

“GADRA DELIVERS”

An organisational evaluation of GADRA Education

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

GADRA Education seeks to bring about educational transformation in Makhanda (formerly Grahamstown), in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, utilising an integrated service delivery and advocacy approach. This evaluation seeks to assess the extent to which the organisation has attained the objectives set out in its 2016 – 2021 Strategic Plan.

The context of education in South Africa is an important backdrop to the evaluation. Severe systemic challenges remain pervasive within the education system, whilst some long-term gains are evident. Key indicators of overall improvements in the national education system are measured by a steady climb in the annual matric pass rate and a notable increase in the number of Bachelor passes obtained each year - the latter indicator speaks, to some extent, to an improvement in the quality of education. In addition, Covid-19 has impacted the education system and this is factored in when reviewing the organisation's delivery on its strategic objectives.

An outcome mapping methodology was selected for the evaluation, which allows scope for the assessment of organisational performance in complex settings and takes into account its underpinning theory of change. To provide further structure to the evaluation a set of key questions were developed within the thematic areas of impact, context and process.

GADRA's impact is evaluated utilising a variety of approaches. Firstly, a benchmarking study is provided which points to GADRA's significant contribution to above average educational results achieved in Makhanda, when compared to provincial and national educational performance in the annual matric exams, specifically in relation to matric pass rates and Bachelor passes. At primary school level, Oral Reading Fluency measures are used as a benchmark to assess the performance of GADRA's relatively new literacy programmes against nationally and internationally accepted literacy progression measures, with the Primary Schools benefitting from GADRA's support scoring well above minimum progression requirements.

GADRA's impressive city-wide impact in Makhanda is graphically depicted by showing the organisation's reach and impact at three points in time: 2016, 2018 and 2021, powerfully capturing significant growth over the period. Finally, pathways of change towards GADRA's vision are mapped and progress is assessed against six key medium term outcomes, thus providing a further assessment of impact.

GADRA's internal and external contexts are evaluated to gain a better understanding of the factors that have either enabled or constrained its performance, with some key themes emerging. It is apparent that the core values of trust, respect and commitment create an enabling environment for board members, management and staff to contribute effectively to the vision of the organisation. The human-centred approach prevalent in the organisation is balanced by highly effective and technically robust implementation practices.

GADRA's advocacy approach has many unique and innovative features and seeks to transform education through demonstrating success in service delivery, thereby offering great potential for influencing change. It is apparent that the positive relationship with Rhodes University plays a pivotal role in enabling the impact that GADRA has realised in Makhanda, with signs of a social movement for education emerging. The final section of context identifies a significant enabler of success in the organisation's robust fundraising and financial performance, which has yielded dividends in creating a conducive environment for innovation and driving long-term impact within Makhanda.

The evaluation concludes with a set of findings and recommendations for consideration. The evaluation overwhelmingly finds, through a variety of assessment methods, that GADRA has attained its strategic objectives and met its ambitious goal to see *"clear signs that public schooling in the city is experiencing a broad-based revival."* GADRA's contribution to the improvement in educational outcomes in Makhanda is underscored by its significant reach at a city-wide level. Key to the success of the organisation is its relationship with Rhodes University and other education stakeholders.

The recommendations of the evaluation were developed based on key observations and findings emerging from the study. These include considerations for advocacy amplification, broadening the measurements of success, and some initial thoughts around scaling up. In addition, the possibilities around sharing GADRA's powerful story of education transformation more widely are suggested, along with investigating the potential role of GADRA alumni. A unique opportunity exists to integrate learnings from Covid-19, to 'shock-proof' the organisation against future global crises in the context of a changing and uncertain world. Finally, the potential value of a tactical approach to engaging select, strategic government stakeholders is noted.

The evaluation sets out to assess whether GADRA has attained its strategic objectives as articulated in the 2016-2021 strategic plan. The evaluation provides both quantitative and qualitative evidence which confirm that the organisation has indeed been highly successful in reaching its goals, despite the context of a challenging state education system and two years of global pandemic. GADRA has directly and indirectly contributed towards the favourable transformation of the public schooling system in Makhanda. As GADRA moves into its next strategic phase, it is hoped that the findings and recommendations of this evaluation will provide a resource for building on the organisation's exceptionally solid foundations and the remarkable achievements of this period.

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1. INTRODUCTION

GADRA Education (abbreviated to GADRA hereafter) was founded in 1957 and operates within the geographical area of Makhanda (formerly known as Grahamstown) in the Eastern Cape. It is one of the oldest and best known non-profit organisations (NPOs) in Makhanda, with a proud history of contributing to transformation in local under-privileged and rural communities through its educational programmes.

In the development of its most recent strategic plan, (originally 2016 – 2020 but extended to include 2021 due to the disruptions of the COVID 19 pandemic), GADRA sought to respond directly to the challenges within the local education system, which is generally characterised by poor educational outcomes and systemic dysfunction. The strategy articulates how the current educational system fails South Africa's youth, at a local, provincial and national level and, furthermore, explicitly understands the public education system to be a political space in which change cannot be achieved through technical interventions alone.

This strategy positioned the organisation to lead and facilitate a process of transformation in the public schooling sector in Makhanda. The theory of change articulated within the strategy posits that GADRA will achieve this by working at the intersection between service delivery and advocacy; seeking to transform individual schools and the environment in which they operate. GADRA's two-pronged approach intentionally combines carefully targeted delivery of direct interventions for '*the few*' with advocacy initiatives to bring about systemic change for '*the many*'.

The strategy articulates the vision of the organisation, which is to see "*public education in Grahamstown/Makhanda ... fundamentally transformed within the next ten years*". Progress towards this vision should be evidenced by "*clear signs that public schooling in the City is experiencing a broad based revival*" by 2022, and by 2025 "*all children and young adults in Grahamstown/Makhanda benefit[ing] from good quality and relevant education at primary, secondary and tertiary levels*".

The leadership of GADRA sought to understand how effective the organisation has been in relation to its 2016-2021 strategic objectives and therefore commissioned an externally-facilitated, independent organisational evaluation. The results of the evaluation are presented in this report.

2. PURPOSE

As GADRA moves into the end of the current cycle of the 2016-2021 strategic plan, the organisation has seen fit to pause and reflect on its performance and the extent to which its strategic ideals articulated in the most recent strategy were attained.

Against this background, the purpose of the evaluation is defined as follows:

- To assess to what extent the outcomes of the current strategic plan have been achieved.
- To assess the city-wide impact of GADRA's strategic interventions.
- To understand the factors that have enabled and/or constrained the achievement of outcomes.
- To inform further innovation and strategy for the organisation going forward.

3. EVALUATION METHODOLOGY

3.1. Methodology

The predominant methodology utilised for this evaluation is **Outcome Mapping**. This is a methodology for planning, monitoring, evaluation and learning (PMEL) that was originally developed by the International Development Research Centre in the early 2000s (Smutylo, 2015). Outcome mapping is specifically designed to deal with complexity, rather than linear models of change, and measures results in terms of changes in behaviour, actions or relationships that can be influenced by the interventions undertaken. The performance of a programme or organisation is assessed in terms of its contribution to influencing those changes.

This methodology was proposed because outcome mapping:

- complements GADRA's use of Theory of Change by attempting to demonstrate logical linkages between changes and an organisation's interventions, thereby enabling its contribution to change to be understood.
- encourages organisations to assess both the **outcomes** of interventions – thus focusing clearly on change – and the **processes** through which those outcomes are generated - thus promoting learning and innovation.
- recognises the potential contributions of other actors, such as the many partners and stakeholders with whom GADRA works.
- helps to gauge progress within a local context and to deepen understanding of local change processes.
- can be combined with a range of other tools and methodologies to generate a rich understanding of an organisation's contribution to change, including the perspectives of diverse stakeholders.

The overall evaluation process was framed by **key evaluation questions**. These questions have been used as a guide in all phases of the evaluation, informing data collection, analysis and reporting.

In order to deliver a robust set of recommendations, the evaluation sought to include a multi-dimensional review of the organisation's performance, framed around three core dimensions: impact; context; and process, with specific questions as follows:

IMPACT

- To what extent did the strategic interventions contribute to the intended outcomes in the short, medium and long term?
- For whom, in what ways?
- What unintended outcomes (positive and negative) were produced?
- To what extent can changes be attributed to the GADRA's interventions?

CONTEXT

External:

- How did external factors enable and / or constrain the attainment of the strategy?
- How does the strategy contribute to the achievement of outcomes in conjunction with other initiatives, programmes or services in the area?

Internal:

- What were the particular features of the organisation that enabled and / or constrained the outcomes?
- Did the cost of the program(s) justify the outcomes?

PROCESS

- How satisfied are stakeholders with the outcomes? (partners & participants)
- How did innovation contribute to enhancing outcomes?
- What were the particular features of the strategy that either enhanced or inhibited the outcomes?
- In particular, does the interaction between different initiatives of the organisation contribute to achieving better outcomes?

The intention to reflect and to learn as an organisation was explicit in GADRA's motivation for commissioning this evaluation. With this in mind, the way in which the evaluation was designed and approached sought to include the perspectives of a diversity of stakeholders and, importantly, to communicate the findings in ways that are accessible and meaningful at different levels, not just for the leadership and governors of the organisation. For this reason, information is presented in a range of different forms, including tables, graphs, visual illustrations and through narrative description and analysis, with the hope that this approach will enable more inclusive engagement.

3.2. Framework

The evaluation framework comprised four distinct phases commencing with planning, followed by data collection and an analysis phase, and culminating in reporting.

PHASE 1: PLANNING, DESIGN & SCOPE

- Write Evaluation Proposal based on client brief
- Inception meeting with GADRA key team and board representatives
- Review background documentation
- Confirm scope of evaluation
- Develop detailed evaluation plan
- Conduct stakeholder mapping and identify key informants and participants, with GADRA staff
- Design data collection tools

PHASE 2: DATA GENERATION

- Desktop research – conduct situational analysis, review key organisational documents including theory of change, programme evaluations, funding proposals, annual reports, audited financial statements etc.
- Existing data - access existing GADRA data from M&E system
- Data gap analysis – review existing data and identify gaps informing collection of targeted data
- Refine data collection tools for targeted data
- Targeted data – conduct interviews with key informants and participants, including GADRA staff, board and stakeholders; collect additional data from internal and external sources

PHASE 3: ANALYSIS

- Data analysis – review and analyze all information and data collected
- Develop preliminary findings
- Share preliminary findings with GADRA

PHASE 4: REPORTING

- Report writing – prepare written evaluation report incorporating feedback from initial findings
- Develop set of key findings and recommendations
- Share report with GADRA Education - review findings and recommendations
- Discuss implications for strategy and forward planning

3.3. Data collection

There is a large amount of data available for assessment within the education sector. In addition, GADRA collects numerous different data sets across its various programmes. Data collection therefore had to be targeted to suit the purposes of the evaluation. The following data collection methods were used:

- **Desktop research** –situational analysis, review of key organisational documents including theory of change, programme evaluations, funding proposals, annual reports, audited financial statements etc.
- **Review of internal M&E data** - identification and review of existing GADRA data from internal M&E system.
- **Data gap analysis** – identification of gaps informing collection of additional data from internal and external sources.
- **Semi-structured interviews and focus groups** – conduct interviews and focus groups with key informants and participants, including GADRA staff, board members and stakeholders.

3.4. Participants

Key participants in the evaluation were selected using a purposive methodology, specifically suited to this type of qualitative research. Purposive sampling is widely used in qualitative research as it enables the “identification and selection of information-rich cases related to the phenomenon of interest” (Palinkas et al. 2015). Within the limits of what the evaluation process allowed, a broad range of stakeholders were included.

Representatives from the following stakeholder groups were identified to participate in the various aspects of the evaluation:

- GADRA Board members
- GADRA management and programme staff
- GADRA Beneficiaries – Learners, Alumni, Student Volunteers, and Parents
- GADRA Partners

A full list of participants is included as an Appendix.

4. Situational analysis

4.1. Trends in education

In order to contextualise GADRA's impact and performance it is necessary to take cognisance of the overall trends in educational outcomes within the South African education system.

