EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ZIMBABWE: THE MAIN ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

BY

F. MAZHERO

Prepared for Dr. R.L. Shortlidge, Jr., USAID/HRDO

1. Introduction

Since gaining independence in April 1980, the Government of Zimbabwe has begun the process of reforming its inherited education system. The most significant reforms to date have been: abolition of primary school fees; rapid expansion of both primary and secondary enrollments; removal of racial discrimination in education; introduction of a new teacher training programme; adoption of new science education program and the addition of agriculture to the school curriculum as a compulsory subject. These changes in education are consistent with the new Government's desire to redress the mistakes of the past and to focus attention on the development needs of the poor majority.
The task of this paper is three-fold:

(1) to describe the recent educational developments in their historical context;
(2) to identify and analyse the main issues and the attendant problems as Zimbabwe develops her education system and tries to relate it to overall national development; and
(3) to address the implications of the issues and problems in (2) for future educational planning strategies.

There is a lack of relevant research to support this exercise. Often the available research provides an inadequate analysis of the process of education itself within Zimbabwe. There is also a paradox in current government educational policies and programs. Despite political rhethoric which severely critizes the Rhodesian education system as discriminatory, stale and outdated, and colonizing, it is precisely this system which is being expanded largely unchallenged.

The reality behind this paradox is that education as it is in Zimbabwe has become very much an integral part of Zimbabwean society. Thus whilst there is considerable room and valid reasons for further educational reform, there is a real danger in working under the assumption that current problems derive essentially from its origins from a settler colonial past. The "Zimbabwean School" is a transferred institution, but the most important point is that over time it has been turned into a powerful and independent force influencing social and cultural groups and value systems. It is against this background that educational change will by necessity occur in Zimbabwe.

The experiences of other developing countries have shown the limited degree of success which is to be gained from modifying the education system in the expectation that the school alone will spearhead the desired change in society. In fact, as Hanf et al (1975) have pointed out, political leaders and the public tend to greatly overvalue the importance of education in national development. (1) The politicians' view of education stems from an over-optimistic assumption that investments in education alone can generate rapid economic growth. This is based on a misinterpretation of the high correlation between education standards and the development observed in both developing and developed countries. While educational investments have made a significant contribution to development, it has required complementary public and private invest-

ments to stimulate the demand for labour. Also, it should be remembered that Europe's industrial revolution began amidst a largely illiterate population. Universal education came about slowly as the result of a complex process of development in which education stimulated and was stimulated by growth in the economic system. Thus the amount of education required to meet the requirements of an expanding economy puts demands on the overall level of development and the rate at which growth is occurring. From an economic perspective, investments in education operate within a general economic context and can result in under-investment as well as over-investment.

Zimbabwe's education system, like most in developing and developed countries, is likely to be profoundly resistant to change for reasons which stem from inertial factors within both the system itself and the system it serves. A further set of factors which tends to compound the problems of current educational development derifes from the international context in which Zimbabwe finds itself. There is a danger that research results conducted by developed countries will be uncritically applied and adopted in Zimbabwe. There is an element of this in the attention being given to "education with production" and pre-school education. This by no means suggests that theoretical propositions and traditions of empirical research that have been in the study of education in the developed nations have no relevance for Zimbabwe but rather that the decision makers must exercise caution in drawing conclusions about what should be done in Zimbabwe.
In summary, this paper is to provide a historical and analytical description of events. The second objective is to discuss alternative strategies. However, the paper will not attempt to define a specific alternative strategy, but rather describe and analyse a range of options.

Historical Perspective

(1) Nature of the "Colonial Situation"

Zimbabwe had ninety years of a rather different and unique colonial experience. Unlike most other British African colonies which were "Protectorates", Zimbabwe, then known as Southern Rhodesia, was established by conquest, and later granted "self-government" status. As a consequence, it developed as a "settler-colony." (2)
Britain lost effective control and could only exercise influence and not power. The white settler colonialists had almost untrammeled political and economic power which they used to shape the super-structures of government and the future of the country, based upon racial segregation with its historical roots in South Africa from where most of the early white settlers had been recruited by Cecil John Rhodes in the late 1880's. Separate development of the races was also a deliberate policy to ensure the natural outcome of a privileged position for the white minority.

P.F. Hone (1909) captured the attitudes of the settlers and the practical meaning of separate development when he wrote:

> "It is generally recognised by those who have studied the difficulties which arise between white and black races, that the differences in character, temperament, intellect and humanity itself are so well marked, so clearly defined, that never, will it be possible for the two to blend amalgamate into one... It must, however, be recognised that in industry, commerce, manual and domestic labour, white and black races will be indispensable to each other, the former as employers ... the later as labourers ... Apart from these two great classes, employer and labourer, there will be no direct intercourse between white men and black men except for those white missionaries and teachers who give up their lives to advancement of christianity and civilisation amongst the natives."...(3)

Segregation, then, was the hall-mark of Rhodesian society, and as Chidzero (1977) said: "it was underpinned and sustained by the education system." (4) The duality and the function of the system were intended to be complementary to and consistent with the aims of the society at large. After all, it is now widely recognised that "education systems shape and are shaped by and respond more readily to their socio-economic environments. As Faure (1972) said:

> "Education, being a sub-system of society, necessarily reflects the main features of that society. It would be vain to hope for a rational, human education in an unjust society." (5)

Black nationalists argued that the Rhodesian education system went beyond that. Not only was its racial structure a response to institutionalised racial segregation, but even its contents were deliberately designed to prepare black and white children for their predetermined slots in life. In short, there were two unequal education systems with entirely different aims and purposes.

Ironically black nationalists failed to observe that African education rarely followed the direction prescribed by successive white minority governments of Rhodesia. It took a different course - determined largely by Africans' perceptions of education and what they saw as its role in the new socio-economic set-up and the new occupational structure emerging in Zimbabwe. In other words, Africans responded by seeking the types of education which would reward them in ways demanded by the occupational structure. As a consequence black education in Zimbabwe resisted efforts to make it different than white education. Gradually, over time it became a poor mimic of the English based white system.

(2) Control of Education

The groundwork for education was laid by missionaries. The rudiments of a formal school were established by the London Missionary Society at Inyati in 1859. This was but a humble beginning of what was to become an extensive involvement of missionary societies in the provision of formal education for both blacks and whites with the establishment of Southern Rhodesia. The missionaires set up their schools in places relatively near nodes of European settlement since protection and security were a priority in those early days. Their most concentrated educational efforts were consequently found in parts of the country near 'forts', e.g. Fort Victoria, Salisbury, Bulawayo and Umtali. It is also important to remember that the type of education provided for Africans depended on the policy and religious principles of the particular missionary society, its financial resources and its relationship with the government and the local population. Ironically, the patterns of missionary involvement form the roots of present-day regional disparities in the provision of education.

Direct government praticipation in and involvement with the control and administration came with the enactment of the Education Ordinance of 1899. This Ordinance led to the establishment of the grants-in-aid system and the Education Department to administer it. The Education Department, however, was at the time charged principally with the oversight of European schools. As a result, European education which was later to include Asian and Coloured education, was developed and administered along completely different lines from African education. Suffice to say, European education was generously, if not lavishly, provided for mainly by public funds and enriched by private and missionary resources. It was directed at the establishment of compulsory and free education based on non-sectarian links within a political, economic and social context in which white children were predestined to assume a priviliged position in life. O'Callaghan (1977) quotes a Mr. Cleveland as having said that education for Europeans must be both compulsory and free because "Any other policy ... must encourage the growth of class distinctions ameng the European community since there would be a stigma attached to the child whose parents could not afford to pay fees; such distinctions must have a weakening effect in a new country, where the European minority needed all the cohesion and initiative which it could master." (6)

On the other hand, the responsibility for providing African education was left largely to the missionary societies who could not afford to be financially independent of the government even if they wished to be. The result was inevitable: the missionaries eventually became dependent on government aid, provided through the grants -in-aid system. This made the missionaries, willing or unwilling, subordinate to the philosophy of the government and its overall plans for education. The substance of this relationship, as the Kerr Commission (1951) observed later was that,

> "Government was able to use the grant-in-aid system to impose a minimum standard on mission schools and to

some extent regulate their growth." (7)

The government's plan was to set up separate educational arrangements for Africans. A separate Native Education Department was set up in 1928. It was, however, renamed as the Department of Native Development the following year for it was then expanded to include agriculture and community development. This department was dissolved in 1933 and succeeded by the National Affairs Department. As a result education came under the Native Affairs Department.

