

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

THE HISTORY OF BANTU EDUCATION: 1948 - 1994

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A thesis submitted to the Australian Catholic University in total fulfilment of
the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF EDUCATION

March 2011

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis contains no material of any other degree or diploma in any University, and to the best of my knowledge and belief that it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of the Dissertation.

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Ivan Raymond WILLS.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am deeply indebted to Doctors Joseph Zajda and Peter Morris, Faculty of Education, the Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus) for their guidance and advice regarding literature and criterion measures; their continued sympathetic, critical but yet constructive comments, were of considerable assistance. Their patience, approachable manner and perspicacity enabled me to press on against all odds.

My gratitude is extended to Mrs. Rosalie McColl whose assistance was invaluable. She is a sincere friend who provided immeasurable advice and encouragement at all times. Her never ending flow of books and pamphlets from the Deakin University library served as a source of depth of information.

The thesis is dedicated to all people in South Africa and especially to my wife and children. Evelyn Wills, my wife, was responsible for all the typing, arrangement and setting out of material. Her labour and dedication is beyond praise for encouragement, support and patience. To my daughters, Delphine, Jacqueline, Nicholette and Danielle, I express heartfelt gratitude.

Many of the readings that are listed among the references are not readily available in Australia. Several people, from the United States and South Africa, contributed greatly to my dissertation by obtaining and passing along numerous articles and books that I requested.

At this stage I wish to extend my gratitude to the Head Librarian and Librarians at Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus). They were extremely helpful at all times.

Whilst I am academically indebted to all the abovementioned for their unstinting contribution to the completion of this dissertation, I must accept full responsibility for its limitations.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a critical analysis of the history of Bantu education under apartheid. Bantu Education was implemented by the South African apartheid government as part of its general policy of separation and stratification of the races in society. This research, using historical-comparative methodology, examines the role of ideology in education and the state, the shifts in ideology and representations of schooling – designed to train and fit Africans for their role in the evolving apartheid society.

In this thesis it is argued that Bantu Education was a segregated system of schooling for low-skilled occupation and domestication. This research examines the nexus between African Education and the social production process during this period. References will be made to the evolution of African education from 1948 to 1994, in order to give a clear background of Native Education, under apartheid.

The thesis analyses the way the Bantu Education policy directly affected the school curriculum, and access to schooling, in order to reinforce racial inequalities and social stratification. The Apartheid regime advocated that native education should be based on the principle of trusteeship, non-equality, and segregation. The aim of the Bantu Education policy was to inculcate the white man's view of life, especially that of the Boer nation (Afrikaners), which was the senior trustee. This research project demonstrates that the outcomes of Bantu Education hampered South Africa's cultural, economic and scientific progress.

CHAPTER 1

THE HISTORY OF BANTU EDUCATION: 1948 – 1994

1. INTRODUCTION

The main goal of this thesis is to analyse the history of Bantu Education and the nexus of education reforms, hegemony, and cultural reproduction. It is argued that the Nationalists' Apartheid—(an Afrikaans term meaning “apartness”) vision of citizenship was seriously flawed, because it was exclusive, violent, and sectional and rooted in bigotry and racism. The term *hegemony* is used in its simplest form to highlight the notion of ‘political and economical predominance’ of a superordinate group of people over a subordinate group. The term “hegemony”, as articulated by Antonio Gramsci “is the fairly static dominance of social groups built through implicit consensus”, and where “poor and working class people participate in hegemonic relations when they have consented to them, have gained something from them, or otherwise assist in their perpetuation” (Zajda, Biraimah and Gaudelli, 2008, pp. xxii-xxiii). In terms of this thesis, hegemony refers to “the exploited worker in an economically disadvantaged situation, who seeks a *good life*, usually defined in economic terms, at the expense of his/her co-workers and community”. This desire to improve their situation leads them to “internalize the image of the oppressor and to seek their power” (Zajda, Biraimah and Gaudelli, 2008, p. xxii).

The notion of racial superiority, as a hegemonic doctrine, is essential to the function of an ideology like Christian National Education (CNE), which will be elucidated later in chapters 1 and 2. The Bantu Education apparatus functioned to “reproduce the relations of production necessary for the continued exploitation of Blacks in South Africa” (Enslin, 1984, pp. 140-141). The National Government of South Africa stressed that the Africans in their state of “childishness” or “cultural infancy” merited the guidance of the superior white culture. This ideology was taught in schools. Bantu Education contributed to the reproduction of unskilled or semi-skilled black labour power in schools, appropriate to the division of labour in South Africa and to the accompanying exploitation of black workers (Enslin, 1984; Moll, 1998, pp. 263-264). Based on CNE ideology, apartheid could then be regarded as a modernized form of segregation, justified by scripture, adapted to industrialization and implemented by the formidable political machinery of a contemporary state.

Very little is known in many foreign countries of Native or Bantu Education in South Africa during the Apartheid era (Separate Development period) between 1948 and 1994. The role of education in South Africa during the Apartheid era was to help to perpetuate and reproduce a socially stratified and divided system and to compel obedience, docility and conformity among the Black South Africans to that system (Harber, 2001). Consequently, this research focuses on the relationship between African Education, education reforms and cultural reproduction during this period. References will be made to the evolution of African education from 1948 to 1994, in order to give a clear background of Native Education, under apartheid.

Earlier, in 1949-1951, a number of Commission/Committee Reports were commissioned to report on the so-called tenuous and pressing need for the equal/unequal calibre or standard of African education – also called the “Native problem” to name a few, i.e., 1935/36 Welsh Committee and Eiselen Commission of 1949-1951, among others. During 1948 to 1994 era the social production process referred to:

...those relations that exist at the heart of the South African society and indicates the inherent logic of the relations and conflicts between the ruling descendants of white settlers and the African people who are natives, to the area. (Hlatshwayo, 2000, p. 1).

1.1 BANTU EDUCATION

The word “Bantu” refers to over four hundred ethnic groups in Africa, covering numerous nations from Cameroon to South Africa. They form a common language family, called the Bantu language. The word “Bantu” in the term of Bantu education is highly charged politically and has derogatory connotations. However, the word “Bantu” was used in the term Bantu education as part of a general trend during apartheid policies in South Africa to employ “Bantu” in a derogatory manner towards Black South Africans (Rothstein, 2004). Furthermore, the Bantu education system was designed to train and fit Africans for their role in the newly (1948-1994) evolving apartheid society. Education was viewed as a part of the overall apartheid system including ‘homelands’, urban restrictions, pass laws and job reservation. Consequently, the Bantu’s role was one of labourer, worker, and servant only.

As Verwoerd, the architect of the Bantu Education Act (1953), conceived it, Bantu Education was to provide basic training for manual, low status and low-income jobs:

There is no place for (the African) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. It is of no avail for him to receive a training which has its aim, absorption in the European community (Senate Debates, 7th June 1954).

The right to education for Africans was defined through the Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953. Research demonstrates that the Nationalist Party in South Africa was determined to drive the Bantu (Blacks) out and away from White society to the savagery of tribalism, in spite of the fact that the Blacks were already detribalized (Murphy, 1973, Christie and Collins, 1982, Kellaway, 1987, Bergh and Soudien, 2006). This policy was developed by the Minister for Native Affairs, Verwoerd. As Minister of Bantu education Verwoerd made it clear in a series of statements “that education should stand with both feet in the reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society” (Senate Debates, 7th June 1954). Africans would henceforth receive primary education largely in the vernacular: manual subjects such as tree-planting would be substituted for academic lessons in primary forms; parents and children would have to clean and maintain classrooms. School hours for pupils in sub-standards (primary grades) would be shortened to three a day with teachers doing a double shift (an advantage in that more children would be accommodated but a disadvantage in that they would get inadequate lessons) (Verwoerd, 1953). African education had always depended on missions for the finest schools; this being a considerable saving in Government expenditure in that the South African Government made financial grants (subsidies) to the missions. Verwoerd was frank in his intention that he was withdrawing these grants to oust missions who created “wrong expectations on the part of the native” (Hansard, vol. 10, 1953).