An upward trend in matric performance and Bachelor passes is noted over an extended period and this positive trajectory is highlighted in the Department of Basic Education's recent longitudinal review of the education system. In *A 25 Year Review of Progress in the Basic Education Sector* (DBE, 2019), improvements in educational outcomes are attributed to a multitude of factors including improved **access** to school, greater efficiency in school **progression**, improved **quality of learning** and greater **equity** in educational outcomes and in education spending. The evidence, summarised below, is mixed.

ACCESS

- In 2002 40% of 5 year olds were attending an educational institution. This increased to approximately 90% by 2017 (DBE, 2019).
- Approximately 95% of children entering Grade 1 had previously attended Grade R by 2017 (DBE, 2019).
- Primary school completion increased from about 85% in 2002 to about 95% in 2017 (DBE, 2019).
- Attendance rate amongst 14 to 17 year olds increased from 92% to 96% between 2002 and 2018 (Stats SA, 2019).
- The national secondary school completion rate increased from 40% to 50% by 2017 (DBE, 2019).

SCHOOL PROGRESSION

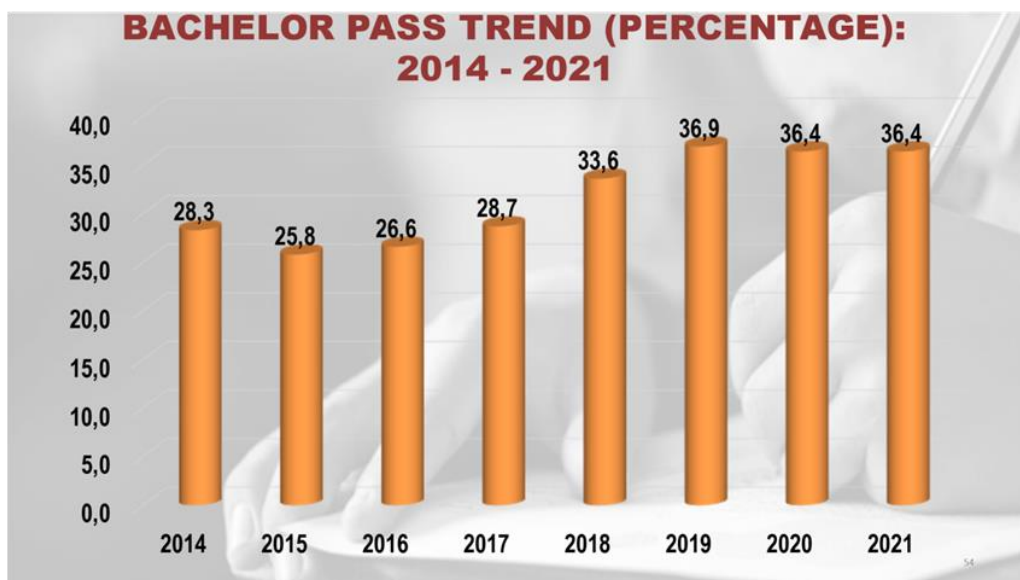
- Late entry into school has decreased – 64% of 7 year olds had completed Grade 1 in 2017, up from 35% in 2002.
- In the Eastern Cape the percentage of children who have passed Grade 3 by the appropriate age increased from 64% in 2002 to 85% in 2018 (Stats SA, 2019).
- The number of children who have passed Grade 9 by the appropriate age increased from 33% in 2002 to 58% in 2018. (Stats SA, 2019)
- The chart below (DBE, 2021) presents a longitudinal view of the progression of the 2021 matric class through the education system. This cohort of learners is significant as the 2021 matric class was the largest ever group to write the NSC exams.

TRACKING THE CLASS OF 2021												
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Gr 1	1 116 899	1 177 089	1 208 973	1 222 851	1 235 901	1 244 208	1 208 992	1 186 829	1 163 477	1 150 672	1 142 573	1 118 607
Gr 2	994 410	1 003 353	1 074 788	1 116 427	1 149 894	1 164 050	1 182 132	1 141 325	1 117 527	1 124 343	1 114 489	1 109 319
Gr 3	972 668	957 209	967 373	1 025 185	1 073 447	1 106 865	1 118 913	1 124 312	1 102 908	1 095 221	1 103 834	1 098 434
Gr 4	1 002 645	974 860	966 349	964 630	1 036 378	1 088 804	1 126 128	1 130 949	1 145 084	1 153 845	1 145 307	1 127 877
Gr 5	978 983	957 203	939 025	923 562	929 735	979 360	1 026 674	1 046 370	1 060 638	1 089 050	1 091 826	1 097 094
Gr 6	978 016	946 427	935 446	909 095	894 517	899 799	947 015	978 130	1 012 602	1 038 271	1 063 212	1 073 761
Gr 7	960 747	941 291	912 528	902 099	875 311	884 994	899 622	924 167	966 151	1 017 848	1 040 722	1 062 877
Gr 8	1 001 180	1 008 110	971 509	942 345	935 624	931 766	952 628	971 367	965 994	1 057 640	1 108 205	1 096 255
Gr 9	1 009 327	1 049 904	1 096 113	1 073 060	1 048 823	950 512	905 066	894 113	890 836	930 960	982 572	1 038 850
Gr 10	1 039 762	1 094 189	1 103 495	1 146 285	1 139 872	1 112 604	1 104 749	1 075 925	1 033 799	1 045 424	1 104 452	1 081 618
Gr 11	841 815	847 738	874 331	834 611	897 342	928 983	901 697	882 784	862 009	861 035	867 783	954 069
Gr 12	579 384	534 498	551 837	597 196	571 819	687 230	704 533	661 116	643 802	640 714	628 190	750 478

- It is interesting to note that the retention rate (indicating learners remaining in the public schooling system) has increased exponentially over the period under review, while new enrolments have levelled off to some extent.

QUALITY OF LEARNING

- In the TIMSS assessment (Grade 9 mathematics and science), South Africa has been the fastest improving country between the surveys of 2002, 2011 and 2015 (DBE, 2019).
- PIRLS 2017 assessments showed that 85% of children in Grade 4 in the Eastern Cape are unable to read for meaning (Amnesty International, 2020).
- A 2021 National Senior Certificate (NSC) report from DBE shows a positive trend in the national Bachelor pass rate from 2014 – 2021, increasing by 8%, from 28% to 36%.
- The Bachelor pass rate is generally considered an indicator of quality in the education system, thereby indicating an overall improvement over a period of time.



- Despite some improvements, by the Department of Basic Education's own admission, *"the absolute levels of learning achieved are still substantially below desirable levels"* (DBE, 2019)

EQUITY

- The documentary *'Some children are more equal than others'* shines a light on inequality in Makhanda's schooling system, which is sadly reflective of the national picture in which, as the film-makers state, *"20 % of privileged people... send their children to a functioning schooling system. On the other hand, education is drastically failing 80 % of the children in South Africa"* (Legal Resource Centre, 2015).
- A 2019 review of educational performance by van der Berg and Gustafsson finds that while inequalities in educational attainment have generally declined since 2002 based on learning outcomes, *"below expectation performance in around half of all schools"* remains a major driver of inequality in South Africa.
- Grade 12 matric results *"point to the number of black African youths attaining results which would allow them enter into mathematically-oriented university programmes increasing by 65% between 2002 and 2016"* (van der Berg and Gustafsson, 2019).

- Despite this exponential increase, *“in 2016 white youths were still seven times more likely to achieve this status than black African youths”* (van der Berg and Gustafsson, 2019).
- According to DBE 2018 statistics quoted in the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper (Sterne, 2021) out of 23471 public schools, 20071 have no laboratory, 18019 have no library, while 16897 have no internet, 239 have no electricity, and 37 have no sanitation facilities at all.
- Government spending policies are explicitly pro-poor, however, by its own admission, *“the amounts actually received by schools were slightly less pro-poor than intended.”* Reasons cited for this include *“funds intended for non-personnel spending being used by schools to supplement personnel spending, financial transfers coming through late, and schools receiving departmentally purchased goods and services too late”* (DBE, 2019).

4.2. Effects of the COVID 19 pandemic

It is also important to contextualise this evaluation against the backdrop of the COVID-19 pandemic, and to note the significant and unexpected disruptions which this global crisis caused within the period under review.

The 2021 Department of Basic Education report on NSC Results (DBE, 2021) highlights the impact of COVID-19 on the education system, citing the Secretary-General of the United Nations, António Guterres, who has described the impact of the pandemic on public schooling as a *“generational catastrophe”*. The report notes that as a result of the severe disruption to the education system, the impact of COVID-19 on education will affect generations to come. Three direct effects include *“declines in learner attendance; declines in the availability of teachers; and pandemic-related household traumas”* (DBE, 2021: 28).

In their 2020 report, Soudien et al. review the impact of COVID-19 on South Africa’s education system. They specifically note that educational impact will include learning losses because of school closures; widening of pre-existing education disparities; and the loss of pre-pandemic learning gains. Concluding that the learning losses to vulnerable children will be far greater than those from better resourced households, they write, *“COVID-19 has thus laid bare both the inequalities in provisions needed to continue learning from home—such as funds, digital devices and data, adequate nutrition—as well as the disparity in how well teachers, learners, and parents have been equipped to do so”* (Soudien et al., 2020: 320). The fragility of South Africa’s education system did not prepare the country to withstand the shock of COVID-19.

Despite their impressive ability to adapt and respond proactively to the crisis, GADRA’s programmes, and therefore their ability to achieve their strategic outcomes, was necessarily affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. Due to children being unable to attend school on a regular basis during this period, interventions could not be consistently provided as planned. Results from programmes were therefore not uniformly available during this period, with the primary school programme being worst affected. Nonetheless GADRA was able to continue operations and most of its programmes throughout the period and the evaluation will therefore broadly review the entire period from 2016 – 2021, whilst noting the impacts of COVID-19.

5. Impact

5.1. Impact Benchmarking

In order to contribute to an objective view of GADRA's impact within the education sector in Makhanda, a selection of national benchmarked measurements was chosen. These benchmarks are considered rigorous in nature as the measurements are assessed against stringent criteria over an extended period of time, thus creating a reliable standard against which GADRA's impact can be measured.

Importantly the end of schooling impact measured through this benchmarking exercise is identified in the GADRA 2016-2021 strategy as integral to education transformation.

The following three measurements were selected for benchmarking GADRA's performance against South African standards:

- Matric pass rate
- Matric Bachelor passes
- Oral Reading Fluency (*primary school*)

Matric Pass Rate

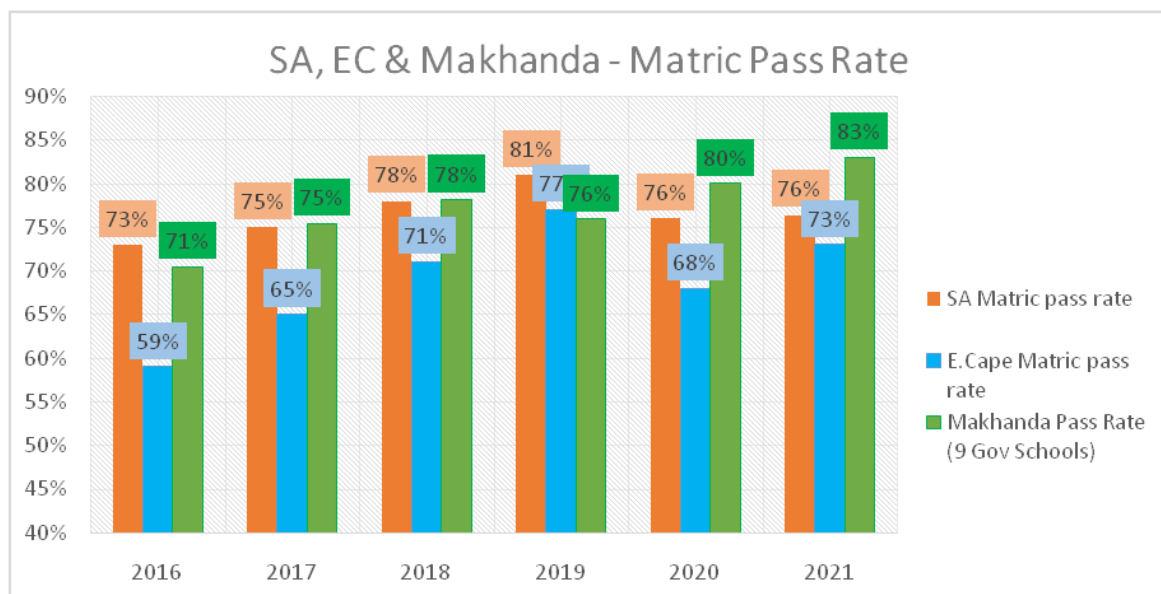
The single most important reference point in measuring performance in the education system is the matric pass rate each year in relation to the number of learners attaining a National Senior Certificate pass in the annual matric examinations. GADRA operates squarely in this space, striving to improve matric results, through its two pronged service delivery and advocacy approach.

