu district provides an example of this. It is the district with the highest proportion of the population with educational levels below standard three, as was indicated above (pg 8). It is also the district with the highest pupil:classroom ratio, as is indicated in the discussion of school facilities below (pg 15). This pupil:classroom ratio is a result of bureaucratic strategies which define the provision of facilities as a community responsibility in areas outside the proclaimed townships but accept it as a state responsibility within the proclaimed townships. Thus existing educational inequalities are perpetuated by bureaucratic strategies.

These spatially differentiated bureaucratic strategies form part of a broader pattern of rural/urban differences:

- a) Forms of administration and power in rural areas still derive largely from a colonial tradition of indirect rule.
- b) These different forms of administration are, in turn, the

result of the different levels of political and economic pressure which communities in rural and urban areas are able to exert. Communities in urban areas have been in a better position to claim resources - including schools - and challenge colonial traditions.

c) More extensive provision of education and other benefits in proclaimed townships has also provided a vehicle for more direct social control in the townships.

d) Finally, the differences in provision are the result of the way in which resources attract each other. Once a certain level of infrastructure has been achieved, for example, it becomes much easier to build, organise and support a school.

EDUCATION IN THE CONTEXT OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN LEBOWA : POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS AND NGO'S

There were relatively few non-government and community based organisations active in the education sphere in Lebowa. SADTU achieved recognition from the Lebowa government although relations between SADTU and the Lebowa education department tended to be fairly hostile. While SADTU was able to call successive stay-aways there is little evidence of a sustained SADTU programme in relation to school committees, SRC's and other institution based activities. Frequently SRC's emerged around crisis issues but did not remain active once the crisis had passed. Teachers and NGO members interviewed for this research in 1993 said that there were still many incidents involving harassment of SADTU teachers, SRC's and PTSA's.

To the metropolitan visitor to the Northern Transvaal in 1993, relations between various organisations involved in education were reminiscent of the eighties, characterised by protest action rather than negotiations and engagement. Petty apartheid and racial aggression was clearly evident in the streets of Pietersburg and members of political-educational organisations were wary of strangers who asked questions. This ethos influenced the relations between organisations. There was less evidence of engagement between left wing organisations, parastatal organisations and government departments than elsewhere. Development organisations such as the IDT and the regional economic forum had taken a different direction in the Northern Transvaal from their equivalents in other regions. The Northern Transvaal Economic Forum (NTEF) was steered by left wing organisations and NGO's with a weaker business presence and weaker links with the government than other economic forums. The NECC exerted a strong influence on the NTEF in relation to educational issues. In this ideologically polarised context the IDT was viewed with suspicion. It had not been able to win the confidence of progressive education organisations and had not been able to draw them into the establishment of its Regional School Building Trust. It opted, instead, to set up an office independently of its usual 'partners'.

There were fewer curriculum support NGO's active in Lebowa than in areas closer to metropolitan nodes. However a few had done extensive work in Lebowa schools. These included the

Molteno/Breakthrough project, which was introduced into Lebowa schools in 1981, and ELRU. READ and publishing house projects such a MAPEP were also active.

SECTION B :THE LEBOWA EDUCATION SYSTEM

This section describes provision practices, enrolment patterns and educational outcomes in the Lebowa education system. This account suggests that the Lebowa system of schooling is **inefficient** but it does not - and cannot - provide direct indicators of education **quality** in Lebowa although it would be reasonable to conclude that there are severe problems of quality. Different kinds of studies such as qualitative case studies would be needed to examine the qualitative dimensions of schooling in Lebowa.

ENROLMENT OVERVIEW

The LDE was the third largest of the seventeen education departments in South Africa, after the DET, KwaZulu and the Transkei. (Although Bophuthatswana has a larger population than Lebowa, it has a considerable smaller pupil enrolment). The following table indicates the distribution of students in Lebowa's schools and colleges.

Distribution of Enrolment; 1993 (from DBSA 1994)

Pre-primary	42 717
Primary students	644 874
Secondary Students	374 627
Special Education	244
Total School Enrolment	1 062 462
Technical Education	1 499
Teacher Education	13 249

Distribution of Teachers

School teachers	26 177
Technical College Lecturers	342
Teacher Training Colleges Lecturers	804

SCHOOLING : FINANCE

In 1992 the total Lebowa education budget was R1 542 494 000 (44% of the total Lebowa budget). The per capita expenditure on primary pupils was R1 010 of which R917 was for current expenditure and R93 for capital expenditure. For secondary school students the per capita expenditure was R1 440 of which R1 275 was for current expenditure and R165 for capital expenditure.