A department of Native Education was eventually created in 1956. Although this was the time of the Federation, there were no fundamental changes in the control or administration of education. In fact, the Federal constitution of 1953 reinforced the separate administrative divisions of African and European education. The former remained a territorial matter, whilst the latter came under Federal control.

Throughout the period (1890-1956), the successive white minority regimes willingly controlled, but reluctantly aided African education preferring to leave its provision in the hands of missionaries.

However, during this period the foundation for direct government assistance to African education was laid. In 1920 and 1921, the government opened two specialised African training schools, Domboshawa and Tsolotjo. Also the year 1945 was a significant year for African education. Four government primary schools were opened in urban areas and the first government secondary school, Goromonzi, was opened in 1946. On the other hand, by 1950, the missions had established five African Secondary schools.

The government accepted full responsibility for African education in urban areas after the Kerr Commission Report (1951-52). But it must also be realised that the government controlled the number of African adults who could move into urban areas and, therefore also the number of African children who could attend schools in these areas. The government shaped and used its legal weapon, the Land Apportionment Act, later known as the Land Tenure Act, to control rural to urban migration and access to government schools.

Far greater changes in the control and administration of flowed out of the Judges Commission Report of 1962. The Report recommended the expansion of government responsibilities in African education but without departing from the dual education system. At that time the government provided African education in urban areas. Since government schools were cheaper than those run by rural mission schools, this was sighted by the Commission as one of the reasons for the "flight" of children from the African areas to the urban centres.

During U.D.I.[8] (1965-1979), the government embarked on a policy of transferring African education from Missions to "responsible" community boards and councils, themselves politically controlled by the central government. These community boards and councils would, through community taxation, contributed a greater share of the financing of African education than had been possible with mission committees.

By 1970 there was a plethora of different kinds of African schools. These included Government, Government-sponsored, Mission, Community (aided and unaided), Council (aided and unaided) and Farm Schools. The aim of the government during the period of U.D.I. was not to place direction and control of African education in African hands, but to maintain the dual system using different mechanisms. The author of this new policy of community development and local government, Roger Howman (1945) had referred to:

."the need to work through groups, build up new groups around the individual, use them as the machinery of social control". [9] The central government retained the right to grant or withdraw licences to establish educational institutions and the educational requirements imposed by the system of examinations. Further the curriculu and inspection of schools kept them under tight government control.

The administration complexity within African education and between black and white education has contributed in no small measure to the problems faced by the present government as it struggles to reform, rationalise and simplify the system under a set of democratic national policy objectives.

Aims in Education

The government and missionaries stressed different purposes of education for black and white children. Both were agreed on the purpose of European education: initially, it was intended to inculcate the moral principles on which Britain (and South Africa) were based and to minimise ethnic tensions among the European settlers as well as providing the general educational base for advanced technical and professional skills development. These aims were gradually refined and expanded, particularly as Rhodesia distanced itself from Britain. The result was a high standard of education for white children consistent with their privileged position in society. One spokesman quoted by Atkinson (1972), was blunt but honest about it:

> "It is absolutely essential ... that the superior race should at least in every case receive a superior education to the inferior race." (10)

The education of Africans was intended from the beginning to serve two purposes. to facilitate conversion to Christianity and to give Africans the training that they required to fulfill European needs for African labour especially in agriculture, mining and industry. As a consequence, the majority of African pupils were permitted to have a primary level education - which was often incomplete and the secondary and other higher levels of education

were reserved for the chosen few who would be permitted to enter the formal economy as unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The government policy and rationale rested on the assumption that:

> "The native in his ignorance, almost invariably abuses a purely "book" education, utilising it only as a means of defying authority and oppressing his raw fellows." (11)

Therefore according to the Native Commissioner of Bubi,

"More good would be done to the natives if the missions confined themselves chiefly to industrial work and made book learning optional." (12)

These aims were reinforced by the British Government policy for African education. The 1925 memorandum on education stated:

> "Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas as an agent of natural growth and evolution." (13)

The aims and objectives of the white minority were also aided by the Phelps-Stokes Commission from America which was concerned with education in West, South and Equatorial Africa. Its Chairman, Thomas Jesse Jones, visited Southern Rhodesia early in 1921. The first Report of 1921 proved to be so useful to the British Colonial Office that another Commission was sent out to East, Central and South Africa and reported in 1925. The Phelps-Stokes Commissions stressed the need for mass education, to serve what they saw as the needs of the African people: to keep in touch with the indigenous culture of their tribe, to provide them with the elements of good agriculture and good hygiene, and to give them training in simple crafts and home economics. The institutions that they felt Africa needed were schools of agriculture and industry like the Hampton Institute and the Tuskegee Institute in America.

The Southern Rhodesian Native Department did not have to modify its approach to education in accordance with Phelps-Stokeism. Men like Keigwin and J.J. Graham had been advocating similar approaches since 1910. Keigwin was convinced that agricultural and industrial training were needed for Africans in southern Rhodesia. This would give them a practical education for daily life, a good source of livelihood and fit them "for their own self-development."(14)

However, the Phelps- Stokes Commission and the successive white minority governments failed to take into account a number of important considerations. First, they ignored some of the realities of occupational structure in colonial times. Second, they misunderstood the objectives and social functions of formal education and purposes for which it was being utilised by Africans. Third, they underestimated their own significance as a normative reference group. (15) Fourth, they did not seek African opinion.

The African response to the education provided in Rhodesia followed a pattern not too dissimilar to most other colonized people. At first there was an attitude of indifference towards education. This was understandable because education did not at first seem to offer any real advantages to those who had got it. A number of those who had acquired it could speak and read English and their own language, but they were not paid for it and they still had to cultivate the land like everyone else. Indifference soon faded away, especially after the First World War when some people began to reap substantial financial rewards from their education by working as teachers, policemen and domestic servants.

But the immediate post-Second World War period was a watershed of African demand for education. New socio-economic conditions set into motion trends in educational demand which have persisted to this day. In short, they triggered an unprecedented demand for education by Africans, which previous governments satisfied up to the end of the 1950's and which the present and future governments will be hard pressed to satisfy. The changes in the socio-economic structure, drifting decidely towards increased industrialisation, were accompanied by a requisite demand for literate labourers. As a result, the low-level industrial and agricultural education of the past, which is uncannily similar to current government emphasis on "Education with Production", were, and are at odds with Africans' demand for an academic education. African parents, therefore, did not send their children to school so as to meet the needs of agricultural or rural development, or to get education for its own sake but they sent them there to maximise their childrens opportunities within the emerging high-skilled, better rewarding occupational and prestige structure created by the new socio-economic conditions of a modern Zimbabwe. The challenge in the post-independence period will be to broaden the traditional concepts of education to give greater prestige and value to employment opportunities in rural and less developed areas. The danger is that these efforts will be rejected as old wine cast in new bottles.

Some Concluding Remarks on the Historical Perspective

In the light of this historical perspective, it is possible to make some preliminary remarks on issues which have far reaching implications for policy makers. Furthermore, it is useful to question some popular educational fallacies which have often been taken for fact in current discussions about education.

Fallacy one:

There is a widely prevalent fallacy concerning the structure, content and methodology of Rhodesian education which as often been used as a justification for educational reform. This is the view that, because Zimbabwe is a former British colony, it has a colonial education system modelled along the lines of British education.

The realities of the education systems of both countries contradict this. To start with, there is no uniform British education system. The educational system in England has a unique type of diversity which is totally missing from the former Rhodesian education system.

England, schools are the responsibility of the Secretary for Education and Science, who is responsibile for securing "effective execution" of the "national policy." But he does not control schools directly. Similarly, he does not control the content of the curriculum or prescribe text books. This does not mean that the Secretary does not have great power if he chooses to use it, both in matters of emergency and of routine. He can give directions to an authority acting "unreasonably"; he may have to act as an arbiter in disputes and he can also call for any information. But in the normal course of events, the Secretary acts mostly as a check point rather than as an initiator.