African secondary schools and universities for Blacks were set up in the bush (rural areas/homelands/Bantu reserves), in order to exclude Black students from the influence of the suburbs and cities. The legacy of apartheid left South Africa a divided society “with a racially segregated university system”, consisting of historically White universities and historically Black universities, and which included two separate universities for Indians and “Coloureds” (Bergh and Soudien, 2006, p. 63). The Black universities, as products of apartheid, and conceived as racially and ethnically-segregated universities, came only in ‘the late 1960s and early 1970s (Bergh and Soudien, 2006, p. 63).

1.2 SCHOOLS IN CRISES

On June 16, 1976, the youth of Soweto marched in protest against being taught in the medium of Afrikaans. Police fired on them, precipitating a massive flood of violence that overwhelmed the country. The schools' crises were due to the emergence of pupil power and a militant black consciousness movement in the schools. This was a response to the introduction of Afrikaans in schools. Mogano (1993) pointed out that schooling became political: "The importance of the 1976 uprisings lay in the fact that, for the first time in the history of black education, politics became inextricably linked with broader educational issues (Mogano, 1993). This politicisation of the education system became a permanent feature of schools in crises during the 1970s and the 1980s.

The schools' crises of 1976 and 1980 have led to a review of traditional schools of thought, and redirected the theory and history of South African education. The outstanding feature of this development was the emergence of a viewpoint startlingly opposed to the "liberal" and conservative tradition. Expenditure on Bantu Education increased from the 1960s, once the apartheid Nationalist government saw the need for a trained African labour force. More African children were now able to attend school than under the old missionary system of education, to receive some basic education for manual labour. In comparison with the education of other races, and the Whites, these schools lacked teaching resources, and had very large classes.

Overcrowded classrooms were used on a rotational basis. There was also a lack of teachers, and many of those who did teach were underqualified. In 1961, only 10 per cent of Black teachers held a matriculation certificate (the final year of high school). Black education was essentially of an inferior quality, with very low academic standards, and with teachers being less qualified than their students.

In addition, there was a changed character of the Black labour force. The stabilization of the work force, the increasing level of skills, which were not, as before, easily replaceable by employers and, higher levels of literacy, due to some improvements in mass education under the Bantu Education Act—all led to legislation permitting, for the first time, the legal recognition of African workers as 'employees' and the legal recognition and registration of

African trade unions. As the Bantu Education program was entrenched to mainly serve the Whites in South Africa, schooling for the Blacks (Bantu) was deliberately and systematically designed to condition Africans to accept their subordinate status, so that Whites could prosper economically and socially at the expense of the native (Black) population (Kallaway, 1984).

South African education was very closely associated with political, social and economic imperatives, within which policies were formulated, as demonstrated by research findings.

Jansen (2000) in *Outcomes Based Education* and his critique of high school syllabi in Namibia (1995) shows that in a situation of social conflict between the rulers and the ruled; education can become a positive force in shaping consciousness. Du Preez (1983) in *Africana Afrikaner* offers a study of textbooks of prevailing socio-cultural relations during the apartheid era. His critique demonstrates that the textbooks examined indicated that authors did not want a text which was critical of Afrikaner practices or which condemned Blacks outright.

Hlatshwayo (2000) in *Education and Independence: Education in South Africa, 1658-1988*; Horrell (1964) in *Bantu Education* (1964) and in *Bantu Education to 1968* were examples selected as preparatory materials to gather data to review educational research by other academics on the topic. Their critique provided a relevant context for my research

Most of the views of writers set out the main characteristics of South African society in a typical policy rhetoric: South Africa is a country inhabited by people of different cultures and race groups, who originated historically and ethnically as separate communities, viz. Europeans, Blacks, Coloureds and Indians (Farrah, 2007; Beavon, 2004). Kallaway (1987) in *History Alive Standard 10* stated that it was his intention to reach out towards a “new history” in his textbook:

We wish to move from a parochial view of historical events and processes and examine them against a background of social, economic and political change on a global scale (Kallaway, Cited in Van den Heever, 1987, p. 21).

Reports of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) consisting of Research, Annual Surveys, Newsletters and Conference papers, provide a concise history of South

African Education with statistics, data and views expressed by academics, historians, writers, researchers and policy analysts.

1.3 SCHOOLING AND IDEOLOGY

The books chosen, for analysing the nexus between ideology and education, were those by: Christie (1991) *The Right to Learn*; Collins (1984) *Moving Education Forward to Keep Society Back*; Kallaway (2002) *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans*; Rothstein (2004) *Overcoming Apartheid Policies Yesterday and Today*; Apple (2008) *Cultural and Economic Reproduction and Education*; Giroux (1983) *Theory and Resistance to Education*; Bowles and Gintis (1976) *Schooling in Capitalist America*; Altbach and Kelly (1992) *Comparative Education*; Willis (1977) *Learning to Labour*; Carnoy (1979) *Can Education Policy Equalise Income and Distribution*; Murphy (1992) *Apartheid Legacy to Black Children*; and Jansen (2005) *The Colony of Leadership*.

I have chosen the above books because they drew heavily on the writings of prominent educationists and historians. Liberal explanations of Bantu Education, as a creation of Verwoerdian ideology have been exposed by neo-Marxist critiques. In reviewing state policy in the context of 'capitalist accumulation,' writers such as Christie (1984), Kallaway (1984/1988) Collins (1984), Walker, (2003), Rothstein, (2004), Jansen, (2006), and others have demonstrated that education for domestication predated the apartheid era. At the same time, the protagonists of the neo-Marxist ideology have had their own problems (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Apple, 1982; Althuser, 1984; Giroux, 1984). Bantu Education had, in practice, served sections of the economy poorly rather than well; furthermore schooling had itself become a site of struggle. Neo-Marxist ideology (extends Marxism by adding power and status in inequality) emphasizes class conflict, based on an unequal distribution of wealth, income, power, and education (see also Althuser, 1984). The dissimilar interests of various social classes reflected by subordinates (Blacks) and advantaged (Whites) in South Africa showcased the differing relationship to (and benefits from) the workings of the Bantu education system. Bowles and Gintis (1976), who claim to be not only conflict theorists but neo-Marxists, carry this analysis somewhat further. Even in industrialized countries, a one-to-one correspondence between the functions and practices of the schools and their relationship to the economic system and to social class relationships often does not exist (Bowles and Gintis, 1976/2002; Willis, 1976; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977).

Although neo-Marxist views leave unanswered the important question of the extent to which the state and its organs are instruments of capital, a useful framework for analysing education is provided by the concepts of 'social control' (Young, 1971; Bernstein 1971). Much work in the sociology of education with reference to cultural reproduction is particularly relevant to cultural reproduction under Bantu Education (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Carnoy 1974; Apple, 1982; Giroux 1981). Bernstein (1971) has applied the concept of social control to the management of knowledge: "How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public reflects both distribution of power and principles of social control" (p. 47). This is particularly relevant to similar social control processes in Bantu Education (Christie and Collins, 1982, Kellaway, 1987).

