

## Rural Education in South Africa: A Critical Reflection on Government Reconstruction and Development Efforts

J. Seroto

*Department of Teacher Education, University of South Africa, P O Box 392,  
Pretoria 0003, South Africa  
Telephone: +27 78 260 9324, Fax: +27 86 630 9482 E-mail: serotj@unisa.ac.za*

**KEYWORDS** Rural Education. Reconstruction. Development. Financing. Neo-liberalism. African National Congress

**ABSTRACT** Rural development strategies in South Africa are not achieving their goals, namely, the reconstruction and restructuring of the living conditions of the majority of people located in rural areas. Although different rural development strategies have been introduced by the African National Congress (ANC) government since it came to power in 1994, the state of provision of education to rural learners remains abysmal. This article provides a critical reflection on state reconstruction and development in South Africa by reviewing the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy and the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP). The article further investigates the impact of the ANC's economic policy on the provision of education in rural areas. Document analysis as a research method is used to examine and interpret data in order to extract meaning, gain comprehension, and furthermore develop and widen empirical knowledge on the influence of government policies on the provision of education to learners in rural areas. The findings reveal that the government's reconstruction and development policies, backed by neo-liberal thinking, failed to make an impact on reducing past imbalances, and thus failed to address pressing issues in rural areas. Based on the findings, the study calls for the government to take the central role and to ensure that its reconstruction and development policies address what they are intended for.

### INTRODUCTION

For over three hundred years, the state of education in South Africa has been abysmal. In the early years of the establishment of the Cape Colony in 1652, formal education was not a priority for the Dutch East Indian Company. Africans received informal education by means of cultural transmission (Lewis 1999:247; Christie 1991:33). Up to the year 1910, with their limited resources, mission schools provided education to most of the learners in rural areas (Seroto 1999). Mission schools did not find it easy to provide education to this neglected sector of society due to, among others, poor funding by government, lack of both human and infrastructural resources, and government's reluctance to prioritise African education (Hartshorne 1992). After 1948, when the Nationalist Party (NP) government took power, African education was deliberately differentiated and disadvantaged, and several racially-oriented Acts of parliament informed by the apartheid policy, were promulgated. The challenges faced by rural education in South Africa prior to 1994 were mainly shaped by political and economic dimensions, with state policies playing a role in

ensuring that rural communities were marginalised and neglected (African National Congress 1994a:102; Hartshorne 1992:111). Even though the apartheid government is commended for the massification of rural education, especially during the 1970s and 1980s, the education that was provided to learners in rural areas was systematically differentiated. In 1994, the first democratically elected government came into power. The transition from the apartheid system to democracy in South Africa prefigured in various policy initiatives showed the commitment by the ANC-led government to attend to, among others, rural education. The intention of the ANC to redress past imbalances was clearly mapped out in its Draft Paper on Education (dated 30 January 1994), as follows:

*In the process of ensuring education and training for all, there shall be special emphasis on the redress of educational inequalities among historically disadvantaged groups such as youth, the disabled, adults, women, the unemployed and rural communities (African National Congress 1994a).*

The statement above emanates from a number of policy stances that the ANC took over a number of years. In its document titled "Ready

to govern: ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa (as adopted at the National Conference: 31 May 1992)", it reiterated its commitment to eliminate "poverty and extreme inequalities generated by the apartheid system". Other policy initiatives introduced by government to address the imbalances and inequities rural education faced included: the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (African National Congress 1994b); Rural Development Strategies of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (Republic of South Africa 1997); Education White Paper No 2 on the Organisation, Governance and Funding of Schools (Republic of South Africa 1996a); the South African Schools Act of 1996 (Republic of South Africa 1996c); and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme (GEAR).