The Lebowa education budget has increased substantially over the last two decades. Between 1973 and 1982 it increased from R7 886 500 to R70 492 680 - an average per annum increase of nearly 28%. Between 1983 and 1992 it increased from R86 576 680 to R1 542 212

000 - an average per annum increase of over 37%.

While these increases may look impressive, they have done little more than keep up with inflation, increases in salaries for greater numbers of more qualified teachers and high rates of enrolment growth; secondary enrolments grew at an average per annum rate of 15% per annum in the eighties. Prior to 1991, the RSA education budget allocated nothing to capital expenditure. (See discussion of facilities below)

CAPACITY AND CORRUPTION IN THE LED

After the first of the De Meyer reports was released in 1990 the RSA government reigned in Lebowa government departments in order to harness them to the RSA government-DBSA structural adjustment programme. The newly established Joint Financial Adjustment Committee (JFAC) was set up by the RSA department of Regional and Land Affairs to monitor budgeting and expenditure; it included officials from the DBSA as well as the Lebowa government. SAPRO, a committee linked to the DBSA and the Department of Foreign Affairs with the purpose of overseeing the RSA Government's structural adjustment programme, supervised policy and planning. Within the sphere of education the Committee for the Focus on Education in Lebowa (COFEL) was introduced to improve education planning and reduce confusion arising from the fragmentation and duplication of responsibility for education planning and provision. Professor de Lange (of De Lange Report fame) is a member of COFEL, which suggests that COFEL is strongly influenced by current RSA government education discourses.

Within the LDE a number of administrative changes were introduced. The criteria and procedures for selection of senior education department staff were adjusted so that academic and technical competencies counted more and loyalty and length of service counted less. A number of younger men (there are no women at the top post levels) were appointed to senior positions in the department on the basis of qualifications rather than service and loyalty. At the same time, funds were made available for a substantial school building programme and free textbooks were distributed more effectively than before. Steps were taken towards developing a macro plan for the provision of facilities similar to that used within the DET. New innovations were planned including a series of model or project schools, a community college and a curriculum academy.

These changes were not substantial enough to eradicate established practices and did not address the issue of the illegitimacy of the department. They were also not supported by increased levels of funding. The subsequent actions of the RSA government suggests that it requires more direct control of the Lebowa administration at this time to effect its structural adjustment programme and to prepare for the elections in 1994.

SCHOOL FACILITIES IN LEBOWA

In 1992 Lebowa had a pupil classroom ratio of 57:1 in primary schools and 60:1 in secondary schools. These ratios were based on all classrooms, regardless of their quality. The shortage of classrooms was considerably greater in some circuits than in others. Primary school ratios varied from 35:1 in the Thabina circuit to 83:1 in the Bolobedo circuit. Secondary ratios vary across circuits from 47:1 to 74:1. The high overall ratio as well as the wide variation can be explained in terms of the fact that, to a greater extent than elsewhere, the responsibility for provision of classrooms has been left to communities.

Lebowa is unusual in that it has a higher P:C ratio for secondary schools than for primary schools. This can also be explained in terms of the fact that the community school mode of provision is more prevalent here. Poorer communities provide primary schools first and often cannot stretch to provide secondary schools as well.

In most bantustans the community school (or R1 for R1) system of provision has been formally and informally adapted and replaced, in patches, by a system of state provision. In Lebowa this process started later than elsewhere and the changes are less extensive.

Prior to 1991, the RSA government contributed virtually nothing to capital costs for schools. It was assumed that the Lebowa government and tribal authorities would draw on internal sources to fund facilities. This abdication by the RSA government of responsibility has resulted in underprovision as the Lebowa government and local communities have proved unable to provide sufficient facilities of an adequate standard. It has also undermined planning, as the LDE did not provide school facilities in tribally controlled areas at all prior to 1991 and so could not plan for their distribution. More recently, when funds were made available to the LDE to build schools, confusion resulted from the fact that both the LDE and tribal authorities were responsible for the provision of facilities. The Capital Co-ordination Committee (CCC) was established to co-ordinate these and other parties involved in school building.

