

Education NGOs in Makhanda, South Africa: A Zero Sum of Philanthropy and Survival

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Abstract

Thought and commentary surrounding the upsurge of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and their involvement in the design and implementation of development in the Global South are accompanied by an unrelenting set of contradictions and self-replicating inconsistencies. These are often embedded in the sector's nomenclature, ideological underpinnings, intent and impact. Opposing bands of scholarship have sustained these tensions by securing NGOs both within the ambit of developmental thought and practice and also within the criticisms waged against western domination and its splinter models of modernity. In an attempt to extend these prevailing annotations, this paper holds the idealisation of NGOs up to scrutinous reflection within the context of Makhanda's inequitable educational landscape by proposing that, in order to balance organisational uncertainties with the socio-economic urgencies upon which they trade, NGOs sustain several and, at times, competing affiliations all of which are central to organisational preservation and legitimacy. The tactical means by which organisations preserve these allegiances often deputise socio-economic and educational overhaul in favour of survival. Therefore, this article lays out the ways in which organisational urgencies intersect with contextually specific needs of reform in what becomes a zero sum of philanthropy and survival; this to the extent that, in large part, NGO interventions often serve to moderate, rather than uproot, the set of socio-economic features for which non-state intervention continues to be hailed and hallowed.

Keywords: non-governmental organisations; education; philanthropy; inequality; Grahamstown; Makhanda



Introduction

International NGOs (INGOs) and their local non-governmental constituents have, particularly from the closing decades of the twentieth century, occupied central positions in the developmental efforts of post-colonial African states. Prior to this, western-sponsored humanitarianism and goodwill, particularly in the areas of health, education and social welfare, coexisted with colonial ambitions, and, as such, their re-emergence under the guise of a developing mission has not espoused an ahistorical analytical lens. Instead, NGOs working *on* and *in* Africa continue to occupy a contentious social and intellectual space tainted by the longstanding tensions that characterise North–South relations (Manji and O’Coill 2002). This, to the extent that the language of development has been held to account for its call and concern for *all* humanity and human rights discourse has, by extension, not escaped suspicions held against western remedies of relief and deliverance (McMillan and Kelly 2015). In sum, the normative prescription of NGOs in socio-economic relief in the South has elicited suspicion, cautious embrace and some acquiescence, which emanates, on the one hand, from the prescription of not biting the humanitarian hand that “feeds” and, on the other, the perceived consequences of NGO “action and non-action” (Davidson 2012).

Narratives of comparative advantage, claims of efficacy and proximity to poor communities, which have been widely circulated as the hallmarks of NGO intervention (often as counterfactuals to state and market operations), have thus been used to also think through the persistence of poverty in the age of NGO developmental intervention (Drewry 2014). This article argues that this condemning paradox is, in many ways, sustained by organisational urgencies of survival. With education being a sector that has witnessed both the rapid expansion of NGO intervention and also the elusiveness of sector-based ideals, this article discusses the organisational norms and practices that sustain this sector-wide contradiction.

Education NGOs in Trial and Transition

The contribution of NGOs in the framing and deployment of the Education for All (EFA) ideals globally has lent non-state interveners widespread embrace and clout (Archer 2014). Four functions, in particular, have been earmarked for these organisations. The foremost of these is in the area of resource mobilisation where funds are channelled from INGOs through local NGOs to meet up with constrained state resources (Brass 2010). Secondly, NGOs are considered an essential part of democratising global education forums by canonising civic voices in platforms that remain inaccessible to the masses. Similarly, they are also considered important to the democratisation of national education delivery by facilitating civic involvement in education policy and practice (Nqaba 2017). Finally, for geographically and politically

marginalised communities, NGOs often take on the role of being prime education providers (Lewis and Kanji 2009).

During the first two and a half decades of the EFA command and in the post-2015 EFA era, public and expert accounts have commended NGOs for their role in advancing the universal access to primary education for all. In particular, they have been lauded for their role in building the capacity of local civil society formations, exposing state underperformance and catalysing civic involvement in national and international development spaces (Sayed 2015). However, flexible NGO initiatives, their efficiency and cost-effectiveness as well as proximity to beneficiary communities, which are said to be the hallmark of their competitive edge over state and market institutions, have been contested on several counts. Chief among the sources of prevailing reproaches is persistent educational underperformance.

