

A Class Act rather than a Race Issue – Restructuring Education in South Africa since 1994

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“Education will always be crucial to the individual in liberating the human mind and spirit in the service of others in society” (Hartshorne, 1999)

“Education, then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of man, - the balance-wheel of the social machinery” (Mann, 1848)

Abstract

Just over a decade on from the official abolition of apartheid education, the only system in the world that intentionally restricted the productivity of its pupils (Brookes, 1968), many ex-white schools are now fully racially inclusive and on par with good British independent schools. In contrast, ex-African schools remain one hundred per cent African, suffer from very poor results, with some still lacking in water and electricity. This paper aims to show that despite literally thousands of pages of post-apartheid policy documents, inherent problems of disparity persist but these are associated more with class and wealth than with the populist line of race. Instead of focusing on curriculum reform or solution-based methods of combating major inequality between provinces and between institutions, school governance and finance have frequently topped the agenda.

Research conducted includes a face-to-face interview with Mr FW de Klerk, former President of South Africa, graphical analysis of change by province in expenditure and academic results since 1994, and correlation calculations from thirty schools visited by Lemon (2004 & 2005) to suggest that class is a greater determinant than race regarding educational attainment. Additionally, the numerous legislations implemented since 1994 are reviewed and inter-provincial inequality is explored.

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A Note on Terminology

This paper uses the racial terms African (or ‘black’ when quoting other sources), coloured, Indian and white, as is common usage in South Africa, and ‘non-white’ to refer to the first three racial groups. ‘Race’ is defined as an aggregate of phenotypically similar populations of a species, differing taxonomically from other populations (Mayr, 1969), which can be differentiated due to barriers to genetic exchange (Templeton, 1996).

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I Introduction

Apartheid, South Africa's system of racial segregation that was "*tragically misguided in the eyes of most of humanity*" (Lemon, 1995, p.xi), is to blame for producing "*the only education system in the world designed to restrict the productivity of its pupils in the national economy*" (Brookes, 1968, p.57). From 1948, prohibition of interaction between different population groups based on race produced "*creatures of two worlds in the same country*" (Hartshorne, 1999, p.3).

Perhaps a greater injustice than racial segregation was the major inequality in provision of resources between different groups, with 'Bantu education' for Africans under the National Party aiming "*to produce a black population that would accept its subordination in society as natural*" (Lemon & Stevens, 1999, p.223). Despite the state being compelled to reduce disparities in apartheid education, particularly following the Soweto riots of 1976 and the liberation struggle of the 1980s, Fig 1.1 shows that even after a significant increase in expenditure on African education, their underachievement was still enormous in the final years of the apartheid era:

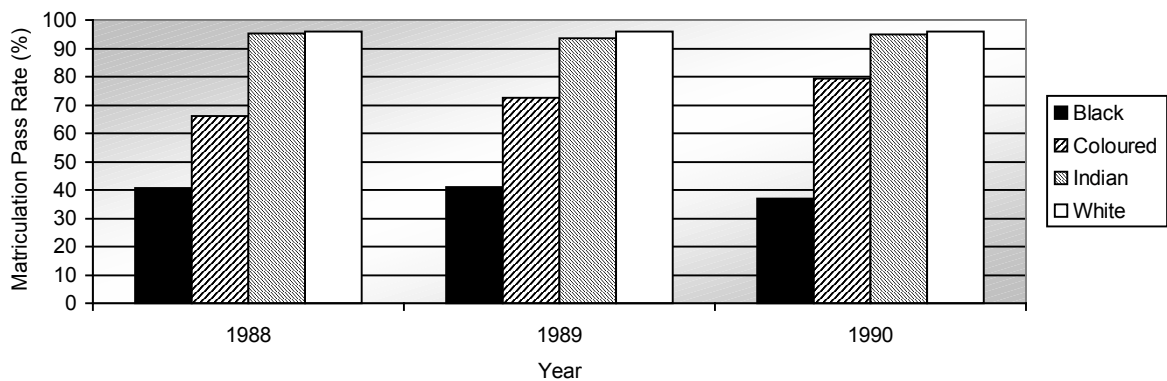


Fig 1.1: Matriculation pass rate by ethnicity, 1988-1990. Source: SAIRR (1990), in Lemon (1994)

In the mid-1980s, many schools began to follow the lead of Johannesburg's Sacred Heart College, in defying the apartheid government by opening their doors to all races, provided that they could afford the required fees (Soudien & Sayed, 2003). Since then up to the present day, an increasing proportion of African (and coloured) students from affluent families have enjoyed

the same privileges as their white counterparts, whilst the poorer Africans remain rooted in schools lacking the most basic of resources. Over a decade on from the official abolition of apartheid, full racial integration is highly evident at many formerly white, coloured and Indian schools, whilst ex-African schools remain completely segregated.

After reviewing the 1990-1994 transition period, the run-up to the official abolition of apartheid, numerous policy documents related to post-apartheid education will be analysed, with their effectiveness considered by looking at results by province and year since 1994. This paper aims to show that in a post-apartheid era, *“class rather than race is now the main determinant of educational opportunity”* (Lemon, 2004, p.269), particularly by analysing the demographics of thirty schools around Pietermaritzburg and Grahamstown, visited by Lemon (2004, 2005). Problems such as the considerable gap between initiatives on paper and in practice, language issues and areas of inefficiency will be explored, before providing recommendations for improving the degree of redress and equity in a post-apartheid South Africa.

II 1990 – 1994: Apartheid in Transition

In a reception held for Nelson Mandela in February 1990, the future President blasted South Africa’s apartheid education system as *“a crime against humanity”* (in Lemon, 1999, 2004); indeed, a system that effectively instilled a glass ceiling over a large sector of the population is just that. The potential for fundamental reform came in 1990, the beginning of the end of *“authoritarian, racially segregated and unequal education”* (Horn & Hemming, 1997, p.273), as National Party President FW de Klerk declared that apartheid had failed, and began to abolish the numerous apartheid laws. However, the widespread positive hopes and expectations of rapid and major change were dashed, with resentment over failure to allow input from African communities into the initial school reform proposals. Their demands for a unitary education system were initially ignored, as traditional white schools were the first to see the control of physical assets and associated costs being transferred to the schools’ governing bodies

themselves, as a small influx of affluent, non-white fee-paying students entered the institutions. Although this policy was criticised for replacing race-based with class-based discrimination (Lemon, 1995), it was at least a step away from prejudice that isolated the nation for decades.

Under the system, white public schools were able to apply for one of three alternative management systems, giving them financial responsibility and control of their admissions criteria, though in May 1992 the National Party unilaterally converted all DEC schools to one system, 'model C'. The extent to which white parents voted for a change in their school's status to allow racial integration was overwhelming, but viewed as self-interest rather than displaying an unprecedented degree of liberalism. Lemon (1994) suggests that if they did not opt for desegregation, they would shortly have no choice at all in the matter, whilst Horn & Hemming (1997) suggest that parents were mainly interested in having financial management of the schools delegated to the primary beneficiaries.

