
Tracking racial desegregation in South African schools

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to examine what the national Education Management Information Statistics database is able to tell us about the racial desegregation of schools and to compare this with findings from qualitative research. Examining challenges in the data and using simple statistical techniques to analyse a dataset for 2001, the paper shows that overall patterns appear to confirm the findings of qualitative research that there has been more movement from and integration of African learners into schools previously defined as Indian and Coloured; that schools previously defined as white remain largely so and that the statistics for the Western Cape on race provide an interesting contrast with other provinces. The article shows how diverse the picture is provincially and raises questions about race-based statistics and what they can and cannot tell us about the role of schools in changing broader racial and class identities.

Introduction¹

Following the ending of apartheid, the question is commonly asked to what extent formerly white schools have actually opened their doors to all or not. This can be regarded as a sign of the extent to which schools have democratised, and to which racial boundaries are being maintained, crossed or broken down. The purpose of this article is to examine the national Education Management Information Systems (EMIS) database to establish the extent to which schools nationally have desegregated, to compare this with what has emerged from the qualitative literature and examine some of the implications of the emerging evidence.

Much of the research that is conducted on desegregation and integration in South Africa is qualitative rather than quantitative. Soudien (2004) has shown that substantial literature has emerged which demonstrates that while there has been a flight of students out of African schools, there has been no parallel movement towards them; that children classified African comprise a substantial portion of the school populations in schools formerly classified

¹ This paper does not reflect the views of either the Human Sciences Research Council or the Gauteng Department of Education.

Indian and Coloured; that African children are not entering Afrikaans-speaking schools in great numbers; that the teaching corps in schools is much less integrated and that the dominant form of desegregation has been that of assimilation rather than integration.

In this analysis, desegregation, assimilation and integration are not the same thing: legal desegregation can result, for example, in resegregation within the classroom. Assimilation denotes a process in which power relations determine that a subordinate group accommodates to and is accommodated by a more powerful group. This is a limited form of integration; integration signifies something more than either desegregation or assimilation, both of which are more passive processes in which power relations largely remain intact even as there is greater contact (Soudien, 2004; Soudien, Carrim and Sayed, 2004). This article proceeds conscious of the differences and gap between what concepts such as desegregation, integration and inclusion denote and their expression in practice. It does not consider the possibly more important processes internal to classrooms. Its purpose is more modest – establishing what national EMIS datasets can tell us about the more limited process of desegregation as an aspect of access and enrolments.

Where actual numbers are tracked, the surveys are relatively small in scale. A 2001 study by Sekete, Shilubane and Moila (2001) surveyed 120 schools with 79 returns in five provinces. Sayed and Soudien (2003) reported on a study by a cross-national team of 14 schools in KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and the Eastern Cape. National statistics on integration provided by the Department of Education are hard to come by. This is despite the overt commitments to achieving racial redress and ensuring that schools become incubators of non-racialism. Although the Department collects statistics about the race of learners and teachers, its own Education Statistics at a Glance (Department of Education, 2002, 2003, 2004) does not disaggregate information on a racial basis. At first glance, there are thus no available, analysed statistics on how and at what pace integration is occurring in schools across the country.

One exception is a paper by Sujee (2004) that analyses patterns of desegregation in Gauteng schools using Gauteng schools data collected in the Annual Snap Survey conducted by the Department of Education for 2001. Sujee tracks specific trends in learner enrolment, migration, racial representivity amongst teachers and school governing bodies. His conclusions echo those of researchers doing qualitative research who have conducted small-scale surveys. He shows that there has been constant and consistent movement of African learners based in the townships to former coloured, Indian and white schools, with very little movement the other way. The majority of African learners still attend township and rural schools. Representivity amongst teachers and school governing bodies has been slow to

change. Sujee contends that the exclusivity of the apartheid design had broken down in most schools in Gauteng by 2001. Most importantly, however, the demographics also point to a dominant pattern of single-race schools, specifically amongst the poor.