Murphy (1972) argues that the South African Government regarded Bantu Education as a vital "instrument for sustaining the present political, economic and social system". Christie's (1987) *The Right to Learn* takes a committed stance in her critique of apartheid education. Kallaway's (1984) *Apartheid Education: The Education of Black South Africans* provides further critique of differentiated schooling in South Africa. Rothstein (2004) in 'Overcoming Policies Yesterday and Today: An interview with a Former Bantu Education Student and Present-Day Activist', provides a very useful overview of inequalities left by Bantu Education and suggest ways of combating its legacy, including shortage of qualified workers in the knowledge society (see Mabokela, 2000; and Geo-JaJa and Zajda, 2005).

1.4 EDUCATION AND POVERTY

The next dimension in my literature review concerns poverty. Rhetorical allusions to poverty in South Africa were, of course, staple features of the international campaign to stigmatize and isolate the country. New attention to the problem also came from within South Africa itself, where it promoted a considerable volume of scholarly research and academic work. For example, a second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa convened in 1984 under the direction of Wilson of the University of Cape Town; its findings and recommendations were published by the more than three hundred papers it had dated, commissioned and assembled (Eberstadt, 1988).

There are four reasons why poverty is significant in the study of Bantu Education: the first is the damage it inflicted upon individuals who were made to endure it; the second is its sheer inefficiency in economic terms. Hungry children cannot study properly, malnourished adults

cannot be fully productive as workers; and an economy where a large proportion of the population is very poor has a structure of demand that does not encourage the production and marketing of the goods that are needed. The third reason relates to the consequences for any society, where poverty is also the manifestation of great inequality. As Aron, (cited in Wilson and Ramphela, 1991, p. 193) reminds us: “the existence of too great a degree of inequality makes human community impossible.” Finally, poverty in many societies is itself symptomatic of a deeper malaise. It is often the consequences of a process which simultaneously produces wealth for some whilst impoverishing others (Wilson and Ramphela, 1991). ‘Poverty’ writes Kurien (1978) “is the carcass left over from wealth acquisition” (p.5). Similarly, Zajda (2006) observes “Equality of educational opportunity is difficult to achieve in highly stratified societies and economic systems” (p.vii). The inequality debate is particularly relevant to South Africa, which had and continues to have deep class division, based on lineage, wealth, power, authority, religion, race and ethnicity.

Wilson and Ramphela (1991) in *Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge*, argue that the division between rich and poor was greater in South Africa than in any country in the world for which statistics are available. In *Education: From Poverty to Liberty*, Nasson and Samuel (1990) ask and attempt to answer questions, such as: Can education expunge poverty? Will more schools reduce unemployment in South Africa? Is it possible for a restructured educational system to shrink inequalities of race and class? Both books were based on the Reports for the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa (1989). Finally, with reference to social justice, “how can the state contribute to the creation of more equitable, respectful, and just society for everyone”, given that South Africa, like, many other nations, was “divided along dimensions of class, power, income, wealth, and privilege” (Zajda, 2006, p.vii; see also McLaren, Macrine, and Hill, 2010). According to Zajda (2006) social justice as a social policy is “the natural aspiration of all democratic societies and remains the only long-term guarantee for and sustaining peace, tolerance and harmony in the world” (p. 7). However, Bantu Education, was designed to maintain the status quo of social stratification and inequality, rather than promote social justice.

1.5 EDUCATION AND POLICY

In the literature review of major primary sources, such as *Parliamentary Reports, Senate Debates and Acts* defining and shaping Bantu Education there are many policy statements which provide further insight into the problematics of Bantu Education. Unlike normative or

interpretive research, parliamentary reports, debates and acts already exist. Hocket (1955) expresses the principal differences thus:

History is not a science of direct observation, like chemistry and physics. The historian like the geologist interprets past events by traces, they have left. He deals with the evidence of man's past acts and thoughts (Cited in Cross, 1986, p.193).

Historical research is a process supplementary to observations. The historian, like the scientist, examines the data and formulates hypotheses, i.e., tentative conclusions. These conjectures are examined by seeking fresh evidence or re-examining the old, until hypotheses are abandoned as untenable or modified until it conforms with available evidence. These documents (Reports, Acts) are items that are original to the problem under survey. They are normally documentary sources, such as manuscripts, charts, laws, archives, minutes, records, letters, newspapers, and so forth, which intentionally or unintentionally transmit a first-hand account or accounts of an event or events.

Examples of South African Parliamentary Reports, Senate Debates and Acts carefully studied in this research are: *The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951*; the *Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953*; *Senate Speeches* made by Verwoerd in 1953, 1954, 1955 in which the ideology/philosophy on the place of the African (Native) in the South African economy was clarified. *Natal and Cape Provincial Papers* also played a vital role depicting the History of Native Education in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Rose and Tunmer (1975) also compiled original *Documents of South African Education (1975)* which reflect the evolution, ideology and practice in African education in South Africa up to 1975.

Liberal reformists, among whom might be counted the reformed wing of the Botha government (National Regime) who supported much of the policy debate in the *De Lange Report of 1981* on education, continued to express their dissatisfaction in the “lack of educational reform as having a damaging effect in economic growth, and that the resolution of South Africa's educational problems must involve paying greater attention to issues of manpower planning” (Cross, 1986, p. 193).

Furthermore, the literature review shows that the policy of Christian National Education (CNE) introduced in the late 1930s by the Afrikaanse Broederbond (Afrikaans Brotherhood) played a major part in formulating the ideology of Bantu Education.

The Nationalist/conservative view has a dominant historical tradition which dominated research before and after the consolidation of the apartheid educational system. This policy became enshrined in Christian National Education (CNE) which glorifies traditional Afrikaner values and promotes Afrikaner nationalism. In contrast to a pluralist democracy, this development was excessively White centred about the history of education in South Africa.

Although some of the ideas of the CNE have been widely shared among English and Afrikaans-speaking educationalists, historically it has been an attribute of Afrikaans-speaking academics. Thus the system reflects mainly the struggle for preservation of Afrikaner educational tradition as part of the struggle against British Anglicization policies (Cross, 1986, p. 186). Fundamentally, CNE proclaimed that:

1. Education must be adjusted to the life and world view of the Afrikaners;
2. Education must reveal Calvinistic beliefs, and promote the national ideal, traditions, language or culture of each group;
3. Afrikaner pre-eminence in the sphere of the state and the restructuring of the relations between white and black people.

CNE concerned itself with cultural desegregation advocating that Black societies should be Christianised but retain their Bantu character (Du Plessis, cited in Cross, 1986, p.187). Teaching had to be in the mother-tongue (vernacular) to ensure that the national pride of the Africans was not harmed. Bantu culture must be restored and African Christianisation pursued so that Afrikaners would not sink to the level of the “kaffirs and would ultimately be dominated by them” (Du Plessis, cited in Cross, 1986, p. 187). These ideas were put to practice by ideologues, like Verwoerd, and were converted into State policy during the 1950s and 1960s (Cross, 1986, p. 187). These dominant views were reflected in the writings of many Afrikaner educationists and also Black writers (like Luthuli, Nkgware, and others) (Luthuli, 1981). Strong criticisms have come from liberal and radical circles, especially in English-speaking institutions (Cross, 1986, p. 198).