Prior to 1991 money that was used for school buildings was not drawn from the education budget. The great majority of schools were community schools in rural areas. These schools were subsidised on a R1 to R1 basis with money from sources outside the education budget. Schools that were built by the Lebowa government in urban areas were also not financed from the education budget; officially they were financed from urban taxes. Neither the community schools nor the urban schools were maintained by the state. Only about twenty schools - territorial schools which pre-dated the establishment of Lebowa as a self-governing territory - were true 'state' schools in that they were maintained by the Lebowa government.

In Lebowa as elsewhere the R1 for R1 system has been inefficiently managed and open to abuse. Officially, the community has paid the full costs for the erection of buildings

and have then been re-imbursed for 50% of the actual or evaluated costs of the buildings, whichever is the lower. In 1991, when the LDE made an attempt to pay all outstanding claims for Rand for Rand subsidies it found outstanding claims dating back to 1987.

In order to have a new school registered a community is expected to provide at least three classrooms as well as toilets and water, although these conditions have not always been met. Often classrooms are borrowed, for example from churches. These are counted as temporary classrooms. Any classroom owned by the community schools or the education department are counted as 'permanent' regardless of the condition of the physical structure. Thus the terms 'permanent' and 'temporary' do not have the same meaning as in Gazankulu and the Transkei where the term refers to the physical quality of facilities. Pupil: classroom ratio's are based on the number of classrooms owned by schools and does not include 'borrowed' classrooms.

The 1991/2, 1992/3 and 1993/4 education budgets included allocations for capital expenditure which were derived mainly from the backlog funds announced in 1991. In the 1993/4 budget the allocation to capital costs has been cut back considerably. The insertion of these funds has highlighted the confusion which exists in all bantustans about who is responsible for building schools. Initially the intention was to channel the money through the traditional authorities but this was opposed by civics who argued that this system was open to abuse. It was then decided that the money would be distributed equally to circuits and controlled at education circuit level by a prioritisation committee of circuit inspectors, chiefs and magistrates which would make decisions about where classrooms would actually be built. In 1991 the LDE began to develop a masterplan which would prioritise school building projects for the whole of Lebowa but this plan is not yet complete or operational.

Interestingly, the LDE chose to apply different standards to classrooms built by the state depending on whether they were built in proclaimed towns or not. This differentiation of facilities provided by the state according to location is reminiscent of similar policy developments in the DET from 1989 to reduce the cost of the provision of facilities in informal settlements. In Lebowa, classes built in the townships are of face brick with electricity, waterborne sewerage, tiles and toilets. Classes built outside the townships generally are of semi-face brick with no floor tiling and no ceilings. Generally there is no electricity and pit latrines are used. In 1993, the urban classrooms cost around R40 000 per classroom compared to about R30 000 for a classroom in rural areas.

The actual building was generally done by consultants and contractors selected by the Department of Public Works. This system provided inadequate control: particular cases of wastage and abuse were documented in the De Meyer reports. Subsequent to the publication of the first De Meyer reports the CCC was given the task of improving co-ordination and control and reducing

wastage.

Few, if any, complete schools have been built with state funding outside of the proclaimed townships. Generally classrooms are added to existing schools. During one phase of the current building programme the department undertook to complete classrooms which communities had started and not completed.

There is much less non-government support for classroom building in Lebowa than in some other regions. The IDT school building trust in region G has not yet made much progress. Some industrial concerns such as the Steelpoort mines have built some classrooms in the areas where their employees live.

THE PROVISION OF TEXTBOOKS

At some point in the eighties - even the De Meyer Commission could not establish exactly when - the Lebowa Cabinet decided that school books should be distributed to students free of charge. Most officials interviewed for this research only recall noticeable changes in provision practices from 1990. According to the De Meyer report (1990) 1986 was the first year that a substantial amount was spent on 'free' textbooks.

The amounts spent suggest that the term 'free textbooks' tends to be used too easily in relation to bantustans that subsidise textbook purchases. Between 1986 and 1988 an average of R37 was spent per pupil on textbooks. Even if this amount had been carefully spent it would not have gone very far. The second De Meyer Report shows that much of this money was wasted on inappropriate books that were never used while bookshops owned by senior education department officials raked in huge profits. Ultimately, much of the money was spent on exercise books rather than text books. The problems arose as much from a lack of capacity in the department to manage the book buying process as it did from dishonesty. There was no planning and no real control of the purchasing process.