The style of the system is generally determined by Local Education Authorities. They decide on size and general organisation of schools. They prescribe the level of textbook allowances. They decide on the scale of in-service training, how many local advisers and inspectors to employ. They also control appointments to school governing and managing bodies.

Teachers have a great deal of professional freedom; and schools vary depending as much on the personality of the Head teacher and staff as the area pupils come from.

Southern Rhodesian schools were far removed this set-up. They were based on a top-down centralised control of the educational system. [illegible], the system was "Rhodesianised".

Fallacy Two:

The duality of the former Rhodesian education system is also misleading. Structurally, there was duality, but it tended to disguise the multiplicity of sub-systems within each of the main divisions.
An over-emphasis on this dual-education analysis would suggest that the former African education system should be modernised along the lines of the European education system.

This would be a disaster because the country cannot afford it. Real progress seems to be in analysing the various invisible sub-systems underlying what were formerly known as the African and European education systems and giving them a new path of development in the context of present socio-economic and political realities.

This historical perspective has shown that education policies, especially on the content of the curriculum have always been made "at the top." Past experience has proved that educational policy makers, even well intentional ones, were often too distanced from

the people to appreciate their real needs and wants. As a result, most educational reforms have rarely produced the desired results.

Moreover, there is a danger that educational policies become self-serving to justify the administrative system set-up to enforce them rather than the client population they serve. This particularly troublesome in Zimbabwe where historically there has been little or no involvement of the African population in education policy formulation. In short, there is a critical need to involve a cross-section of people including educational administrators, school heads, teachers, ordinary citizens, and parents in education policy making. Through such a bottom-up approach may emerge a better understanding and basis for an educational system to serve the objectives of an independent Zimbabwe. While such an approach to policy formulation does not in and of itself guarantee success, it does minimise the likelihood that Africans will perceive government efforts to focus on rural development as yet another attempt to deny blacks access to the modern sectors of the economy.

II. An Outline of the Education System

Legal Basis, Control and Administrative Aspects

The legal basis of the present education system is the 1979 Education Act and the 1981 Education Amendment Act. The 1979 Act repealed the earlier Education Act and the African Education Act, and the 1981 Amendment Act altered some provisions of the 1979 Act. The 1979 Education Act was a landmark in the development of the present education system. Among its beneficial aspects were the unification of the dual education system of Rhodesia, partial abolition of racial discrimination in education, the consolidation of administration under a Minister and Secretary of Education, creation of a unified teaching service, and provision for the establishment of a National Education Advisory Board, Regional Boards and School Advisory Councils. Much of the attention on this Act has been focused on its negative aspects, such as the "Community Schools" and the institution of broad pay disparities among teachers.

The 1979 Act divided schools into three main categories, namely: Government schools, community schools and independent or Private schools.

Community Schools

The "Community School" was the new concept embodied in the 1979 Education Act. These schools were a very controversial issue at their birth in 1978 and have remained so ever since. The controversy was not on the "community school" concept as such, but on the "Zimbabwe-Rhodesian" grovernment's interpretation of this well known concept. (16) By the time of independence in 1980 there were 18 community and another 4 were in the pipeline.

The Community schools were former government primary or secondary schools which were purchased at a price agreed upon between the government and either the community or group of parents which wished to buy the school. However, schools were rarely bought for their real market value. Some well established schools were sold at a price of a modest house in a Salisbury middle income residential area. (17)

The community school was run by a Board, which would "determine" which persons may be enrolled as pupils at any community school, in respect of which it is established."(18) On the surface these schools were non-racial since,"the Board shall not ... refuse to enroll any person on the grounds of race or colour alone."(19) However, the Act went on to state..." provided that in determining the persons who may be enrolled as pupils the Board shall have regard to religious, cultural identify"(20)...

Although the community had control over admission policy, each registered community school continued to be subsidized by the government through a grant from the ministry "in respect of accommodation for each pupil who boards at the school.... and shall not be less than 75 per centum of an amount representing the difference between the fee charged for a pupil to board for the school year concerned at a Group A government primary school or a Group A government secondary school"...(21)

The Minister of Education and Culture, Dr. Mutumbuka, introduced the new Education Amending Bill on 4 February 1981. Its main purpose was to withdraw government support from community schools, because:

> "We find the concept of community schools as they are presently constituted abhorrent, unacceptable and contrary to the principles we espouse." (22) The Minister then went on to say that, the government was not opposed to "community" schools as such. What was totally unacceptable in relation to the type of community schools for which provision was made in the Education Act, was that it involved the acquisition of government property, both moveable and immovable, in order to establish a facility for the benefit of only a certain, small section of a privileged community who could afford to pay high fees and whose children the Board of Governors was prepared to admit. In other words, it was a bastion of privilege, rather than a facility from which all would benefit.(23) Therefore, the existing community school boards were asked "to give up their community status and to open negotiations for the return of the schools to government control."(24)

To date, not all community schools have given-up their community status. Ultimately the matter will likely have to be settled in the courts, since the debate on the 1981 Amendement Act has raised a constitutional issue. The Boards of Governors

of the community schools and white members of parliament have argued that the 1981 amendment is an infringement on some of their rights guaranteed by the Lancaster House Agreement. For example, Chapter III, Section 20, subsection (3) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia states that:

> "No religious denomination and nor person or group of persons shall be prevented from establishing and maintaining schools, whether or not that denomination, person or group is in receipt of any subsidy, grant or other form of financial assistance from the State."(25)

But then sub-section (4) states:

> "Nothing contained in or done under the authority of any law shall be held to be in contravention of sub-section (3) to the extent that the law in question makes provision- ... for regulating such schools in the interests of persons receiving instruction there-in."(26)

The outcome of this legal and political controversy will have important implications for the control and administration of schools in Zimbabwe.

Government schools

Government schools are divided into three categories. Group A, Group B, and Group C.

Group A schools are government primary and secondary schools which were exclusively for European, Asian and Coloured children. Most are located in the former European suburbs. They operate on a zoning system, so that only children whose parents live in the designated area can attend a particular school:

> "The Secretary shall, with the approval of the Public Services Board, in relation to every Group A government school, specify an area for the purposes of determining... the children who may enroll at such schools, and may specify different areas in respect of boarders and day scholars."(27)

Another stipulation for Group A schools is that the parents must either own or rent the houses they occupy. In practice, this excludes the children of domestic servants from attending these schools.

Despite the new political climate, these discriminatory provisions of education legislation have not been repealed. Ironically, the government has found them to be a convenient constraint on rural to urban migration. For this reason, it has moved cautiously towards removing them.

Group B schools are in essence African government primary and secondary schools located in the former townships. Historically, there have not been enough of these schools to serve these communities. As a consequence there has been considerable inter-township movement of school children.

Group C are any government schools in the Communal lands (formerly Tribal Trust Lands). Although the law made a provision for government schools in communal areas, this meant nothing in reality given the absence of such schools.

Private Schools

Private schools include mission schools, council schools, farm schools, town and rural council schools. In the past, they catered for more than 80% of all school children in the country and accounted for 90% of all schools. With the current rapid expansion at the primary level, particularly in rural areas, the number of these schools continues to grow. Thus, there is little likelihood that their relative share of enrollment and schools will change significantly in the near future.

Under the provisions of the 1979 Education Act, registered Private Schools were entitled to a government grant "in respect tuition for each pupil enrolled at the school by the tenth day after the date of commencement of the teaching period in the school year concerned", and "in respect of accommodation for each pupil so enrolled who boards at a registered private secondary school." (28) Also, "The minister shall ... make a grant to the responsible authority of every registered private school equivalent to the aggregate of the salaries of teachers employed at the school." (29)

It should be noted here that Private schools are in reality "community schools". Most were built by local communities, using local materials and human resources. The main difference is that these schools were not specifically created to maintain racial segregation. Furthermore, they were not former government schools which had been converted to private status in anticipation of independence. The fact that the government has encouraged communities to assume greater responsibility for schools clearly indicates support for private schools. Thus, the main issue surrounding the "community schools" founded as a result of the 1979 Act is their flagrant effort to perpetuate racial segregation.

The Internal Structure

Formal education in Zimbabwe is divided into three levels: Primary, secondary and higher education. Pre-school education is not yet provided and organised by the government, hence it usually involves high fees and largely in private hands. The Ministry of Women's Affairs and Community Development has recently assumed responsibility for pre-school education. UNICEF has provided the ministry with a grant to assist it to promote pre-school education.