Afrikaner-conservative ideas were from the beginning of the twentieth century confronted with an emergence of a vigorous liberal tradition, stressing the significance of African

schooling and supporting the policy of total segregation of Africans as enunciated by CNE theorists and their conservative writers. Rapid social change during the 1920s and 1930s increased interest in the natives, and, in particular, the education of Blacks. Basically, two major elements contributed to this new development: first, the emergence of an African urban proletariat and, secondly, the growth of mission educated Africans who were beginning to emerge as identifiable elite. On the one hand, it was considered necessary to formulate proposals for the education and integration of the African proletariat into the new economic order and new forms of life. On the other hand, the crucial mediating role which the emerging petty bourgeoisie could play in the political context was recognized (Kingston, et al. 2003).

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research project examines the history of Bantu Education during the period of 1948-1994 and the nexus between education, hegemony, economics and cultural reproduction. Alongside an investigation of the official documents, oral histories, and published research on Bantu Education, this thesis explores the history of Bantu Education and the effects of the Bantu Education Act on Black South Africans.

The research project is organized around the following four main questions:

1. What was the socio-historical context of education in South Africa, prior to 1948?
2. What was the politico-economic and educational significance of the introduction of the 1948 Apartheid policy?
3. What was the role of the Bantu Education Act during the 1948-1994 period?
4. What effects did the Bantu Education Act have on the people of South Africa?

1.7 RACISM AND ETHNOCENTRISM IN EDUCATION

Racism and ethnocentrism proved to be central to the research discourse to explain why Bantu Education under apartheid failed to deliver equity and access to quality education for all. With reference to racism and ethnocentrism in education, we could compare South Africa's Bantu Education during the 1950s with educational policies in the Third Reich (Nazi Germany) during the 1930s. There were some similarities between educational provisions in South Africa and the Third Reich. Like Hitler, Malan, the first Prime Minister of the Nationalist

Party in 1948, represented the beginning of a fundamental change in the course and nature of Afrikanerdom. The connection between Bantu education and Nazi ideology was well supported. Already, in 1957 Mandela wrote a detailed article in *Liberation: A Journal of Democratic Discussion*, in which he stated that the “Nationalists government has frequently denied that it is a fascist government inspired by the theories of the Nationalist (Nazi) party of Hitlerite Germany” (Rothstein, 2004, retrieved October 20, 2006, from <http://www.stanford.edu/jbaugh/saw/Choe-BantuEducation.html>).

Apartheid was an inhuman exercise of the mind endeavouring to formulate a moral justification, the cry from the heart, affirming rightness of what the Nationalists were doing. The ideology of apartheid in its revised form of separate development to enable each race to realize its distinctive qualities appeared to have been taken verbatim from the explanations of Nazi race policies (bloed en volk/blood and race) offered by German missions abroad in the 1930s. In 1937, the National Party put the official seal on its identification with Nazism and its incorporation of the shirt movements. The swastika was adopted as a party symbol; it appeared twice on membership cards with the words: “The S.A. National Party emanates from the S.A. Gentile National Socialist Movement and incorporates the said movement, also the S.A. Greyshirts” (Institute of Christian National Education, 1939).

For a long time Blacks felt uncomfortable with the content of education. In Afrikaans poetry, they were made to accept a denigration of the pursuits and status of their forefathers and were in fact, taught in a subtle way to despise their beginnings. Similarly, they went through university knowing fully that Western History only reflected the White man’s heritage which started in Athens and Rome a few centuries before Christ. It (history) was silent about Africa and Asia of 5,000 B.C. which projected Black man positively and could necessarily have given the Black child a positive self-image (Falola and Jennings, 2003).

The contents of syllabi represented a powerful source of inspiration, but a biased interpretation thereof can be demoralizing and perpetuate ignorance, and prejudice. Between 1948 – 1994 Bantu Education was used as a main source of the great lie of racial inferiority (Mogano, 1993, Soudien and Kallaway, 1999). The Bantu education system was characterized by inequality in terms of access, provision and outcomes. While the White education system was compulsory, highly resourced and had high matriculation examination pass rates, the opposite was true of Black education (Taylor and Vinjevold, 2003).

Furthermore, the way in which science and mathematics were represented in Black South African schools denied the heritage and denigrated the self-worth of Blacks. In fact, South Africa's technological and scientific backlog, as measured by the World Bank and OECD indicators was frightening. A key factor was the manpower crisis, which stemmed largely from what Verwoerd postulated as a bare minimum of schooling for manual labour: "What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics? It is absurd" (Senate Debate, 4th March, 1954).

Clark (1990) the chief executive officer of the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) emphasized that quality education was necessary for education reforms:

In this turbulent period of change ... we're not looking at the quality of the people but the quality of teaching and the quality of the learning environment (Spira, *Sunday Star*, September 30, 1990, p. 2).

Clark (1990) insisted that the root cause of the problem derived from the fact that for every 10,000 Black matriculants, only 113 pass matriculation, and only 27 pass matriculation with a matriculation exemption (university entrance) pass, of which one – "yes, one" - passed with exemption in mathematics and science (Spira, *Sunday Star*, September 30, 1990, p. 2).

Some Black schools in the period 1948-1994 had committed themselves to Alternative Education. Black students were presented with Black heroes who died bravely in their resistance to marauding Boerkommandos who were generally lauded in history. Of course, these alternative truths of history did not form part of the syllabi, but nothing prevented a teacher from teaching these facts as additional material. In this way, children's minds were disabused of any sense of inferiority by exposing the racist tenets presented by history (Walker and Archung, 2003).

I have touched on only some social elements of Black society and the Black educational system which gave rise to strife, and schools' crises mentioned earlier (p. 4). A mere superficial reading of books became part of the aims and context of syllabuses prescribed for schools. Hence, these school textbooks were likely to imbue children with the belief that Africans were permanently tribal and inherently inferior to Whites (Auerbach, 1966).

Bantu education, as indicated by Christian National Education was based on racism. Racism was an integral part of the growth of capitalism from its inception in the seventeenth century through to the twentieth century, through to the domination of imperialist finance capital of the colonial and neo-colonial period. One researcher was critical of capitalism and its social inequalities: “Capitalism, it has been said and correctly so came to the world dripping with blood. This blood was mostly ...of African peoples” (wa Thiongo, 1993, p. 143). He argued that colonial education in South Africa was overtly racist:

The geography, history, languages, names and all the gods of Europe became the centre of the academic universe of the African child. Racism as a doctrine had left its hiding place in between the hard covers and was now being paraded as academic brilliance in the colonial classroom (wa Thiongo, 1993, p. 130).

Thus the ideology of apartheid, based on racism, was a whole system of symbols, images, beliefs, feelings, thoughts, and attitudes by which one understood the Afrikaner’s world and the African’s place in it. Ideology has a material base and also reflects that material base though with differing degrees of accuracy, depending on which race or nation is controlling the ideology and the material base of that society (wa Thiongo, 1993).

1.8 EDUCATION, IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

A basic presumption exists that education can contribute synergistically to the reduction of inequalities, alleviate poverty and improve social mobility. Tan (1980) pointed out that “It is hardly surprising that there has always been a strong tendency on the part of many planners concerned with greater socio-economic qualities to look upon education as the great equalizer” (Tan, 1980, p. 3).

Education may be seen as the main instrument for solving the problem of nation building: creating national unity on the basis of a rapidly expanding economy. It is desirable that education should be the responsibility of central government, thus: “the right to education is one of the fundamental liberties through which all pupils receive equal treatment” (Tan, 1980, p. 37). Education is seen as the common factor “to unite the various races together so that a united nation will evolve” (Tan, 1980, p. 37).