In this area as in others the LDE has attempted to introduce more effective management strategies administered by more skilled personnel. These steps have not yet borne fruit.

PROJECT SCHOOLS

There were two small groups of schools in Lebowa that offered students a little more than did the average school: the territorial schools and the Catholic private schools.

In line with a trend in a number of bantustans, the LDE introduced a series of 'model schools', or project schools. These schools served a number of functions:

a) They provided for the children of an emerging bourgeoisie - composed largely of bureaucrats such as education department

officials - who are not prepared to accept the kind of schooling on offer in most schools.

b) They provided a besieged education department with show piece schools that give their work some legitimacy and

c) they began to fulfil some of the functions of an education system which the system as a whole was too weak to serve, specifically to feed students into higher education and skilled employment.

The project schools were conceptualised by COFEL which also suggested that an education academy should be established to provide curriculum support for the project schools along similar lines to the Gazankulu Science centre and project schools. This academy has not yet been established.

The strategy of focusing resources on a small group of select schools may be seen as an attempt to provide an elitist education for a privileged class but it can also be seen as an attempt to salvage a small sector of an otherwise underresourced, ineffectual, defeated and hopeless education system and to use this sector as a leaven for the rest of the system.

The LDE established 24 project schools. There is one secondary project school in each of 19 circuits and one primary project school in each of five regions. The existing schools with the best facilities - usually the territorial schools - were selected to be upgraded as project schools. The intention was that these schools should focus on science, mathematics and commercial and technical subjects and that students should be selected on the basis of their aptitude in these areas.

FARM SCHOOLS

There are a number of farm schools in the Lebowa region which are registered with the DET and not with the LDE. These schools are located on farms which continued to be managed by whites when they were incorporated into Lebowa, particularly in the Zebediela district. They are even more isolated than most DET farm schools. Teachers report that child labour practices continue unabated at these schools. (Interviews with teachers 1993)

PRE-PRIMARY EDUCATION

In the mid-eighties the Lebowa Education Department (LDE) moved to provide pre-school education in spite of the fact that no funds were earmarked for this purpose in the education budget. A number of primary school teachers were seconded to pre-primary classes. Very few classrooms were available; a few classes (funded by parents) were added to schools and other spaces such as church halls were utilised.

By 1992 there were 668 women teachers in 368 schools utilising a total of 348 classrooms for 41 334 pre-school learners. The

number of children involved per circuit varied across circuits from 962 to 4 342. The pupil-teacher ratio varied across circuits from 38:1 to 82:1, averaging 62:1, and the pupil-classroom ratio varied from 49:1 to 256:1 with an average of 119:1. According to department officials, the schools that are available tend to be found in the townships. Nowhere in Lebowa is provision anywhere near adequate. The total number of learners (41 334 in 1992) adds up to less than 10% of the total number of children between the ages of 3 and 6.

In 1992 only one supervisory official - an Inspector - was employed in the pre-primary schools section. No other staff were employed for this purpose at head office, regional office or circuit level.

There is considerable NGO support available for pre-primary teachers and the LDE Inspector and teachers have taken as much advantage of this as limited funds and capacity has allowed. ELRU has trained many of the teachers. The South African Association for Early Childhood Education (SAAECE) has also been involved while a number of feeding schemes have been drawn in.

In 1993 the purse strings of the LDE were drawn tighter in the context of broader political and financial crises. Early childhood education was identified as an area where expenses would be cut back. These developments were exacerbated by a broader RSA government discourse which defined pre-primary education as a non-government responsibility and by internal departmental politics which sidelined the pre-primary education inspector. Within the LDE the view that provision of pre-primary education will increasingly be a private sector concern is gaining ground. This approach implies that pre-primary education will be more easily available in those areas where parents can afford to pay for it, where employers such as mining companies are willing to provide it or where worker or political organisations are strong enough to demand it. This would privilege proclaimed townships and areas proximate to towns rather more remote areas and dense settlements.

SCHOOL ENROLMENTS

In Lebowa, as in the other bantustans, the school enrolment has increased substantially over the last two decades, with a greater rate of growth at the secondary school level. In 1992 the total enrolment topped 1 million. From 1991 to 1992 the primary enrolment increased by 3,4% while the secondary enrolment increased by 9%. Over the last decade the growth rate has averaged 3,2% for primary schools and 15% for secondary schools. The following table suggests that the growth rate has begun to stabilise at the lower primary level while at other levels it has passed its peak but has not yet stabilised.