Despite further increases in provisions for African students during this transition period, the per capita expenditure on a white student's education was almost quadruple that of their African counterparts by 1994. The African community made little response to what they viewed as a 'white issue', with resentment evident about how the white minority were still making decisions for them (Lemon, 1994). It appeared clear that if aiming for redress and equity, all groups had to be involved in decision-making – particularly those worst affected. The incoming 'Government of National Unity' in 1994 was exactly what was desired for all to be involved.

III Post-Apartheid Education Policy Documents & Legislations

In 1994, the new ANC-led 'Government of National Unity' inherited an education system still plagued with injustice, and nine new provinces were created¹, each given considerable responsibility in the post-apartheid constitution. The administration of education

¹ Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, North West Province, Northern Cape, Northern Province (now Limpopo) and Western Cape.

policy remained controlled by the national government, but financing and school management was made a provincial responsibility. Literally thousands of pages worth of numerous policy documents and new legislations were drawn out over the next years, acting as “*discernible attempts to operationalise the comprehensive inclusivity contained in the Constitution of the ‘new’ South Africa*” (Carrim, 2003, p.24). ANC’s Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) came in 1994, and attempted to promote equity by increasing state expenditure and intervention. In the first budget provisions since the instatement of the new government, education was given the largest share of expenditure – R29bn, 23% of the 1994/5 budget, a 4.5% increase on the previous year (Hartshorne, 1999).

The Centre for Education Policy Development (CEPD) was initially introduced in order to facilitate the conceptualisation of education policy for the ANC and the Alliance, leading to the publication of ‘Policy Framework for Education and Training’ in January 1994. Later that year in September, the Minister of Education presented a draft White Paper on Education and Training (WPET) before the National Assembly in Cape Town, with the finalised edition in February 1995 focussing on equity, equality and non-discrimination as the primary aims of reform, with the underlying theme of launching a multi-dimensional reconstruction programme.

The National Education Policy (NEP) Act of 1996 outlined democratisation and framework of a new South African education and training system, defining South African education as one that integrates education and training within an inclusivist curriculum (Carrim, 2003). A major step forward in the year was that all pupils in the same province now wrote the same provincial examination.

The South African School Bill was introduced in August 1996, pooling goals from the 1995 Hunter Report, the White Paper of February 1995, and the National Education Policy Act of 1996, for a fairly clear and direct set of policies (Hartshorne, 1999), aiming to democratise school governance, allowing for all staff to be jointly participant in school-policy decisions. It allowed freedom of conscience and religion, with schools not allowed to refuse a candidate

admission because they were unable to afford fees, or because they failed the language test. However, schools were (and are) able to draw up their own geographic feeder areas and could thus wheedle out students from less affluent residential regions, phasing out those unable to pay by for example demanding rent statements to exclude sub-tenants, all resulting in a playing field that is “*not remotely equal*” (Lemon, 2004, p.272).

Parents are entitled to a fees reduction if the annual school fees exceeded 3.33% of the household income. Whilst this may appear very reasonable, Sayed (2001, in Lemon, 2004) attacks the perceived middle-class benevolence, highlighting that affluent parents do not wish to subsidise their poorer counterparts, and nor do the schools themselves. However, such a redistribution of capital is essential if the concept of equal opportunities is going to become a reality.

By 1997 a single education department had been established, a national syllabus introduced, and a more ‘neutral’ approach replaced a formerly ethnocentric Christian base. The *School Register of Needs Survey* (DoE, 1997, in Lemon, 2004), a comprehensive study of the needs of South Africa’s 28,000 schools, exposed the deep-rooted inequalities in the system, and confirmed the unsatisfactory conditions suffered by the majority of learners. Phasing in of the new curriculum commenced in January 1998, with eight ‘learning areas’ replaced with ‘traditional subjects’, but the process was criticised for having too much bureaucracy, rationality, and outsider ‘specialists’ instead of teachers having influence (Hartshorne, 1999).

Outcomes based education (OBE) is central to the new National Qualifications Framework (Geyser, 2000), and has been applied to schools in the form of Curriculum 2005, a revised version of the National Curriculum Statement of 2002a. Packed with inspirational phrases such as “*accountability and transparency*”, “*sustainability and capacity building*” and “*nation-building*” (Polity.org.za, 1997), the document allows eight learning areas which need to actively promote the development of critical thinking. Whilst apartheid education has a highly content-driven approach, OBE leaves it up to teachers and schools to make up the content to

meet the required outcomes. However, its intent clashes with the neo-liberal framework of the school's government, since schools are unequally equipped to purchase the necessary materials, along with an uneven distribution of well-qualified teachers. Curriculum 2005 has failed to estimate the extent to which limited resources are constraints (Lungu, 2002), and has the risk of *“further entrenching mechanistic and inappropriate quasi-psychological conceptions of school learning and teaching”* (Meerkotter, 1998, p.63).

IV Success with Redress?

South Africa's macroeconomic strategies in the post-apartheid era reflect the country's global context as an emerging market. Education has been by far the largest single item on the budget, being 22.05% in 1996/7, 19.7% in 2003/4, with 19% envisioned for 2005/6 (Government of South Africa, 2003, in Lemon, 2005). The decline is due to an increasing need for social security and welfare provision, and combating unemployment and AIDS, but is still very high compared to fellow emerging market nations such as India (12.7%), Mauritius (13.3%) and Brazil (10.4%) over 1999-2001 (UNDP, 2004). So, reasonable funding for national education was available in a post-apartheid era; what was now required was to efficiently implement such sums in order to redress inequality in the system, as initially outlined in the *National Education Policy Investigation 1990-1992*.

Under the new system, the number of teaching staff available are publicly funded based on learner:teacher (LTR) calculations. Each province calculates the quota of teachers per school, and an excess results in redeployment, with many having no choice but to move to suitable posts elsewhere. Figure 4.1 suggests that there has been considerable success in redressing the imbalance of teachers:

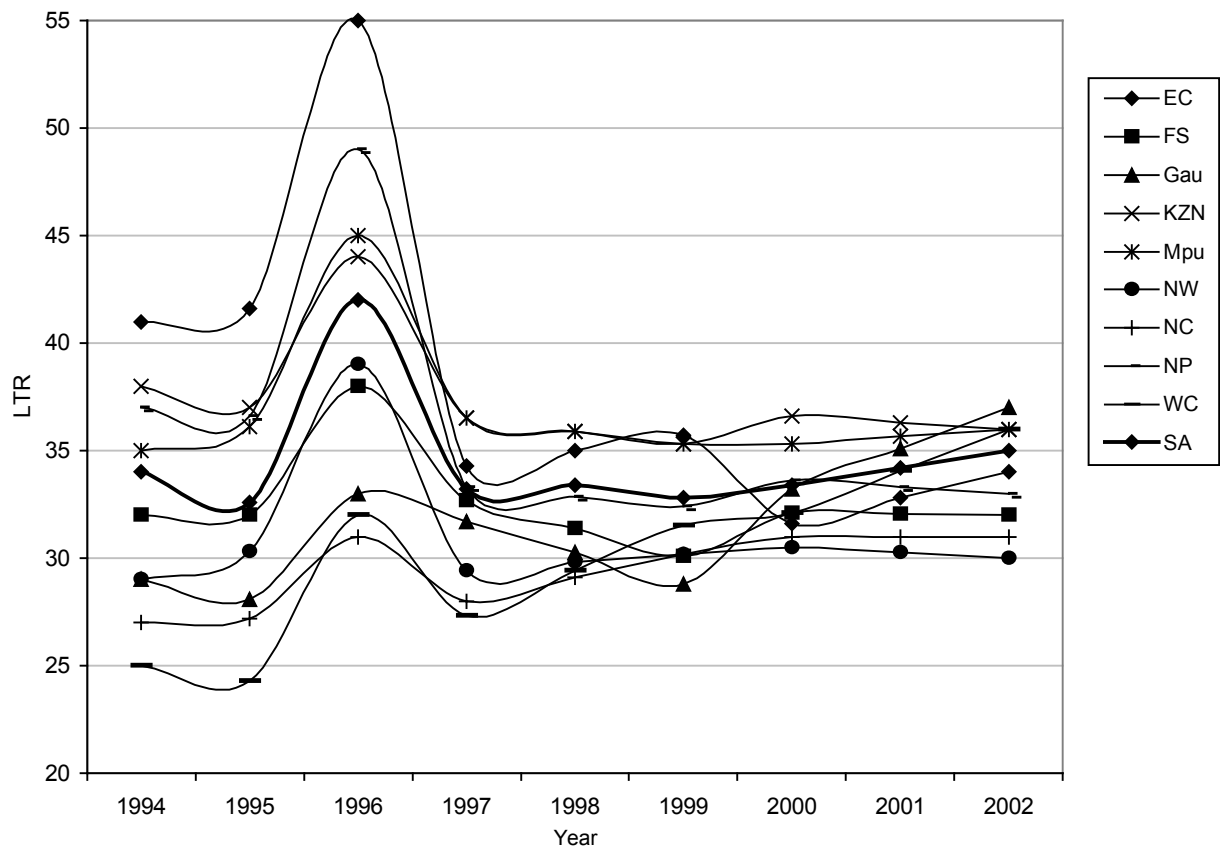


Fig 4.1 Learner:Teacher Ratios (LTRs) by province and year, 1994-2002 (primary and secondary school weighted averages), Source: SAIRR (1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2004); data extrapolated for 1998 & 2001. EC = Eastern Cape, FS = Free State, Gau = Gauteng, KZN = KwaZulu-Natal, Mpu = Mpumalanga, NW = North West Province, NC = Northern Cape, NP = Northern Province (now Limpopo), WC = Western Cape.

Clearly, the problem of varying learner:teacher ratios by province has been rectified, dropping from a maximum range of 16 in 1994 (with a peak of 24 in 1996) down to 7 in 2002, with all provinces having an average ratio between 30 and 37. Particularly impressive is the rapid reduction of all provincial LTRs between 1996-97, after which most have experienced relative consistency. However, anecdotal evidence such as that of a teacher at ex-Model C school Graeme College being reallocated to a Xhosa school 500km away when he could not speak Xhosa (Lemon, 2004) suggests that the system needs fine-tuning, with some flexibility regarding redeployment.

Similar success with redressing inequality regarding per capita expenditure by province is not evident to the same extent, however:

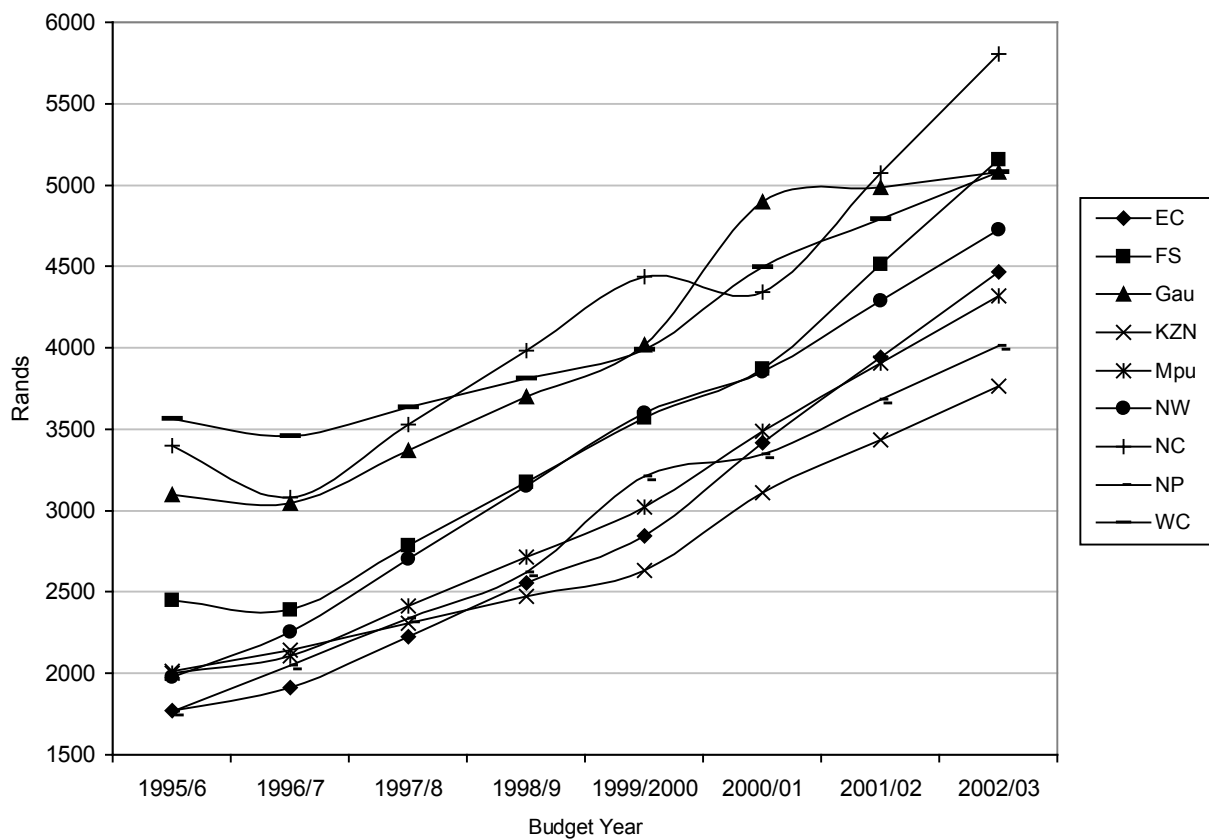


Fig 4.2 Per Capita Expenditure on Education by province and budget year, 1995/6-2002/3. Source: SAIRR (1996, 1997, 2000, 2001, 2003); data extrapolated for 1997/8, 1998/9 & 2001/02, key as of Fig 4.1.

Although per capita expenditure has considerably risen in all provinces over the seven years (more than doubling in five areas), there has in fact been an increasing gap between the highest and lowest expenditure – from R1,801 during 1995/6 to R2,043 in 2002/3. For the most recent budget year, per capita expenditure in KwaZulu-Natal is below R4,000, whereas for Northern Cape students provisions tend towards R6,000.