The GADRA strategic plan articulates the following indicator relating to matric results:

Grahamstown (Makhanda) is consistently amongst the top three districts in the Eastern Cape with regards to the matric results.

Therefore, an important measure of GADRA's performance is the annual matric results in the Makhanda area, when compared to performance in other geographical areas. (Due to the restructuring of educational districts in 2017 which subsumed the former 'Grahamstown district' within the larger 'Sarah Baartman district', a narrower measurement was chosen looking at the performance of schools within the city of Makhanda.)

As GADRA works extensively in the government schools in Makhanda through a range of programmes, it is reasonable to include a comparison of the matric pass rate in Makhanda to the matric pass rate at provincial and national level, as presented in the graph below:



When comparing the matric pass rate performance in Makhanda with provincial and national performance, it is apparent that Makhanda has improved its results more dramatically over the period under review than the wider trends. While Makhanda's results are on par with national results in the 2016 and 2017 period, the results are between four and seven percent higher than national results in the 2020 and 2021 period respectively. In 2016 and 2017, the Makhanda matric results are far better than Eastern Cape provincial results with these then levelling off and being more on par in 2018 and 2019. In 2020 and 2021 Makhanda's results dramatically exceed the Eastern Cape matric pass rate results by 12% and 10% respectively.

While the overall positive trajectory in the matric pass rate in South Africa is noted, nevertheless the provincial and national trend lines remain lower than results produced in Makhanda. Given GADRA's long-term educational interventions it is reasonable to attribute the impressive trajectory of matric results produced in Makhanda to GADRA's work in collaboration with key school and university partners.

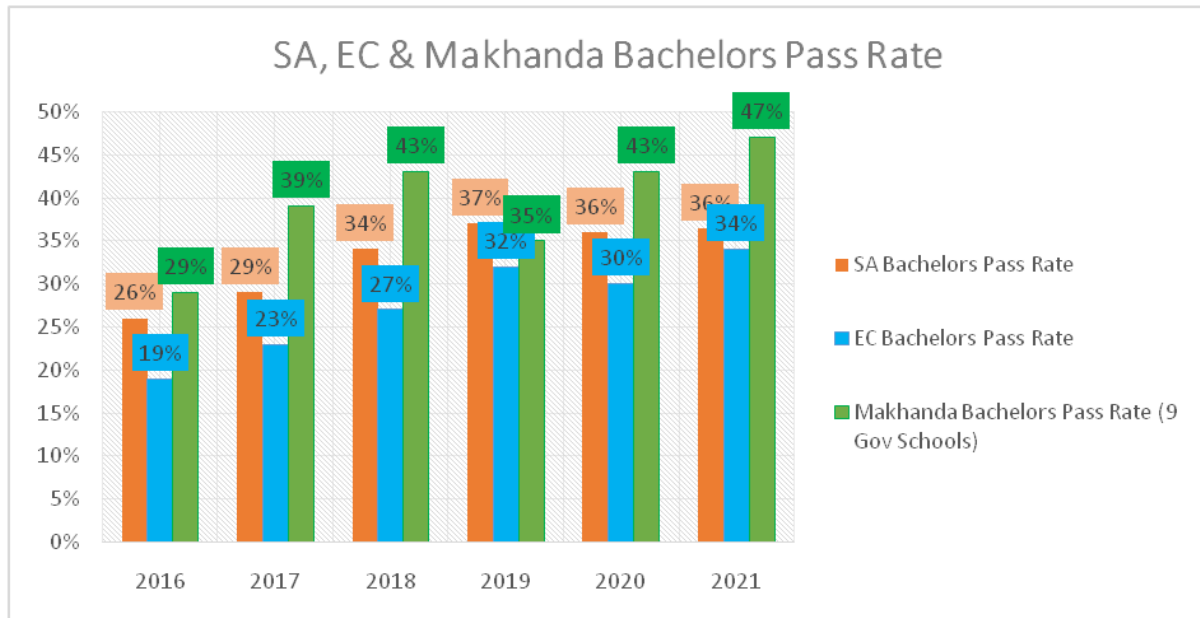
Bachelor Pass Rate

An important measurement of the quality of learning in the education system is the number of Bachelor passes produced in relation to the number of matric passes each year. A Bachelor pass is a requirement for entrance into university. GADRA strives to improve the quality of education and specifically to increase the number of learners gaining access to university each year.

The GADRA strategic plan articulates the following indicator relating to Bachelor pass results:

The number of Bachelor passes produced by disadvantaged schools in Grahamstown doubles from 50 in 2014 to 100 by 2020.

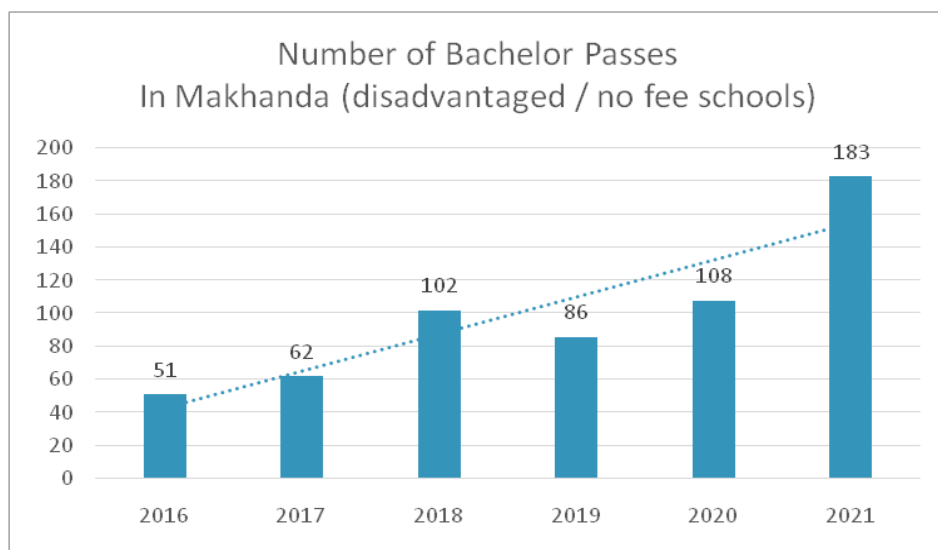
Therefore, an important measure of GADRA's performance is the annual number of Bachelors passes obtained in the Makhanda area and its performance relative to provincial and national trends. As GADRA works extensively in the government schools in Makhanda through a range of programmes, it is reasonable to include a comparison of the Bachelor pass rate in Makhanda to the Bachelor pass rate at a provincial and national level, as presented in the graph below:



As can be seen from the graph, Makhanda's Bachelor pass rate is initially only slightly above the national level, by three percent, in 2016. This then jumps to be 10% greater than the national rate in 2017 and 2018, followed by some levelling off in 2019 and more growth in 2020. The Bachelor pass rates in Makhanda culminate in being an impressive 11% higher than the national rate, and 13% higher than the provincial rate, in 2021.

Bachelor pass rates
in Makhanda - an
impressive 11%
higher than the
national rate in 2021

A further important measurement of achievement for GADRA is an increase in the individual number of Bachelor passes obtained, (with GADRA’s target of doubling this from 50 in 2014 to 100 by 2020. The number of annual Bachelor passes obtained is shown in the graph below for the period under review.



When analysing the above graph, it is apparent that GADRA has far exceeded their target, with the number of Bachelor passes in Makhanda growing from 51 in 2016 to 183 in 2021. The number of learners attaining Bachelor passes has more than tripled, which is by any standards exceptional. It should however be noted that the 2021 cohort of learners was the largest on record in South Africa and this trend was mirrored in Makhanda. This phenomenon could contribute to some

extent to the dramatic jump in numbers in 2021, however even when one factors this in, there is no doubt that the target of doubling the number of Bachelor passes was well achieved and exceeded.

the number of Bachelor passes in Makhanda grew from 51 in 2016 to 183 in 2021.

Even when we note the overall upward trajectory in Bachelor passes in no fee (disadvantaged) schools in South Africa, results achieved within the schools in which GADRA works far exceed the national trend. Given GADRA’s strategic interventions to improve the number of Bachelor passes in Makhanda’s disadvantaged schools over this period, it is reasonable to attribute the exponential growth in university entrance level passes in Makhanda to GADRA’s interventions in collaboration with key partners – a resounding endorsement of its performance over this period.

Oral Reading Fluency

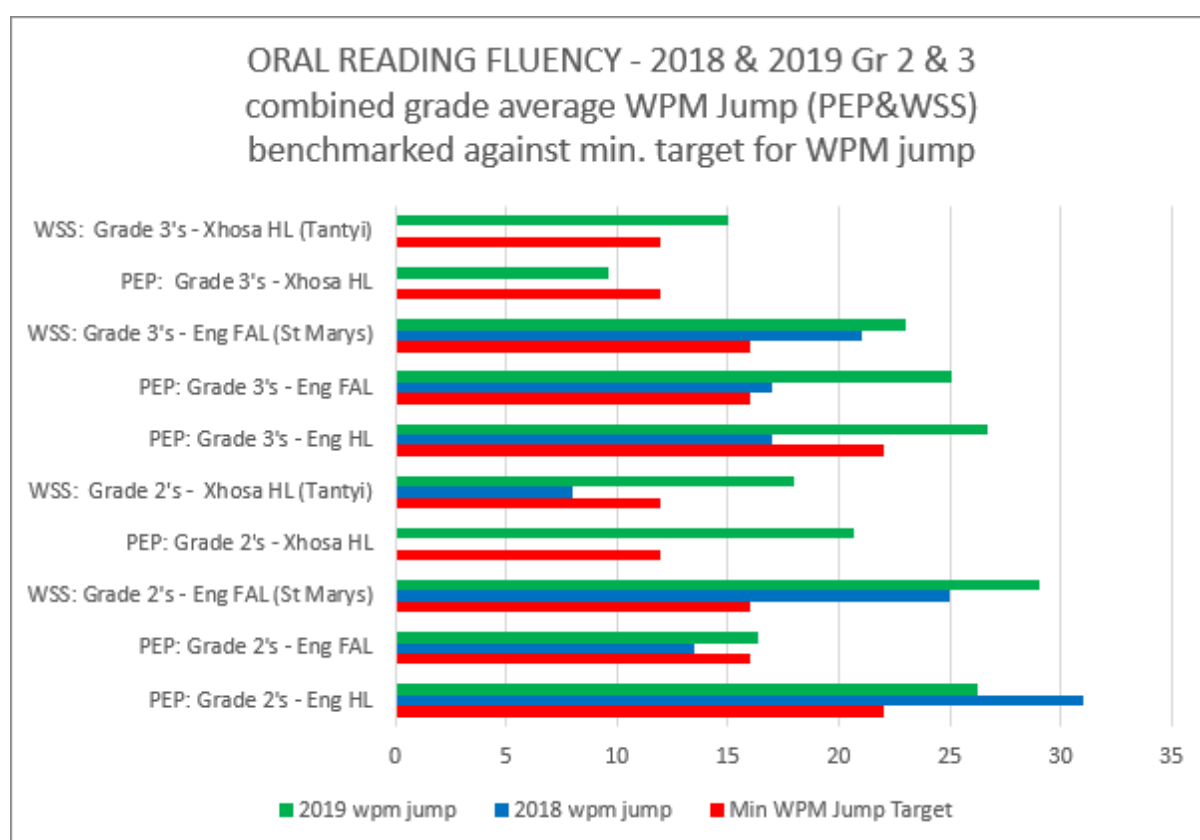
The assessment of Oral Reading Fluency (ORF) is considered an international standardised means of assessing reading and literacy development in Primary Schools (Foundation / Intermediate phase of public schooling). To benchmark GADRA’s primary school programmes, we have selected ORF as the measurement to compare performance to external measures, due to the availability of data from the Primary Education & Whistle Stop Programmes, as well as the robustness of this method of assessment which is widely used in South Africa and internationally.