Almost three decades after the deployment of EFA goals, many of the targets remain unmet. Notable improvements made in sub-Saharan Africa, particularly with learner enrolment rates (Hartwell 2008), are shadowed by the multitudes of children who remain out of school with few of those who stay in school meeting the minimum standards of literacy and numeracy (Mwanza 2015). Furthermore, by 2009 only a small minority of countries (37%) had met the gender parity targets (UNESCO 2009) while in 2012, girl children still had a 56 per cent chance of never having enrolled for school in comparison to boys who had a 42 per cent chance (UNESCO 2015).

Similarly, several domestic and international measures paint a bleak image of educational performance in South Africa. In part, these have demonstrated that the textual and fiscal commitments of the past two and a half decades have failed to translate into equitable learning inputs and outputs (Van der Berg 2007). Sobering moments that have brought these failures to the fore include intermittent curriculum adjustments which have often left teachers ill-equipped and disillusioned, the non-delivery of textbooks to schools in the Limpopo province in 2012 alongside the gross financial misconduct that accompanied it, as well as the death of two learners in 2014 and 2018 who lost their lives after falling into pit toilets at their schools in Limpopo and the Eastern Cape respectively. Moreover, mud and dilapidated schooling structures, again in these same provinces, the poorly maintained, unsafe or non-existent furniture and learning infrastructure, teacher shortages, violence and abuse as well as racism and intolerance in schooling environments continue to capture provincial and national headlines.

In addition and despite the glowing image they are often deployed to portray, in-depth assessments of annual National Senior Certificate results tell of the gross underperformance which persists (Taylor 2012; Westaway 2017a). With more than

50 per cent of learners in the country still not reaching Grade 12 (matric) within the required number of years, and even fewer obtaining the performance standards required by further education institutions, matric results appear generous at best (Spaull and Taylor 2014). Additionally, government policies implemented over the past 10 years, particularly the Progression and Multiple Examination Option, externally facilitate the progression of learners through different phases of schooling. In essence, these twin policies are implemented in order to progress learners through different phases despite poor or underperformance so as to maintain a constant flow of age-appropriate learners in basic education (Fredricks 2015). In practice, this has had far-reaching implications for the trends of grade-appropriate academic competence and has meant that poorly performing learners are systematically filtered out of the education system, rendering the highly lauded matric results an even more misleading reference of education and socio-economic prospects (Taylor 2012).

Considering these trends, NGOs have had little trouble with legitimising their presence and operations in the sector. They have secured their position as formidable partners, advocates and service providers who have not only enjoyed pervasive neoliberal defence but sustained their operations on the back of and in spite of the perpetually elusive educational ideals for which they are called and deployed. Petras (1999) and Rusznyak (2014) have therefore proposed that these initiatives have been a little more than “firefighting” mechanisms which, because of their symptom-centric approaches to educational underperformance, have been unable to make lasting alterations to the inequities that persist both within the sector and also as a result of the sector’s dysfunction. Reminiscent of this tension is the often crude coexistence of high concentrations of NGO mediation with extreme educational and socio-economic inequity, a paradox which continues to typify the small university town of Makhanda (formerly known as Grahamstown) in South Africa’s Eastern Cape province.

The Education Hub of the Eastern Cape: A Questionable Characterisation

The legend of Makhanda being the education hub of the rural province of the Eastern Cape is both misleading and conservative. A more accurate characterisation of this university town is captured by Hendricks (2008) and Westaway (2017a) both of whom describe it as a model of the dysfunction and inequity that typifies the country’s education system. Here, socio-economic inequality is most notably illustrated in the sharp contrast between private and public schooling with gross affluence standing unbuffered beside rampant poverty. For example, annual coverage of the 20 most expensive private schools in South Africa has, for several years now, included three which are located in the Eastern Cape, with all three being in Makhanda (Bronkhurst 2014; Vorster 2016). Their proximity to their absolute opposites located in the not-so-far east end of the town is not nearly as alarming as are the extreme inequities in their

per-learner resource allocations, the resultant inequality in learner outputs and the unjust distribution of socio-economic prospect.

Annual school fees at St Andrews College, 2018's third most expensive school in the country, stood at R252,990, with Kingswood College and Diocesan School for Girls trailing at 13th and 14th position respectively (Business Tech 2018). Less than six kilometres east of these, are schools where teacher shortages, limited or no learning resources, no access to water and sanitation facilities, intermittent protest action, abuse and violence as well as financial and operational misconduct have lost their shock effect to much of the Makhanda schooling community (Hoho 2010).