	LP	SP	JS	SS
1982	318 901	165 707	93 562	20 967
1992	394 417	248 107	226 946	145 744
% Increase	24%	50%	143%	695%
Average % increase per annum	2,4%	4,6%	10,4%	24%

ENROLMENT AND GENDER

Lebowa is similar to other bantustans in that there are more boys in the early years (sub a to std 4) and more girls at the higher levels. In 1992 58% of std 10 pupils were girls. The following factors contribute to this imbalance:

- slightly more boys appear to have been entering sub A - if repeaters are excluded girls were 48,8% of the cohort in 1990, 48,6% in 1991 and 49,7% in 1992.
- the repeater rate is significantly higher for boys than for girls throughout the system. In the 1992 sub A group for example, 10,7% of boys were repeaters while 7% of girls were repeaters. Throughout the primary system in 1992, only 38% of repeaters were girls.

Lebowa appears to be different from some of the other former bantustans in that in that the proportion of girls who are repeaters in the senior secondary school is lower for girls than for boys. There are too many gaps in the available information to know whether this means that girls are more successful; in order to find out, it would be necessary to obtain examination results by gender and these are not available.

Girls have not always been in the majority at the secondary levels. In the 70's boys were in a majority at all levels of the school system. The predominance of girls only emerged in the early 80's. It is worth noting that this co-incided with the expansion of the system and increases in failure rates. It would seem that girls are more willing to persevere in the face of obstacles.

Although subject choice has been very limited in the LDE curriculum, a greater proportion of male students do Mathematics and Science at standard ten level: 17,6% of male standard ten students did Mathematics in 1991, as against 12,8% of female students. In the case of Physical Science, 11,2% of male students were enrolled as against 7,2% of female students. A higher proportion of males also did History i.e. 32,6% of males as against 21,8% of females. The only subjects which drew a substantially higher proportion of females were Needlework and Home Economics, although slightly more females did Business Economics and Economics.

There is a great need for a qualitative study which explores the factors which lead to higher retention of girls than boys in the system. One factor already mentioned in this study is the possibility that there are more employment opportunities for boys while girls need to obtain the highest possible qualifications in order to compete for more scarce opportunities. The employment that is available for women tends to be in the lowest or higher job categories and not in the middle levels of semi-skilled or white collar work.

EFFICIENCY

The efficiency of the Lebowa education system has not kept pace with the growth in the system. The rates for drop in's, drop outs, repeaters and failures are high. The system is extremely permeable, even at sub A level. A substantial proportion of students flow in and out of the system during the year as well as at the end of the year.

The following table shows

- the percentage distribution of the enrolment across the system in 1992 and
- the percentage repeaters at each level

	A	B	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
a	11%	10%	9%	9%	9%	8%	8%	9%	7%	6%	6%	8%
b	9%	9%	13%	12%	14%	11%	9%	20%	20%	22%	25%	45

The actual wastage is even higher than these figures indicate, as will be shown below. Some levels are more problematic than others. The success or failure of Sub A is always important in that it shapes the perception of learning of all students; in Lebowa as elsewhere it is a year marked by high drop outs and failure. Standards three, six and nine seem to be years in which those who have dropped out attempt to re-enter the system, resulting in lesser decreases or even increases in enrolments and also increased failure rates. Standard ten carries a large proportion of repeaters as the cumulative effect of years of high failure rates in the externally set examination.

The actual wastage at three levels - sub A, standard eight and standard ten - is examined more closely below.

Sub A

The following three tables show how around 20% of sub A's don't complete or pass the year, in spite of a departmental approach which emphasises that sub A's should not fail. In two years out of three (1990 to 1992), the number that dropped out during the year was higher than the number that failed. The pass rate is given as a percentage of the total enrolment and not of those who

write.

Sub A 1990

enter	repeats	total	leave	write	fail	pass
99 579	3 879	103 458	14 396	89 062	7 534	81 528
96,2%	3,8%	100%	13,9%	96,1%	7,3%	78,8%

sub A 1991

enter	repeats	total	leave	write	fail	pass
102642	7 498	110 140	9 448	100 692	9 913	90 779
93,2%	6,8%	100%	8,6%	91%	9%	82,4%

sub A 1992

enter	repeats	total	leave	write	fail	pass
103665	10 230	113 895	11 959	101 936	10 187	91 749
91%	9%	100%	10,5%	89,5%	8,94	80,6

The drop out, repeat, failure and drop in rates get worse at the higher levels, particularly in the secondary schools, as the following tables show.