Bloch (2009) argues extensively that education provisioning in South Africa, post 1994, is still in an abysmal state. He maintains that the worst tragedy in our schooling system is the reinforcement of the social and economic marginalisation of the poor and the vulnerable (Bloch 2009:58). These are the communities and learners predominantly residing in rural areas. The ANC leadership was also reminded by its electorate at the Polokwane Conference in 2007 that there is a serious need to overhaul the rural development strategies and policies that are currently in place (African National Congress 2007). Government clearly has the responsibility of ensuring that it attends to the mass of learners in rural areas, and also to make sure that it focuses on eradicating the desperate state of exclusion and marginalisation rural schools are encountering. The education system in rural areas of South Africa still remains in a decrepit state and it is up to government, through its reconstruction and development policies, to bring about changes (Chisholm 2005: 206)

### **Research Question**

Did the ANC's reconstruction and development policies have an impact on the provision of education for communities predominantly residing in rural areas?

### **Objectives of the Study**

In this article I examine the role of rural development strategies as proposed by the

South African government. I start by examining briefly the origin of the RDP strategy and politics around it. The article will explore further whether the government's GEAR policy has succeeded in meaningfully transforming the inherited inequities created by previous racially and segregated system, especially in the area of rural education.

### **Research Design**

This article is based on document analysis, which can be defined as a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents – both printed and electronic (computer-based and internet-transmitted). Like any other research method, document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to extract meaning, gain comprehension, and furthermore, develop and widen empirical knowledge (Corbin and Strauss 2008; Rapley 2007). The South African policy documents, especially those that had a direct bearing on the provision of education to learners in rural areas, were critically explored and analysed. Yin (1994) mentions that documents provide a means of tracking change and development. In this study, document analysis is used to track government's development of policy to address rural education challenges in South Africa after 1994.

### **Towards Defining the Term "Rural Education"**

Defining the term "rural" has been problematic for a number of years. Farmer (1997) affirmed this position that there is no singular or multifaceted definition that will be adequate to satisfy the research in communities that employ the concept. Ashley and Maxwell (2001:397) describe rural areas as spaces where human settlements and infrastructure occupy only small patches of the landscape, most of which is dominated by fields and pastures, woods and forests, water, mountains and deserts, and a place where activities are influenced by a high transaction cost, associated with long distances from cities and poor infrastructure. International Fund for Agricultural Development (2001:17) maintains that areas that are rural are clearly recognisable and the type of human settlement and infrastructure dictates how we can define rural areas. The term "rural education" usually refers to education provided at institutions in

remote areas that function under difficult conditions, and thus require special programmes to develop their learners. Atchoarena and Gasperini (2003:36-46) define rural education as an education provided to communities that are characterised by geographical isolation, limited access to the usual social amenities and facilities, high levels of poverty and low levels of services. A comprehensive study conducted by the Nelson Mandela Foundation reflects that in 2005 a total of 6.3 million learners out of a total of 11.6 million were living in South Africa's rural areas (Nelson Mandela Foundation 2005). The government's rural development strategies are, therefore, crucial in trying to address the problems of learning in rural areas.

### The RDP Policy

When the White Paper on the RDP was introduced after 1994, the ruling party was faced by the appalling socio-economic legacies of apartheid, which manifested themselves in the form of chronic unemployment, low levels of investment, high public debt and a low capital base (Government of National Unity 1994:1). This redistributionist and reconstructionist ideology originated from the ANC's 1990 Discussion Document on Economic Policy (DDEP). A central theme of the DDEP was the call for "reconstructing" and "restructuring" the South African economy (African National Congress 1990). The core principles contained in the RDP document involved the redress of apartheid legacies, including: colonialism, racism, poverty and degradation, an economy built on enforced racial division, segregation in the availability and access to social services, and rural/urban imbalances (African National Congress 1994b:3).

The RDP document was divided into five separate sections: meeting basic needs, developing the country's human resources, building the economy, democratising the state and society, and implementing the RDP (African National Congress 1994b:5-7). The RDP document clearly acknowledged the fact that there was a need to attend to rural communities when it emphasised that 11 million out of 17 million people living below the poverty level in 1994 were located in rural areas (African National Congress 1994b).