Each of the three official levels within the education system will be looked at in turn.

Primary Education

Primary education is free but not compulsory. Parents are, however, required to pay a General Purposes fee which varies according to grade and school type. In addition, parents have to buy uniforms.

The advent of political independence in 1980 led to a profound change in enrolment patterns. In 1979 819,586 children were in primary school. By 1982, the number was 1,903,917. The greatest increases occurred in 1980 and 1981 when enrolments increased from 1,235,991 to 1,715 169. (See Table 1)

Enrolment in Grade one in 1980 was 700% more than 1979, an increase of 110,108 pupils. The 1981 figure for enrolment at Grade one shows an increase of 80 000 on the 1980 figure which is 2.2 times more than the 1979 figure.

The number of school children grows more rapidly than the number of schools. In 1979 there were 2,401 primary schools. This number had increased to 4,012 in 1982. Some of the children, particularly in urban areas, were therefore absorbed by schools which had introduced "hot seating"or double session arrangements.

Although these increases represent a dramatic improvement in overall primary enrolment, they have not occurred uniformly. Thus important disparities exist in access to primary education, particularly between and within the six provinces. The lack of adequate data prevents a more thorough assessment of these disparities. However, before independence, formal education was compulsory for all European, Coloured and Asian children between the ages of 6 and 16 As a result, there were virtually no drop-outs among this segment of the population. Furthermore, European, Asian and Coloured children did not write an exaination at the end of primary school. Enrolment at the secondary level was automatic.

The circumstances were and still are completely different for black children. Riddell (1980) says that before independence about 75% of all black children began primary school. Riddell further adds that 15% dropped-out and only 34% of the population or school age cohort completed primary education. Riddell concentrated on average national figures and ignored the very considerable disparities within and between regions.

In 1982, there are 1 925 330 pupils in primary school. The average number of pupils per primary class at the national level is 41,9. However, there are rather significant variations within and between regions and by different types of schools. For example, Private and Government Group B schools have average primary classes of 11,7 and 48,1 respectively, and the Group A schools have 29.9. The optimum figure for the government is 40 pupils per class.

Distribution of Primary Schools

At Independence in 1980 there were 2101 State and Private primary schools. This total was lower than in 1978 when there were 2961 schools. The difference reflected the schools closed or destroyed during the war. The extent of the destruction and disruption of education during the war and the magnitude of the task of reconstruction faced by the new government was formidable. The number of schools closed and displaced by end of 1979 is shown in Table 2.

Thus with the phenomenal increase in the primary enrolments, the government's task has been two-fold. The first is the reconstruction, 2 800 primary (and secondary) schools and the construction of over 500 new rural primary schools. Since independence, 2131 schools have been reconstructed and a backlog of 366 schools remain. (See Table 3). The number of new rural primary schools built is 51 with 860 new rural primary schools and 200 new urban primary schools needed in the next three years.

There is a need to consider the implications for investments in educational facilities. In the past, the distribution of schools was interlocked and interwoven with the effects of the Land Tenure Act, the processes of evangelisation, and patterns or urbanization and migration which reflected policies of separate development for whites and blacks. Therefore, it is important to take these factors into consideration in the location of schools and strategies to overcome regional and local disparities in access to education. The reconstruction and construction of schools needs to be tied closely with government policies governing economic and demographic patterns of growth. To date the reconstruction program has emphasized their institution of the past. This was understandable in the rush to demonstrate the new government's commitment to rural development. But the time has come to reexamine this policy and to forge a uniform policy for the establishment of educational facilities

Secondary Education

Secondary schools are extremely significant. They are not only terminal institutions for the bulk of the relatively small number of students who enter them in the first place, but they also control access to college and university and the better paying jobs in the modern sector. They are, therefore, the key to people's hopes for social and economic advancement. As such, the government is under pressure to broaden significantly access to secondary education. The six years to complete secondary education for blacks are filled with examinations. For most, failing an examination normally means the end of their educational career. First, there is an internal examination after Form II called the "Junior Certificate of Education," which is followed by the "General Certificate of Education" ('O' level) at the end of Form IV and finally the "Higher School Certificate" examination ('A' level) after From VI.

School places at the secondary level have always been in short supply. In 1979 there were 177 government and private secondary schools for 19,962 pupils. These pupils represented 13.8% of their 111 519 age cohort who entered school in 1972.

This situation has radically changed since Independence. In 1981, enrolment in secondary schools increased from 74,321 in 1980 to 118,690. This represented a 225% expansion. Enrolment reached 218,130 by 1982. This rapid growth was made possible by establishing "Upper Tops", that is, attaching Form I and II classes to existing primary schools, introducing "hot-seating" arrangements in some urban centres and establishing new secondary schools. 116 had been built by the end of 1981.

However, there have been major inequalities and disparities between black and white pupils in the probability of completing secondary education. White pupils had a relatively "smooth" journey until Form IV, on the other hand black pupils travelled on a "hazardous" road marked by an examination after Form II. For example in 1978, 19.3% of the white pupils reached lower sixth, but only 1.1 of the African pupils reached the same level.

At the present time, it is not clear whether it is government policy to eliminate this disparity between whites and blacks. The government seems to be committed to providing 9 years of schooling. To what extent it will expand access to post Form II remains to be seen. However, rising expectations could force the government to widen access to "O" and "A" levels prematurely, that is, before it has acquired the necessary resources and before the employment sector increased its absorptive capacity.

Distribution of Secondary Schools

At Independence, Zimbabwe had 177 Government and Private secondary schools. Most of these were located in or near urban centres or commercial farming areas. Since 1980, there has been a fourfold expansion in the number of secondary schools to 694. The distribution by province is given in Table 1.

In both Manicaland and Mashonaland high concentrations of secondary school age population combined with a relatively small area served by secondary schools would argue for government policy to place an emphasis on expanding day secondary schools as opposed to boarding schools. On the other hand, in Matabeleland, while each secondary school serves roughly the same number of secondary age children, the area covered by each school is more than twice that of Manicaland and Mashonaland. Thus, in Matabeleland given the lower density of population, a policy of only promoting day secondary schools is likely to be less satisfactory. In Midlands and Victoria,

the already good distribution of secondary schools and lower population density would justify considerable care where day and boarding schools were located.

Teacher Demand and Supply for Primary and Secondary Schools

The rapid increases in enrolment in the primary and secondary levels are mirrored in the recruitment of significantly more teachers. In 1982, there are 56,567 teachers in primary and secondary schools. This is 2½ times more than the 1979 teaching force of 22017. The breakdown of teachers in the different schools and the teacher-pupil ratios are shown in Table