Figures 4.3 and 4.4 overleaf give strong evidence that provision of capital in the education system correlates considerably with academic success. Most recently, the Northern Cape has had the highest per capita expenditure and the highest Senior Certificate pass rate. However, KwaZulu-Natal has the lowest expenditure rate, but the fourth highest Senior Certificate and fifth highest matriculation exemption pass rate, suggesting that finance is not the only factor influencing results. Nonetheless, the major disparities shown overleaf, with a 33% difference in Senior Certificate pass rate in 2003 between the Northern Cape and Mpumalanga, suggests there is yet a long way to go to rectify inter-provincial inequality.

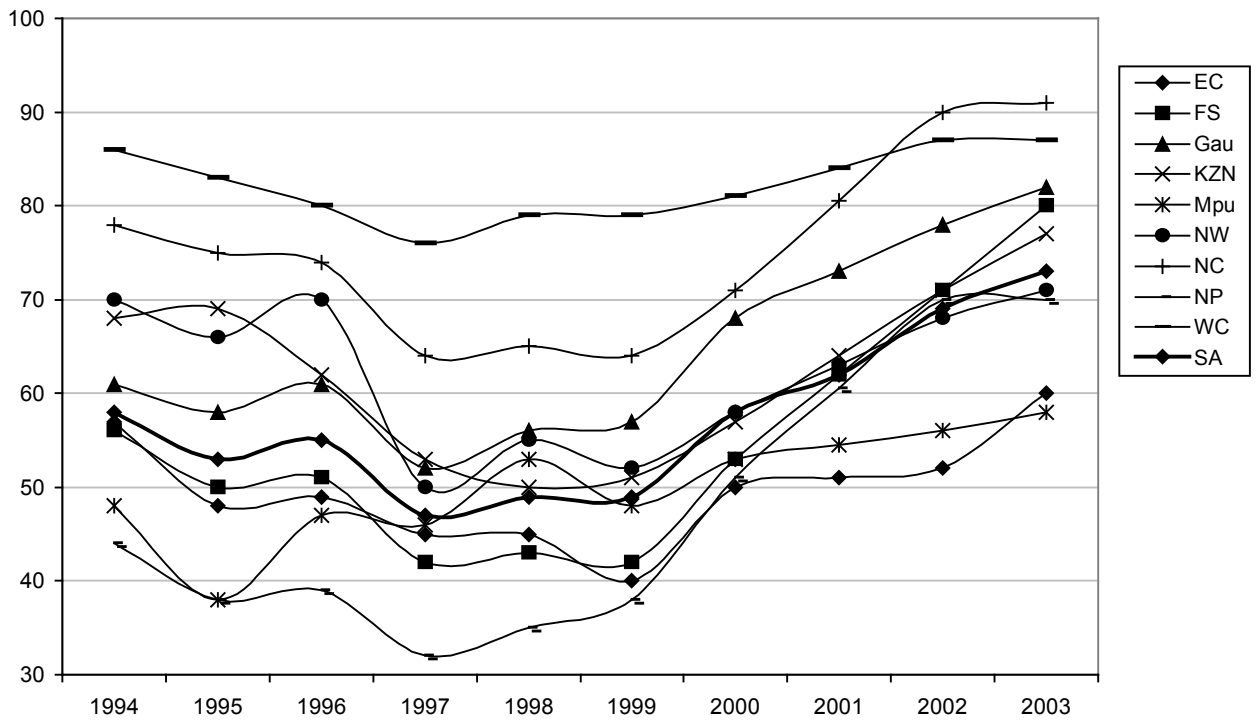


Fig 4.3 Senior Certificate pass rates by province and year, 1994-2003. Source: SAIRR (1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004); data extrapolated for 2001.

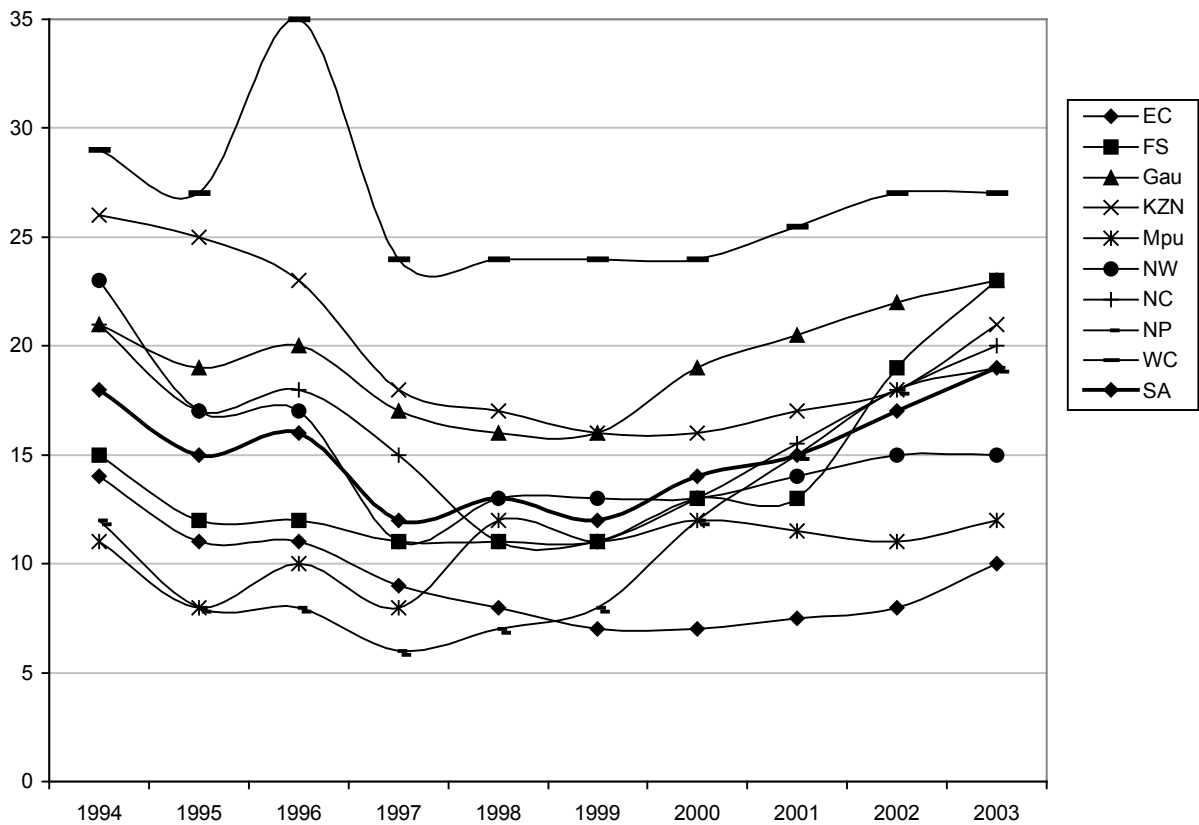


Fig 4.4 Matriculation exemption pass rates by province and year, 1994-2003. Source: SAIRR (1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004); data extrapolated for 2001.