This article uses Education Management Information Statistics (EMIS) collected by the Department of Education to analyse national patterns of integration across all provinces within formerly white (House of Assembly; HOA), coloured (House of Representatives; HOR), Indian (House of Delegates; HOD) and African (Department of Education and Training; DET) schools. Problems with the data meant that 2001 was the earliest year that could be examined. This analysis was done in 2005. Three of the provinces did not provide data that allowed the analysis we attempt here. Data from 1998 to 2002 also does not allow one to track trends *over time*. EMIS numbers do not correspond from year to year. There are missing records across years by ex-department. Provinces use inconsistent codes across years to designate former department. In some provinces, the numbers simply do not tally. The Department of Education has contracted out data cleaning for more recent years to an auditing company. The only year in which we could get race and gender information by ex-department for a number of provinces, with the exception of KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo and Mpumalanga was thus for 2001.

Only KwaZulu-Natal is a significant lacuna in a study such as this, given its large number of formerly white and Indian schools. Rather than not attempt the study, however, we proceeded without the KwaZulu-Natal data.

A prior question may be whether tracking desegregation is an important issue or not. Schools previously defined as white, Indian and coloured are after all a small percentage of the overall number of schools. In some provinces such as the North West, former white schools make up as little as 5 per cent of the total number of schools, while in Gauteng and the Western Cape they constitute 30 per cent and 20 per cent of schools respectively. Provinces such as KZN and the Western Cape have larger school-going populations defined as Indian and coloured, but they are statistically a very small proportion of the overall population. Statistics will also not give a sense of the much more important lived experience of race in these schools (see for example Dolby, 2001; McKinney, 2005).

There are also strong arguments for training a spotlight on these schools and their changing racial profiles. First, as microcosms of the larger society in which race is one of the major historical fault lines, broader issues relating to race play themselves out here. They provide a mirror of broader social relationships of inequality between white and black, and provide insights into how these are being dealt with at a social and symbolic level. Second, in so far

as these schools confer and enable new social class belonging, analysis of the degree to which integration of African and more broadly black learners is occurring does provide insight into the changing configurations of race and class and the role that schools play in this process.

In the South African context, there is a growing debate about the size of the middle class, and how to define it (Seekings, 2003; Southall, 2005a; Southall, 2005b). The role of education in class formation is a complex one, encompassing many dimensions. Class formation is here understood as a social and economic phenomenon and class is understood as having both cultural and material dimensions. Education contributes to the socialisation of classes and their differential preparation for positions in the economy, politics and society (see for example Ball, 2003; Bourdieu, 1997 and 2004; Skeggs, 2004). Soudien (2004) has opened the debate by arguing that class is an important lens through which to view what it is that children in minority schools are being assimilated into. In a fine-grained analysis of the processes involved, he argues that “a particular kind of class settlement is taking place in schools that is being actively driven by the middle class” (Soudien, 2004, p.209). Harley and Wedekind (2004) have also shown how new curricular goals have been assimilated into dominant social class and racial patterns and reproduce these social divisions. They argue that learner-centredness, the new educational ideology, is more familiar to the middle classes with their notions of autonomy and individuality than to the working classes and rural poor.

Without detracting from the substance of these arguments and while recognising that the concept of class is an important one in understanding the unfolding trajectory of education, it must be acknowledged that the concept of ‘middle class’ is, as Southall shows, problematic. Taking into account definitional difficulties, he shows that it is tiny. In South Africa, approaches, definitions and estimates of its size have varied over time and space. Southall provides a loose, commonly understood, empirical definition to enable ascertaining its size in contemporary South Africa: “the middle class (or petty bourgeoisie) is characterized by its drawing its primary income (directly or indirectly) from non-manual employment, as ‘white collar employees’, managers, self-employed business persons, or professionals” (Southall, 2005a, p.522). In his analysis and overview of current approaches and estimates, Southall cautions that “(i) even though it is growing, out of a total population of 44 million the black middle class (at his guesstimate of 2.5m) remains very small, even though (ii) there has been a substantial growth in the distribution of national income accruing to blacks from 28.9 per cent in 1970 to 48 per cent in 1996 and (iii) income gaps between rich and poor have been growing (the country’s gini co-efficient having risen to 0.80 by 1998)” (Southall, 2005b, p.26).