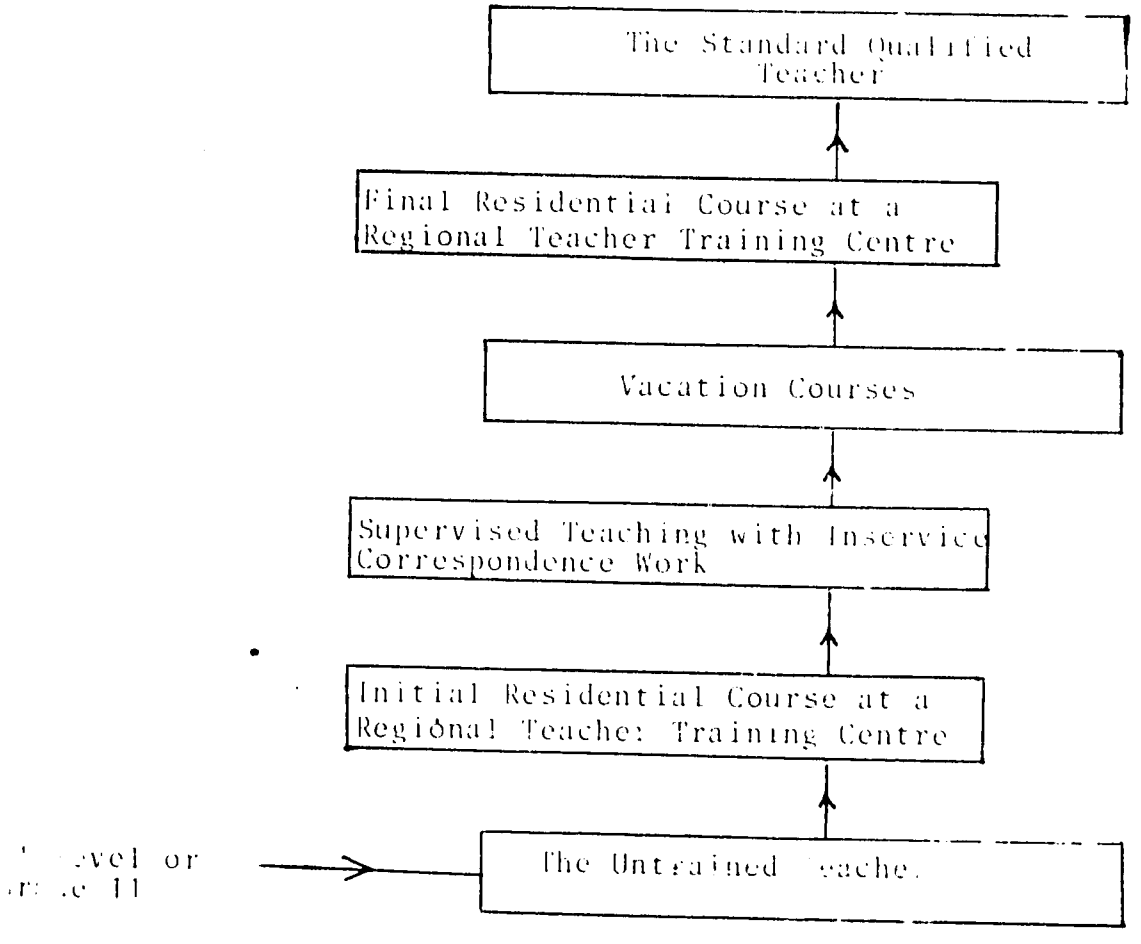
Both teachers and students are concentrated in Private schools. Private schools have 86% of all the pupils and 83% of all the teachers. In fact there were more primary teachers in Private schools than pupils in Group A primary schools. While the teacher-pupil ratio in Private schools at the primary level is 1½ times higher than the Community and Group A government schools, the ratio is close to the policy of 40 students per teacher. This figure is considerably better than other developing countries with similar per capita income. For example, the ratios for Ethiopia and Tanzania January 1982 were 59 and 58 respectively.

In 1980 there were 28,455 primary school teachers. Out of these, 9.8% had standard qualifications, 62.0% had non-standard qualifications and 28.2% were untrained. In 1981, in the face of a backlog of untrained and underqualified teachers, the government launched a new primary teacher training program, the Zimbabwe Integrated National Teacher Education Course (ZINTEC). With the introduction of ZINTEC and the recruitment of unqualified and retired teachers, a further 11,115 teachers were added to the system.

ZINTEC is the most significant recent development in teacher education in Zimbabwe. ZINTEC has at present 5 Regional Teacher Training Centres, each catering for at least 200 students three simes a year. ZINTEC has the capacity to produce 3 000 "teachers" annually. This capacity far exceeds the annual output from nine traditional primary teacher training colleges of 1,930 per year. What impact ZINTEC will have on conventional teacher education remains to be seen.

Under ZINTEC student teachers go through the program shown below:

ZINTEC Training Program



The program is expected to cost Z$1.. million and the anticipated cost of training one teacher is Z$4,511. The cost in the conventional teacher training college is Z$

The number of secondary teachers in 197[illegible] and 1981 were 5534 and 5750 respectively. In 1981 the number increased to 4 874. By 1982, it had climbed to 8 350.

Unlike the primary level, there has not been acceptance of a ZINTEC type approach to teacher education, although this has been discussed. The University of Zimbabwe proposed a program of intensive training for secondary teachers analogous to ZINTEC. However, to date, shortfall of secondary teachers, the government has actively recruited teachers from other commonwealth countries. In addition the government with USAID assistance is building a 1,200 secondary teachers training college in Salisbury.

There are various types of courses and qualifications for both primary and secondary school training. Primary school teacher training is divided into T(3) Junior and Infants, and T(3) Domestic. Secondary School training is divided into T(1), and T(2) (for academic classes) and T(2) B for technical classes. The University also runs B. Ed courses and one year Post Graduate Certificate in Education which equips students to teach at the secondary level. At present, there are 9 teacher training colleges: one for secondary

teachers only, seven only primary, and one for both primary and secondary (See Table 5). Together these colleges have the capacity to produce 2 385 teachers a year.

Higher Education

The post-secondary institutions include: the university, polytechnics and technical colleges, colleges of education, colleges of agriculture and institutions for health personnel training. In addition, there are a number of public and private agencies which have training facilities and absorb a significant number of school leavers annually.

The University

Zimbabwe has one university. Total enrollment rose from steadily from 1 355 in 1975 to 1 798 in 1978, but fell sharply to 1 481 in 1979 due to call-up of blacks. The year 1981 saw a sharp rise to 2 525 with the attainment of political independence. The vast majority of university students are enrolled in full-time undergraduate degree programs, 79.8% or 2 464. The breakdown by enrollment in 1982 is shown in Table 6.

The university has nine faculties: Agriculture, Arts, Commerce and Law, Education, Engineering, Medicine, Science, Social Studies and Veterinary Science. The distribution of full-time students enrolled in undergraduate programs is shown in Table

Undergraduates make-up 79.8% of the 1982 university student enrollment. However, 48.7% of the undergraduates are enrolled in two faculties, namely, Commerce and Law and Social Studies. The distribution of students by race is also significant. But the university no longer provides a racial breakdown. In 1981, 69% of the black students were enrolled in three faculties: Arts, Commerce and Law and Social Studies. On the other hand, most Asian, Coloured, and White students were enrolled in Medicine, and Commerce and Law. The percentages were 82 and 68 respectively.

Polytechnics and Technical Colleges

There are three polytechnics in Zimbabwe. One is in Harare, another in Bulawayo and a third in Kwekwe. Smaller private owned, but government monitored technical colleges also exist in Harare and Bulawayo and the other urban centres such as Gweru and Mutare. In addition, the Ministry of Manpower, Planning and Development plans to set-up five more technical colleges. These would attend to specific manpower development requirements or to a particular set of industrial and agricultural skills. Thus Gweru will be used for

the training of former combatants; Mutare is to be set aside for forestry and petrol-chemical industry training; Chinhoyi, agricultural technology; Hwange, mining and Lowveld, sugar and ethanol technology. And Dr. Mandaza, the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Manpower Planning and Development calculated that, "All these should increase the overall annual enrollment (in technical colleges) to almost 10 000 by 1985".

Harare Polytechnic (HP) and Bulawayo Technical College (BTC) offer courses in Adult Education, Business and Administration, Hotel Keeping and Catering, Automative Engineering, Civil Engineering, Construction, Electrical Engineering, Electronics, Mechanical Engineering, Science, Telecommunications, Town Planning and Printing. The KweKwe Technical College, (provided by Union Carbide Company), has enrolled its first intake of 200 automotive, mechanical and electrical engineering apprentices. Entrance requirements to the courses are high: good GCE-'O' level passes in English, Mathematics and a Science subject.

As shown by Table 7 HP and BTC enrolled 8921 students in 1981. This was 3.5 times more students than the university. Yet both colleges did not enroll to their full capacity. Planned expansion at technical colleges is constrained especially by a scarcity of financial resources and acute staff shortages. Staff shortages result from a high turn-over and immigration of whites.

Apprenticeship Training

This is an important avenue for higher education. Apprenticeship training is administered by the Ministry of Manpower Planning and Development through the Apprenticeship Training and Skilled Manpower Development Authority. As a result of close cooperation among ministries, parastatals and the private sector, a considerable number of apprentices receive training at the technical colleges through the block release sandwich system. At present there are seven trades in which training is offered:

Aircraft Industry
Building Industry
Electrical Industry
Hairdressing Trade
Mechanical Engineering Industry
Motor Industry
Printing Industry.

The extent of the contribution of the Apprenticeship training program in recent years and its possible future contribution can be seen in Table 8.