Adelzadeh and Padayachee (1994) argue that the RDP policy represented a very major compromise to the neo-liberal, "trickle down"

economic policy preferences of the apartheid system. Neo-liberalists believe that the problems defined as "economic" can be solved by "experts" through the application of socially neutral and technical rationality. The RDP was informed by neo-liberalism, as is clear from the RDP White Paper statement that "[a]ll levels of government must pay attention to affordability given our commitment to fiscal discipline and to achieve the RDP objectives" (African National Congress 1994b: 4). Adelzadeh and Padayachee (1994: 4) state that fiscal discipline can be translated into narrow "fiscal conservatism". The RDP process was geared towards cutting government expenditure wherever possible. The cut had a negative effect on the restructuring and reconstruction the ruling party intended doing, since these processes would require enormous government funding.

The first problem that the RDP encountered was a lack of integration and coordination between and within government departments. In the education sector, for example, the Policy Framework for Education and Training (African National Congress 1994b) was introduced along with the RDP policy. In 1995 the White Paper on Education and Training was published and it emphasised the need for reconstruction and development in the area of education when it mentioned that:

*Basic education is a legal entitlement to which every person has a claim...Attaining this level of availability of opportunity for basic education will be an immense achievement in the reconstruction and development of the country (Department of Education 1995:40).*

Neither policy document (not the RDP policy, nor the Policy Framework for Education and Training) provided a mechanism for implementation, and they also lacked specificity. No numbers were mentioned, nor how schools, technical colleges, early childhood centres etc. were to be built. The policies did not have priorities set out, no targets were established, and no time-frames or schedules were included in the RDP document. These omissions were also glaring in the White Paper on Education and Training, which was a vehicle which could have been used to address the inherited rural education imbalances. Neither the White Paper on Education and Training nor the RDP document gave any indication of targeting or state-led intervention in areas of financing

outside the formal [education] system. The policies also failed to provide an indication of what the budgetary timeframe for reconstruction to meet the wider objectives of educational and training needs might precisely be (Motala 1994: 2). According to its policy statement, the RDP was supposed to implement a bottom-up approach to the benefit of different communities. The poor were not only expected to participate in rural development programmes, they were also to be “empowered” through participatory government-led projects. This notion is in line with the World Bank’s (1995) thinking that the poor should “plan, implement, supervise and help fund projects in which they are involved”. In most cases the voices of the marginalised were neglected, as government was mostly concerned with ensuring that there was fiscal discipline in all its institutions. One of the reasons why this rural development programme failed was that there was a lack of strong national support and leadership, and this contributed to the failure of the identified presidential projects and the RDP programme as a whole. There was a lack of will on the side of politicians to spearhead the programme to the benefit of communities largely residing in rural areas. Bond (2003) argues that it was a policy that talked left and acted right. The policy did not focus much on communities residing in rural areas. Rondinelli (1979) makes the point that rural development projects will not succeed without strong and sustained commitment on the part of national political leaders. Given the huge backlogs that prevailed due to the legacy of apartheid, and the tremendous amounts of money needed to address those backlogs, the government was expected to take a central role. For the RDP goals to be achieved, the state had to provide resources and increase educational budgets (capital budgets in particular – for the building of new schools, media centres etc., which were not in existence in the rural communities). Nicolaou (2002: 64) confirms that in a developing country like South Africa, state intervention is fundamental in order to create a base for equality. Instead, the government was concerned with the servicing of debt, reducing budgets and also increasing investment prospects with the international community. The RDP goals set by the ruling party were not achieved and as a result, on 28 March 1996, Thabo Mbeki (then Deputy President) announced the closure of the

RDP office and relocated it to the Ministry of Finance (Office of Executive Deputy President Mbeki 1996). The relocation of the RDP office to the Department of Finance may also be understood as a way of reinforcing the government’s “fiscal discipline” approach, which was not favourable for addressing the imbalances created by the apartheid legacy.