The implications of this for the role that schools, particularly desegregated schools, might be playing in class formation are significant. But in examining this issue, it is important to understand that the class function of schools is far from a simple one and that the class nature of former white, Indian and coloured schools is not homogeneous. Each racial category has in its own way also been cut across by class. There have been and continue to be working class and unemployed whites, Indians and coloured people, and schools have emerged to serve them. Many formerly white, Indian and coloured schools thus cannot automatically be equated with middle class schooling. Many of these schools also share several characteristics with schools in townships. This is particularly notable, for example, in the case of schools formerly designated for children defined as coloured, but such schools can also be found in former white working class and inner-city areas. As such, many of these schools provide access for African children to membership, for example, of what was formerly the white, coloured or Indian working class, rather than the middle class. In other words, they provide a new place in a raced class order within groupings already historically and socially constituted as white, Indian or coloured (Chisholm, 1999). In addition, although these schools may not yet be majority African, and have different degrees of racial diversity, the complexity and challenges of the social class and racial make-up cannot be underestimated (see for example McKinney, 2005). Nonetheless, bearing these caveats in mind, they have historically overall been better-resourced than African schools and so can be seen to offer better opportunities for upward mobility, even if they may not do so in actual fact.

The article shows that integration of African learners into formerly white, Indian, coloured and African schools has been highly uneven across and within provinces. Even as the statistics reveal broader patterns of uneven integration, they show that the numbers of Africans in former white and Indian schools were, in 2001, very small. For a statistically insignificant minority across all races, but predominantly in former white and Indian schools in the Western Cape, the term 'Other' is preferable to the provided White, Indian/Asian, Coloured and Black categories. The 2001 census used the categories of Black African, Coloured, Indian/Asian and White. In the context of debates about race and statistics in 1997, the category 'Other' was inserted into the Annual Schools Survey as a "space for people who felt uneasy about filling in their race or had strong objections" (Interview with Helen Perry, Johannesburg, 25/1/2005). Teachers on the whole fill in the forms on behalf of learners. Designating their learners as 'Other' says something about teachers' attitudes towards race-based statistics.

The article concludes with a discussion of the special case of the Western Cape and the double-edged sword of race-based statistics. It argues that

collection of race-based statistics may be important for racial equity and redress purposes, and can suggest patterns relating to the making of a new, deracialised middle class (see Introductions in Daniel, Habib, Southall, 2004; Chisholm, 2004) within a continuing racial class order, but it is also important to recognise that in the very act of creating the categories, race is reconstructed and racial social identities reproduced in particular ways and that to a large extent the empirical data as provided here probably obscures how race, in its relationship to class, is being reshaped in South Africa today. Statistics are not the only source of creation of such identities, but they play an important role in it, as they shape what become normalised constructs in the society.

National patterns using 2001 as benchmark

What then is the overall picture in the provinces for which we were able to glean statistics? How have schools changed in terms of their learner composition? In analysing these statistics, it is important to bear in mind the overall national distribution of school-goers (see Appendix 1 and 2). We break down the EMIS data for 2001 first by province and then by former Department. We then compare trends in the Western Cape with best-case provinces and finally discusses some of the implications.