ORF is the ability to read a text accurately, with sufficient speed and appropriate expression, which is a necessary skill for successful reading comprehension (Hasbrouck and Tindal, 2006). ORF is typically assessed through a one-minute timed reading of a grade-level passage, with errors subtracted resulting in a word per minute (WPM) score.

Based on numerous South African and International literacy and reading benchmarking studies, the following adjusted benchmarking for ORF is used by GADRA. It is appropriate in a South African context for isiXhosa children learning in English as their First Additional Language (FAL), or isiXhosa Home Language (HL), in the Foundation Phase (Spaull et al, 2020; Jukes et al, 2020).

Benchmarks for oral reading fluency	English Language (HL)	Home Language (FAL)	English First Add Language (HL)
Min targeted WPM jump per year	22+	16+	12+

When comparing ORF results produced within the GADRA programmes for Grades 2 and 3, in most cases the actual results in terms of jump in Words Per Minute (WPM) measured over one academic year outperform the minimum targeted increase in WPM.



The English HL groups in Grade 2 and 3 are the highest performing of all the cohorts of in ORF jumps.

The second highest performing cohort is the English FAL group, who generally exceed the minimum targeted WPM jumps across the grades, followed by the isiXhosa HL cohort who on average attain the lowest WPM jumps across the grades. Although it is considered best practice for learners to be educated in their mother tongue, particularly in the Foundation and Intermediate phases of education, isiXhosa can pose challenges as a Language of Learning and Teaching (LOLT) due to its agglutinous structure, along with various other factors such as lack of teacher training in using isiXhosa as LOLT (Spaull et al, 2020). WPM scores have however been adapted to take this into consideration.

It is also worth noting that on average the ORF measured through WSS programmes outperforms measurements taken in the Primary Education Programme (PEP). This is expected due to the dosage of the WSS programme being far more intensive than the PEP.

The years 2018 and 2019 were selected for benchmarking purposes as the WSS and PEP were both fully operational during that time. Prior to that, the literacy programmes were structured differently and therefore more difficult to benchmark. Unfortunately, children did not attend school regularly in 2020 and 2021 due to the COVID-19 pandemic and it was not deemed appropriate to compare results from this period due to low programme dosage.

5.2. Impact trends - ‘Growing Makhanda’s Brain’

To understand the city-wide impact of GADRA’s interventions, the concept of representing the ‘footprint’ of the organisation using three snapshots in time was utilised. From this starting point the analogy of Makhanda’s education system as a neural system emerged as a way of representing GADRA’s contribution over time. For example, ‘neurons’ (individuals, sites and programmes) lighting up throughout the system and ‘neural connections’ representing the strengthening of relationships, networks and educational pathways over time.

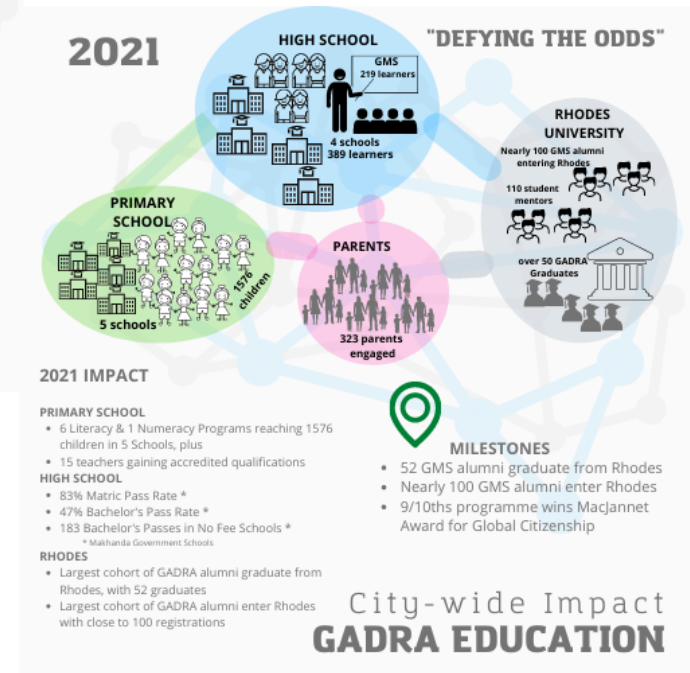
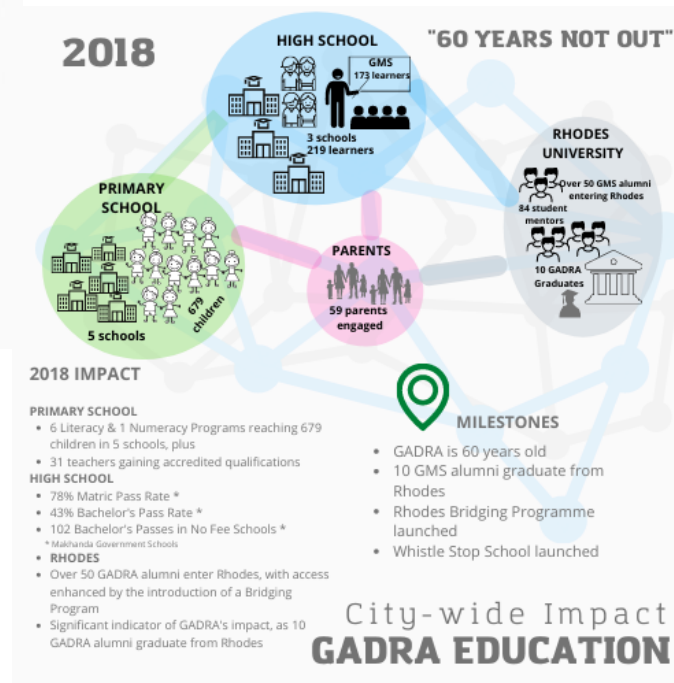
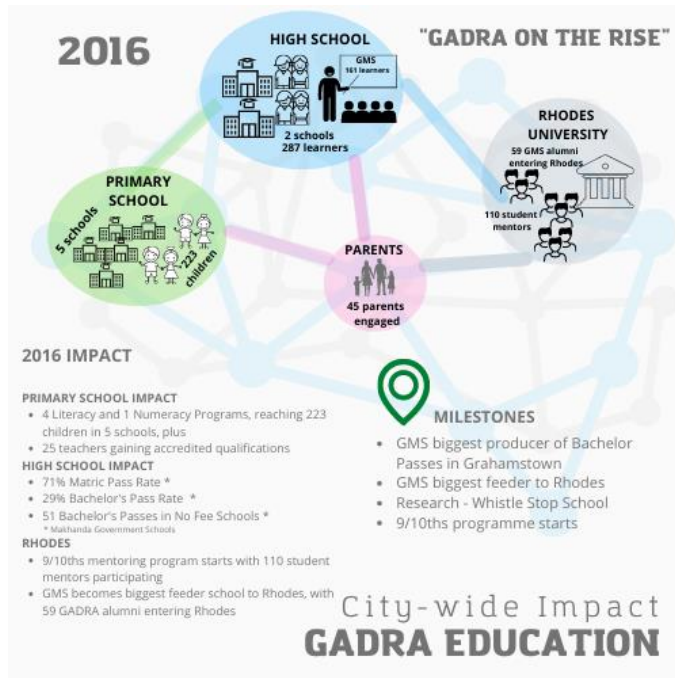


“NEURONS THAT FIRE TOGETHER, WIRE TOGETHER” (DAVID HEBB, PSYCHOLOGIST)

This methodology facilitated the graphic display of growth in programmes and strengthening of networks and thereby showing GADRA’s increasing city-wide reach and impact. Depicted below are three points in time (2016, 2018 and 2021) showing the key service delivery and advocacy programmes of the organisation and their relative size at each point in time. These simple visuals are included by way of communicating impact and sharing the basic concept, which could be developed more fully by a graphic designer should GADRA wish to do so, but which is beyond the scope of this evaluation.

GROWING MAKHANDA'S BRAIN

VISUALISING GADRA'S CITY-WIDE IMPACT OVER TIME



5.3. Outcome mapping

In the strategy under review, GADRA identified six key milestones in their progress towards the overall vision articulated. For the purposes of this evaluation we have positioned these as medium term outcomes against which progress can be assessed in relation to a range of specific indicators and means of verification (acknowledging that the indicators chosen in some case speak to multiple outcome areas). The table below presents a year-on-year reflection of performance against the six outcomes – demonstrating GADRA's remarkable progress in achieving the aims of the strategic plan.

OUTCOME	INDICATOR	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
1. There is an emergence of excellent public township schools in the Grahamstown District*.	Matric pass rate at Makhanda no-fee schools	-	75%	78%	76%	80%	83%
	No. of primary school learners reached	223	96	679	1395	1129	1576
	Average Grade 4 standardised comprehension test scores in comparison to non-WSS learners			+36%	+42%	+42%	+58%
	No. of teachers completing accredited Teacher Professional Development short course	25	50	31	N/A	N/A	15
2. There are clear and effective strands of excellence that run across the length and breadth of the public schooling system.	Bachelor pass rate at GMS	75%		58%			71%
	No. of learners from disadvantaged schools being accepted at RU	59		50+			Approx. 100
	No. of GMS Alumni accepted at RU as full-time students	45	65	56	59	79	67
	No. of GADRA alumni graduating from RU	-	-	10	31	42	52
3. Grahamstown is consistently amongst the top three districts* in the Eastern Cape with regards to the matric results.	Makhanda matric pass rate in comparison to Provincial (& National)	+12% (-2%)	+10% (=)	+7% (=)	-1% (-5%)	+12% (+4%)	+10% (+7%)
	Makhanda Bachelor pass rate in comparison to Provincial (& National)	+10% (+3%)	+16% (+10%)	+16% (+9%)	+3% (-2%)	+13% (+7%)	+13% (+11%)
4. The number of Bachelor passes produced by disadvantaged schools in Grahamstown doubles from 50 in 2014 to 100 by 2020.	No. of Bachelor passes achieved at Makhanda no-fee schools	51	62	102	86	108	183
5. GADRA Education manages approximately 1000 Rhodes student volunteers (who undertake a range of activities in Grahamstown public schools).	No. of student volunteers	110	90	84	105	90	110
6. There is considerable multi-stakeholder, effective activism about public schooling in Grahamstown, indicative of the emergence of an education social movement.	No. of structured** partnerships with public schools	7	5	8	8	9	9
	No. of parents engaged	45	-	59	53	37	323