Unfortunately, Bantu Education denied the “right to education” in the true sense of the word. At managerial levels, South Africa lacked technical and vocational training for its Black population. This was economically disastrous. Despite the relaxation of job reservation in the 1970s in favour of non-Whites, Africans were still under-represented in apprenticeships and skilled training. Whilst there had been enormous increase of African university enrolments, these enrolments predominated in the human and liberal arts rather than the natural sciences, commerce and applied sciences. The situation was largely ascribed to the poor calibre of mathematics and science teaching by unqualified and under-qualified African teachers in these subject areas (Mabokela, 2000). In addition, there was evidence of corrupt examination procedures, viz. annual scandals about leaked examination papers, dishonest marking, plus poor school attendance in times of political unrest, coupled with what Hartshorne (1986) described as: “The disintegration of urban education” (Cited in Christie, 1992, p. 42). It is clear that at every point, Bantu Education exhibited inadequacies, divisions based on race and class, and inequalities. The state (South Africa), as in many other countries, had complete power and control in provision and regulation of education (Fedderke and Luiz, 2002).

South Africa’s education budget activity and educational programs were such that it tended to systematically distribute costs and benefits differentially to different income groups on the basis of race, or a colour-caste system not conditioned by the identified goal of reducing inequality (Tan, 1980; Kallaway, 2004).

Finally, Bantu Education during the apartheid era was a policy based on segregation, along the dimensions of race, gender and ethnicity in South Africa. One has to remember that to many Bantu Education was an image and symbol of unbridled political police power over life and death – a power which, condoned by the State, descended to a level of brutality and callousness unmatched in any society that still clings to at least some vestiges of legality (Morrow, 2002).

The philosophy of white superiority was so widespread among the Afrikaner that it had been called his civil religion.

In a survey (July 1, 1989) of Afrikaners, an Afrikaans magazine (*Insig* 1989) had found master symbols in an analysis of Afrikanans school textbooks. They were:

- Legal authority was not questioned;
- Whites were superior, Blacks are inferior;
- The Afrikaner had a special relationship with God;
- South Africa belonged to the Afrikaners;
- South Africa was an agricultural country and the Afrikaner was a farmer;
- The Afrikaner was independent, isolated, physically strong and bound to tradition;
- The Afrikaner was ingenious regarding military matters;
- The Afrikaner was threatened;

My research examines the role of ideology in education and the state, as defined by the Bantu Education Act. It is argued that Bantu education represented a new form of domination, power and control by means of hegemony and disciplinary practice. It is suggested that progressive education should reflect the following policy shifts:

- (a) The visions for reconstruction and transparency should feature high on the agenda for the liberation and social justice for all South Africans – as already revealed through the truth and reconciliation commission, but unfortunately the discrepancies in education between Blacks and Whites have not been critically examined, evaluated and analysed.
- (b) The long term need for technical/scientific manpower training is not presently, and not in the past, addressed adequately by all educational institutions, especially in respect of Africans. In the future, this matter warrants considered and concerted attention by all stakeholders in the various spheres of education.

With the rise of Afrikaner nationalism in the early decades of the 20th century was a radical challenge to the colonial legacy and hegemony of English. In 1927 ‘Afrikaans’ was inaugurated as the official language instead of ‘Dutch’, and it became” the medium of instruction at some universities and colleges that had previously taught in Dutch or English’ (Bergh and Soudien, 2006, p. 64).

This research is also an analysis of what Bantu Education was like under apartheid, and it demonstrates that it was a discriminatory system of schooling for domestication. The outcomes of Bantu Education hampered South Africa’s future technological, economic and scientific progress, which, in turn resulted in little or no employment opportunities and

upward social mobility for Africans (Blacks) – either in white collar occupations or in unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled employment.

1.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter examined the historical origins of Bantu education. It also discussed the schools' crises of 1976 and 1980, education and poverty, education and policy, racism and ethnocentrism in education, and the nexus between education, ideology and social change.

The legacy of Apartheid and the effects of the Bantu Education Act are elaborated further in Chapter 2, where a brief socio-cultural factors and education policy are reviewed. The segregated education, which exemplified apartheid and White domination under the apartheid system designated to ensure White privilege in all sectors and throughout the country. The Nationalist vision of citizenship was seriously flawed because it was exclusive, divisive, segregated, and rooted in bigotry and racism.

CHAPTER 2

A REVIEW OF SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL DIMENSIONS AFFECTING EDUCATION UNDER APARTHEID

2. INTRODUCTION

The part played by ideology in South Africa was particularly important since different systems of education were enshrined in the law. The study of textbooks, curricula and syllabi focused on the key concept of ideology, power, and legitimation. Hence the junior certificate and matriculation results in the legitimation process, which was defined by Dean, Hartman and Katzen (1983) as:

... the process by which, to a greater or lesser degree, consent is secured among members of a society to the existing social and political arrangements (p. 41).

In this research I have attempted to identify themes in textbooks, and syllabi that tend to legitimate the philosophy and ideology of apartheid. In this chapter, it is argued that politics, ideology, policies, curriculum and nationalism played a major role in the Bantu Education.

This chapter offers an analysis of South Africa's contested educational terrain, against the background of the dominant ideology and a rigidly stratified society. It also considers some of the macro-social dimensions of education as an agent of economic redistribution and reproduction, social justice and equal rights. Endemic poverty was and continues to be a major dimension of inequality in South Africa, as exemplified by Soweto (see below).

2.1 RECOVERING THE PEOPLE'S HISTORY

The apartheid regime had tried to wipe out all social memory of the mass struggles of the past. Major political organisations of the time were outlawed. Leaders and ordinary people were jailed or forced into exile; others were killed. Some writers were banned, and their words and their social memories become forbidden and unquotable. Books, pamphlets, posters, badges, flags were seized in numerous police raids, and individuals, critical of the regime, were censored into silence. In short, the state attempted to relegate to permanent

oblivion years of protest movements, campaigning, and mass struggles, involving millions of people.

2.2 SOWETO SIGNIFICANCE

Soweto, the acronym for South Western Townships – sprawls over low, bare hills on either side of a swampy river 15 kilometers outside Johannesburg. It's estimated 1.3 million residents mostly lived in identical matchbox houses (structures); thousands more Africans struggled to survive in ramshackle huts and vast squatter-camps (shanties), primarily because of apartheid education and its economic, socio-political and cultural imperatives which were initiated during the middle of the 17th century (1658) through to the end of the 20th century (Dyson, 2007). The state decree on Bantu Education, Coloured Education and Indian Education was developed and implemented in 1953, 1963 and 1965, respectively (Beavon, 2004). Shanties and matchbox homes were constructed for millions of other non-whites, living in South Africa (Beavon, 2004, p. 145-146; see also Dyson, 2007).