Available information indicates that the schools that non-African learners historically attended have become more diverse, but that (with some exceptions, such as many former HOD schools) the racial groups for whom they designated in most cases remain in the majority in them. A break-down by province shows that:

- In the Orange Free State, formerly white schools were comprised of 66% white learners, 28% African, 4% coloured, and 1% Indian and 'Other'. These figures were however complicated by the number of Unknown Schools in the dataset.
- In Gauteng, former Transvaal Education Department (white) schools were 59% white, 31% African, 5% coloured and 4% Indian; House of Delegates (Indian) schools were 62% African, 33% Indian and 5% coloured; House of Representatives (coloured) schools were 58% coloured and 42% African.
- In the North West, formerly white schools comprised of 77% whites, 18% Africans, 4% coloured and 1% Indian learners.

- In the Northern Cape, former House of Assembly (white) schools were 49% white, 34% coloured, 13% African and 1% Indian; House of Representative (coloured) schools were 89% coloured, 10% African and 1% 'Other'.
- In the Western Cape, former white schools comprised 38% white, 41% 'Other', 3% African and 17% coloured; former House of Delegates (Indian) schools comprised 23% Indian, 21% coloured, 55% 'Other' and 1% African; House of Representatives (coloured) schools comprised 86% coloured, 8% 'Other' and 6% African.

These trends echo those in the qualitative literature and the trends observed by Sujee (2004) for Gauteng who analyses integration also in terms of who is migrating from which schools. Integration into one type of school means migration out of it. Where there has been largest integration, there then also appears to be greater migration from them. In the discussion below, the only province which has large numbers of former HOA and HOD schools, but that is not included here, is KZN. We are attempting to get this information from the province for 2001 so that we can complete the analysis. But the information provided by the DoE for KZN did not include the former departments, so it is possible that it does not exist and that this analysis needs to be conducted for a later year, once the DOE has 'cleaned' the data.

Integration into former HOA (white) schools

When taken together, enrolments of African, coloured and Indian learners have changed the racial composition of formerly white schools, although this varies across and within provinces. In the Northern Cape, for example, 51 per cent of schools are black, in Gauteng 40 per cent, in North West 23 per cent, but in the Western Cape only one fifth. When one looks more closely at the integration of African learners, it is evident that while figures vary across and within provinces, often depending on population and urban density, African numbers in former white schools remain very small. In the different provinces, 28 per cent of learners in HOA schools were African; in Gauteng, 31 per cent; in North West 18 per cent; in the Northern Cape 13 per cent and in the Western Cape 3 per cent. Looked at in reverse, formerly white schools in the Northern Cape (which has the smallest African population) had integrated more African children than any other province; formerly white schools in the Western Cape (with the second largest concentration of whites in the country) had apparently integrated least numbers of African children.

Fiske and Ladd (2004) have argued that there has not been a flight of white children from the public school sector since 1994. They argue that this is a

result of the ability of schools to charge high fees. The data seems to confirm this interpretation. Except for the Northern Cape, where learners in former HOA (white) schools constituted only 49 per cent of the population in those schools, most former HOA schools in the other provinces ranged from being 59 per cent–77 per cent white. This does not exclude the possibility of schools that continue to be ‘whites only’ in their racial composition or that some former white schools, particularly in inner-city urban areas, have only black enrolments. Public schools have thus retained the white middle classes, but appear not to be playing a major role in building the new African middle class, given the small numbers in them.

Integration of African learners into former HOD (Indian) schools

Former HOD schools form a fraction of schools in the country. Largest numbers are in KwaZulu-Natal province. As explained above, the statistics were not available for this province, and so it is not possible to draw strong conclusions. Yet they do, in other provinces, appear to have taken in more African learners than formerly white schools. Formerly HOD schools in some provinces such as Gauteng (second to KZN in concentration of Indian learners) and North West (with a tiny proportion) are now almost mainly African, while in the Western Cape (where 4 per cent of the population defined as Indian reside) they record only 1 per cent of their learners as African and a significant percentage as ‘Other’. Most provinces include a small proportion of coloured learners, but the vast majority of new enrolments are African. If these schools can also be considered as permitting entry for and to new social classes, then they are doing so more successfully than white schools in terms only of numbers reached. By province, Gauteng HOD schools comprised 62 per cent African children, North West 65 per cent, and the Western Cape 1 per cent, although the large number of children defined as ‘Other’ here also needs to be taken into account.