V Inter-Provincial Inequality Explored

A closer look at the situation regarding education in five of South Africa's provinces may help to show the main factors along with financial disparity that influence the varying academic success rates of different areas.

The Eastern Cape is an area of relative poverty, with 15.4% of the nation's population accounting for just 7.2% of the GDP in 2000 (Lemon, 2004). Despite having medium-level per capita education provisions since around 1998, the high prevalence of underqualified teachers (26%, in SAIRR, 2002) and a high learner:teacher ratio (average 35 in 2002) account for relatively poor results, especially at matriculation exemption level – in 2001 a mere 7% were qualified. Furthermore, Lemon's (2004) visit of fifteen schools in and surrounding Grahamstown, a city in the Eastern Cape, confirmed that for the least affluent, initiatives supporting equal opportunities and redress have done virtually nothing to make up for the injustices of apartheid education.

In contrast, the Western Cape is an affluent province, with a high proportion of white and coloured citizens, fewer Africans than any other, and until recently was governed by the (now disbanded²) New National Party. In 1995, 7.1% pupils were awarded 11.3% of the total provincial budgetary allocation for 1995/96, reduced to 10.8% in 1996/7 (SAIRR, 1997), and despite continued small reductions, Figure 4.4 shows a gap of at least ten percentage points for much of the last decade regarding the province's matriculation exemption rate. In an idealistic society of absolute equity, the expenditure on education (and subsequently the results) for the Western Cape would be considerably lower. However, it is natural human territorial behaviour not to wish to lower one's standing for the benefit of another group, which explains why the African desires in the early 1990s were ignored: *“To accept demands for a unitary education system would inevitably have undermined the standards to which whites were accustomed”*

² 'SA apartheid party set to disband', BBC News, 10th April 2005, URL: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4429307.stm>

(Lemon, 1995, p.xiii). Therefore, the gap may slowly be reduced, but most Western Cape students will continue to receive the privilege of the best standards in the country.

Despite Gauteng having the highest learner:teacher ratio of 37 in 2002/3, it has had excellent examination results, with the Senior Certificate pass rate exceeding 80%. This suggests that the ANC's Minister of Education was correct in his scepticism (Chisholm & Fuller, 1996), referring to overcrowded schools with appalling conditions having a stronger academic performance than better-equipped institutions with less crowding. This suggests that learner:teacher ratios are relatively insignificant regarding academic success, though overcrowding is nonetheless undesirable for the morale of pupils and teachers alike.

Looking at absolute rather than per-capita expenditure, despite KwaZulu-Natal showing the lowest values in Figure 4.2, the province accounts for 21% of the nation's population, and received a massive 37% (R11.87bn) of the education budget in 2003-4 (Lemon, 2005). Although the seventh poorest of South Africa's nine provinces, accounting for 15% of the nation's GNP (UNDP, 2002, in Lemon, 2005), both the Senior Certificate pass rate and matriculation exemption level are above the national average. However, these average pass rates may be concealing major disparities – Lemon's (2005) investigation of 18 schools in the provincial capital Pietermaritzburg suggested that desegregation and redistribution had only occurred at the 'upper end' of the racial hierarchy. The analysis here strongly suggests that financial provision is the predominant factor in influencing academic achievement.

VI Contrasting School Standards

The extent to which the financial element influences success in education will be further explored by looking at contrasts between different types of schools, using investigations by Lemon (2004, 2005) into eighteen schools in and around Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape and twelve schools in Pietermaritzburg in KwaZulu-Natal respectively. By analysing correlation between examination results and both school fees and ethnic makeup, it will be shown that race-

based inequality only continues to be problematic for the least affluent African students, whereas their richer counterparts enjoy the same resources as white students did under apartheid rule.

Across the country, a small but significant private school sector remains, particularly prominent in Grahamstown where institutions such as Kingswood draw in affluent pupils from as far as Botswana, Zambia and Lesotho (Lemon, 2004). Private schools no longer receive state subsidies – nor do they need to given that 100% is the typical Senior Certificate pass rate, with most gaining matriculation exemption. In Pietermaritzburg, the learner:teacher ratios are half that of ex-white schools, library, computing and physical facilities are outstanding, and a strong Christian ethos is linked with a willingness by parents to pay over R20,000 (or R40,000 for boarding) at St John’s DSG and Epworth. Such costs exclude all but the most affluent across all races, though attempts have been made since the early 1990s to share resources, for example with St Andrews College in Grahamstown inviting children from township schools on Saturdays. However, the African community requested the withdrawal of the college from the Teachers’ and Parents’ Project in 2000, and today there is little contact between private and state sector pupils, which only serves to reinforce strong class barriers.

Formerly white ‘model C’ schools, with either English or Afrikaans mediums, are much more desegregated than private schools, with a large influx of African middle-class students – for example, 95% of boarders at Victoria Girls High in Grahamstown are African (Lemon, 2004). Three such schools in the city observed by Lemon did not adhere to legal requirements regarding non-discrimination based on ability to pay, since this was and is a necessity for boarders. In Pietermaritzburg, ex-model C schools have followed various paths post apartheid, with Russell High School experiencing complete racial transition – 90 per cent of its pupils are now African. The best schools are on par with good British independent schools (Lemon, 1999), with many holding the mentality and attitudes of private schools (Lemon, 2004).

Mary Waters, an ex-coloured school in Grahamstown, appears to be an institution still plagued with difficulties a decade on from the abolition of apartheid. Bursaries and maintenance grants were phased out after 1994, with the dual-medium of English and Afrikaans being introduced in 1996, though many of the one-third of African students struggle to speak the latter. The Department of Education in the Eastern Cape (ECED) refused to replace classrooms gutted by vandals in 1996 on the grounds that the community was responsible, since 1997 has failed to deliver textbooks, and the absence of computers for learners meant having to use typewriters for an IT examination. All these factors result in the institution receiving worse exam results than nearby township schools such as Nombulelo.

Ex-Indian schools in Pietermaritzburg meanwhile have changed considerably since 1994, with rapid Africanisation, high prevalence of ANC-supporting Union members, and are characterised by pride in achievement (Lemon, 2005). However, schools are living on borrowed capital, and it is unlikely that they will be able to sustain their present standards indefinitely. This problem is further exacerbated as the best teachers are being 'poached' by developed nations – all ex-Indian schools visited by Lemon (2005) had lost their best teachers to the UK. It is a sad current trend that all the excellent investment in education in the developing world can come to nothing with the West continuing to poach away the best of their beneficiaries – resultantly South Africa will continue to experience a high prevalence of under-qualified, and even unqualified, teaching staff.