Beside this is a high concentration of non-state intervention, much of which trails on the operational pull of Rhodes University with support from private and former model C schools as well as the local business sector. However, inequity continues to envelop the town's educational input and output. Pass rates in many of the schools in Makhanda East hover below the desirable thresholds with more than 60 per cent of learners not reaching matric within the required number of years (Westaway 2017b). This, in addition to learners who are systematically "pushed out" of the schooling system, prompts Westaway (2017b, n.p.) to issue a word of caution stating that: "when you read that Grahamstown obtained a 75% pass rate in the matric examination in January, please remember that this represents a real pass rate of about 32%." This, in a context which is endowed with a host of NGOs that lay claim to addressing these very ills, not only brings the legend of Makhanda being the education hub of the province into question, but motions concern around the non-state sector whose central claims of relevance still leave so much to be desired.

Methodology

Understanding the world and work of NGOs and making propositions about their intersection with the complex field of education is an exercise fraught with concessions and inharmonious dialectics. To lend some sense to the erratic nature of their existence, operations and practices, Helliker (2009, 105) proposes that "NGOs need to be understood 'from within' through 'thick descriptions' of organisational practice" which, according to him, "cannot be read from outside." Indeed, the preoccupation of this article is to describe the ways in which NGOs carry out their mandates within this educational context and how, through different manoeuvres, the fullness of their efficacy is eroded by their quests for survival and what Helliker (2009) refers to as the means of stabilising a world that remains otherwise erratic and jagged.

Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with members and observers of the Makhanda non-governmental network, namely, NGO and school officials, learners and community members. Field data collected were then

supplemented by field documents that logged the observations, reflections and experiences of the author. Purposive and snowball sampling techniques secured a study population that was able to offer insights necessary to respond to the research question. The data from individual interviews and focus group discussions were recorded, transcribed and analysed with the use of Atlas.ti, a qualitative data analysis software program. Finally, to adhere to the basic standards of anonymity and to secure confidentiality, pseudonyms are used when references are made to participants.

The Joza Youth Hub

The Joza Youth Hub, also referred to as “The Hub,” is a network of local NGOs working from Joza, one of Makhandla’s largest township areas located on the eastern end of the town. The Hub came about as the culmination of deliberations between Rhodes University, Makana Municipality and local NGOs. The terms of this partnership included local NGOs as the providers of educational support services to local youth with the administrative, material and human resource support of Rhodes University. Makana Municipality offered to these NGOs its old and unused administration building centrally located across the street from the Joza Post Office and Nompumelelo pre-primary school (Halse 2015). This partnership, which now includes the work of four NGOs, was solidified and officially launched in November 2013.

Since then, the Joza Youth Hub’s physical centrality has grown to be quite reminiscent of its role as a hub of education services and resources for the youth of Joza. Its main objective has been to combine and share the contributions, resources, expertise and experiences of different organisations so as to maximise impact and accessibility (Wertlen 2013). Another purpose which The Hub has served over the years is extending access to services to the broader Joza community and acting as a connecting point between it and local schools, learners resources and providers

Over the years, The Hub has undergone several developments, and the NGOs within have also experienced their own organisational turbulence and change. For example, in 2015 Makana Municipality’s Mayoral Committee resolved that the Joza Youth Hub should pay a monthly rent, which is subject to a 10 per cent annual increase. In addition, organisations would collectively continue making utility and service payments to the municipality for their continued occupation of the premises (Makana Municipality 2015). Since then—though perhaps not directly related to these stipulations—two of the four NGOs initially working from The Hub have relocated, with Ikamva now being based at Nombulelo High School and Upstart located at the African Media Matrix building at Rhodes University. While these organisations are no longer based at The Hub, they continue to make use of the premises for hosting events independently and also in partnership with other local organisations. These changes have, according to

officials, come as the result of organisational needs and adjustments that were necessary to maintain productivity and also meet resource needs and constraints.