Integration of African learners into former HOR (Coloured) schools

Formerly coloured schools in provinces like Gauteng (where 8.5 per cent of all so-defined live) and North West (where 1.4 per cent so-defined reside) have integrated Africans to constitute almost half their enrolments; Western Cape (with the highest concentration of Coloured families, so-defined) Coloured schools record only 8 per cent of their learners as being African. Given that many of these schools were not as well-resourced in the apartheid period as former white and Indian schools, and a large number are situated in poverty-

stricken communities, only a tiny minority would provide access to middle class belonging, even though they may, in an immediate environment, provide better opportunities than are available in township schools. By province, HOR schools in Gauteng comprised of 85 per cent of African children, in North West, 42 per cent, in the Northern Cape 10 per cent and in the Western Cape 6 per cent.

Integration into former DET (African) schools

Attention is often drawn to the fact that integration of African learners into white, Indian and coloured schools obscures issues of ethnic and pan-African diversity within African schools. Under apartheid, particularly in urban areas, African schools were divided by ethnic group. The data collected does not provide information by African ethnic group and so it is impossible to determine to what extent schools have become more inclusive in this way. Where formerly African schools are integrating learners of other race groups, they are integrating mainly coloured learners, but this is in small numbers. Integration of African nationalities, other than South African, into African, or any other schools for that matter, is also not currently on record.

The special case of the Western Cape

According to the information at our disposal, the Western Cape schools have integrated African learners the least. A large percentage of learners amongst those in former HOA schools designate themselves as 'Other' – fully 41 per cent were categorised as 'Other'; in former HOD schools 55 per cent, and in coloured schools 8 per cent. The number of HOD schools is, however, minuscule and so this figure is not significant. Excluding new provincial schools, contrasting patterns for each type of school for 2001 can be presented as follows:

In former white, HOA schools, a comparison of Northern Cape and Western Cape shows that only half the school population in Northern Cape HOA schools remains white, whereas in the Western Cape, 38 per cent do. Only 3 per cent of learners in Western Cape HOA schools are African, whereas 13 per cent are in the Northern Cape:

Figure 1:
Northern Cape
House of Assembly
(former white)

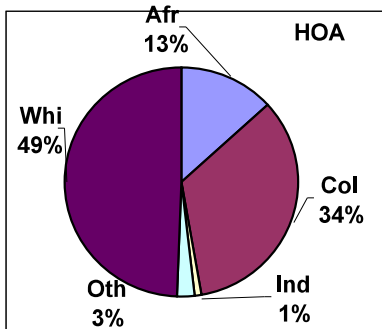
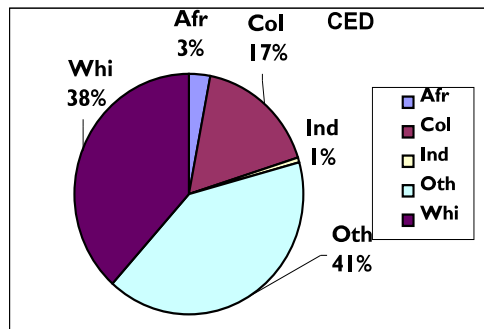


Figure 2:
Western Cape
Cape Education Department
(former white)



In HOD schools, most sharply contrasting situations are evident between Gauteng and the Western Cape. In Gauteng, fully 62 per cent of former HOD schools are African and only 33 per cent are Indian. In the Western Cape, bearing in mind the handful of schools defined as Indian as well as the intermeshed Indian and coloured identities in the Western Cape, fully 55 per cent are defined as ‘Other’ and only 1 per cent as African.