Apprenticeship training has, however, as a result of racial discrimination practices, been monopolised by Europeans, Asians and Coloureds. At independence, out of 14 000 journeymen in the aircraft, building, electrical, mechanical engineering, automative and printing industries, only 500 were Africans. Needless to say, this situation is being rectified.

Agricultural Colleges

There are two agricultural colleges (Chibero and Gwebi) and two institutes (Mlezu and Esigodini) in Zimbabwe. Rio Tinto (a private foundation) has established a third agricultural institute at Empress mine. In addition, the university offers a three-year degree course in Agriculture.

The two colleges offer a two-year diploma level course. The minimum entry requirements is passes in five 'O' level subjects, which must include mathematics and a science subject. In addition, students are required to have a full year's practical working experience prior to enrolling. Although both colleges are now multiracial, Gwebi intake has historically been white and Chibero's black. The number of diplomas awarded to date (as at 31st September 1981) can be seen on Table 9.

The minimum entry requirements at the institutes (including Rio Tinto) is a Junior School Certificate (Form II or Grade 9). But competition for places limits entry to Grade II (Form 4) students. They offer a three year course, leading to a certificate in agriculture.

Enrollment at the two colleges and two institutes in 1981 was 362 and it is 332 in 1982. The drop-out rate at the institutes has increased as student leave for the better paid and expanded teachers training colleges. However, the overall output from the agriculture institutions is rather low, considering the importance of agriculture to the national economy and rural development. The projected outputs to 1985 are shown in Table 9.

Health Training

Health training is pursued at three levels in Zimbabwe: University, diploma and certificate qualifications. The university offers a 6-year degree course in medicine and a 3-year degree course in pharmacy. However, because of the high entry requirements, medical students commence in second year. As shown by Table 6 there are at present 365 full-time undergraduate and postgraduate students in the medical faculty. And 42.5% of the medical students are black.

The training of diplomates is the responsibility of the Ministry of Health. Courses are offered in Radiography (diagnostic and therapeutic), Laboratory Technology, Community Nursing, Nursing Administration, Nursing Education, Health Education, Operating Theatre Nursing, Intensive Care Nursing, Anesthetic Nursing, Psychiatric Nursing and Advanced Clinical Nursing. All the diploma courses in nursing are post basic training.

Training for the certificate level courses is done by the Ministry of Health and by mission hospitals. The most important categories (as far as higher education facilities are concerned) are, the State Registered Nurses, Health Assistants and Medical Assistants.

The 3-year course for State Registered Nurses is offered at four hospital schools: Bulawayo Central Hospital, Harare Central Hospital, Mpilo Central Hospital and Parirenyatwa Hospital, (see Table 10 and Chart 2. The minimum entry requirements is 5 'O' level passes. Due to competition, the trainees usually have very high qualifications, including 'A' levels. There are usually three intakes per year and in 1981 there were 1 000 trainees enrolled in the four hospital schools. The average annual output is over 200 nurses.

The 3-year course for medical assistants is offered at 25 registered schools, the majority of which are operated by mission stations. The average annual output is 150. Health assistants are trained at Domboshawa Training School. A 3-year course is offered and the minimum entry requirements is 3 'O' level passes. The average annual output is 30.

III. A Summary of the Main Issues and Problems caused by Educational Expansion

Judged by these increases in enrolments and number of schools, and against the entire history of educational development in Rhodesia, Zimbabwe has made very impressive progress. Two years after independence, Zimbabwe has almost universalised primary education and widened access to secondary and higher education.

Whilst it may be tempting to ignore the problems overshadowed by this initial success, there is no doubt that Zimbabwe could face some serious problems in the future resulting from this expansion. Essentially, these problems center on the maladjustment between the education system and its socio-economic environment.(30) These problems are:

(1) the gap between education supply and demand,
(2) the gap between resources and requirements,
(3) the imbalances between education outputs and employment opportunities, and
(4) the "irrelevance" of educational content and methods.

Each of these problems is discussed below.

The Gap Between Educational Supply and Demand

Despite the attainment of nearly 100% enrolment of primary school aged children, Zimbabwe will have to struggle merely to stand and to maintain the present enrolment rates. There are many reasons for this, ranging from the sheer size of the school age population, to the question of finance.

The growth of Zimbabwe's population has been as dramatic as the spectacular recent expansions of the education system. At a rate of growth between 3.6% and 4.2%, the population doubles itself in less than 20 years. Since this is a compound rate of growth, the time required to double is decreasing, rather than increasing. By the end of this century, in 18 years, Zimbabwe will have more than 11 million people.

Zimbabwe is a country of young people. In the 1980 population estimates 61.5% of its population was under 19. Half of these were in the pre-school age group, under five years of age. A Mr. Birdwood (1981) calculated that Zimbabwe needs 792 new schools and almost 20 000 teachers in the next three to cater for these school age cohorts. (31)

Caught between rising demand and limited resources, the government has been able to cope in the short run by spreading the available resources thinner and thinner over more and more pupils. The results concealed by rising enrolment statistics in the light of very limited

resources are likely to be high drop-out and repeater rates, and a widespread erosion of educational quality.

The Gap Between Resources and Requirements

Total educational revenue and expenditure were stagnant in the past. This stagnation came to a dramatic end in 1981. In 1979, education's share of GNP was 4.3%. By 1981 it was 7.9%. As a proportion of the national budget, education grew from 10.5% to 16.1% over this same period. Thus educational expenditure is growing faster than the national economy and the national budget. In view of other pressing national needs (such as agriculture, housing, rural development, health and transport), education cannot go on indefinitely getting an expanding share of the national economy pie without seriously depriving these sectors of needed resources.

Education is a labour-intensive industry with a relatively static technology, in competition for highly qualified manpower with less labour intensive enterprises whose technology is advancing, and whose productivity and real wages are also rising. Sooner or later, education is forced to match the rising wage rates of these competitors even though its own productivity is not rising. This spells increased real costs per student, even if quality remains unchanged.

The Zimbabwean education system is postponing the day of reckoning by stretching its resources thinner. So far, it has kept down costs per student by employing more unqualified teachers, by filling some classrooms to overflow levels, and by purchasing fewer textbooks and other learning aids. But there are limits to these routes. In long run, the central issue is how to get better educational results from available resources or put another way, how to improve the efficiency and productivity of schools while minimizing the cost per student and the rate at which the educational budget increases as national resources increase.

Imbalances Between Educational Outputs and Employment Opportunities

The imbalance between supply and demand on the input side of the education is matched on the output side by imbalances of several sorts between the end products of education and the manpower needs and absorptive capacity of the economy. Unemployment is a real problem in most urban areas and the problem is exacerbated each year by the entry of school leavers into the labour force. Concealed under-employment and unemployment also exist in the rural areas where school-leavers are mostly idle except for brief peak agricultural periods.

The linear expansion of education in Zimbabwe has a further detrimental effect on the employment opportunities of primary school graduates. Since the secondary level cannot absorb all the Grade seven primary school children, primary education will likely remain in the near future a terminal point for the majority of young people. These children, aged 12-13 are forced to look for employment at a very

early age. Their age makes them too young for conventional employment. As a result they may wait 2-4 years before employers can consider them for employment. By this time many will have lost the skills mastered at school. For example, John Simmons (1976) found that the length of time that had elapsed since the individual had left school was an important factor in the gain or less of cognitive abilities. (3.)

The education system acts as a convenient means of screening people for employment in the modern sectors. As the supply of educated people increases employers demand higher and higher academic qualifications. As a consequence, jobs for primary graduates decrease as secondary graduate gradually take jobs formerly filled by primary graduates. This in turn puts on pressure for secondary chool education. As the job market becomes saturated with secondary school graduates, the emphasis will shift from an ordinary to a higher or better secondary school certificate.

At present, both local and overseas educated university graduates are readily taking up jobs and replacing Europeans in the Public sector and private sectors. However, the gap between the loss of skilled manpower and its supply from immigration or local labour sources is still far short of what is required, particularly in the technical fields and in nursing.

Many people assume that the jobs left by white emigrants will be filled by the returning "educated Zimbabweans." The fact is that all htese jobs are not being filled by local and foreign graduates. The fields where the needs are greatest are fields where black enrolment has been extremely limited. Furthermore, there is a mismatch between the skills, or rather the academic qualifications which these graduates possess, and the job requirements.