Additionally, organisations have encountered several turning points over the years, some of which have been to the service of their mandates and many which have posed threats to their existence and efficacy. Resource constraints in particular have, to differing degrees, had confounding effects on staff, organisations, their operations, the extent of their reach and their overall impact. Restricted financial resources have, for example, limited staff intake thereby placing an incredible amount of pressure on incumbents. One NGO official, for example, describes working in the non-profit sector as “destructive”¹ to one’s personal well-being in that limited organisational resources burden employees with responsibilities that require means which are far beyond what is available. As a result, organisations have become increasingly dependent on single individuals who are thought to possess the passion, tenacity and innovativeness that is central to organisations’ survival and impact. As one official puts it:

I think there’s this common problem among NGOs, and our NGO also suffers from that, that it’s very dependent on specific people, on their personalities and their skills set. So the ways the organisation functions have been designed around that, not intentionally by the way. When we have few resources then we make everything work with those resources we have ... so if those people were not here, I think things might fall apart.²

Unfortunately, this prediction of things falling apart in the absence of the designated “champion” became a reality for one of the studied organisations when operations drew to a grinding halt after the departure of a founding director. According to officials and observers, the departure of the director compounded the organisation’s already existing financial strain and led to a nine-month hiatus and also a restructuring of the organisation’s model once operations resumed. At different points over the years and through different means, organisations have had to employ similar tactics to survive, many of which have compromised their impact on the town’s educational profile.

Strategic Relations

Much of the NGO work being done in Makhanda benefits from affiliations with Rhodes University, particularly the Rhodes University Community Engagement (RUCE) office and the Centre for Social Development (CSD). Given that the university is home to the largest non-governmental activity in Makhanda (in terms of resources and activity) through the CSD, and is the single largest supporting player in the Makhanda public schooling system, it retains an unparalleled level of clout (Van Hees 2000). So, while

1 B. Lizolise, NGO official, Makhanda, February 22, 2018.

2 C. Newman, NGO official, Makhanda, February 22, 2018.

the community benefits from several projects that are carried out by single university departments, such as the Chemistry, Education, Psychology and Mathematics departments, and also the Rhodes University Business School (the university's community engagement arm), it also benefits from the non-governmental structures that act as points of access to the broader Makhanda community (Matshingana 1994). In recent years, the vice-chancellor's education initiative has deployed its internal community engagement structures (RUCE and the CSD) along with the work of the Business School, the Psychology and Education departments, local NGOs and the local Department of Education. Over the years, this network has carried out a host of support initiatives at early childhood development phase right through to university preparation programmes offered in Grade 12.

Coincidentally for these financially strapped education NGOs, the might of Rhodes University and open gravitation to its orbit present an irresistible sense of security. Over the years these organisations have, in many respects, aligned to the university's operational direction and harvested the benefits thereof. For example, the university currently works with only three out of the six high schools located in Makhanda East and this appears to be the general direction also adopted by NGOs. According to officials, this is based on the urgency of directing attention to institutions which, largely on the basis of their management, are considered receptive to such support initiatives and, being receptive, are likely to benefit. As such, well-managed schools that have relatively better learner outcomes, benefit from the support of Rhodes University and also from NGOs, private and desegregated public schools located in town and the local business sector. To illustrate this, one official says: "Input is very much based on putting resources where one can expect a return and not putting resources into institutions where one can't reasonably expect a return hence we don't really focus on Nyaluza, Mrwetyana and Khutliso Daniels. The focus is on the big three schools."³

On the part of NGOs, the gravitation towards these schools is also articulated as being largely based on the promise of heightened impact when investing in institutions that are considered receptive and fertile. However, there is also some consensus on the fact that this narrowed focus holds with it the promise of image and, by extension, organisational preservation, with NGOs collectively making an impact on the same populations as noted by officials from two of the organisations studied:

If you're a small organisation with very few resources, what you tend to want to do is align yourself to where the forces are, you know ... that will enable you to succeed in

3 K. Nzuzo, NGO official, Makhanda, February 2, 2018.

what you're trying to do, so we made a conscious decision to focus on those same schools because that's where all the effort is going.⁴

So we cut down learner numbers to say, okay ... in fact we started with schools to say, okay, now we're gonna cut schools. We're not going to work with all the schools. We're only going to work with Mary Waters and Nombulelo because simply, they are under the umbrella of the vice-chancellor's programmes, so let's also be associated with these schools.⁵

The gradually narrowed focus on some schools and, by extension, the systematic exclusion of others, has come both by chance and also by design. The needs of the organisation, which include and depend on image preservation and legitimacy, have prompted a trade-off between the needs of the organisation and those of the greater part of the community. Aligning to Rhodes University's operational orbit holds the promise of organisations being able to both harvest the benefits of this relationship that preserve their operations, while also carrying out their missions to sustain their legitimacy irrespective of whether or not they are, as proposed by Helliker (2009) in the case of land NGOs in Zimbabwe, "dancing around the same spot."