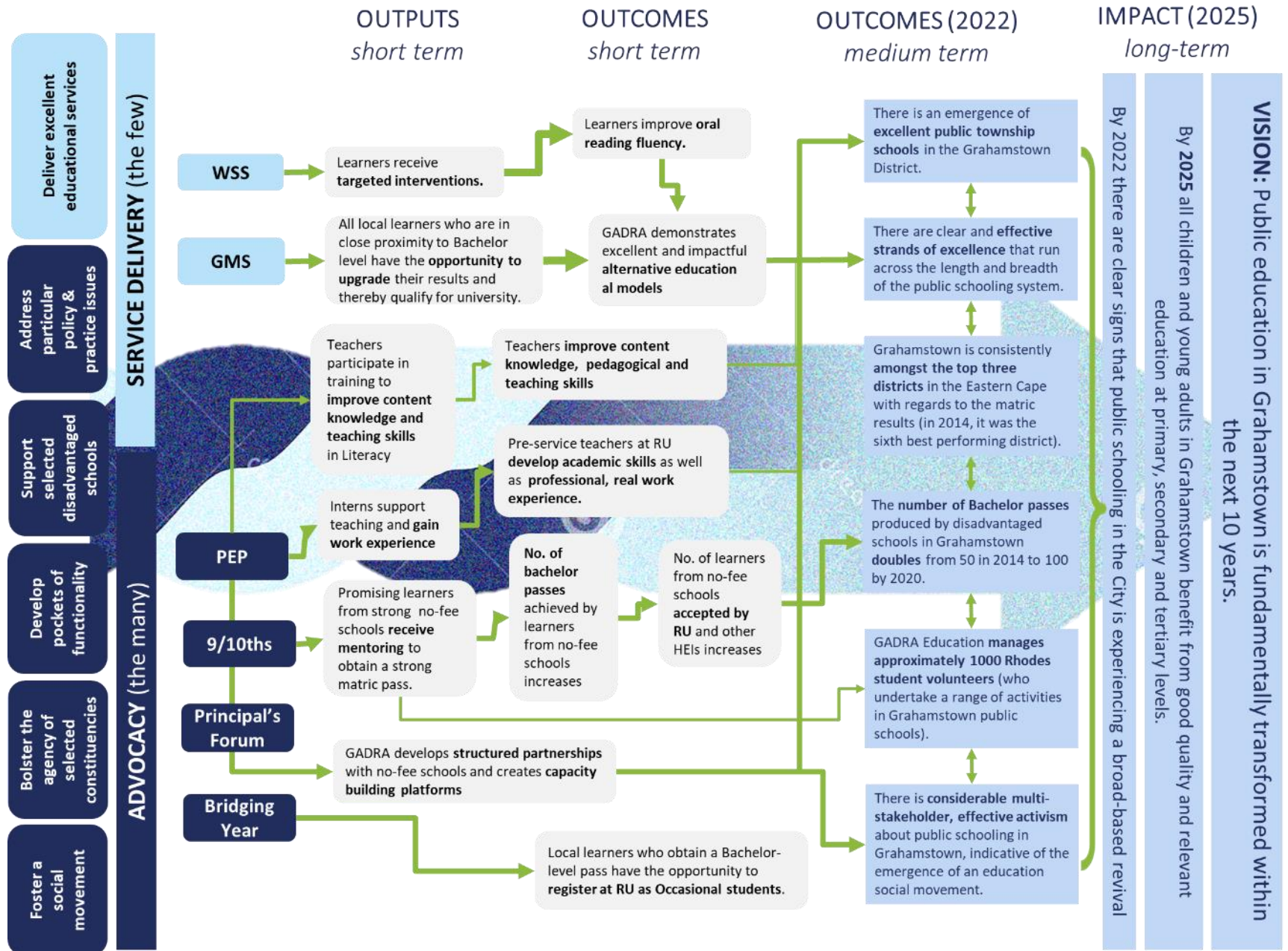
* Note: At the time at which the strategy was developed GADRA operated in the 'Grahamstown Educational District'. However, in 2017/18 educational districts were reconfigured subsuming Makhanda within the larger 'Sarah Baartman District'. For the purposes of this evaluation provincial and national comparisons are used.

** Note: GADRA has relationships with many schools across Makhanda. A 'structured' partnership means that the school is participating in either the 9/10ths, WSS or Primary Education Programmes.

Mapping pathways of change

A pathway of change is a map that illustrates the relationships between interventions and outcomes and how they work together to contribute to the overall impact that an organisation is working towards.

The illustration alongside attempts to visually depict GADRA's theory of change and to show where the linkages between interventions and different levels of outcomes are currently most strongly demonstrated (reflected by the thickness of the arrows).



6. CONTEXT

In addition to assessing the *outcomes* of GADRA's interventions, this evaluation process aims to generate insight around the *processes* through which those outcomes are generated. Stated another way: to understand WHAT has been achieved as well as HOW and WHY impact has been realised (or not).

The better an organisation understands its context, the better it can develop appropriate strategies to act on and influence its environment. GADRA's current strategy is built on in-depth and detailed contextual analysis, and exploring the factors, both internal and external, that have either supported or hindered the organisation's effectiveness will provide crucial learnings for the way forward. In relation to planning, and specifically in thinking about scale-up and replicability, contextual insight can provide the organisation with important data about the 'ingredients' that they will need to intentionally sustain and build on in developing their work. Some of these factors may be seen simply as 'the natural order of things' within the core GADRA team but will need careful attention to nurture in new spaces. Bringing attention to limitations and constraints also enables the organisation to think strategically about where they will focus their energies in terms of influencing and bringing about change in some areas and adapting to other factors that are beyond their control.

In the discussion below, enabling and limiting/constraining factors have been grouped according to a series of broad themes for the purposes of analysis and reporting, however, it is important to note that many are closely connected and even overlapping. There are also relationships between different factors which positively, and sometimes negatively, reinforce one another. In fact, what emerges clearly from the data is that there are many contextual factors that act as '*two sides of the same coin*' where particular features have different but closely related results. The challenge for GADRA is to consider how to amplify its many strengths and mitigate or address any weaknesses, where they appear.

6.1. Organisational culture & capacity

Most organisations profess to uphold a set of noble sounding values – sometimes displayed on a wall or articulated in a strategic plan. It is less common to hear such **values** communicated informally and with striking coherence in the way GADRA staff describe '*how we do things around here*', and to find many, tangible examples of how they are lived within day to day operations. **Trust**, **respect**, and **commitment** form a powerful triad that describes how the professional staff at GADRA conduct themselves and engage with one another (as well as with stakeholders).

These values feed directly into another significant feature of GADRA's organisational culture, which is the sense of **autonomy and agency** which appears to be very intentionally nurtured and strongly felt across the management team. Leadership and decision-making is distributed and is contrasted with experiences of other organisational cultures where micro-management, layers of policies and bureaucracy, and multiple '*hoops to jump through*' are seen as the norm. From the perspective of the staff, and as borne out by the organisation's track record, this enables innovation and flexibility.

The 'shadow side' of autonomy and distributed leadership is sometimes felt as **limited integration** between programmes and those working in separate sites not feeling part of the bigger whole. There appear to be opportunities for greater integration between specific programmes that would benefit from more regular opportunities for sharing and learning across the organisation. This is particularly relevant in relation to the *Whistle Stop School* (WSS) and the *Primary Education Programme*, (PEP) and perhaps also between the *GADRA Matric School* (GMS) and the *Mobile Science Lab*.

ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE & CAPACITY

"People feel our values sustained in every interaction." (STAFF MEMBER)

"There is a deep-seated commitment amongst GADRA staff to make things work, no matter what happens." (STAFF MEMBER)

"People are trusted with their jobs and they get on and do it." (STAFF MEMBER)

"I have the freedom to make decisions and take actions." (STAFF MEMBER)

A remarkably strong sense of **shared identity** seems to act to reinforce these first two enabling factors. Almost uniformly, staff interviewed described themselves as ‘*GADRA people*’ – a catch-all term the essence of which seems to be a commitment to putting the needs of those they serve first and having their ‘*heart in the right place*’.

These factors are by no means accidental. Effective **selection, recruitment and retention** strategies are clearly evident within the organisation. The calibre of management staff in terms of qualifications and experience, is markedly high, especially in the context of the local non-profit sector in which attracting and retaining talent is a challenge. This seems to come down to attraction (the reputation of the organisation acts ‘*like a magnet*’), selection (the ability of the leadership to choose the ‘*right people*’), and retention (the ability to create a highly-valued and empowering work environment so that ‘*once they get involved, no one wants to leave*’). The low turn-over of staff in nearly all programmes attests to this. There is a potential risk that accompanies GADRA’s current cohort of highly committed and passionate professional staff and this relates to succession planning at leadership and management levels of the organisation. Finding individuals with similar levels of skill, experience, passion and commitment, and the costs of attracting them, could prove to be a significant challenge for the organisation.

The strength of **human and intellectual capital** is a theme that runs throughout the organisation. The current Manager is widely acknowledged for his critical thinking and strategic **leadership**, which includes an in-depth understanding of the organisation’s context, strong theoretical knowledge, and the ability to identify and take advantage of strategic opportunities, in collaboration with others.

Key members of the Board contribute significantly to the conceptualisation of GADRA’s strategies and interventions and play a critical ‘**think tank**’ role. Together with partners, the Board and staff of GADRA have developed and pioneered an impressive range of home-grown models to address specific local challenges (for example, *GMS, WSS and 9/10ths*). The importance of recruitment and selection is also evident at this level. The Board has been very deliberately constituted to promote **diversity and representivity** in a way that ‘*knits together*’ GADRA’s key stakeholders and constantly reinforces the strategic (and in some cases long-term personal) **relationships** between them.

“We have a whole specialised project focused on literacy development, there is so much scope for more integration and learning between the programmes.” (STAFF MEMBER)

“We get to know the students but we don’t get to know each other... Having opportunities to get to know each other could improve how we work together.” (STAFF MEMBER)

“If you take a knife and cut us, you will see traces of GADRA in our blood.” (BOARD MEMBER)

“GADRA has been around for a long-time... but it has never been as strategic in its intent as it is now.” (PARTNER)

“The connectivity is the hidden governance ingredient.” (BOARD MEMBER)

FREDERIC LALOUX’S ‘TEAL ORGANISATIONS’

In his book ‘*Reinventing Organizations*’ Frederic Laloux describes the evolution of different types of organisations culminating in the emergence of what he calls ‘teal organizations’. Some of the characteristics of GADRA’s organisational culture seem to be closely aligned with this typology, particularly in terms of self-management and distributed leadership, and Laloux’s work may be worth reflecting on within the organisation.

Teal organisations can be likened to living organisms that adapt and evolve organically and continuously. Power is shared and decentralized into autonomous teams. The traditional hierarchical pyramid is replaced by self-management, as people are trusted to make major decisions themselves and to be held accountable for business results. Laloux describes three ‘breakthroughs’ as characteristic of teal organisations:

<p>SELF-MANAGEMENT</p> <p>Teal organizations have found the key to upgrading their structures from hierarchical, bureaucratic pyramids to powerful and fluid systems of distributed authority and collective intelligence.</p> 	<p>WHOLENESS</p> <p>Organizations have always been places that encourage people to show up with a narrow “professional” self. Teal organizations have developed a consistent set of practices that invite us to drop the mask, reclaim our inner wholeness, and bring all of who we are to work.</p> 	<p>EVOLUTIONARY PURPOSE</p> <p>Teal organizations are seen as having a life and a sense of direction of their own. Instead of trying to predict and control the future, members of the organization are invited to listen and understand what the organization is drawn to become, where it naturally wants to go.</p> 
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ADAPTED FROM LALOUX, 2016, P. 55

6.2. Approach

Seeing and valuing each human being, whether a learner or a parent, is clearly fundamental to GADRA's approach. This **human-centred** ethos is demonstrated in the care that is taken to visit high schools on the day that examination results are announced and to sit with each learner to discuss their options; to interview individually each qualifying GMS applicant along with their parents or guardians; to support each 9/10ths mentee through each step of the complex process of applying for higher education institutions and funding; and in passionate commitment of GADRA staff to 'teach the child, not the curriculum' by tailoring interventions to target the precise needs of different groups of learners.

GADRA's 'heart' does not overrule its head, however, in making very **strategic selection** decisions. The organisation is unapologetic about carefully selecting the strongest candidates with the potential and the will to succeed, in relation to both partners and learners. In this way they set themselves and their stakeholders up for success, as evidenced by their results.

Selection and programmatic decisions are **driven by data** and a commitment to **efficiency**. Programmes are carefully designed to bring about maximum impact by intervening in precise ways, exactly where the need is identified, with the right 'dosage', and no wasted resources. GADRA's robust monitoring and evaluation systems enable the organisation to continuously assess progress and make necessary changes.

By remaining very focused on where they can intervene most effectively, GADRA avoids 'mission creep' to which NPOs can be prone due to the overwhelming level of often competing demands.

Their commitment to **strong assessment systems and quantifiable results** enables GADRA to demonstrate impact in very tangible ways. This has proven to be a highly effective way of developing **buy-in** from stakeholders and mobilising new partners.

The combination of efficiency and care has proven to be a very powerful and effective model for GADRA. The commitment to efficiency and hard-headed decision-making does have a downside in that it can be perceived as 'ruthless' and there is some evidence that it can **alienate other local stakeholders**. In a 'small pond' such as Makhanda, GADRA's success is likely to create some envy, and its position gives it a lot of 'limelight' as well as power that should be wielded with care, especially given its objective of building a broad-based social movement. Public commentary from GADRA serves an important advocacy role but can also be perceived as 'cutting' and can 'cause a lot of damage' to relationships.

Alongside their hard, quantitative data there seems to be an important opportunity to tell the full story of GADRA's contribution through **qualitative data and indicators of impact**. Interviews with staff and stakeholders revealed many examples of so-called 'soft' or more difficult to measure outcomes such as growth in confidence and agency, the development of social capital, and shifts in culture and practice.