The "Irrelevance" of Educational Content and Methods

The maladjustment mentioned so far can be defined largely in quantitative terms. that is, too much of one thing relative to another, such as, too much demand for education and too few places, and too many school leavers and too few jobs. But there are also maladjustments which are qualitative. These relate to what is learned. how it is taught and its relationship with the needs of the society it is supposed to serve.

A frustrated educational reformer once quipped that it is harder to move a curriculum than a graveyard. (5) This may or may not be an exaggeration, but in Zimbabwe, the content of the curriculum and the methods of conveying it to the learners have lagged behind changes in society and the quantitative expansion in education. The education system has grown enormously, but it still looks very much like its former self, only larger.

This criticism, however, should not be overdrawn. Normally, curriculum changes, lag behind quantitative expansions. In Zimbabwe, policy makers have discussed curriculum ideas such as "education with

production" and "education for self-reliance." These are by no means new themes for they sound very reminiscent of earlier discussions of the Phelps-Stokes Commission and the justification for establishing F(2) secondary schools for blacks.

Conclusion

Some Policy Implications

What implications do these trends have for present and future education policy?

1. Even if one accepts that education is a basic human right there is no intrinsic reason why the provision of education should be free anymore than provision of medical care. The payment of educational costs needs to be carefully re-examined. There are two aspects of this re-examination. First, it should take into account both peoples ability and willingness to pay for education and society's limitation to do so. Second, the relationship between who pays for education and who benefits needs to be studied. Through both analyses, a fair equitable system of paying for education could be designed.

The policy implications of such studies will likely be that the government should pursue selective policies of educational subsidisation and not "across-the-board" funding. In its rush to provide "free education" on an extensive scale, Government not only funds the more affluent segments of the population, but it also turns-off the very source of self-help and cooperative effort that are at the heart of self-reliance.

2. In years ahead, whether Zimbabwe succeeds or fails in the education sector will largely depend on what happens at the secondary and post secondary levels. It is these levels where the per student cost are highest and the closer ties between education and work exist.

The high cost of secondary and post secondary education combined with relatively low student faculty ratio creates considerable potential for improved efficiency.

3. Finally there is a need to involve communities and local government more directly in the educational decision making process. For example, it would be extremely constructive to know how communities would allocate public resources if given an opportunity to make choices between schools and clinics on the one hand and income generating activities on the other.

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Table I

ZIMBABWE: PRIMARY AND SECONDARY ENROLMENT

1965-1982
(in 000's)

	1965	1970	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Primary:										
Grade I/Infants 1	125.7	159.5	168.9	170.0	174.6	163.5	173.1	376.4	471.5	406.9
Grade 2/Infants 2	114.1	122.7	154.1	155.1	155.1	144.9	142.7	207.9	375.2	426.8
Grade 3/Standard 1	110.5	116.1	140.4	141.9	141.6	130.5	125.9	170.4	299.9	358.6
Grade 4/Standard 2	98.6	103.5	125.6	125.6	124.5	114.9	110.8	144.7	285.7	227.6
Grade 5/Standard 3	94.7	99.2	110.7	114.4	111.9	102.1	99.3	126.0	162.5	186.6
Grade 6/Standard 4	50.2	67.0	89.0	92.7	97.6	89.5	88.1	112.9	148.8	166.3
Grade 7/Standard 4	41.8	53.8	74.3	84.0	85.9	82.1	77.9	97.1	140.7	151.8
Special Classes	29.5*	8.6*	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.5	0.6	0.9	0.7
Aided community classes	0.7	0.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	-	-	-
Total Primary		711.1	864.4	885.2	892.7	829.7	829.0	819.1	1 715.2	1 925.3
Secondary										
Grade 8/	10.6	16.0	19.7	20.1	19.6	18.9	20.0	22.2	84.0	90.6
Grade 9/	8.0	15.0	18.8	18.9	17.7	17.7	18.1	27.1	26.3	76.9
Grade 10/	5.9	7.8	15.7	14.4	14.6	14.7	14.7	15.9	16.9	25.8
Grade 11	5.0	6.5	10.7	12.6	12.9	13.4	13.3	12.9	15.4	15.9
Form 5	1.3	1.9	3.6	3.7	3.7	3.6	3.2	1.6	2.5	1.9
Form 6 Lower	0.7	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	2.6	2.5	3.2
Form 6 Upper	0.7	0.9	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.7	2.2
Special Classes	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3
Post Primary Vocational & Home-craft Classes	-	-	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.1	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.1
Total Secondary	33.2	47.3	70.9	74.3	73.3	73.0	73.5	74.8	150.3	216.6
Total Enrolments	707.3	758.6	935.3	959.7	966.0	902.0	892.6	1,510.8	1,865.5	2,141.9

ENROLMENTS AT OTHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS (IN UNITS)

	1971	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Agricultural Colleges	165	159	155	164	155	171	173	169	352
Teachers Training Colleges	2102	2932	2861	2985	2982	3082	2824	1310	7910
Technical Colleges	3228	4033	4472	5852	3694	3663	3469	6128	N/A
University of Zimbabwe	993	1353	1506	1617	1798	1481	1873	2525	3091

Source: Annual Reports of the Secretary of Education and Culture, 1965, 1978 and 1980.

1981-82 Ministry of Education and Culture

Table 2

Effect of the War on Education

	As at:		
	31/12/77	31/12/78	31/12/79
Primary Schools closed	477	1 094	1 520
Pupils displaced	92 654	265 675	403 250
Teachers displaced	2 652	6 058	9 330
Secondary Schools Closed	8	38	57
Pupils displaced	1 553	10 157	16 834
Teachers displaced	61	512	838

Source: Annual Report of the Secretary of Education, 31 December, 1979.

Table 3

Schools Reconstruction Program
(Up to December 1981)

	Manicaland	Mashonaland (1)	Matebeleland (2)	Midlands	Vicotria	Total
1. Total No. of Schools in the Reconstruction Program	508	739	654	492	427	2 800
2. Total No. of Schools worked on to date	171	537	507	492	427	2 434
3. Total No. of Schools fully completed	171	78	-	-	-	249
4. Total No. of Classrooms in the Reconstruction Program	5 150	19 204	3 584	1 202	2 185	29 425
5. Total No. of Classrooms Completed to date	990	1 855	1 827	612	1 556	6 840
6. Total No. of teachers' houses in the Reconstruction Program	1 500	2 315	1 170	767	1 485	7 237
7. Total No. of teachers' houses completed to date	-	3 113	1 601	523	872	5 939
8. Estimated total cost of the Reconstruction Program	254 500 000	16 725 800	18 884 779	5 600 000	7 146 000	52 854 579 (3)
9. Progressive expenditure to date plus commitments	52 549 150	6 912 957	5 253 000	2 853 000	2 245 418	19 811 305
10. Total funds received to date by Provincial Authorities	52 340 500	5 991 859	4 965 613	2 735 000	2 115 418	18 119 390

Source: Ministry of Local Government and Town Planning, Harare, February 1981

(1) Consists of Mashonaland East, West and Central.

(2) Consists of Matebeleland North and South.

(3) This total also includes money spent on the construction of toilets and offices, and the buying of furniture.

Table 4

Distribution of Secondary Schools by Province-1981

Province	Area (Km²) (1)	No. of Secondary Schools (2)	Average Area (Km²) served by each Secondary School
Harare	540	41	13.2
Manicaland	20282	90	225.4
Mashonaland	43013	202	212.9
Matabeleland	56074	110	509.8
Midlands	26450	143	185.0
Victoria	23110	108	211.0
Totals	169469	694	224.2

1. Source: Department of Physical Planning, Harare, June 1981

2. Source: Ministry of Education and Culture, Harare, 2nd Term, 1981.

Table 3

Conventional Teacher Training Colleges in Zimbabwe-1981

College	Level	Status	Controlling Authority	Present or Planned Capacity	Potential Annual Output
Gwerm	Secondary	Associate	Government	900	450
Hillside	Secondary and Primary	"	"	450	225
Mkoba	Primary	"	"	630	315
Mutare	"	"	"	630	315
Seke	"	"	"	630	315
United Col. of Education	"	"	Private	630	315
Bondolfi		Non Associate	Private	300	150
Morgenster	"	"	"	300	150
Nyadiri	"	"	"	300	150
Totals				4 770	2 385

Source: Chanakira, E.J. "Teacher Education in Zimbabwe with special reference to the role of Teacher Training Colleges." Paper presented at a seminar on "Education in Zimbabwe, Past, Present and Future," held at University of Zimbabwe, 27th August to 7th September, 1981.