Grahamstown's 'ex-African' township schools charge nominal fees, as low as R30 annually (equivalent to just over £2.50), which still come in 'drips and drabs' as they cater for the most poverty-stricken areas. Only one of the four schools had a functioning library during Lemon's (2004) investigation, computer provision at Nombulelo was 1:174, buildings were dilapidated, and at Nathaniel Nyaluza no applications had been made for the forthcoming year. An African headteacher bizarrely echoed complaints regarding the behaviour of teachers, blaming the lack of white staff, who he claimed held a higher work ethic. Absolutely no

desegregation was evident in Grahamstown or Pietermaritzburg, with all schools remaining 100 per cent African. In the 21st century, township schools have failed to yet recover from the violent late-apartheid years, with children from stable families being in the minority – many have one or no parents, it is not unusual for parents and indeed students to suddenly die from AIDS, and domestic abuse is common. Pendlebury & Enslin (1998) refer to township schools with confused timetables, a lack of formal classes and rife violence. Despite high state expenditure, for example Qogisizwe Secondary School in Pietermaritzburg being allocated R119,000 (Lemon, 2005), results at township schools remain abysmal, especially for matriculation exemption (Fig II.a in Appendix II). These schools are losing pupils to ex-coloured, Indian and white institutions – for example in 2002, Sukama Comprehensive had only 640 students despite holding capacity for 1,054 (Lemon, 2005).

Fig II.a in Appendix II, which lists the school type, matriculation exemption rate and proportion of African students for the thirty schools in question, highlights the disturbing fate of most ex-African schools in the two districts. Five of the nine schools where a hundred per cent remain African have a matriculation exemption rate below ten per cent, with this heavy skewing resulting in a Spearman's Rank correlation coefficient (r) of -0.709 between matriculation exemption rate and the proportion of African students.

Under the apartheid regime, rural-urban inequality was particularly stark for African students. Rural schools were located either in ex-homelands or white farming areas, with the former having mainly community schools, which although were of better quality than the white schools, were lacking in qualified teachers, prone to extreme overcrowding, isolated and the greatest sufferers of the schools boycott of the early 1980s. The ECED withdrew transport subsidies for rural schools in 1999, resulting in some pupils having to start walking at 5am. Schools lack libraries, and at Riebeeck East in Pietermaritzburg, the mix of Afrikaans and Xhosa-speaking students led to the headmaster remarking that they don't know who they are (Lemon, 2005). The isolation of such schools prohibits interaction with other communities and their

resources, and thus highlights the significance of geographical boundaries regarding educational opportunity, along with class and race-based ones.

Nonetheless, finance is again shown to be the most dominant factor in school success, with Lemon (2004, 2005) referring to active fundraising attempts at many state schools of all types. Fig II.b (Appendix II) shows clear correlation ($r = 0.760$) between annual class fees and the matriculation exemption rate (this was chosen as a success indicator rather than Senior Certificate pass rate since it is more discriminate – the latter’s pass rate is a hundred per cent for many private and ex-model C schools). As previously mentioned, the high negative correlation ($r = -0.709$) between exemption rate and proportion of African students has been heavily skewed by several failing ex-African schools (which technically remain ‘African schools’). In contrast, at private, ex-model C, ex-Indian and ex-coloured schools, African students are very successful, with ex-model C school Victoria Girls High in Grahamstown having fifty per cent African students, the highest matriculation exemption rate of the thirty schools in Appendix II, and a consistent one hundred per cent Senior Certificate pass rate.

VII The Gap between Policy and Practice

Due to the “*unbound inventiveness*” of the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) during 1990-92, restructuring South Africa’s education system “*was always going to be a somewhat frustrating contest between ideals and implementation capacity*” (Donaldson, 2002, p.62). Although it may seem evident that there have been some considerable successes outside the worst township schools, Jansen (2002) asserts that “*there is so little change in school and classroom practice throughout South Africa*” (p.199), and for teachers and pupils alike, “*the gap is an obvious, lived experience*” (Lemon, 2005, p.72). Despite the laudable efforts made on paper as highlighted in Section III, under-qualified teachers, under-capacity, failure to consider the constraints of heritage and economic feasibility (Hartshorne, 1999) have all led to attempting reform under “*third world conditions*” (Jansen, 2002, p.199). Furthermore, there has been

failure to acknowledge that different provinces have different needs, with policies from the northern regions swiftly adopted nationwide “*often with little thought to their applicability and relevance in different contexts*” (Lemon, 2005, p.69).

Financial mismanagement has been a fundamental problem – in the late 1990s, it was revealed by *Ibid* that the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and the Northern Province were facing a near-collapse due to inadequate financial, information and human resources management systems, coupled with a lack of skilled staff, fraud and theft (Lemon, 2004). National departments were made to intervene, with the provinces experiencing organisational disarray and a depressed morale, directly exacerbating problems in the classroom (Donaldson, 2001, in Lemon, 2004). A lack of vision and a lack of standard support systems meant that “*the new Minister of Education in province X was to find oneself without an office, without a telephone or fax machine, with no director, and indeed no staff...*” (Kahn, 1996, p.286). Furthermore, Section V showed that regional departments such as ECED have proven to be stubborn and incompetent, for example by cutting off essential subsidies and maintenance costs – the least affluent will continue to have an education system geared towards low expectations and subsequently poor employment levels, without national-level intervention.

Language issues have made desegregation and redistribution issues all the more complicated in South African schools; the interim constitution acknowledged that the nation had nine different African languages, along with English and Afrikaans. Although language tests at admissions level were prohibited by the Schools Act in 1996, inability to speak English or Afrikaans is having exclusionary effects on school governing bodies, reducing participation by those unable to speak the official languages (Vally, 2000, in Carrim, 2003). In an interview in January 2005 (Appendix I), FW de Klerk, former South African President and Minister of National Education, cited language issues as a main inhibitor of progress:

"There is insufficient recognition of the need for mother-tongue education. Maths and Science are being taught in a medium where the students and the teacher are not proficient in the language...The way to manage diversity is to recognise that all of us have different identities. For example, I am an Afrikaner, a South African and an African. Mandela is a Xhosa, a Thembu royal family member, a South African and an African."

Many rural schools are supposed to be teaching in a dual medium of Afrikaans and English, but this is not possible with teachers who are not bilingual. To address the problem, perhaps intensive courses should be made available to ensure that teachers are able to converse in the required language(s) and a peripatetic system of visiting language teachers installed.

A further concern is that African languages such as Xhosa risk being wheedled out, with Africans apparently in danger of cultural alienation because of the need to speak English. However, this is certainly does not have to occur – it is perfectly possible for Africans to retain a dual medium of English for schooling and their own language in a domestic environment. By doing so, they are able to retain strong cultural roots whilst fluent in a global language that would be highly beneficial to the South African economy, as has been seen in other emerging market nations such as India and China. English is becoming the nation's *lingua franca*, and provided that indigenous languages do not die out as a result, this is a positive factor.

VIII Summary of Findings

a. Expectations of how quickly change would take place have been greatly underestimated.

The legacy of apartheid “*has left serious obstacles blocking the path to the creation of equal opportunities for all*” (Lemon & Stevens, 1999, p.222). Widespread failure to consider the extent to which a post-apartheid era would still be influenced by the past has resulted in disappointment at the relative slowness of progress, with ex-President FW de Klerk (Appendix I) admitting in January 2005 that the goals of numerous policies had not yet been fulfilled:

"We have not achieved the desired improvements, but more and more of our schools are being upgraded. The focus now is on improving the quality of education for most of our schools. I am concerned at the problems what you have highlighted, but there is a creative positive solution-orientated initiative for change. We will soon start to rectify the changes we have made."