Soweto, like most African areas in South Africa, was dumped in the 13.7% geographic region (Dyson, 2007; Rose and Tunmer, 1976) allocated to Africans in terms of the 1913 Land Act and its consolidation of 1936. Coloureds and Indians (Farrah, 2007) were endowed with a little more butter on their bread – in that they were also abandoned in Group Areas, especially set aside for them in the so-called White Metropolitan expanse – but on the outskirts outside central city business districts (CBD). Soweto was created on the site of a sewage farm to be a “super-ghetto” for the black labourers or subordinates, evicted from the city, who were employed as maids, servants, unskilled workers and employees in the manufacturing, service industries and ‘pits’ of the gold and diamond mines. Houses had no electricity, water or sanitation. Even in 2010, sixty percent of the houses occupied by the Blacks still do not have electricity; water and sanitation (see also Dyson, 2007). Hostels in 1948 to 1994 and at present continue to house thousands of men/women working in industry and commerce in appalling conditions situated close to African residential areas (Dyson, 2007). Pollution and smog from coal fires, and smoldering garbage swirl along dirt roads; dusty in winter, muddy in summer. Buses and taxis were not allowed into Soweto, and most other African villages (dorps/reserves, suburban and city areas). Consequently, workers commuted to cities and industrial townships to work in industry and commerce, in trains and public utility corporation (PUTCO) buses, which were so crowded that many clung to the roofs of trains and buses (Beavon, 2004). Disease and murder were rife between 1948 and 1994. The

situation for commuters has improved slightly during 1994/95 to 2007 (Beavon, 2004; Dyson, 2007, pp. 64-71; Bremmer and Spio-Garbrah, 2007).

Blacks were unable to participate in the workforce as skilled workers, as the majority of them were illiterate and innumerate, since they were not educated up to at least Standard 5 (Grade 7) to qualify for formal training/apprenticeship (Tabata, 1960; Farrah, 2007). In fact, African youth were not allowed to pursue apprenticeships and training (Job Reservation Act). African Vocational Schools were only created after 1973. The drop-out rate between Prep (Sub A and B) and Std. 1 and 2 (Grade 1 and 2) was extremely high during most of the years from 1948 to 1994. Furthermore, Eiselen, the chairman of 1949-1951 Bantu Education Commission of Inquiry suggested that African children needed only 'four years' of formal schooling – this would have sufficed to enable them (Africans) to communicate and 'serve' their White masters in terms of the Master-Servants Act promulgated at the end of the 19th century (Eiselen Commission, 1951). Verwoerd, as mentioned earlier, believed that Bantu Education should stand firmly planted in the Bantu homeland/reserves. For this reason, Verwoerd decreed that it was absurd to teach Africans mathematics – an African did not and could not use the tools provided by calibrations/computations (Tabata, 1960). A 'Gentleman Kaffir', 'barbarian', 'marauder' was not allowed to darken the threshold of the White man's green pastures (Verwoerd, 1954). Entrepreneurship was barred to Africans in general and enrolment at University/technikons was a privilege, as this could contribute to upward social mobility and open the door to an African to start a business. As Beavon (2004) explained:

Even a chicken-coop in the backyard was prohibited. A written pass from the police was required for every activity, even travelling to work; without it you could go to jail for weeks (Beavon, 2004, see also Dyson, 2007, p. 66).

As mentioned earlier, in 1976 high school students marched to protest against a new decree that they must be taught half in English and half in Afrikaans. After releasing their dogs and setting off teargas, police fired into the crowd. Dozens of children were mostly shot in the back. Two White officials were dragged out of their cars by Black mobs and stamped to death. Government and Administrative buildings were destroyed and burned (Dyson, 2007).

2.3 EDUCATION, POLICIES, IDEOLOGY, CURRICULUM, AND NATIONALISM

2.4 Education and Policies

The schools crises of 1976 and the 1980s lead to a review of the traditional education policy and redirected the theory and history of South African education. The new feature of this policy of change and development was the emergence of a viewpoint startlingly opposed to the “liberal” and conservative tradition. Expenditure on Bantu Education increased from the 1960s, once the apartheid Nationalist government saw the need for a trained African labour force. More African children were now able to attend school than under the old missionary system of education, to receive some basic education for manual labour. In comparison with the education of other races, especially the whites, African Schools lacked teaching resources, and had very large classes.

2.5 The Historical and Political Origins of Apartheid

During the period of Dutch colonial rule (1652-1795), the Cape society was stratified along the following lines: Europeans, who were company officials and free burghers’; free Blacks and slaves from Africa and Asia, and Southern Africans, such as the Khoikhoi (Marais et al., 1990, p. 2). This in turn, dictated the relationship between status groups. This relationship was determined by: European cultural chauvinism and objective differences in culture and lifestyle; Whites’ perceptions of the “superiority” of Christianity and Preferential treatment on the basis of physical appearance (Marais et al., 1990, p. 2).

The government’s policy laid the foundation for a racially stratified society in which the Europeans received exclusive benefits and privileges, while non-Europeans were regarded as subordinates. The Khoikhoi were not protected against invasion by Whites of their traditional territory. Jan van Riebeck, claimed in 1655 that:

Only last night it happened that fifty of these natives wanted to put up their huts close to the banks of the moat of our fortress, and when we told them in a friendly way by our men to go a little further away they declared boldly that this was not our land but theirs and that they would place their huts wherever they chose (Marais et al., 1990, p. 2).

From the last quarter of the 18th to the early 19th century, the freedom of all Blacks was systematically curtailed by restricted freedom of movement; compulsory labour and introduction of a pass system.

In 1828 the British introduced a more liberal Black policy. However, the system was paternalistic; bestowed very little political rights on Blacks; restricted them by and large to tribal lands and locations, and levied a hut and poll tax that compelled the Blacks to enter a White dominated labour market. According to Marais (1990), the Cape Ordinance No. 50 of 1928 defined various restraints for the Blacks:

... by usage and custom of this colony, Hottentots and other free persons of colour have been subjected to certain restraints as to their residence, mode of life, and employment, and to certain compulsory services to which other of His Majesty's subjects are not liable (Marais et al., 1990, p. 2).

Cecil John Rhodes proclaimed that:

We are to be lords over them. Treat the natives as a subject people as long as they continue in a state of barbarism and communal tenure; be the lords over them, and let them be a subject race... (Marais et al., 1990, p. 2)

Marais claimed that Africans: do not hanker after social equality with the White man. All we claim is our just dues; we ask for our political recognition as loyal British subjects (Marais et al., 1990, p. 2).

Solomon T Plaatje, first general secretary of the South African Native National Congress, 1902, emphasised:

If we, as a dominant class, realize that the true wealth of a nation is the health, happiness, intelligence, and content of every man and woman born within its borders ...then I think the future of South Africa promises greatness and strength ... (Marais et al., 1990, p. 2).

Olive Schreiner, the historian, postulated in 1909 that in the Boer republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State (1840-1899), the Blacks remained a separate entity by not sharing political freedom with Whites, and by living largely in tribal lands (Marais et al., 1990, p. 2).

At the dawn of the Union in 1910, the Black policy was based on the principle of segregation. John Tengo Jabavu, in 1887 saw the inequalities of separate development:

It is ...extremely dangerous ...that the larger part of the population shall have no voice in the councils of the country (Marais et al., 1990, p. 2).

2.6 The Segregation Period

About the time of the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the term “segregation” came into common use. The South African Labour Party was the first to use it in their election manifesto of that year. Legislations were introduced to promote the segregation policies of the government. These were:

- **1911:** Blacks were relegated to the category of cheap labourers. The relevant act became the cornerstone of job reservation on the mines and the railways.

- **1913:** The principle of territorial segregation was established, in terms of which Blacks and Whites acquired and occupied land in separate, designated areas. The Pass Laws, which inhibited the free movement of Blacks, were promulgated. Plaatje, first general secretary of the South African Native National Congress on the Native Land Act of 1913, in 1916 had this to say:

Awakening on Friday morning, June 20, 1913, the South African Native found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth (<http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-170517196.html>)

- **1920:** The newly created system of tribally based, but government appointed, district councils was introduced.