Std 8 1992

enter	repeat	total	leave	write	fail	pass
49 545	14 064	63 609	5 746	57 863	15 797	42 066
77,9	22,1%	100%	9%	91%	24,8%	66%

Note: Although 49 545 entered standard eight at the beginning of 1992, over and above repeaters, only 41 963 had passed standard seven at the end of 1991. This would suggest that at least 7 582 (12%) 'dropped in' to std 8 at the beginning of 1992.

Std 10 1992

enter	repeat	total	leave	write	fail	pass
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45 030	39 037	84 067	5 900	78 167	49 728	28 439
53,6%	46,4	100%	7%	9%	59,2%	33,8%

Note: Although 45 030 entered standard ten at the beginning of 1992, over and above repeaters, only 31 941 had passed std 9 at the end of 1991. This would suggest that at least 13 087 (16%) students 'dropped in' to std 10 at the beginning of 1992. Fewer than 38% of the 1992 std 10 students were in std 9 in Lebowa in 1991. Since the curriculum assumes some continuity from std 9 to std 10, teaching and learning becomes more difficult where the majority of students do not flow through from std 9 into std 10 in consecutive years.

RETENTION AND REPEATERS : SPATIAL VARIATION

The proportion of repeaters in the school system is much higher in some circuits than in others. In primary schools 11% of the school population were repeaters in 1992 but the proportion was as low as 7% in the Thabina circuit and as high as 17% in the Sekhukhune circuit. In secondary schools 28% of the school population were repeaters but this varied from 17,4% in the Nebo circuit to 41,9% in Mapulaneng.

It is likely that an inadequate quality of education in Lebowa - as well as other factors such as socio-economic conditions - contributes to the high drop out and drop in figures. At the same time, the high numbers of drop outs, drop in's, and repeaters must make the task of teachers more difficult and influence the ethos and morale in schools which in turn would exacerbate negative conditions in schools. Other factors which could contribute to the high pre-examination drop out in schools include the exclusion of students who cannot pay fees for examinations. Since the cost of repeating is much higher than the fees the exclusion of students who cannot pay is clearly an economically counterproductive strategy. The recent teachers' strikes in response to unresolved problems relating to conditions of service has no doubt also negatively affected the learning environment.

It is clear that in spite of rising enrolments, students are not managing to move smoothly through the system. There is a great need for qualitative studies which produce a better understanding of factors affecting both the efficiency and the quality of schooling in Lebowa. Quantitative studies and macro studies alone cannot determine all the factors which undermine the capacity and morale of students and teachers nor can they identify the factors which sometimes allow teachers and students to overcome obstacles.

EXAMINATIONS

In 1991 and 1992 examination pass rates in Lebowa primary schools averaged around 90% in the sub-standards and around 85% in

standards one to five (of those who wrote). At the secondary level pass rates were between 64% and 72% (of those who wrote). Matric pass rates were 31,8% in 1991 and 36,4% in 1992. These rates were considerably higher in the 70's (between 61% and 82%) but began to drop from 1980.

Towards the end of the 80,s the LDE responded to falling pass rates and political demands for a 'pass one, pass all' approach by instructing schools to ensure a primary pass rate of at least 85% and a secondary pass rate of at least 75%. This instruction was later rescinded but results suggest that the practice has continued, particularly at the primary level. Pass rates for sub A and B are constant at 89-90% and for std 1-5 at 84-86%. As a result of this approach, pass rates tell us very little about actual achievement in the schools prior to std 10. There is no external examination prior to std 10 as the std eight external examination was abandoned in 1984, so results do not necessarily provide a comparison between schools.

The std 10 examination is externally marked, and the results drop substantially in this year. This does not necessarily mean that the standard nine results are too lenient. Since only about a third of the students in the matriculation group have proceeded directly from standard nine, it is possible that those who passed standard nine in the previous year form the majority of those who pass the standard ten examination.