NGO Beneficiary-Population Control Mechanisms

As a result of imminent implosion lurking on the edge of uncertain funding conditions and, as a result, the depoliticised interventions to which they have resorted, organisations have been unable to sway the educational deficiency that typifies Makhanda. To mend the fissures between their available material and human capacity and the extent of the education crises upon which their interventions trade, organisations carve out enclaves within which they function and carry out their core mandates. In addition to regulating access to non-governmental support by narrowing their focus to certain schools, organisations have also had to reconfigure their operational models as well as regulate the population of learners who access and are able to consistently participate in non-governmental activity.

Some organisations have had to streamline their support programmes to include only those that either attract funds, a greater number of learners or, in the best case scenario, both. In the case of one organisation, all other activities have been abandoned with the exception of one that has maintained a solid funding base. Similarly, another organisation has had to sporadically suspend some of its programmes in favour of one for which funding was recently secured. In addition to suspending some of their

4 P. Ndindwa, NGO official, Makhanda, March 3, 2018.

5 L. Bambani, NGO official, Makhanda, February 23, 2018.

programmes, others have also had to limit their contact sessions with learners so as to align the available resource reserves more evenly to the number of learners.

As can be expected, organisations have quantifiable limitations of the number of learners they can reach. This becomes more pronounced when they must constantly wrestle with threats to their survival and the mission upon which they trade. Mitigating measures directed towards this have included cutting down learner intake, instituting uptake limits and, in most cases, factoring both tactics into existing operational models. As mentioned by one official, “we had to cut down learner numbers, in fact we started with schools ...”⁶ which demonstrated a two-tiered system of NGO population control. In one case, the organisation went from working with approximately 200 learners in 2014 to working with just 15—five from each of the three schools mentioned above. Similarly, two other organisations have had to institute attendance and competence measures that regulate learner attendance and, in the case of the latter, filter out learners who do not meet an accepted level of competence in certain organisational programmes.

As is the case with some local schools that are reached by several educational support initiatives, there is therefore also consensus among respondents that, more often than not, the learners who are reached by NGO initiatives are well-performing learners who benefit from several other non-state support programmes. According to a community member, NGOs in Joza “work with three schools specifically and none of the other schools and even within these schools, they work with the top learners and not all of them because, I know they do the mentoring with matrices but they only take the top students to have mentors ... what about the others?”⁷ Similarly, another community member proposes:

Those learners who go into these NGOs are learners who are already doing well ... if you look at learners who pass from this organisation, for example, they are usually the top ones in their schools already because I remember my sister matriculated two years ago and she was part of it. Every learner who passed there, they were the cream of the crop.⁸

Alongside offering support services to learners who would perhaps not have such, this two-tiered divide between learners and schools reached by NGOs also lends some legitimacy to organisations and, as mentioned above, serves in the preservation of a virtuous image irrespective of whether or not NGOs are, as proposed by Westaway (2017a, 107), only “saving the lucky few.”

6 L. Bambani, community member, Makhanda, February 23, 2018.

7 Z. Stemele, community member, Makhanda, April 12, 2018.

8 K. Zenani, community member, Makhanda, December 8, 2017.

Depoliticise or Desist

The intersection of non-governmental work and the education sector is one that combines two very intricate sectors of the global and national developmental command. Infused within these fields separately are complex sets of social, political and economic entanglements that further complicate any convergence between the two. So, non-governmental actors entering the sphere of education provision either as policy advocates or service providers, do so at the risk of disrupting, moderating or strengthening the status quo. For the most part it seems that service-provision NGOs, in their symptom-centric approaches to development, aim to relieve the strain of poor or negligent service delivery, while advocacy initiatives are aimed more at reaching further into the centres of provision and cauterising poor service delivery from “within” (Hilhorst 2003; Mercer 2002).