Whilst the white community may at large support African students being able to raise their achievement levels, only the most socialist would be willing to see this change at a great

cost to their own attainment. Therefore, a ‘Robin Hood’ method of redistribution (‘robbing the rich to feed the poor’) can only expect limited success. Whilst many schools have made major strides in committing themselves to the new inclusionary policies, schools are still attempting to maintain their pre-apartheid identities – particularly the white, and to a lesser extent the coloured and Indian schools. It needs to be accepted that the more affluent members of a post-1994 ‘new South Africa’ are not going to instantly erase decades of heritage and legacy.

b. Finance is the most influential factor regarding school results; race is of little consequence outside the ‘ex-African’ schools; international teaching help would be useful.

The witnessed desegregation has only been ‘up’ the racial hierarchy – the ‘ex-African’ schools have remained one hundred per cent African, the ex-coloured and Indian schools cater well for affluent Africans, and the ex-model C schools admit all affluent students. Allowing governing bodies to determine differential fees has exacerbated inequality, with Pietermaritzburg’s private schools charging over R40,000 for boarders, compared to ex-African schools charging as low as R100 (Lemon, 2005). Comprehensive investigations by both Soudien & Sayed (2003) and Lemon (2004) have shown no signs of overt racism in schools, a respectable achievement. Statistical information presented in Appendix II clearly shows that, as Lemon (2004) says, “*class rather than race is now the main determinant of educational opportunity*” (p.269), though the continuing problems for the least affluent Africans is primarily attributed to the long-stemming injustice of decades of apartheid.

Rather than irresponsibly taking talented teachers away from a nation with a great shortage of qualified staff, as was evident in Pietermaritzburg (Lemon, 2005), it would be desirable for western nations such as Britain to instead bring in teachers on a temporary basis. Initiatives such as TEFL and VSO are active in nations such as Nepal and Hong Kong, enabling Britons to teach internationally, and a ‘TeachFirst’ style system to temporarily send talented individuals looking for a challenging role into South Africa would be ideal.

c. Differential fees has created a two-tier system which is detrimental to learning and needs to be reviewed; greater pooling of resources will break down this ‘class wall’.

Allowing schools to raise their own fees has generated adverse policy effects, bifurcating the system into two tiers, contradictory to the notion of equal opportunities for all (Samuel & Sayed, 2003). In Lemon’s two recent investigations (2004, 2005) frequent references to schools having to actively fundraise, along with certain groups continually experiencing fees shortages, is highly detrimental to motivation and morale, which can adversely affect performance. The nominal fees in ex-African schools, as low as R30/year, make little difference to the overall income of the school, but act as a burden for impoverished families. With such a high expenditure on education out of the total budget, it appears that some form of major inefficiency is prohibiting some schools from not charging fees. Additionally, the problem of a bifurcating system can be combated by again encouraging the pooling of resources, and interaction between different communities; if this does not occur, an inherently racist pre-apartheid era will be replaced with an intrinsically classist post-apartheid one.

iv. ‘Time is a healer’ – many issues will eventually be rectified, provided all communities are given a ‘voice’ in the decision-making process.

“Overcoming the past is going to take a long time” (Enslin & Pendlebury, 1998, p.261) – improvements will still take their time to bear fruit, and in 2005, secondary schools are still only in a post-apartheid transition period. It will take considerable time to shake off *“the vast backlogs of the apartheid legacy”* (Lemon, 2004, p.289) – it cannot be expected that generations of injustice would have disappeared just over a decade on from apartheid’s official abolition. All groups need to be involved in future decisions, an area that FW de Klerk suggests requires further attention (a point which he could have better made in less colourful language):

“What we need for social transformation is for everyone to be involved, not just a one-sided prescription. Mbeki is causing a political tsunami – his power is unhealthy for democracy when a large number do not vote ANC. One of the biggest failures in today’s governments across the world is to manage diversity – minorities’ concerns are not listened to, and their ideals are never given a chance.”

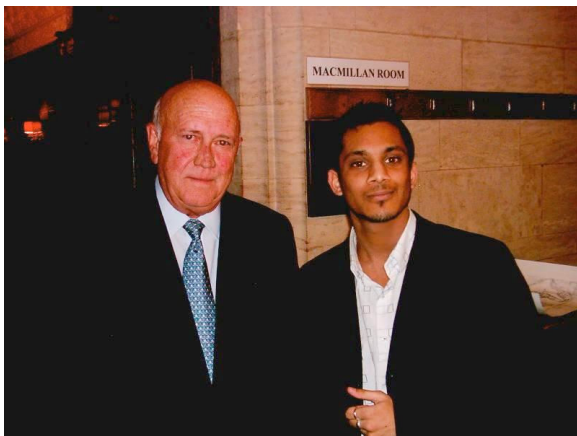
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Appendix I – Interview with Ex-President FW de Klerk



Face-to-face semi-structured interview with FW de Klerk, President of South Africa (1989–94) and Minister of National Education and Planning (1984-89), at The Oxford Union Society, Frewin Court, on 28th January 2005.

← **Fig I.1** – Photograph, FW De Klerk & Anjool Malde, 28/01/05

AM: In a post-apartheid South Africa, the overall per capita expenditure on education has decreased, only the more affluent African students have access to the good ex-white, coloured and Indian schools, and last year the United Nations said that inequality is actually increasing. How can education policies realistically aim for redress and equity, when over a decade since apartheid’s official abolition the disparities for many remain as strong as ever?

FWdK: I think that to get a true perspective of what you have said, firstly it is important to acknowledge that the fastest growing population in South Africa is the middle class, which is now fifty per cent African. Now back when I was Minister of National Education, my task was to create a level playing field, and to do this I was effectively taking money away from the whites and Indians and handing it over to the blacks. Instead today, we have a formula which calculates equal expenditure per capita, irrespective of race. Twenty per cent of our budget was allocated to education, and it we knew this had to be higher. The ANC also accepted the challenge to level the playing field, but there are inherently deep problems in South Africa.

AM: What do you think the main problem is that is inhibiting progress?

FWdK: There is insufficient recognition of the need for mother-tongue education. Maths and Science are being taught in a medium where the students and the teacher are not proficient in the language.

AM: What about issues such as improving standards for the poorest African families, the group in greatest need of improved educational opportunities?

FWdK: The emphasis on black economic empowerment is far too much based on percentages and ratios and instead it should focus more on empowerment of the individual, giving them the right knowledge to make them more competitive and inclusive in a now globalised and technologically changing world.

AM: Do you think the goals outlined in numerous policy documents during the mid-1990s have been achieved?

FWdK: We have not achieved the desired improvements, but more and more of our schools are being upgraded. The focus now is on improving the quality of education for most of our schools. I am concerned at the problems what you have highlighted, but there is a creative positive solution-orientated initiative for change. We will soon start to rectify the changes we have made.

AM: How do you see the future – do you think that the main issues of educational inequality be rectified in the foreseeable future?