Just as disturbing as the low pass rate at standard 10 level are the low aggregates of those who do pass. In 1991 and 1992 fewer than 4% of std 10's achieved an aggregate of a D or above. The majority of those who passed in these years achieved an F aggregate.

An examination of the 1991 standard 10 results for specific subjects is more revealing. Generally the results were higher for languages, where the majority passed. The only other subjects in which there were more passes than failures were Geography and Needlework. The matriculation results for Mathematics and Science are particularly low.

* The proportion of students doing these subjects is lower in Lebowa than in any other department: 16% of Lebowa standard tens do mathematics compared to a national average of 33%. Nine percent of Std ten students in Lebowa do Science compared to a national average of 20%.

* The proportion of those who actually pass these subjects is also lowest in Lebowa: 3% of standard ten students pass each of these subjects in Lebowa compared to a national average of 18% for mathematics and 14% for science.

* In 1992 Lebowa also had the lowest pass rate in mathematics and science as a proportion of those who write the subject: 16,7 of those who wrote mathematics and 33% of those who wrote science passed. (Edusource 1993)

SUBJECT CHOICES

In practice, there is a very narrow subject choice for pupils in both primary and secondary schools. In the secondary schools the majority of students take Biology, Geography, History and Agricultural Science in addition to languages. The 1992 LDE Annual Report suggests that most primary school pupils take Arts and Crafts, Gardening and Needlework in addition to languages. The narrowness of this subject choice at the primary schools is likely to be a factor contributing to low achievements at the senior levels.

TEACHERS IN LEBOWA

In terms of numbers, Lebowa's supply of teachers is adequate; the 1992 P:T ratio was 40:1 at primary level and 36:1 at secondary level. These figures are misleading, however, since they do not distinguish between qualified, underqualified and unqualified teachers. 62% of teachers in primary schools and 16% of teachers in secondary schools are either unqualified or unqualified. Since schools have been forced to employ standard ten graduates simply because qualified teachers are not available, it is inappropriate to count unqualified teachers as part of the teaching body for planning purposes. This does not mean that these teachers should be excluded, but rather that they would require training. While underqualified teachers and those unqualified teachers who have a lot of teaching experience would probably only require INSET, young unqualified teachers with little experience would require more comprehensive training.

There is a great discrepancy between the pupil:teacher ratio's and the pupil:classroom ratio's. Some of the teachers would be using 'borrowed' classrooms such as church halls, while junior primary classes are often simply taught under trees, but these strategies would not go very far towards reducing the discrepancy. The discrepancy between teacher numbers and classroom numbers has resulted in the practice that as many as half the teachers in any one school would not actually be in classrooms at any one time. Subject teaching - in senior primary as well as secondary schools - facilitates this practice. Since teachers salaries ultimately absorb more funds than do facilities, the under provision of classrooms has a high cost in terms of reduced teacher productivity.

According to 1992 statistics, teachers were still unevenly distributed; in some circuits primary P:T ratio's were as high as 43:1 and secondary P:T ratio's as high as 39:1. In better circuits, primary P:T ratio's were as low as 36:1 and secondary P:T ratio's as low as 28:1. The LDE is attempting to address this uneven distribution by redistributing teachers according to need.

Teacher qualification levels still leave much to be desired. Only 38% of primary school teachers have an M+3 (including a professional qualification) which is commonly taken as the lowest acceptable level of qualification. Of the remainder, the majority have a PTC which is equivalent to an M+2. Just over twenty

percent of primary school teachers either do not have a std ten or do not have a professional qualification. At secondary level, 16% either do not have M+3 or do not have a professional qualification.

In Lebowa as elsewhere the specialisation areas of teachers - in terms of subject or school level - do not necessarily match the needs. Consequently large numbers of teachers are inappropriately placed. Thousands of teachers who were trained to teach in primary schools are teaching in secondary schools and many more are teaching subjects they were not trained to teach. There are insufficient teachers of 'scarce subjects' such as maths, science, commercial and technical subjects. Factors which contribute to this mismatch include a) the absence of a plan and co-operative strategy which would relate training in colleges to departmental needs, b) the difficulty of drawing students into disciplines at college level to which they were not exposed at school level and c) an historical legacy of low qualification levels. The M+2 PTC was only phased out in Lebowa's education colleges in 1985 and the M+3 PTD was introduced in the early 80's.