APPROACH

"...students we target have to be at a certain level to benefit from the programme." (STAFF MEMBER)

"... if a programme is not performing in terms of the data, it'll get the chop. [GADRA] doesn't run things for the sake of running things." (PARTNER)

"There are many big needs but GADRA is very focused on where it can have the biggest impact." (BOARD MEMBER)

"For some, it's the first time they have had a teacher notice them and say, 'you have potential, you can succeed.' A lot of students leave far more psychologically and emotionally equipped to face adulthood." (STAFF MEMBER)

"Amazing growth in mentors... we don't measure this, it's just something we see." (STAFF MEMBER)

"To give young people hope is not something you can necessarily measure, but you can see it. You can see it in a young person's eyes as they go through the organisation." (STAFF MEMBER)

Strategic selection and measurement of qualitative outcomes could provide an opportunity to shine a light on the achievements of GADRA's advocacy interventions. Currently the **impact of advocacy efforts** is seen in the matric results, but this hardly seems to do them justice.

Critically, understanding the qualitative side of GADRA's work, will help the organisation to understand **why and how** their interventions achieve results. This is not down to technical factors alone and the 'softer' side needs deliberate attention if programmes are to be **replicated or scaled**, and in thinking about the **sustainability** of the organisation's performance. As one partner put it, *"Without the 'soft stuff', GADRA would not create the change they have"*.

DEVELOPING QUALITATIVE IMPACT INDICATORS

Below a few considerations are presented around the value of qualitative monitoring and evaluation, as well as some examples.

Qualitative data can be valuable in:

- Providing insight into the social processes and contextual factors that lead to change, e.g. how and why something happened.
- Dealing with complexity and unexpected results based on the understanding that human development processes are dynamic and evolving, rather than linear or predetermined.
- Capturing change and lessons learned from different perspectives; drawing on local knowledge and understandings of a given issue.
- Providing detailed description of people's attitudes, behaviours, beliefs, lived experiences and priorities.
- Communicating in-depth information on changes in people's lives; bringing stories to life.

EXAMPLES OF POTENTIAL QUALITATIVE INDICATORS:

- Level of participation of parents in school governance processes.
- Quality of leadership capacity in public schools.
- Changes in organisational culture within public schools.

PROGRESS MARKERS

Progress markers form part of the Outcome Mapping methodology for planning, monitoring and evaluating development initiatives. They are useful in tracking behavioural change by using a series of statements (or qualitative indicators) that describe gradual progression towards a desired outcome. They are often expressed in the following way:

- **Expect to see (short-term):** early encouraging response to the project, initial engagement.
- **Like to see (medium-term):** active engagement, learning, commitment.
- **Love to see (longer-term):** expanding influence, sharing expertise, behaviour change.

MIXED METHODS:

Combining qualitative and quantitative methods can be a powerful way to demonstrate impact. A few examples of this approach include:

Scorecards can be used to generate data on perceptions of specific qualitative issues such as empowerment, accountability, trust, and governance. Data comprises perception scores, usually on a 5-point scale or even

using 'smiley faces', which can be aggregated across groups and over time. Example indicators might include:

- Perceptions of communication with parents at no-fee schools. *[School engagement and accountability]*
- Attitudes towards reading amongst Intermediate Phase learners. *[Learner empowerment]*
- Parents' sense of confidence in helping with children's homework. *[Parent empowerment]*

Closed questions, used in surveys or focus group discussions, can generate quantifiable data about less tangible dimensions of impact such as the development of social capital. For example, using questions such as:

- If you need support in your job as a school principal, right now, how many people could you turn to? *[School leadership social capital and capability]*
- In the last 6 months, how many times have you engaged professionally with other teachers from outside of your school? *[Social capital amongst teachers]*
- Have you attended a local networking event related to education in the last six months? *[Local social capital in relation to education]*

Pulse check surveys comprise a short set of questions sent out regularly to a specific cohort of people to continuously collect quantifiable data on progress made and shifts in perceptions, beliefs, culture or practices. They are usually presented in the form of statements that participants rate on a 5-point scale from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. For example:

- I feel confident about my future. *[Learner empowerment]*
- In my school my teachers care about me as an individual. *[Learner empowerment]*
- If I am worried about my child's education, I can speak to someone at their school and get help. *[Parental empowerment]*

6.3. Advocacy – conceptualising, operationalising and demonstrating impact

GADRA's advocacy strategy is **conceptualised strongly and innovatively** within its strategic plan, positioning the organisation to work at the intersection of advocacy and service delivery based on the proposition that educational service delivery and advocacy complement one another and that impact in both spheres will be enhanced by this dual approach. The strategy is further broken down into two imperatives:

- To change the environment within which the state delivers public schools such that greater accountability is demanded; and
- To enhance levels of capacity within under-resourced public schools where there is progressive political will.

At an operational level, there seems to be **less clarity** around GADRA's advocacy strategy. Staff were very sure of their service delivery roles but were less confident in recognising themselves as **advocates for change**. Board members and staff described a range of diverse, although certainly complementary, **understandings of advocacy** (see section below).

There can be little doubt that advocacy efforts are contributing to impact through GADRA's interventions, however, **developing a more unified understanding of advocacy** and a greater, shared sense of **ownership of this role** throughout the organisation, could really serve to amplify this important dimension of GADRA's model.

Currently the strongest indicator of the impact of advocacy efforts is the trajectory of matric results over the period under review. Whilst this is a very robust measure, it **does not tell the full story**. What seems to be missing is evidence of how, for example, parents feel empowered to demand greater accountability; or the growth in leadership capacity within public schools. Anecdotally, it is clear that these changes are taking place and a more formalised approach to capturing and communicating this level of impact would serve to verify and reinforce GADRA's unique and innovative advocacy strategy.

ADVOCACY

"Within what we do, I don't see much opportunity for advocacy."
(STAFF MEMBER)

"Service delivery very clearly... Advocacy not so sure." (Staff member)

"We fall down on advocacy in a big way."
(STAFF MEMBER)

"I am someone who people look up to. I'm the first graduate at home, and I'm one of the few graduates where I live, so I am known as an example." (FORMER GMS LEARNER)

"Let's make education fashionable!" (FORMER GMS LEARNER)

"Parental involvement in the learners' education improves with the improvement in literacy ... Parents take pride and share in the achievements of their children. This in turn influences the rest of the family and ultimately the communities in which these learners live."
(PARTNER)

"Creating a change in how education is seen and valued." (STAFF MEMBER)

AMPLIFYING ADVOCACY

Below are presented a few considerations in relation to how GADRA defines, operationalises, and demonstrates the impact of, its advocacy efforts.

DEFINING ADVOCACY

Save the Children defines advocacy as *“a set of organised activities designed to influence the policies and actions of others to achieve positive changes.”*

In GADRA’s strategy five ‘clusters’ of advocacy work are identified:

- Support selected disadvantaged schools to achieve educational excellence;
- Develop various pockets of functionality within the public schooling system;
- Address particular policy and practise issues hampering public schooling;
- Bolster the agency of constituencies within the system that are capable of demanding better performance from government; and
- Instigate the emergence of an education social movement in Grahamstown that brings about increased capacity and accountability in the public sector.

Emerging from this evaluation were different ways in which these efforts are (or might be) operationalised from the perspectives of staff and other stakeholders:

DIRECT MODELLING & INFLUENCING

Contributing to change in individuals and individual sites through direct interactions.

“serving as a model for good, sound, common sense teaching approaches.”

MOBILISING CIVIL SOCIETY

promoting a collective sense of agency, empowerment, energy and engagement.

“No one can come along and empower someone else. What you can do is to create an empowering environment, and then that requires people to be proactive.”

CONTRIBUTING TO POLICY & PRACTICE

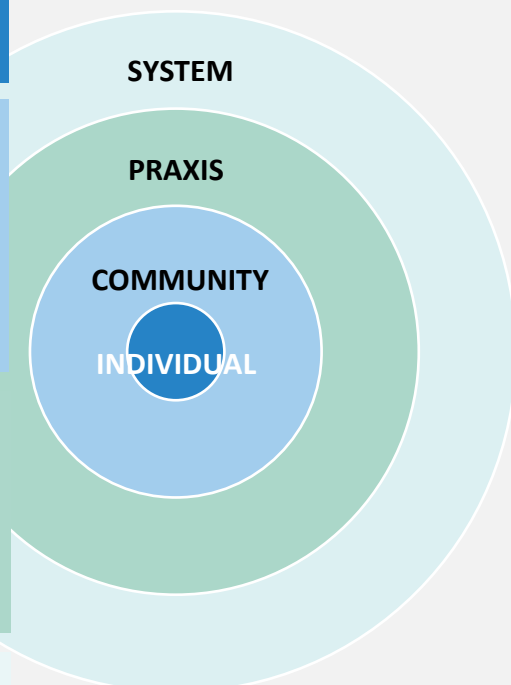
Learning and sharing lessons through robust research and dissemination.

“Doing research, talking at conferences ... hoping that that effects change in others.”

TRANSFORMING THE SYSTEM

Influencing and lobbying the wider education system.

“We need to find ways of working more with DoE.”



It might be valuable to have an organisational dialogue exploring and refining a shared definition of advocacy and how it is pursued through practical strategies.

MONITORING & EVALUATING ADVOCACY

Advocating for change is a long-term and complex process. It involves many shifts on the way to bringing about long-term change. It might be valuable to think about how to monitor and evaluate efforts and changes at different stages. For example:

- **Activities** - Keeping a simple, shared log of activities - who is doing what, where and when, in relation to advocacy.
- **Outputs** – For example: number of parents reached; partnerships established; workshops run; media articles published etc.
- **Outcomes** – For example: percentage of teachers using new approaches or materials; examples of parents playing an active role in their children’s education; replication of approaches in different sites; examples of collective action for education in the city; input into policy, etc.
- **Impact** – For example: improved retention rates and educational performance; changes in local policy; adoption of methodologies at district, province or national level, etc.

A very simple model:

The diagram below presents a very simple way of thinking about the iterative monitoring of advocacy activities.



ADAPTED FROM: SAVE THE CHILDREN, 2007

6.4. Social capital

GADRA is seeking to build a 'social movement' for education in Makhanda. A defining feature of GADRA's approach is the emphasis it places on relationships and collaboration. By drawing on, and nurturing, **social capital** deliberately and strategically, the organisation has been able to make significant progress towards this objective. Social capital can be defined as the *"features of social organisation, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions"* (Putman, 1993).

GADRA has built an effective network of **partnerships with the city's public schools**, (particularly through strong relationships with the Principals), as well as with other **civil society organisations**. Importantly, the organisation's **partnership with Rhodes University (RU)** stands out as a key enabling feature. Within this, the relationship with the university's Vice Chancellor (VC), Professor Sizwe Mabizela, at a personal, leadership and governance level, has been pivotal. The VC's stance on the role that the university should play within the city and the subsequent selection of GADRA as the lead civil society partner in the *VC's Educational Initiative* put the organisation in a unique position to pursue its strategy, enabling access to human and intellectual resources, accreditation of courses, and opening up new pathways into the university through the Bridging Programme.

An analysis of GADRA's local network shows a **dense web of relationships** built iteratively, consistently and intentionally, across space and time, and at all levels. From the relationships between GADRA staff and learners' families (often spanning multiple generations); to the learners and their mentors or teachers; between a GADRA programme manager and a public school teacher; as well as at a leadership and governance level, these relationships catalyse and sustain the organisation's impact. The analogy of a vast human brain comes to mind: individuals, organisations and educational sites as neurons lighting up and relationships forming and strengthening neural pathways, with the entire network becoming stronger as the connections develop and multiply [see 'Growing Makhanda's Brain', p. 18].

Social capital enables the **mobilisation of significant human resources**, most notably in the form of hundreds of RU students volunteering as mentors through the 9/10ths Programme, and the young interns within the Primary Education Programme. Parents and former students also become ambassadors for GADRA's work, marketing its programmes and serving as role models to others in their families and communities. The trust and reciprocity developed within collective platforms such as the High School Principal's Forum also appears to be an important driver of transformation within the city's public education system, building the confidence of school leaders to make bolder decisions within their spheres of influence.

By leveraging opportunities for **mutual benefit** GADRA secures the support of partners and individuals in working towards shared outcomes. Examples of this include the success of the VESTAS Consortium (a partnership between GADRA, RU Education Faculty, the Lebone Literacy Project, and the SA Numeracy Chair), the 9/10ths Programme (a partnership with RU Community Engagement), and collaboration between GMS and the Assumption Development Centre's Second Chance Matric School.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

"GADRA couldn't have done it alone. When I talk about 'we', I talk about GADRA, the university and the schools. I don't think any one of those actors could have done it on their own... Each one has brought something distinctly different".