Table [illegible]

Zimbabwe
University Enrolments-1982
Enrolment by Student Status

Student Status		Total Enrolment	Percentage
Under graduate:	Full-time	2 464	79,8
	Part-time	109	3,5
Post graduate:	Full-time	115	3,7
	Part-time	172	5,6
Diplomas		230	7,4
		3 090	100

Full Time Undergraduate and Post Graduate Enrolment by Faculty

Faculty	Under Graduate					Post Graduate		
	1st year	2nd	3rd	Further Years	Total	Course work	Research	Total
Agriculture	50	41	31	-	122	-	6	128
Art	123	159	96	-	378	3	13	394
Commerce and Law	282	221	181	-	687	12	-	699
Education	-	-	-	-	-	12	4	16
Engineering	93	47	31	8	179	-	2	181
Medicine	23*	95	87	159	364	-	1	365
Science	99	65	39	-	203	15	20	238
Social Studies	221	173	119	-	513	15	12	540
[illegible]	1				1			1
	909	801	584	167	2 461	57	58	2 579

* Pharmacy only. First year medicine student start in second year, in view of the high entry requirements.

Source: Senior Tutor, Student Numbers 1982, University of Zimbabwe, 1982. (Mimeo).

Zimbabwe

Technical College Enrolment - 1981

Department	Student Enrolment: Harare Polytechnic	Student Enrolment: Bulawayo Technical College
(a) Adult Education	1211	125
(b) Business/Commerce		
(1) Professional/Management Studies	1544	692
(2) Secretarial & Commercial	961	916
Sub-totals	2505	1608
(c) Technical		
(1) Automative Engineering	211	-
(2) Civil Eng., Building & Mining	278	141
(3) Electrical Engineering	527	512
(4) Mathematics and Science	92	272
(5) Mechanical Engineering	221	54
(6) Printing and Graphic Arts	142	-
(7) Science and Technology	157	-
(8) School Catering		65
Sub Totals	1 628	2 044
Totals	5 144	3 777
GRAND TOTAL TECHNICAL COLLEGES		8921

Source: Harare Polytechnic annual report, 1981
Bulawayo Technical College, annual report 1981

Table 8

Apprentices by Industry Completed & Due for Completion

(As at 31st March, 1982)

Industry	Completed to Date 1981	Completed to Date 1982	Due for Completion 1981*	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	Total
Aircraft	106	12	22	67	93	81	85	34	9	391
Building	26	1	9	31	59	139	170	10	-	421
Electrical	153	9	30	68	120	305	499	88	-	1110
Mechanical	296	17	58	206	300	487	640	665	-	2356
Motor	137	2	117	177	76	275	454	62	-	1161
Hairdressing	36	1	-	16	78	43	5	-	-	142
Printing	43	4	12	53	64	83	133	35	-	380
Totals	797	46	248	621	790	1413	1986	894	9	5961

*Extended.

Source: Apprenticeship Training Authority, April, 1982.

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Table 9

Zimbabwe

Agricultural Colleges- 1982

Enrolment:

	1st	2nd	3rd	Total	Percentage
Chibero	40	43	-	83	25,0
Esigodini	14	14	14	42	12,7
Gwebi	43	43	-	86	26,0
Mlezu	67	23	30	120	36,3
	164	123	44	331	100,0

Certificates or Diplomas Awarded to Date and Projected Outputs

	Certificates or Diplomas Awarded to date	Projected Outputs 1982	1983	1984	1985	Total
Chibero	332	40	40	40	40	160
Esigodini *	176	17	17	20	20	74
Gwebi *	895	40	40	40	40	160
Mlezu *	662(1)	30	23	70	80	203
	2 065	127	120	170	180	597

* Awards Certificates
(1) Manpower Inventory Study of Zimbabwe, Whitsun Foundation, 1980, p. 112.

Staff

	Lecturers	Instructors	Assistant Instructors	Administration Staff	Support Staff	Total
Chibero	6	7	-	3	60	76
Esigodini	-	4	5	-	23	32
Gwebi	7	9	-	3	128	147
Mlezu	-	10	8	-	45	63
	13	30	13	6	256	318

Source: Department of Research and Specialist Services, April, 1982.

Table 10

Successful Candidates in Examinations Held by the Medical Council of Zimbabwe-1965-82

	1965	1970	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
. Health Inspectors		-	5	3	6	5	12			
. Diploma in meat and other foods Inspectors		-	11	5	-	4	6			
. Certificate in Meat Inspection		-	9	14	-	12	5			
. General Nursing	126	137	185	196	200	191	211			
. Midwives	48	56	65	70	79	141	93			
. Psychiastric Nurses		-	9	5	7	12	7			
. Enrolled Nurses		17	27	20	14	13	16			
. Advanced Clinical Nurses		-	-	-	-	9	-			
. Diploma in Community Nursing		-	-	9	9	6	8			
0. Diploma in Nursing Administration		-	-	-	-	9	6			
1. Nurse Anaesthetics Diploma		-	-	-	-	-	4			
2. Diploma in Theatre Nursing		-	-	-	-	-	16			
3. Prosthetists & Orthotists		-	-	-	-	1	-			
4. Medical Assistants:										
Preliminary		112	199	198	192	139	65			
Finalists		128	138	153	161	168	149			
5. Health Assistants		21	27	33	23	12	30			

Source: Secretary for Health Annual Reports 1965-79

Health Personnel Registered with the Medical Council of Zimbabwe (1965-82)

	1965	1970	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Medical Practioners	861	833	890	919	855	885	1016			
Dental Surgeons	124	126	144	152	135	131	143			
Pharmaceutical Chemists	329	310	299	304	271	304	332			
Opticians	42	35	32	31	33	27	32			
Dispensing Opticians	-	15	25	26	26	25	27			
Clinical Psychologists	-	2	24	26	21	20	22			
Physiotherapists	11	46	110	115	117	124	144			
Speech Therapists	-	-	3	7	7	7	8			
Radiographers	6	4	109	124	136	154	184			
Occupational Therapists	-	2	12	13	12	12	15			
Prosthetists & Orthotists	-	2	7	6	7	8	7			
Medical Lab. Technologists	29	48	118	124	96	121	143			
Health Inspectors	95	77	85	80	84	77	93			
Meat & Other Food Inspectors	90	1	1	1	1	-	-			
Meat Inspectors	-	3	28	26	34	23	29			
Dental Technicians	-	15	38	37	37	28	29			
Dental Hygienists	-	1	10	11	12	7	29			
Electroence phalagraphic technicians	-	-	2	5	7	6	9			
State Registered Nurses	3208	3742	4688	4761	4818	4882	4642			
State Registered Midwives	1295	1552	1869	2083	2155	2321	2150			
Maternity Nurses	-	158	172	128	173	176	112			
Medical Assistants	229	1153	2401	2581	2781	3294	2656			
African Orderlies who have not been transferred to the Medical Assistants Register	1063	771	321	328	318	307	267			
Health Assistants	57	195	334	358	387	402	358			
African Hygiene demonstrators who have not transferred to the Health Assistants Register	162	108	54	52	50	50	31			
Nursing Assistants	-	165	789	810	736	746	662			
Maternity Assistants	-	209	1762	1943	2035	2166	1935			

Source: Secretary for Health Annual Reports 1965-82.

Chart 2

Late Registered Nurses Training Program

Student Status	Program	Duration (weeks)
Late Registered Nurse	State Final Examinations	3
	Practical Nursing	4
	4th Block Medicine Surgery Nursing Care	4
	Practical Nursing	24
	3rd Block Medicine Surgery Opthemology Nursing Practical Nutrition	4
	Practical Nursing	32
	2nd Block Medicine Surgery Opthemology Nursing Practicals Nutrition	4
	Practical Nursing	32
	1st Block Medicine Surgery Pharmacology Nursing Practicals Nursing Care	4
	Practical Nursing	24
Student Nurse 3 GCE levels	Preliminary Training School Human Biology Nursing Care Nursing Practicals	9

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