- **1923:** The Native (Urban Areas) Act extended the principle of segregation to urban areas. (Marais et al., 1990, p.3; see also Norval, 1996).

After the election victory assured by the pact between the National Party and the Labour Party in 1924, segregation in South Africa was further entrenched by legislation:

- The earnings and position of skilled White workers were safeguarded on a racial basis;

- The residential and commercial segregation of Indians was secured. Indian repatriation to India was officially encouraged;
- Additional land reserved for Blacks was allocated, underlining the government's commitment to the principle of separate "homelands" for Blacks;
- **1936:** The Natives Representation Act of 1936 disenfranchised Blacks in the Cape, who at that stage were still on the voters' roll. Hertzog, Prime Minister in 1936, claimed:

...the European has always hitherto succeeded very well in preventing racial inter-mixture (Marais et al., 1990, p. 3).

- **1937:** Native Laws Amendment Act extended and strengthened urban segregation and influx control (Marais et al., 1990, p. 3).
- **1948:** The Labour Party Policy advocated that "...social and residential separation of the European and non-European Races...". The 1948 National Party Policy stated categorically:

...separation apartheid between the White races and the non-White racial groups, and the application of the policy of separation also in the case of the non-White racial groups (Marais et al., 1990, p. 3).

Furthermore, the 1948 United Party policy of the Smuts' Government held that, for economic reasons, there was a need to house Black Africans in separate townships:

The accommodation of a stable native labour force in separate townships parallel to industrial areas...(Marais et al., 1990, p. 3).

In spite of separatist legislation, the economic expansion after 1934 and the thriving war-time industries led to an influx of Blacks to the cities. According to Marais (1990), Smuts, in 1929, in Parliament averred:

Were it not for this case of the urbanized or detribalized natives, the colour problem ...would be shorn of most of its difficulties (Marais et al., 1990, p. 3).

Smuts (1947) had this to say of integration:

A revolution had set in since the old Native policy was framed. Instead of their being settled in big reserves as a source of temporary labour in the towns, the Natives were being inevitably integrated into industry (Marais et al., 1990, p. 3).

2.7 Statutory Apartheid

In almost three decades from 1948 to 1976, Blacks, coloureds and Indians were caught up in a web of statutory apartheid that regulated their lives from the cradle to the grave. It commenced in 1948 with the coming to power of the National Party and continued roughly until the Soweto riots in 1976 (SAIRR, 2001; Norval, 1996).

Apartheid sounded promising enough to White voters: but for all the years after the Nationalist government came to power, it had brought only hardship to the African people (Govan Mbeki, Cited in Marais et al., 1990, p. 4).

Verwoerd, 1960, felt that Blacks should plant their feet in the reserves:

We believe that the development of full nationhood of Black men should start at the beginning and proceed systematically in pace with their capabilities ...we are carefully preparing our Black masses for an ever-growing share of responsibility. When the time comes for their independence they will have become a democratically organized and democratically-experienced nation (Senate Debate, 1960; Marais et al., 1990).

Kotane (1968) expressed his firm belief that only through an uprising could the apartheid regime be toppled:

...that it is only through a grim and bitter armed struggle that the system of apartheid can be over thrown by the oppressed people of South Africa (Kotane, cited in Marais et al., 1990, p. 4).

The Institute has examined (official) proposals ...for group areas in Cape Town ...and it calls upon the Minister of the Interior to

reject them as incompatible with the justice which he states will guide his decisions (Weston, Cited in Marais et al., 1990, p. 4).

The above historical documents demonstrate that education was affected by economic, political and social structures of society. It was naive to wage a struggle for democratic education and ignore the forces that were at work in society. Hence economic, political and social issues needed to be resolved. The African people had real grievances and these must be admitted and dealt with without delay (Chief Albert Luthuli, Cited in Marais et al., 1990, p. 4).

The hegemony and cultural reproduction promoted by apartheid reached far and wide and legislation criminalised some forms of behaviour, promulgated by various acts (1949-1968):

1949

- The Mixed Marriages Act prohibited marriages between people of different race groups

1950

- The Population Registration Act categorized the nation into White, Black, Indian, Malay and Coloured citizens.
- The Group Areas Act of 1950, which was consolidated in 1966, stipulated where and with whom people could live.

1951

- The Black Authorities Act, together with other subsequent acts, established the Black homelands.

1953

- The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act prescribed the public amenities that were available to the various race groups.

1957

- The Immorality Act prohibited sex between people of different race groups

1968

- The Prohibition of Political Interference Act prevented members of different groups from belonging to the same political party.

Smuts welcomed a segregation policy:

We have always stood and we stand for social and residential separation in this country, and for the avoidance of all racial mixture (J.C. Smuts, Cited in Marais et al., 1990, p. 4).

A proliferation of statutory measures was subsequently passed to regulate the movement of Blacks between the homelands and the cities in “White” South Africa (Sparks, 1990; Tatz, 1972).

The collective result of the apartheid measures was the growing conviction by Blacks that they were being further deprived of constitutional rights. Millions of Blacks were caught up in a cycle of poverty as a result of the discriminatory constraints and prohibitions. Black leaders and liberal politicians urged the Government to reconsider their racial policies. When that failed, Black national movements reverted to unconstitutional methods. The Government retaliated – leaders were jailed and banned, while others fled the country.

Due to social and legal constraints on Black opportunities for upward socio-economic mobility, relatively few Blacks succeeded in extricating themselves from the clutches of the apartheid system (Marias, et al. 1990; see also Norval, 1990; Soudien, 2006). As Mandela claimed:

It was only when all else failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle and to form Umkhonto we Sizwe (Mandela, Cited in Marais et al., 1990, p. 4).

2.8 The Dismantling of Apartheid Laws Process

The erosion of Apartheid started in the late 1970s, with commissions of enquiry into coloured affairs (Theron Commission). The following are the more important discretionary laws that were repealed:

1981

- Unrestricted labour organisation and association.
- Partial abolition of job reservation for Whites.

1982

- Desegregation of organized non-school sport.

1983

- Granting of political rights to Coloureds and Indians.

1984

- Uniform income tax laws.

1985

- Lifting of restrictions on interracial political parties.
- Acceptance of the principle of full and equal political rights for all South Africans.

Pass laws were abolished in 1985. An estimated 2.6 million Blacks – approximately 90 000 per annum – were convicted between 1921 and 1947 (see Farrah, 2007; Sparks, 1990).

Between 1961 and 1984 Apartheid was losing its undisputed hold on power, domination and **control**:

- Abolition of control over the free movement of Blacks to and in urban areas.
- Full property rights for Blacks.
- Abolition of restrictions on the sale of liquor to Blacks in 1961.
- Abolition of separate courts for Blacks.
- End of compulsory resettlements.
- Opening of some CBDs on application for occupation and ownership by all races.
- Opening of hotels and restaurants to all races.
- Opening of some cinemas and theatres to all races on application.
- Residential rights for Indians in the OFS and northern Natal.
- Abolition of racial restrictions in immigration laws

(see also Marias et al., 1990, pp. 4-5; see also SAIRR, 1981, 1982, 1983 , 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1990; Norval, 1996; Soudien, 2006).

Mandela (1964) stated, in court, his notion of a truly democratic society:

I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if it needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die (Mandela, 1964).

Botha (1985), Prime Minister of South Africa, in his policy statement pointed out that his government was advocating reform:

My government and I made a choice by which I have to stand or fall. It is a choice for constitutional, social and economic reform (Die Burger, 1985, p. 7).