One of the fundamental distinctions between these two approaches to educational and developmental overhaul is time and the envisaged cost thereof. Uncertain funding conditions that rest on regular cycles of donor appeasement often leave little room for long-term interventions that can bring about lasting and sustainable changes in the sector (Petras 1999; Rauh 2010). Pressure to retain legitimacy and donor confidence has therefore resulted in organisations opting for depoliticised and short-term issue projects that yield quick results and retain donor confidence (Bornstein 2005). As proposed by Edwards and Hulme (1996, 966), under such conditions “NGOs may succumb to the temptations to take on functions which they know will attract large amounts of donor funding, to the detriment of other aspects of their mission.” And indeed as detailed earlier, in the case of Makhanda that possesses a unique arrangement of educational inequity, which at the very least requires unbridled forms of intervention, NGOs have unfortunately also been faced with threats to their own subsistence. Balancing these internal uncertainties while also securing their missions have compelled organisations to abandon certain projects and focus on those that possess solid funding bases. One official states, for example, that “we’re always having to reimagine what we’re doing based on the amount of funding we can get so it’s never It’s changing all the time because we’re so dependent on funds and if we don’t have funds, it changes everything.”⁹

With the extreme fissures in Makhanda’s education sector under consideration, many of the chosen projects, though they sustain the lifeblood of these organisations, promise little in the way of mending the existing channels of inequality in education and, by extension, youth prospects. As a whole it seems, Makhanda’s NGO network has struggled “from within” to disrupt, even temporarily, the town’s education landscape due in part to the constantly looming threat of organisational implosion. The time and

9 B. Lizolise, NGO official, Makhanda, February 22, 2018.

cost of advocacy and politicised intervention have, according to a former NGO official, been unattractive to organisations¹⁰ and this, in turn, has initiated what is observed by some as a level of active complacency with the deficient condition of education. While this in no way diminishes the gains of non-governmental support to the pockets of the population that do receive such, in light of the prevailing deficits, this compromise means that, at best, NGO advances must be considered in light of their contributions towards, as proposed again by a former official, “mitigating a crisis”¹¹ rather than the widely circulated ideal of catalysing systemic transformation.

Conclusion

“Dancing around the same spot” (Helliker 2009), “saving the lucky few” (Westaway 2017) and “mitigating a crisis” become the compromise of carrying out educational reform in a context where the threats of non-intervention and organisational implosion coexist with equal supremacy. In some respects, the tactical means by which organisations strike a balance between these intimidations absorb their reach and potential efficacy in making dents in the problematic status quo. As articulated by Helliker (2009, 122):

NGOs, although without conscious intent, resolve the tension and ambivalences in their world by ‘fixing’ or ‘stabilising’ their own organisations even if this goes contrary to sustainable development. This explains in part why the development industry continues unabated, as a recursively self-producing set of global relations, although there is only limited if any sustainable development taking place because of it.

The elusiveness of education ideals, particularly in the age of increased NGO intervention, becomes more apparent when viewed from the operational position of structures that have been bestowed with a mandate which, due to their own internal preoccupations, is far beyond their capacity (Petras 1999). In light of this denialism, a reality that is sparsely circulated in NGO commentary circles is that organisational mandates become pliable when positioned beside organisational uncertainties (Hendrickse 2008). As such, rather than lending themselves to the service of dismantling the status quo, NGOs become self-replicating inconsistencies and agents of the irreconcilable standoff between philanthropy and institutional preservation.

Unmasking these inconsistencies and resisting the temptation of subscribing to the ideals of ultimate NGO supremacy and omniscience, is both to the service of NGOs themselves and also to the field of which they are self-professed and donor-deployed partisans. Unquestioned embrace and cautious concession, which often accompany

10 S. Williams, NGO official, Makhanda, February 2, 2018.

11 S. Williams, NGO official, Makhanda, February 2, 2018.

reflections on non-governmental intervention, may degenerate into what Power, Maury and Maury (2002) propose as a “learning deficiency” within the non-governmental sector, one that is populated with defensive and stringent regulation on popular scrutiny and self-scrutiny. To relieve this risk and extend the deliberations on the subject of developmental immobility in some settings, this article therefore proposes that on some level, a trade-off between educational overhaul and institutional subsistence leans more towards the latter, in large part through negotiable advances towards the former, thereby reproducing rather than dismantling the cause of NGO intervention.

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