### The GEAR Policy

The abandonment of the RDP was followed in June 1996 by the government’s hasty announcement of its new macroeconomic strategy, the GEAR policy. The GEAR document was produced by a technical team and was generally modelled on a South African Reserve Bank econometric model. The GEAR policy used the models of the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the Bureau for Economic Research, and the World Bank (Treanor 2005; Republic of South Africa 1996b). In a nutshell, GEAR proposed the following:

*Economic development should be led by the private sector; the state should play a smaller role in the economy; state owned assets should be privatised; there should be deep cuts in government spending; exchange controls should be relaxed; social service delivery budgets and municipal infrastructure programmes should be reprioritised in order to address the claims of the poor to a fair package to meet their basic needs (Republic of South Africa 1996b: 3).*

The GEAR policy was also informed by a neoliberal ideological framework. The wider objective of neoliberal thinking is to engineer a stable environment in which internationally mobile capital can reproduce and which significantly constrains the possibilities of collective action in the global political economy (Williams and Taylor 2000:22). Kallaway (2001:22) points out that these global economic policies ignore the links between the provision of education and the social and the economic needs of the rural poor. Kallaway (1998:34-35) mentions that one of the imperatives of the GEAR policy was to produce an élite of graduates, technicians and managers who could compete in the global arena. Rural communities were necessarily left out because they could never form part of this élite group.

The GEAR programme did not succeed in addressing the major problems of inequalities,

as foreseen in the RDP policy. It did little towards the upliftment of disadvantaged communities, as identified in the RDP document. When it was introduced in 1996, it set a target of 126 000 new job opportunities. It also aimed at creating 400 000 jobs by the year 2000. However, the GEAR policy, with its focus on stringent monetary and fiscal targets, conflicted with the main objective of the RDP of growth based on job creation, meeting people's needs, poverty reduction and a more equitable distribution of wealth. Between 1996 and 1998, 300 000 jobs were lost. The official unemployment rate in 2002 was 30% (more than 4.5 million people), while 60% of the population lived below the poverty line of R533 a month (*Mail and Guardian* 2003:26). In 2008, the unemployment rate stood at 23.5% (4.19 million people). Figures provided by Statistics South Africa suggest that there is a shift from employment into unemployment, given that the rate of job losses increased at the same time. In a study conducted by the Department of Economics of the University of Stellenbosch in 2006, it was found that the three provinces with the highest poverty rates were the predominantly rural provinces of KwaZulu-Natal, the Eastern Cape and Limpopo. In 2009, the rate of child poverty was highest in Limpopo (78%), followed by the Eastern Cape at 78%, and KwaZulu-Natal at 75% (Statistics South Africa 2008). Statistics about rural poverty are closely related to the broader rural development strategies and economic policies of the government. These clearly show that the state of rural communities and rural education remained in an appalling state.

### **GEAR's Funding Model**

The education financing model adopted by government was based on liberalisation, deregulation, privatisation, and a decreasing role of the state, all of which generally led to increased inequalities. After 1994, of all the social services, education has consistently received the largest share of the national budget, with the bulk of this share allocated to the provinces. For example, in 1995/6, of the R32 billion allocated to education, R4 billion (13.6%) was allocated to the national department and the remaining R28 billion (86.4%) was allocated to the provinces (South African Institute of Race Relations 1996:94). Unfortunately, the national government did not use any national tool for

distributing these funds among the provinces. In order to redress past imbalances, caution should have been taken, especially in the area of rural education, to channel more resources to the impoverished provinces which are formed basically out of rural areas. In 1994, there were proposals that the national ministry should impose plans on provinces to introduce "basic per learner education expenditure" as a method of eliminating disparities across provinces. This would also establish a basic per capita level of expenditure (Wildeman 2001:132). In 1996, the Review Committee made recommendations to the national ministry and offered the same proposal, namely, that there should be a basic per learner expenditure. However, the government ignored these recommendations.