Figure 3:
Gauteng House of
Delegates (Indian)

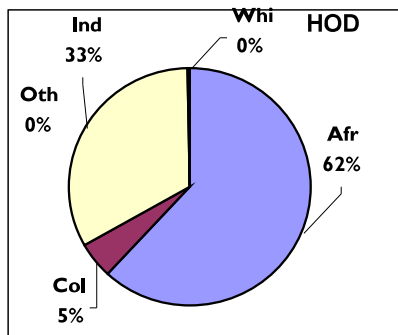
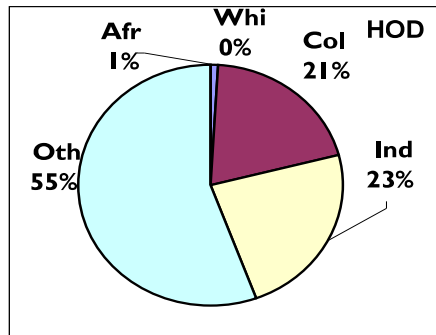


Figure 4:
Western Cape House of
Delegates (Indian)



In HOR schools, the dominant patterns are seen most vividly in North West and Western Cape. In the North West, 42 per cent of learners are African, whereas only 6 per cent are African in former HOR schools in the Western Cape:

Figure 5:
North West Province
House of Representatives
(Coloured)

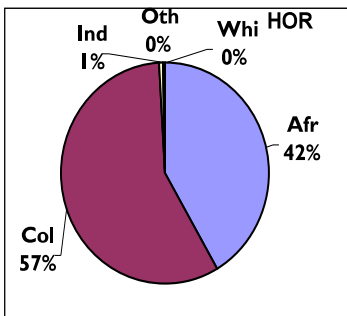
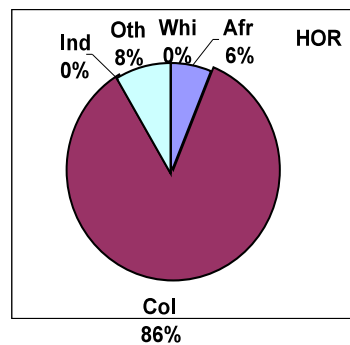


Figure 6:
Western Cape
House of Representatives
(Coloured)



And in former DET schools, the changes are seen in the two provinces of the Free State and the Western Cape. Here there has been minimal integration of learners not defined as African:

Figure 7:
Free State Department of
Education and Training
(African)

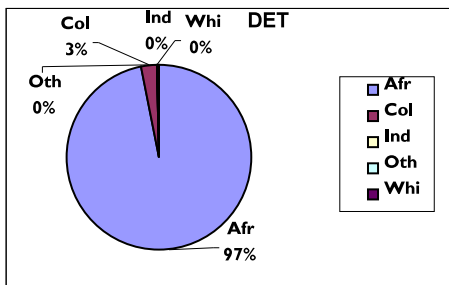
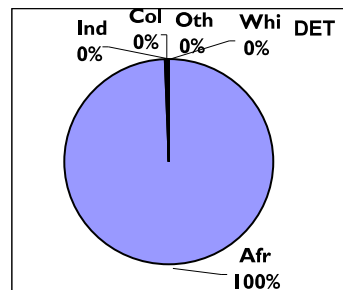


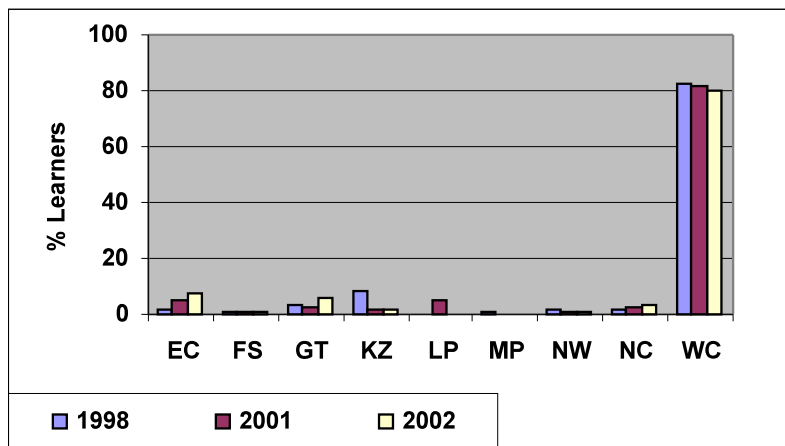
Figure 8:
Western Cape Department
of Education and Training
(African)