(PARTNER)

"When you share your experience of GADRA, someone else will ask 'how do I apply?'"

(PARENT)

"It's not only the learner who comes to GADRA, it's the whole family."

(PARENT)

"A blend and a mix of volunteerism, interning and professional work at a scale that is significant, with a significant mobilisation of society."

(STAFF MEMBER)

"Collaborations are based on meeting a need out there ... partner organisations are also wanting to respond to that need." (STAFF MEMBER)

"GADRA has created for Rhodes an example of what a mutually beneficial and reciprocal relationship can look like." (PARTNER)

"My involvement with GADRA has been such an integral part of my whole university experience."

(VOLUNTEER)

6.5. Position

Another important enabling factor is GADRA's position – both in terms of the space in which it operates within the broader educational system, and in terms of the place it occupies in the hearts and minds of the Makhanda community.

GADRA's long history within Makhanda contributes to the strength of its **reputation and brand**. However, as one Board member remarked, *"Trust has to be earned every day, it can't be banked"*, and it seems clear that GADRA has done a remarkable job of consistently building and maintaining people's **trust** by delivering on its commitments. In fact, GADRA, and its matric school in particular, has become an aspirational brand with students who have the marks to go directly into university actively choosing to do an extra year at GMS instead.

GADRA's strategy explicitly recognises that public education is not a neutral space, but one *'ridden with power relations and interests'*. Working outside of the state education system gives GADRA the **autonomy and agility** to make bold decisions and to respond swiftly to changing circumstances and opportunities, (exemplified recently by how it adapted through the COVID-19 pandemic to maintain operations and services with limited disruption). Despite GADRA's independence, some of its programmes are affected by **power dynamics** within the education system. For example, WSS, PEP and 9/10ths are affected by the disruptions of union activities, shutdowns and go-slows and sometimes constrained by the need to balance their own programme objectives with **curriculum compliance and bureaucratic drivers** within the schools.

In managing the tension of operating outside of the system but in partnership with public schools, GADRA has chosen a deliberately informal approach based on long-term relationships with individual sites, principals and teachers. This pragmatic approach seems to have worked well for the organisation so far, however, it does bring with it some constraints and risks. GADRA staff are acutely aware that they are in the schools *'at the invitation'* of the teachers and principals and sometimes this means that they are **unable to act on concerns** for fear of *'making waves'*. In the absence of a formal agreement with the Department of Basic Education, GADRA's position within Makhanda's public schools is **vulnerable**. However, this has to be weighed against the potential bureaucratic and compliance implications of going a more formal route, which may not provide much more security in the long-run.

POSITION

"GADRA has built up a really positive image in people's minds." (STAFF MEMBER)

"There are so many Makhanda families where members have benefited from GADRA." (STAFF MEMBER)

"Why do people trust GADRA? We do what we say we will do. We deliver." (Staff member)

"Technically, we are not a school. That give us a lot of freedom and autonomy." (STAFF MEMBER)

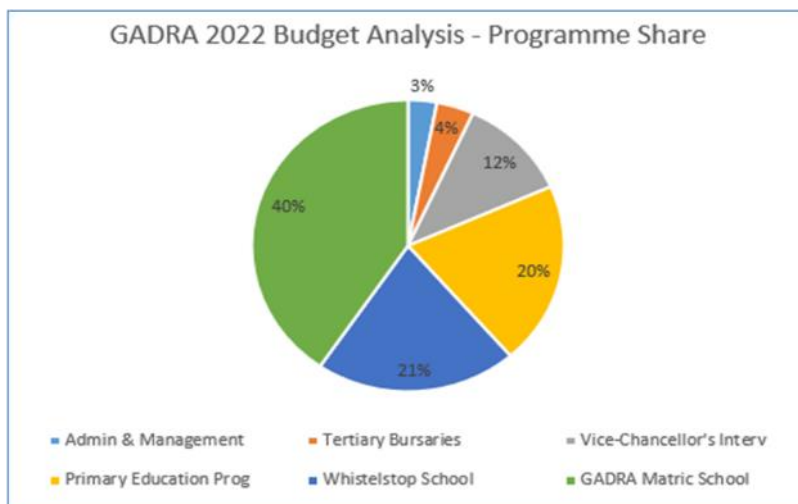
"We are able to make swift adjustments in response to changing circumstances." (STAFF MEMBER)

'If we make waves, then we're gone' (STAFF MEMBER)

6.6. Financial sustainability

Year on year, GADRA's financials tell an exceptionally impressive story of sound financial management and consistent growth. Against the backdrop of many local and national non-profit organisations struggling to survive and even closing, GADRA's financial performance is striking.

One contributing factor is a commitment to **efficiency and managing expenditure**, a theme commented on across the organisation and borne out by robust financial management systems. GADRA's organisational overheads are remarkably low, at three percent of the total budget.



FINANCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

"The necessary amount of effort, time and resources to achieve an outcome."

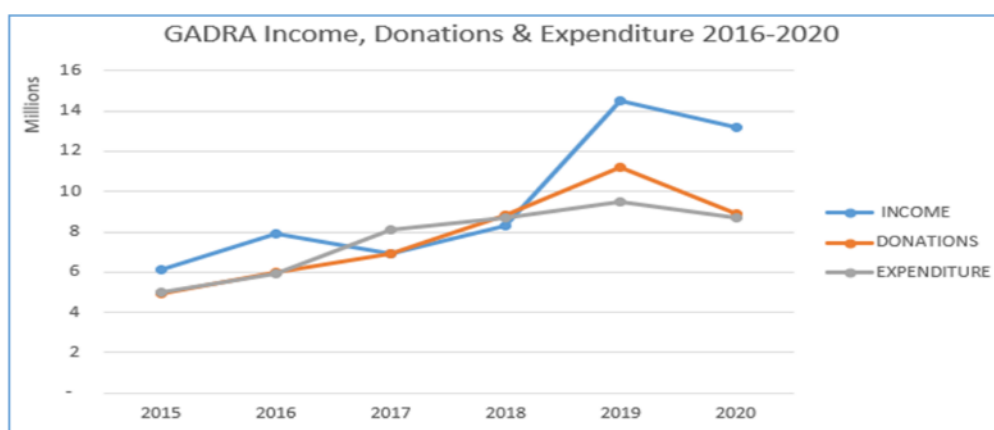
(BOARD MEMBER)

"There is all round respect in the organization for [the budget]. It is all very well to have increasing income streams but if expenditure runs amok then all that good work is in vain."

"GADRA has a strategic reserve for sustainability into the medium term and the ability to see through ups and downs."

(BOARD MEMBER)

Strongly articulated, targeted fundraising proposals and consistently high quality reports to donors, combined with their excellent reputation, explain GADRA's **impressive fundraising trajectory**. The organisation raised R5 million in 2015 and this grew to a peak of R11.2million in 2019, and R9 million in 2021 (despite many donors cutting back in response to the COVID-19 pandemic).



Most notably, the leadership and governance of the organisation has paid attention to generating their **own income** and growing a sizeable **reserve fund**. GADRA's reserves and investments have grown exponentially from R2 million in 2015 to approximately ten times this in 2021. This puts the organisation in a very solid position in terms of being able to respond to unexpected shocks, and, importantly, enables it to **self-fund** the design and piloting of new interventions – an enviable place for a non-profit organisation to be.

7. Findings & Recommendations

7.1. Findings

Achievement of strategic outcomes

By 2022 it was GADRA's aim to see '*clear signs that public schooling in the city is experiencing a broad-based revival*'. The clearest and most robust evidence that this is indeed happening can be seen in the impressive trajectory of the matric pass rate and Bachelor pass rate at Makhandha's no-fee paying schools. Beyond this it can be seen in the significant increase in the rate at which local learners from no-fee paying schools are entering, and graduating from, Rhodes University. This is a truly remarkable transformation and GADRA's contribution to the change is highly significant and beyond debate, as evidenced by the achievement of outcomes in each programmatic area, most notably: oral reading fluency at primary school level; and the matric results of learners at GMS and those mentored through the 9/10th programme.

A truly remarkable transformation...
GADRA's contribution is beyond doubt.

Collaboration is embedded within GADRA's strategy and, along with key partners, the organisation has played a catalytic role in mobilising civil society and fostering a social movement which is driving educational change in the city. Through its partnerships and relationships GADRA has done this in a number of strategic and substantive ways including: by mobilising significant additional human resource through student volunteers and young interns; bolstering the agency of school leaders, parents and learners through creating platforms for collective engagement and action; consistently pursuing a human-centred approach; and empowering teachers through training, development and sharing of innovative materials, and the modelling of new cultures and practices.

The organisation has played a catalytic role in mobilising civil society.

The combination of quantitative results and qualitative data from a broad range of stakeholders presented above provides ample evidence of how GADRA has achieved (and in some areas surpassed) the ambitious outcomes that were articulated within its strategic plan.

City-wide impact

Accurate population estimates for Makhandha are hard to find, however, a population estimate for Makana Local Municipal District (of which Makhandha forms the largest hub) is 77 123 according to Statistics SA (2016). A report by Eastern Cape Socio Economic Council (ECSECC) from 2017 put Makana's total population higher at 86, 600.

The total number of beneficiaries reached by GADRA directly between 2016 to 2021 is conservatively estimated to be 9329. If a population figure of approximately 80 000 is used, this means that GADRA has reached a remarkable figure of nearly 12% of all people living in the local district *directly* through its interventions during this period. Furthermore, recognising the wider impact of GADRA's work, (as evidenced repeatedly in the data generated for this evaluation), we can use an average Eastern Cape household size of 3.9 (Statistics SA, 2016) as a proxy for this multiplier effect. The total number of people reached both *directly and indirectly* by GADRA would therefore increase to over 36 000 or approximately 45% of the population of the local district.

GADRA has benefited directly nearly 12% of Makana's population.

Pockets of
functionality and
excellence
throughout the city.

The educational landscape of Makhanda has changed substantially between the period 2016 and 2021 and a significant portion of this impact must be attributed to GADRA's efforts. As strikingly illustrated by the *'Building Makhanda's Brain'* snapshots, GADRA's interventions have established pockets of functionality and excellence throughout the city, and prepared the ground for others. Through their careful and strategic nurturing of relationships they have created and strengthened

linkages and pathways that now criss-cross the city, fuelling and sustaining educational change and birthing new connections in turn. Whilst the organisation has not achieved this impressive level of city-wide impact alone, the comment of one long-time Board member and local educationalist rings true: *'Where would Makhanda be without GADRA?'*.

Enabling and constraining factors

The third set of questions that this evaluation process sought to explore relate to how and why GADRA has achieved the level of performance which it has within the period of this strategic plan.

Externally, the key explanatory factors include the organisation's high level of social capital constituted by carefully nurtured relationships at all levels, with its partnership with Rhodes University standing out as critical to mutual success. The COVID-19 pandemic was undoubtedly a constraining factor but mitigated substantially by GADRA's ability to innovate and adapt. As acknowledged within the strategy, the political landscape of education remains a significant constraint, however, the organisation must be acknowledged for its success in building a coalition of the willing that is steadily developing pockets of agency and functionality in spite of the dysfunction of the wider system.

Success in building a
coalition of the
willing.

A unique blend of
strategic thinking,
technical skills and a
deeply human
commitment to
learners.

Internally, GADRA has brought to bear a unique blend of critical and strategic thinking; exceptionally strong technical knowledge and skills at leadership, management and programme levels; and a deeply human commitment to individual learners and families. The organisation's success is rooted in this powerful combination, which positions it at the leading edge of civil society organisations working in the South African education sector. The next phase for GADRA looks exciting indeed!