In 1998, the government published the most significant equity instrument to redress past financial imbalances, titled the National Norms and Standards for Public School Funding (Republic of South Africa 1998). One of the aims of the National Norms and Standards for Public School Funding policy was to distribute the bulk of recurrent non-staff expenditure to the poorest schools in a province. The policy document targeted the provincial education budget's residue after salaries have been paid. The size of the amount spent on staff expenditure determined the portion of the budget that would be available for distribution (Republic of South Africa 2006b). It can be deduced from Table 1 below that after salaries were deducted from the government budgets, less than 20% of the budget was left to redress the imbalances that were initially targeted by the RDP policy. As indicated in Table 1, the most depressing constraint that the provinces that comprise largely rural areas faced was that almost their entire budget was spent on salaries.

As the salary component accounted for nearly 90% of the budgets, too little was left for infrastructural development, an aspect that is crucial for rural education. State budgets were managed in accordance with neo-liberal economic principles, rather than social contract principles, which prescribe that the state should assume responsibility for the well-being of all its citizens (Hall 2009:155). The neo-liberal GEAR policy forced the government into a specific financial direction. This financial direction did not always match the government's social responsibility of providing equal

**Table 1: Staff expenditure as a percentage of total education budgets**

Province	1999-2000	2000-2001	2001-2002	2002-2003
Eastern Cape	95.1	90.9	90.9	90.9
Free State	88.0	86.3	85.1	85.6
Gauteng	85.3	85.2	85.1	84.9
KwaZulu-Natal	89.8	89.8	87.3	86.5
Mpumalanga	88.0	91.3	90.2	90.1
Northern Cape	80.3	81.9	84.7	84.8
Limpopo	95.0	90.2	89.9	90.1
North West	90.8	91.4	90.2	90.4
Western Cape	91.0	89.6	89.4	88.9
National	90.5	89.1	88.3	88.2

Source: Department of Finance (2000, 2001, 2002, 2003)

opportunities for quality education to all learners in the country. The GEAR strategy undoubtedly downplayed the potential for government expenditure on the provision of basic services, productive infrastructure, education and roads (Michie and Padayachee 1998:628) as a way of promoting growth and redistribution.

### The ANC Policy Shift

From 16 to 20 December 2007, the ANC held its national conference at Polokwane to elect a new leadership. That is where it thought of the notion of a policy shift from the neo-liberal and macroeconomic agenda pursued by government since 1996, under the aegis of GEAR, to a policy which would emphasise and transform the rural economy and society. The ANC acknowledged the failure and intricacies of the GEAR strategy, especially as far as rural communities were concerned. In a policy document which was produced at the Polokwane conference, the following was agreed upon:

*Many rural areas still lack basic infrastructure such as roads, water and electricity supply. This lack of infrastructure entrenches the problems of chronic poverty and limits the potential of communities to sustain economic growth, rural livelihoods and social development. Our efforts to extend free basic services to all our people are slowest to reach rural areas and farm dwellers, even while the majority have access to free basic services in the urban areas. Moreover, access to government services such as education and health care are the weakest in rural areas (African National Congress 2007: 24).*

The commitment to shift from the neo-liberal thinking under Thabo Mbeki was evidenced by the establishment of a Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR) under President Jacob Zuma. The new DRDLR embraced a new approach, embodied in what is called the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP). The CRDP incorporate a number of factors, all of which are essential to a viable rural development strategy. Mosher (1976: 10) defines a working rural development strategy as “projects and programs dealing simultaneously with a number of different aspects of rural well being”. Government was expected to take a leading and central role.

Central to the CRDP is the intent to see that rural communities are sustainable, equitable and vibrant through the establishment of rural development programmes (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform 2009: 36-40). One of its objectives is to ensure that all schools and health facilities have access to basic infrastructure such as water and electricity by 2014 (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform 2009: 37). There are still challenges in the way of the implementation of the CRDP. A survey which was conducted by the Eastern Cape Department (a predominantly rural province) projected that R46.82 billion was needed to address infrastructural backlogs in the Eastern Cape Province (Eastern Cape Department of Education 2008: 16). The 2008/09 Eastern Cape Department of Education budget constituted only 1.85 % of what is required to eradicate infrastructural backlogs in that province. In the 2008/09 financial year there were 826 “mud structure” type of schools in the Eastern Cape. Rebuilding these schools cannot be realised if government continues with its policy of fiscal discipline. Budget allocations remain one of the biggest challenges. The ANC has not clearly denounced neo-liberal fiscal practices and chances are that budgetary allocations may still continue to be informed by the same thinking.