FWdK: I think that things are going very well. I'm very positive about the future of South Africa, but the way in which black economic empowerment in some spheres is operated has the potential to bring us back into slinging matches. What we need for social transformation is for everyone to be involved, not just a one-sided prescription. Mbeki is causing a political tsunami – his power is unhealthy for democracy when a large number do not vote ANC. One of the biggest failures in today's governments across the world is to manage diversity – minorities' concerns are not listened to, and their ideals are never given a chance. The way to manage diversity is to recognise that all of us have different identities. For example, I am an Afrikaner, a South African and an African. Mandela is a Xhosa, a Thembu royal family member, a South African and an African.

Appendix II – Statistical data on Pietermaritzburg and Grahamstown schools

School Name	Area	Type	Matric Rate (%)	Matric Rate (Rank)	African Students (%)	African Students (Rank)	d	d ²
Victoria Girls High	G	Ex-white	92.73	1	50	16	15	225
P'burg H S for Girls	P	Ex-white	88.12	2	40	19	17	289
Maritzburg C	P	Ex-white	84.12	3	9.5	27= (27.5)	24.5	600.25
Epworth	G	Private	83.00	4	20	25= (25.5)	21.5	462.25
St John's DSG	G	Private	c80.00	5	5	29	24	576
Graeme College	G	Ex-white	70.21	6	20	25= (25.5)	19.5	380.25
Raisethorpe Sec School	P	Ex-Indian	61.49	7	c25	24	14	196
Carter H S	P	Ex-white	61.38	8	9.5	27= (27.5)	15.5	240.25
Hoerskool Voortrekker	P	Ex-white	45.28	9	c2.5	30	21	441
Port Alfred High	G	Ex-white	43.64	10	27	23	13	169
Nomzamo Secondary	G	Ex-African	42.86	11	100	1= (5)	6	36
Alexandra H S	P	Ex-white	40.51	12	76	12	0	0
Heather Sec S	P	Ex-Indian	38.99	13	30	22	9	81
Woodlands Sec School	P	Ex-Indian	36.00	14	40.5	18	4	16
Northbury Park H S	P	Ex-Indian	29.52	15	51	15	0	0
Haythorne H S	P	Ex-coloured	29.45	16	52	14	2	4
Hoerskool P J Olivier	G	Ex-white	27.59	17	33	21	4	16
Dunveria Sec S	P	Ex-Indian	21.11	18	43	17	1	1
Nombulelo	G	Ex-African	19.39	19	100	1= (5)	14	196
Russell H S	P	Ex-white	16.25	20	90	11	9	81
Nathaniel Nyaluza	G	Ex-African	13.46	21	100	1= (5)	16	256
Mary Waters School	G	Ex-coloured	10.67	22	35	20	2	4
Sukama Comprehensive	P	Ex-African	10.58	23	100	1= (5)	18	324
Siyahlomula Sec S	P	Ex-African	9.90	24	100	1= (5)	19	361
Shaw Park Combined	G	Rural	5.55	25	100	1= (5)	20	400
Benjamin Mhalalesa	G	Ex-African	3.80	26	100	1= (5)	21	441
Khulitso Daniels	G	Ex-African	2.13	27	100	1= (5)	22	484
Qogisizwe Sec School	P	Ex-African	1.39	28	100	1= (5)	23	529
Nyonithwele Sec S	P	Ex-African	0.00	29= (29.5)	100	1= (5)	24.5	600.25
Riebeeck East Combined	G	Rural	0.00	29= (29.5)	70	13	16.5	272.25
						Σ	416	7681.5

$$r_s = 1 - \frac{6 \sum D^2}{n(n^2 - 1)}$$

$$r = 1 - [6(7681.5) / 20(400-1)] = 1 - (46089/26970) = \underline{\underline{-0.709}}$$
 (3 significant figures); significance level below 0.1%

Fig II.a – Spearman’s Rank Correlation between Matriculation Exemption Rate (2001) and Proportion of African Students

School Name	Area	Type	Matric Rate (%)	Matric Rate (Rank)	School Fees (R/year)	School Fees (Rank)	d	d ²
Victoria Girls High	G	Ex-white	92.73	1	2,400	10	9	81
P'burg H S for Girls	P	Ex-white	88.12	2	6,200	4	2	4
Maritzburg C	P	Ex-white	84.12	3	8,000	3	0	0
Epworth	G	Private	83.00	4	20,000	2	2	4
St John’s DSG	G	Private	c80.00	5	21,000	1	4	16
Graeme College	G	Ex-white	70.21	6	3,260	8	2	4
Raisethorpe Sec School	P	Ex-Indian	61.49	7	850	14	7	49
Carter H S	P	Ex-white	61.38	8	6,000	5	3	9
Hoerskool Voortrekker	P	Ex-white	45.28	9	4,050	7	2	4
Port Alfred High	G	Ex-white	43.64	10	2,460	9	9	81
Nomzamo Secondary	G	Ex-African	42.86	11	30	30	19	361
Alexandra H S	P	Ex-white	40.51	12	4,600	6	6	36
Heather Sec S	P	Ex-Indian	38.99	13	770	16	3	9
Woodlands Sec School	P	Ex-Indian	36.00	14	750	17	3	9
Northbury Park H S	P	Ex-Indian	29.52	15	650	18	3	9
Haythorne H S	P	Ex-coloured	29.45	16	800	15	1	1
Hoerskool P J Olivier	G	Ex-white	27.59	17	2,200	11	6	36
Dunveria Sec S	P	Ex-Indian	21.11	18	500	19	1	1
Nombulelo	G	Ex-African	19.39	19	60	25= (25.5)	6.5	42.25
Russell H S	P	Ex-white	16.25	20	2,150	12	8	64
Nathaniel Nyaluza	G	Ex-African	13.46	21	100	22= (22.5)	1.5	2.25
Mary Waters School	G	Ex-coloured	10.67	22	80	24	2	4
Sukama Comprehensive	P	Ex-African	10.58	23	990	13	10	100
Siyahlomula Sec S	P	Ex-African	9.90	24	165	20	4	16
Shaw Park Combined	G	Rural	5.55	25	40	29	4	16
Benjamin Mhalalesa	G	Ex-African	3.80	26	50	27= (27.5)	1.5	2.25
Khulitso Daniels	G	Ex-African	2.13	27	50	27= (27.5)	0.5	0.25
Qogisizwe Sec School	P	Ex-African	1.39	28	100	22= (22.5)	5.5	30.25
Nyonithwele Sec S	P	Ex-African	0.00	29= (29.5)	120	21	8.5	72.25
Riebeeck East Combined	G	Rural	0.00	29= (29.5)	60	25= (25.5)	4	16
						Σ	138	1079.5

$$r_s = 1 - \frac{6 \sum D^2}{n(n^2 - 1)}$$

$$r = 1 - [6(1079.5) / 30(900-1)] = 1 - (6477/26970) = \underline{\underline{0.760}}$$
 (3 significant figures); significance level below 0.1%

Fig II.b – Spearman’s Rank Correlation between Matriculation Exemption Rate (2001) and School Fees