7.2. Recommendations

As a learning organisation, GADRA is gearing up to build on its existing strengths and to take forward the lessons learnt over the last six years in developing a new strategic plan. While many organisations in GADRA's position might be satisfied to keep doing what works, this NPO will doubtless be looking to continue its stellar trajectory with bold innovation and growth. The insights that have emerged from this evaluation process suggest a few potential starting points in this regard:

Amplify advocacy

GADRA has an innovative and nuanced approach to advocacy and each staff member, (as well board member, alumnus, volunteer, partner, learner, family member and supporter), is a champion for change. The 2016 strategy signalled an important shift in how the organisation conceptualised its advocacy role, which has gained traction in the intervening years. Now is the time for the whole organisation (and its stakeholders) to really embrace and own this role. It would be valuable to have an organisational conversation about GADRA's specific approach to advocacy and how such efforts are operationalised, and the impact captured and communicated. Such an important dimension of GADRA's work deserves more exposure, which will surely serve to reinforce efforts to drive change.

Tell the stories behind the numbers

GADRA stands out for its rigorous quantitative monitoring and evaluation systems and ability to demonstrate hard evidence of impact. How much more powerful could GADRA's already impressive story be if it were fleshed out by carefully selected and designed qualitative indicators and measures? GADRA already has a huge amount of implicit, informal and ongoing qualitative data collection and analysis. With strategic thinking, careful design and strong systems (fortunately GADRA's hallmarks!) the organisation could show the development of agency, empowerment and social capital in the same robust manner as it currently demonstrates its results. Continuing to draw on research capacity at RU could offer some mutually beneficial opportunities to explore qualitative impact.

Pay attention to internal connections

As the organisation continues to grow it will be important to pay attention to the balance between the efficiency and autonomy of distributed programmes and sites, and the importance of connections and opportunities for sharing between them. A few, well-structured opportunities for learning and engagement between staff within and across programmes could suffice to even this out without clogging up a 'meeting-lite' system that clearly works extremely well.

Scale up and crowd in

As GADRA turns its attention to opportunities to scale up or replicate its successful models, it would seem well worth looking at some relatively high return, low risk opportunities within Makhandia. A formal partnership with the Second Chance Matric School at the Assumption Development Centre, for example, could provide an accessible 'test kitchen' in which to experiment with how the GMS model (or elements thereof) could be replicated and adapted in a different context. This could be seen as a stepping stone to wider scale up and an opportunity to 'crowd in' opportunities within Makhandia's education economy. Another opportunity, (with the added benefit of cementing local relationships), might be found in extending GADRA's proven mentoring model to a leadership or organisational development level. Inspiring and nurturing interventions where they are already emerging, or where there is potential, offers a different approach to scalability, which, in the words of one board member, could "*let a thousand flowers bloom*".

Tell GADRA's story more widely

GADRA's approach to transforming education in Makhandia, the models, and successes it has already achieved, in collaboration with others, deserve to be shared widely. Research published in academic

journals is one way of doing this, that GADRA is already pursuing. Using other national and even international platforms, such as conferences, educational networks, newspapers, and social media (perhaps through a blog that gets shared across different platforms), would serve to raise the profile of the organisation, attract funding, and feed into advocacy objectives through influencing policy and practice.

Explore the role of GADRA's alumni

GADRA's alumni now number in the thousands and span many decades. It would be exciting to explore the role that they could potentially play in support of the organisation's mission - tracking where individuals are now, capturing their stories, and extending the organisation's network through these relationships. It might be worth investing some resources in developing an engagement strategy in this regard.

Shock-proof GADRA's programmes

Covid-19 sent shock-waves through the world and will have long lasting and far reaching impacts on the education system. As GADRA emerges from the grips of the pandemic, more resilient than ever, the time is opportune to consider options to shock-proof the organisation against future catastrophic events that will adversely impact education. The mediation of educational support to learners was extremely difficult during COVID and although GADRA was innovative in its response, some proactive measures may be considered should future pandemics occur. Ideas to consider may include the 'greening' of teaching methods and a transition to low-cost, high impact education technology. Leveraging innovative communication and learning platforms into GADRA's programmes will also serve to equip learners to engage more effectively in the Fourth Industrial Revolution. In addition, these methods also serve as a potential spring board to amplify GADRA's reach within Makhanda and beyond.

Consider strategic engagement with government

GADRA operates squarely within the education space and seeks to strengthen its impact and reach. A possible tactic to achieve this may lie in the identification and engagement of education champions within the government education system at a district, provincial and national level (as the organisation has already done so successfully at school level). Leveraging these strategically placed champions may unlock a number of opportunities for GADRA in its next phase of educational transformation. Champions within the government system who see the tremendous value and potential of GADRA's programmes could provide new platforms and linkages for the organisation at a provincial and national level. GADRA's visibility at a provincial and national level may in turn create opportunities for lobbying and advocating for education system transformation.

In conclusion, the contribution that GADRA is making in Makhanda and in changing the lives of young people could not be captured more powerfully than in the words of this GMS learner:

"If I could, I would definitely spend another year in this class... but unfortunately that is not possible as there are **great things waiting for me in the big world.**"

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Appendices:

Appendix A: Interviews & focus groups

List of stakeholders interviewed:

GADRA staff: <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Ashley Westaway2. Babsy Makombe3. Cathy Meiklejohn4. Cyril Gqolodashe5. Demi Edwards6. Jayne Berriman7. Kelly Long8. Timothy Hacksley Board members: <ol style="list-style-type: none">9. Kenneth Ngcoza10. Margie Keeton Student mentor: <ol style="list-style-type: none">11. Claire McCann	Partners: <ol style="list-style-type: none">12. Diana Hornby, Rhodes University Community Engagement13. Gerhard Jacobs, St Mary's Primary School14. Madeleine Schoeman, Ntsika Secondary School Parents: <ol style="list-style-type: none">15. Errol Goliath16. Ntombizodwa Saba Alumni: <ol style="list-style-type: none">17. Nolutho Ncipa18. Fundi Magida19. Phelela Hulu
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Semi-structured interview & focus group questions:

Programme management staff:

1. In whom do you see the most significant changes as a result of your programme? In what ways? Who else does it affect and how?
2. In the last few years, what changes has your programme contributed to that you were not expecting? What has been unexpectedly positive? What has been unexpectedly negative?
3. What are the key external factors that influence your programme? In what ways do they enable and/or constrain what you can achieve?
4. How does your programme interact with other non-GADRA initiatives in the local area? How do these relationships support you to achieve your intended outcomes? In what ways does your programme support other initiatives to achieve their outcomes?
5. Thinking about GADRA's organisational culture and systems ('the way things are done around here'), what are the features that best enable and support you to fulfil your role and to implement your programme effectively? Internally, what gets in the way of you and your programme being most effective?
6. In your programme, in what ways do you invite and make use of feedback from your stakeholders?
7. Thinking about your programme, what do think is innovative about the way it is designed and implemented? What do these innovations enable? What has inspired or contributed to these innovations?
8. How does your programme reflect GADRA's dual service delivery / advocacy model? How do the two parts of this model work together through your programme?

9. Tell me about how your programme interacts with other GADRA programmes. How do these interactions help you to achieve your intended outcomes? What makes this possible? What enables and constrains effective interaction between programmes?

Management & Board members:

1. What do you see as GADRA's most significant contribution to the city of Makhanda?
2. In the last few years, what changes have you seen as a result of GADRA's work, that you had not expected?
3. Thinking about GADRA's external environment, what makes the organisation effective in responding to and adapting external factors?
4. What would you identify as GADRA's greatest strengths in working collaboratively and systemically in its local context? And weaknesses or opportunities?
5. Thinking about GADRA's organisational culture and systems ('the way things are done around here'), what do you see as the key factors that enable the organisation to be effective? And any weaknesses?
6. How would you describe the role that GADRA's board plays within the organisation? What factors make the relationship between the Board and Management positive and effective?
7. In your view, what makes GADRA a partner of choice for other organisations? And a service provider of choice for learners, parents and others?
8. What do you think is most innovative about how GADRA designs and implements its programmes? What do these innovations enable? What has inspired or contributed to these innovations?
9. How do you understand the logic and effectiveness of GADRA's dual service delivery / advocacy model? Can you share an example(s) of how this approach has been particularly effective?

Additional advocacy-related questions:

10. How do you measure the impact of GADRA's advocacy efforts?
11. In what areas have GADRA's advocacy efforts been most effective and impactful? Can you give any examples?
12. What factors have enabled and/or constrained the organisation's advocacy efforts?

Parents:

1. What impact has GADRA had in the life of your child? And for your family as a whole?
2. One of GADRA's key objectives is to see 'emergence of excellent public township schools in the city'. What evidence do you see of this happening?
3. One of GADRA's intended outcomes is the 'emergence of an education social movement' in Makhanda. What role do you think you as a parent, and other parents, can play in this?
4. How satisfied are / were you with your experience of GMS?
5. What are the strengths of the way the organisation works with learners? And with you as a parent? Do you see any opportunities for improvement?
6. What factors enabled your child to succeed at GMS? Did anything limit their ability to succeed?
7. To what extent do you feel that GADRA encourages, listens to, and responds to feedback?
8. What excites you most about the future for GADRA in Makhanda?

Partners:

1. One of GADRA's key objectives is to see the '*emergence of excellent public township schools in the city*'. What evidence do you see of this happening?

2. What changes have you seen within your school in relation to your partnership with GADRA Education? (*School partners*)
3. One of GADRA's intended outcomes is the '*emergence of an education social movement*' in Makhanda. To what extent do you see your partnership with GADRA as an example of this kind of multi-stakeholder action to improve education?
4. What are the strengths of the way the organisation works with you as a partner? What could they do even better in the way they partner with your school?
5. What factors have either enabled or constrained the success of your partnership with GADRA?
6. To what extent do you feel that GADRA encourages, listens to, and responds to feedback about its programmes and partnerships?
7. What excites you most about how your partnership with GADRA could develop? What exciting opportunities do you see in the future?

Alumni:

1. How would you describe the impact that GADRA has had in your life? And those around you, such as your family?
2. One of GADRA's intended outcomes is the '*emergence of an education social movement*' in Makhanda. To what extent do you feel part of this social movement?
4. In your experience, what are the strengths of the way the organisation works with learners? Do you see any opportunities for improvement?
5. What factors enabled you to succeed through GADRA's programmes? Did anything limit your ability to succeed?
6. To what extent do you feel that GADRA encourages, listens to, and responds to feedback about its programmes?
7. What excites you most about the future for GADRA in Makhanda?

Appendix B - Matric & Bachelor Pass Results - 2016 - 2021

	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
<i>South Africa Matric pass rate</i>	73%	75%	78%	81%	76%	76%
<i>South Africa Bachelor pass rate</i>	26%	29%	34%	37%	36%	36%
<i>South Africa no fee school Bachelor pass rate</i>	19%	22%	26%	30%	30%	31%
<i>Western Cape Matric pass rate</i>	86%	83%	82%	82%	80%	81%
<i>Western Cape ranking in country</i>	2	3	3	4	3	3
<i>Western Cape Bachelor pass rate</i>	41%	39%	42%	44%	44%	45%
<i>Limpopo Matric pass rate</i>	63%	66%	69%	73%	68%	67%
<i>Limpopo ranking in country</i>	8	8	9	9	7	9
<i>Limpopo Bachelor pass rate</i>	18%	21%	24%	27%	29%	27%
<i>Eastern Cape Matric pass rate</i>	59%	65%	71%	77%	68%	73%
<i>Eastern Cape ranking in country</i>	9	9	8	7	8	6
<i>Eastern Cape Bachelor pass rate</i>	19%	23%	27%	32%	30%	34%
<i>Sarah Baartman District Matric pass rate</i>	65%	72%	73%	75%	69%	72%
<i>Sarah Baartman ranking in province (out of 12)</i>	4	2	2	10	4	6
<i>Sarah Baartman Bachelor pass rate</i>	no data	no data	no data	32%	33%	34%
<i>Makhanda - all nine public schools</i>						
<i>Total cohort</i>	580	504	558	540	540	663
<i>Matric passes</i>	409	380	436	410	432	550
<i>Matric pass rate %</i>	71%	75%	78%	76%	80%	83%
<i>Bachelor passes</i>	171	197	238	187	230	313
<i>% of Bachelor passes</i>	29%	39%	43%	35%	43%	47%
<i>Makhanda - six no fee public schools</i>						
<i>Total cohort</i>	411	337	383	395	368	481
<i>Matric passes</i>	247	216	268	270	263	376
<i>Matric pass rate %</i>	60%	64%	70%	68%	71%	78%
<i>Bachelor passes</i>	51	62	102	86	108	183
<i>% of Bachelor passes</i>	12%	18%	27%	22%	29%	38%