### CONCLUSION

Although the government has committed itself to reducing inequalities in rural areas, there is consensus among all role-players that its efforts have met with limited success. Neither the RDP nor GEAR succeeded in redressing the

historical imbalances that are the norm in South Africa's rural areas. Nor did the government's rural development strategies pay adequate attention to important reconstruction and redistribution principles which, in the main, would have benefited most of the communities located in rural areas. The GEAR policy failed to make an impact on reducing past imbalances and failed to address pressing issues in rural areas. The provision of education in rural areas requires and merits far more attention, effort and resources than it presently receives. Although rural areas form an integral part of South Africa, national economic development efforts continue to be skewed in favour of urban areas. It is recommended that government rethink and reconsider its strategies on the reconstruction and development of rural communities, and more significantly, to increase its involvement in providing resources to learners in rural schools. Government's rural development strategies should include provision of technical and vocational education and training for rural communities. Successful rural development strategies should recognise the great diversity of rural situations and should reflect wider moves to maximise growth and reduce poverty.

## REFERENCES

- Adelzadeh A, Padayachee V 1994. The RDP White Paper: Reconstruction of a development vision? *Transformation*, 25: 1-18.
- African National Congress 1990. Discussion Document on Economic Policy. *Document Prepared for a Workshop Held in Harare*, September 20-23. Johannesburg: Umanyano Publications.
- African National Congress 1994a. *Draft for Discussion Purposes Only*. A Policy Framework for Education and Training, 30 January 1994. Johannesburg: Umanyano Publications.
- African National Congress 1994b. *Reconstruction and Development Programme*. Johannesburg: Umanyano Publications.
- African National Congress 2007. 52<sup>nd</sup> National Conference: Resolutions. Resolutions Arising out of the ANC's 52<sup>nd</sup> National Conference in Polokwane, Limpopo Province (16-20 December, 2007). From <[www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/conference52/resolutions.pdf](http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/conference52/resolutions.pdf)> (Retrieved March 2, 2010).
- Ashley C, Maxwell S 2001. Rethinking rural development. *Development Policy Review*, 19(4): 395-425.
- Atchoarena D, Gasperini L (Eds.) 2003. *Education for Rural Development: Towards New Policy Responses*. Rome: UNESCO.
- Bloch G 2009. *The Toxic Mix: What's Wrong with South Africa's Schools and How to Fix it*. Tafelberg: Cape Town.
- Bond P 2003. Debates in local economic development policy and practice. *Urban Forum*, 14(2-3): 147-164.
- Chisholm L 2005. The state of South Africa's schools. In: John Daniel, Roger Southall, Jessica Lutchman (Eds.): *State of the Nation: South Africa 2004-2005*. Cape Town: HSRC Press, pp. 201-226.
- Christie P 1991. *The Right to Learn: The Struggle for Education in South Africa*. Cape Town: Ravan Press.
- Corbin J, Strauss A 2008. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Department of Education 1995. *White Paper on Education and Training, Notice 196 of 1995*. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- Department of Finance 2000. *Budget Review, 2000*. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- Department of Finance 2001. *Budget Review, 2001*. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- Department of Finance 2002. *Budget Review, 2002*. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- Department of Finance 2003. *Budget Review, 2003*. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- Department of Rural Development and Land Reform 2009. *Department of Rural Development and Land Reform: Strategic Plan 2010-2013*. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- Eastern Cape Department of Education 2008. *Infrastructure Delivery Plan, 2008/09*. Cape Town: Government Printer.
- Farmer FL 1997. Rural, Definition of. In: GA Goreham (Ed.): *Encyclopedia of Rural America: The Land and the People*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., pp. 623-626.
- Government of National Unity 1994. *White Paper: Discussion Document on the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)*. Pretoria, Government Printer.
- Hall K 2009. Housing and Services – Urban-Rural Distribution. Children's Institute, University of Cape Town. From <[www.childrencount.org.za](http://www.childrencount.org.za)> (Retrieved March 8, 2011).
- Hartshorne KB 1992. *Crisis and Challenge: Black Education 1910-1990*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- International Fund for Agricultural Development 2001. *Rural Poverty Report 2001: The Challenge of Ending Rural Poverty*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kallaway P 1998. Whatever happened to rural education as a goal for (South) African development? In: Wally Morrow, Kenneth King (Eds.): *Vision and Reality: Changing Education and Training in South Africa*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, pp. 20-38.
- Kallaway P 2001. The need for attention to rural education. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 21(1): 21-32.
- Lewis A 1999. *Past and Present Perceptions Surrounding Mission Education: A Historical-Metaphorical Overview*. DEd Dissertation. University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch.
- Mail and Guardian 2003. On the Path to Nowhere, 4-10 April, pp. 26-27.