Partly in response to these problems, the DBSA has introduced it's programme for rationalising teacher training colleges in Lebowa as it has in other bantustans. This programme is based on a regional plan which considers Lebowa as part of region G. The DBSA envisages drastically reducing the number of teacher training colleges in Lebowa and then upgrading, redirecting and co-ordinating those which remain. The DBSA, in consultation with the LDE and COFEL, envisages reducing the number of teacher training colleges in Lebowa to seven.

The DBSA plan is based on the argument that Lebowa - and most other bantustans - are producing too many teachers while the quality of the training is low. Unfortunately the DBSA plans have not been exposed to public debate. It is not clear, for example, what assumptions are being made about the future growth of enrolments at secondary school level. The DBSA approach also assumes that everyone who is employed to teach in schools is a teacher and does not take into account training or experience. Thus large numbers of young, unqualified, inexperienced 'teachers' boost the ratio's on which DBSA calculations are based. It is important to bear in mind that these teachers were only employed because qualified teachers were not available in the first place. Young standard ten graduates often use teaching as a temporary stop gap until other employment is found.

The DBSA policy analysts rightly point out that teaching has provided one of very few routes to tertiary education for school leavers in the bantustans (Orbach 1992). According to an LDE official, the number of applications are sometimes 40 times the number of places in colleges. The DBSA and LDE propose to deal with this by converting facilities which are no longer used as colleges to provide other types of training - particularly technical training.

TEACHERS IN REMOTE AREAS

A Lebowa Circuit Inspector summed up the problems associated with teachers in remote areas by saying that the authority of a teacher is commonly measured by the distance of the place the teacher works from the larger urban centres; the greater the distance, the less competent the teacher is assumed to be. The description of schools in the remote areas is familiar: no electricity, no roads, no toilets, no libraries, no fences, fewer visits from Inspectors and more impoverished students. The benefits of township life - including housing subsidies, infrastructure, access to teacher support, study opportunities and the company of other middle class people - are not available to teachers in the more remote schools. It is commonly agreed that teacher training does not prepare teachers to work in the 'bundu schools' and that teachers in remote schools often become increasingly demotivated. Generally teachers of scarce subjects cannot be persuaded to teach in the more remote schools at all.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

This report suggests that the schooling system in Lebowa is one of the most inefficient and underresourced in the country. Within this general picture, areas outside of proclaimed townships experience greater disadvantage. The report has shown that:

- i) that there are considerable spatial inequalities in socio-economic conditions in terms of which proclaimed townships and proximity to towns are an advantage and
- ii) there are considerable spatial variations in educational resources (exemplified by differences in pupil:classroom ratio's across circuits) and educational outcomes (exemplified by differences in repeater rates across circuits);
- iii) that provision policies, particularly for school facilities, privilege more urban areas.

The extent to which socio-economic disadvantages co-incide with educational disadvantages in specific areas has not been explored here, though it seems highly probable that this is the case. This kind of co-incidence should be explored in future work in order to extend our understanding of spatial inequalities in education.

Since the beginning of the nineties there has been a trend across all bantustans to extend state provision of facilities into areas outside the proclaimed townships. In Lebowa, this process has not yet gone very far, but it has already brought new forms of spatial differentiation which are likely to perpetuate urban-rural inequalities in new ways. The introduction of different physical standards for school facilities provided by the state depending on whether the facilities are inside or outside the townships reflects a view within the bureaucracy that spatial inequalities are legitimate. The consistency of these new bureaucratic practices with practices in the DET suggests that they will not automatically disappear with the demise of Lebowa as a separate political entity.

While there have been attempts to improve the efficiency and capacity of the Lebowa education system, these changes have not gone far enough. Education in the former Lebowa will benefit from better management involving a stronger middle level of personnel. At the same time it is unlikely that this will address some of the less technical problems in the education bureaucracy including

a) a lack of funds,

b) the lack of accountability of the bureaucracy to the people it serves,

c) cynicism about bureaucratic responsibilities, reflected in instances of corrupt practices. These would include, for example, the oft reported cases of 'promotions for sex'.

d) traditions in which resources are legitimately used to strengthen one's community of origin rather than the broader society and

e) the temptation to siphon off state resources to promote private enterprise within a sector of society bent on entering an established broader capitalist system. (Harsch 1993)

There is a great need for work which will examine the quality of education in Lebowa, within the Northern Transvaal Province. This report raises a number of questions which would inform such a study.

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