But in which other former departments are those whose teachers define them as ‘Other’ located? And how large is the percentage of people overall who do define themselves as ‘Other’?

The big picture is captured in the figure below:

Figure 9: Distribution of learners defined as ‘Other’



The category ‘Other’ is used in a statistically insignificant minority in all provinces except for the Western Cape. ‘Others’ are spread across all schools within the statistically insignificant minority in each province except the Western Cape. Why is this the case? What accounts for the special character of the Western Cape? The issue is a complex one that raises questions about national statistics, racial classification, equity and identity.

From a social and historical perspective, racial statistics touch on profound issues of racial identity. As such, they contain certain limitations. In order to count races, it is necessary to accept definitions of what races are. But these definitions are socially and historically constructed. Far from being hermetically sealed, racial identity and statistics in South Africa have long been interwoven. National censuses and statistics assist governments in planning and are critical instruments in shaping the nature of the education and training system. It has been argued that their categories constitute individuals as particular subjects. Under apartheid, national statistics constituted individuals as subject or colonised; as raced and ethnic beings for the purposes of control (Posel, 2001). At the same moment as subjects were racially defined, their social, political and economic lives were regulated and tightly ordered through their identification as White, Indian, Coloured or African. The categories of Coloured and African were further subdivided into ethnic and other categories.

Resistance to such racial and ethnic categorisations with their accompanying social ordering and hierarchising of racially-constituted subjects was a central element of resistance to apartheid. New discourses of emancipation embraced both race-rejection under the banner of non-racialism and race consciousness; they were characterised by a vigorous discussion of race and ethnicity as social constructs. As far as social research was concerned, Posel, Hyslop and Nieftagodien (2001, p.8) argue that “If the power of the apartheid state derived in large measure from its capacities to ‘normalise’ race in the discourses and experiences of South Africans, Marxist theories that displaced race with class as the most fundamental cleavage in apartheid became instruments of intellectual and political subversion.” The non-racialism of the United Democratic Front that formed in the 1980s was self-consciously the antithesis of race-thinking within the apartheid state. Black consciousness, with its roots in the late 1960s, equally challenged the constructions of race of the apartheid state by, for example, rearticulating meanings of blackness and challenging the practice of non-racialism amongst the white left. Intellectuals such as Neville Alexander engaged critically with every form of essentialised thinking about race and ethnicity; not only apartheid constructions of race and ethnicity, but also what he termed the “four nations” (Whites, Indians, Coloureds, Africans) theory of ANC thinking about race (Alexander, 1984; 1986, pp.63–95; No Sizwe, 1979).

One of the most vivid demonstrations of the popular questioning of racial categories was the varied ways in which racial categories were represented and commonly understood: ‘black’ for what was then African, Indian and Coloured, ‘coloured’ and ‘so-called coloured’ for what was defined as Coloured. Since 1994, census classifications have distinguished between ‘black African’, ‘White’, ‘Indian/Asian’ and ‘Coloured’. This paper has mixed lower and upper cases, and recognises fully that these are as much constructions that are open to question as any other terminology. All racial categorizations are arbitrary and so our usage is as arbitrary as any other, except in so far as these terms are commonly used in South Africa.