- Michie J, Padayachee V 1998. Three years after apartheid: Growth, employment and redistribution? *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 22: 623-635.
- Mosher A 1976. *Thinking About Development*. New York: Agricultural Development Council.
- Motala E 1994. *Comments on the Education White Paper*. Unpublished Mimeo.
- Nelson Mandela Foundation 2005. *Emerging Voices. A Report on Education in South African Rural Communities*. Johannesburg: Nelson Mandela Foundation.
- Nicolaou K 2002. The link between macroeconomic policies, education policies and the education budget. In: E Motala, J Pompallis (Eds.): *Education and Equity: The Impact of State Policies on South African Education*. Sandown, South Africa: Heinemann Publishers Ltd., pp. 53-104.
- Office of the Executive Deputy President 1996. Press Statement by the Office of Executive Deputy President Mbeki: Relocation of RDP Projects, Programmes and Institutions, 18 April 1996. From <[http://www.info.gov.za/spechees/1996/960618\\_28597.htm](http://www.info.gov.za/spechees/1996/960618_28597.htm)> (Retrieved March 5, 2010).
- Rapley T 2007. *Doing Conversation, Discourse and Document Analysis*. London: Sage.
- Republic of South Africa 1996a. *Education White Paper No 2: Organisation, Governance and Funding of Schools*. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- Republic of South Africa 1996b. *Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR): A Macroeconomic Strategy*. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- Republic of South Africa. 1996c. *The South African Schools Act, Act No. 84 of 1996*. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- Republic of South Africa 1997. *The Rural Development Strategies of the Reconstruction and Development Programme*. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- Republic of South Africa 1998. Department of Education. National Norms and Standards for School Funding in terms of the South African Schools Act, 1996 (Act 84 of 1996). *Government Gazette No. 19347*, 12 October 1998.
- Rondinelli D 1979. Administration of integrated rural development policy: The politics of agrarian reform in developing countries. *World Politics*, XXI(3): 402-415.
- Seroto J 1999. *A Historical Perspective of Formal Education for Black People in the Rural Areas of South Africa, With Special Reference to Schools in the Northern Province*. MEd Dissertation. University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- South African Institute of Race Relations 1996. *Race Relations Survey 1996/97*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.
- Statistics South Africa 2008. *Income and Expenditure Survey 2005/06*. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.
- Treanor P 2005. Neoliberalism, Origins, Theory, Definition. From <<http://web.inter.nl.net/users/Paul.Treanor/neoliberalism.html>> (Retrieved March 2, 2010).
- Wildeman RA 2001. Equity in education. How far are we? *New Agenda*, 3: 127-139.
- Williams T, Taylor I 2000. Neoliberalism and the political economy of the 'New' South Africa. *New Political Economy*, 5(1): 21-37.
- World Bank 1995. *Monitoring Poverty and the Progress of the RDP*. Manuscript Materials, RDP Monitoring and Social Indicators Workshop. Midrand: World Bank.
- Yin RK 1994. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.