Analysis and debate around race have continued in the post-apartheid period, and have taken different forms. For the purposes of this paper, the most significant is the seeming dichotomy between those who have called for the recognition of continued inequality on the basis of race and persistent racial violence in schools (Jansen, 1999; Vally and Dalamba, 1999), and those who have called for recognition of “the everyday banality of race classification (that) permeates South Africa on an amazingly regular basis, and not just during census periods” (Mare, 2001, p.82). In this seeming conundrum, recognition of race difference is critical to understanding racial conflict and recognition of race is accordingly also central in challenging inequalities on the basis of race. But it requires racial classification and as such also requires

reproduction of normalized social constructions of race that provide the basis for reproducing social conflict around race, an issue also acknowledged by proponents of race-recognition.

Conclusion

Qualitative research and small-scale surveys have drawn attention to “the flight of students from former black schools (but) no parallel movement whatsoever of children classified coloured, white and Indian into former black schools”; that “children classified black appear to constitute a larger proportion of the total school population in former Indian and coloured schools than in former white schools (and that) children classified black, it would appear, are not entering Afrikaans-speaking former white schools in significant numbers” (Soudien, 2004, p.101). Sujee, looking at EMIS statistics for Gauteng only, has also argued that although there was a “decrease in the number of Indian and white learners in their respective former departments, the majority in them are nevertheless still within the public schools’ sector” (Sujee, 2004, p.46). The greatest movement has been among Indian and coloured learners . . . who have moved from their respective former departments into the former TED (read ‘white’: authors) and independent schools. The majority of white learners are in the former TED (read ‘white’: authors) schools, but this number has decreased as some have moved into independent schools” (Sujee, 2004, p.51). Bearing in mind the problematic nature of the processes of collection of national statistics, simple analysis of national statistics shows that the picture is extremely varied across provinces, but also confirms both the qualitative research and the provincial survey.

A new question that has been asked is the nature of the role these schools are playing in shaping a new black and African middle class. Schools formerly the preserve of children defined as white, Indian and coloured in 2001 appeared to be much more diverse than they were before 1994. But numbers of Africans, particularly in former white schools, remained limited to no more than a quarter to a third of enrolments, in many instances even less and in some instances more. Does this mean that the small size of the African middle class is reflected in the small numbers being integrated into schools formerly designated white, Indian and coloured? Or is the process of class formation more complex than this? What is happening in the less privileged former minority schools? While statistics can provide information on broad trends, the nature and implications of what goes on in schools requires a great deal more research. A great deal more qualitative work is specifically needed to understand the role of former minority schools in shaping new class and social identities.

Acknowledgements

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Appendices

Appendix 1: South African population by province and population group, 2001

Province	Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Eastern Cape	159	120	16	7.1	14.4
Free State	67	21	3	56	60
Gauteng	18.4	8.5	19.5	41.0	19.7
KwaZulu-Natal	22.6	3.6	71.6	11.3	21.0
Limpopo	14.5	0.3	0.8	2.9	11.8
Mpumulanga	8.1	0.6	1.0	4.7	7.0
Northern Cape	0.8	10.6	0.2	2.4	1.8
North West	9.5	1.4	0.9	5.7	8.2
Western Cape	3.4	61.1	4.0	19.4	10.1
South Africa	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Extracted from: Statistics South Africa, *Census 2001* Primary Tables South Africa Census 96 and 2001 compared Report No 03-02-04 (2001), p.4.

Appendix 2 Enrolments by province and level of school, 2001 (1000s)

Province	Primary	Secondary	Combined	Int. and Middle	F%	M%	Total
Eastern Cape	627	397	1002	0	51	49	2,027
Free State	344	208	43	107	50	50	703
Gauteng	858	488	98	0	50	50	1,444
KwaZulu-Natal	1663	851	146	0	50	50	2,661
Limpopo	1136	639	17	0	50	50	1,793
Mpmulanga	494	286	112	0	50	50	894
Northern Cape	96	45	22	29	50	50	194
North West	494	235	13	139	50	50	883
Western Cape	504	285	21	77	51	49	888
National	6,222	3,438	1,478	353	50	50	11,492

Source: SNAP Survey 2001

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