President Botha announced in Parliament a policy of pluralist society:

These constitutional structures will be based on acceptance of the plural nature of the South African community. The system of one man, one vote has failed in Africa, especially in plural communities (Botha, Cited in Marais et. al., 1990, p. 4).

Key historical moments included:

- **1987** Opening of some beaches to all races. Abolition of job reservation for Whites.
- **1988** Desegregation on suburban train services.
- **1989** Provision of some open residential areas.
- **1990** Allowing alternative political movements, e.g., ANC, PAC, etc. Release of more political prisoners such as Mandela. Partial lifting of the state of emergency.

De Klerk (1983) emphasized the “how” process of the reform:

The question is not whether there should be reform, but how it should be effected” (De Klerk as Minister of Home Affairs, 1983, as quoted in Sparks, 1990).

Botha (1985) held that education policy reforms should reflect changes in society:

This policy programme must be changed to adapt to changing circumstances (Botha, quoted in Tutu, 1990, p. 7).

2.9 Perceptions of the Dismantling Process

Accepting that apartheid was no longer reconcilable with the modern concepts of human rights, social justice and fundamental freedom, and that South Africa was in the process of democratising – the question was how prepared the people were to challenge the future? (Human Sciences Research Council, 1987).

The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) had surveyed South Africans' perceptions of socio-political changes over the decade. In general, the picture that had emerged was that the majority of the people were positive towards the process of change – and specifically the socio-political changes – although this picture was not altogether static or undifferentiated.

Notwithstanding the long history of strife, frustrated aspirations on the part of Blacks, and fear of the future amongst Whites – an overwhelming majority of Whites and Blacks are proud to be South Africans. Admittedly the specific connotation of being South African could vary somewhat between these two groups, but results such as these, formed a sound basis for development of a common South Africanism (HSRC, 1987). Archbishop Desmond Tutu stated that history was in the making:

We are seeing history in the making in South Africa (Tutu comments on Mr. F.W. de Klerk's speech of 2 February, 1990, p. 9).

Our people are committed to a negotiated settlement and want peace and prosperity (Tutu, April, 1990, p. 9).

Boesak supported Tutu's view:

The ANC will have to tell the people we don't believe in violence anymore... (Boesak, cited in Tutu, April, 1990, p. 9).

The majority of Blacks preferred negotiation to violence, as a means of resolving the problems of the country. It is also worth noting that the proportion favoring negotiations to violence had steadily grown over the past number of years – reaching the high of 88 percent in March, 1990 (Sparks, 1990).

In general, educationalists, policy analysts and social policy researchers were inclined to refer to the children of the South African townships and the depressed rural areas as

“disadvantaged”, “culturally deprived”, and “economically left behind” (Dyson, 2007; Rose and Tunmer, 1975). These terms inherently carried with them a strong implication that the township child somehow had to be brought into line with the requirements and demands of the existing school system and the educational content presented at these schools (Sonn, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, p. 1; see also Jansen, 1990, SAIRR, 1987/88; Dyson, 2007).

Recently, the emphasis in education policy has moved to a more critical look at the school system and a radical re-evaluation of the educational material, textbooks, and curricula, both in respect of content as well as orientation, to which the community child was subjected. Attention was being given to a process of adjusting education to the needs of the child, which represented a complete shift of emphasis (Jansen, 1990; Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Dyson, 2007).

It was against this background that Black educators and educational institutions began to clamour for Peoples’ Education or Alternative Education. In South Africa’s particular instance, the concept of Alternative Education began to gain a new emphasis referring more to the orientation and content of education meeting the psychological, cultural, social and political needs of the students (Dyson, 2007; SAIRR, 1987/88; Bergh and Soudien, 2006).

In America and Europe Alternative Education denotes the departure from the institutional school system and methodology, referring for example to multi-culture schools, community schools, structured skills training schools, schools without walls, the free school and the open school. It also referred to the form of education propounded by the de-schooling writers, such as Ivan Illich (Illich, 1975; Dyson, 2007; Jansen, 1990).

In South Africa, however, Alternative Education in the main signified an urge for relevancy of the learning material. It represents both an attempt to dismiss the negative image of Blacks projected by history and Afrikaans literature in particular and to present positively the place of Black people in the subject material used in books. It rejected the notion of the Black as the permanent villain and the White as the innocent and noble victim. It puts the legacy of Africa in a strong positive light and is critical of White or Western values. Since the inception of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) in 1985 the term Peoples’ Education was introduced to denote this attempt at reshaping education in South Africa.

One could argue that education had historically proved to be such a powerful instrument of cultural reproduction in conditioning and shaping South Africa; it had succeeded for so long it was to be understood that hence People's Education would be perceived as a 'dangerous rebellion' by those who had a direct interest in the subjugation of Blacks. It was also clear why they (Whites) would have done all in their power to use educational material and the school system as a whole to perpetuate a negative and even an apologetic predisposition with Blacks.

It is important for it to be understood that Alternative Education, or as it was known in the South African situation, 'Peoples' Education', had no hidden agenda. It was a positive notion. It was similar to the aspirations of Afrikaners in the 1930s to take hold of their own education, in order to rid the soul of the Afrikaner from the crippling inferiority imposed on him by British imperialism through the arrogant British educational system. Afrikaners needed to be reminded how deeply they resented efforts by Milner, the English Secretary of Education, and others to suppress this urge (Rose and Tunmer, 1975). It was an imperative for all educators interested in restoring the dignity of all Black children to create within them a positive self-image and an urge to re-assert their pride, to work hard at providing educational material in a scientific and orderly manner thus creating a proper understanding of Alternative Education among the public at large (Van den Heever, (1987), Mpahlele, (1991).

Professional Associations had for many years been a protesting voice within the state against an educational system which failed to create a strong sense of positive identity and a sense of pride in children. The Black South African Teachers Association strongly believed that there could be no real liberation without first restoring pride and awareness of the historic strength of the Black power. These positive sentiments were to be inculcated in school history textbooks and indeed all subjects taught at school, or all efforts in creating democracy and a positive self-image in South African youth could not be achieved.

2.10 People's Education

The concept "People's Education" was launched at the education conference convened by the Soweto Parent's Crisis Committee at the University of the Witwatersrand in December 1985. In the keynote address delivered at this conference, Mkatshwa defined people's education as follows:

When we speak of alternative or people's education we mean one which prepares people for total human liberation; one which helps people to be creative, to develop a critical mind, one that prepares people for full participation in all social, political or cultural spheres of society (Mkatshwa, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, p. 1).

Out of the Wits conference the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) was born which spearheaded the thrust towards the realization of a people's education. In an interview with the publication "Work in Progress", Rensburg, secretary of the National Education Crisis Committee (1985), set out the people's education programme of the NECC as follows:

1. In demanding people's education for people's schools, we aimed to shift the balance of educational power, beginning by establishing a people's authority alongside the existing state authority.
2. The People's Education Secretariat of the NECC gathered information and contributions from all interested organizations on alternative programmes, sources and material to be used in schools.
3. The NECC formulated its own history syllabus, which included people's perceptions of what history is, international and African history.
4. The NECC looked critically at the language question and considered introducing people's set work books.
5. This process would not be completed overnight because real people's education was a process rather than a rigid doctrine (van den Heever, 1987, p.1).

During the NECC conference in Durban in March 1986, Sisulu elaborated as follows on the people's education concept:

We are no longer demanding the same education as Whites, since this is education for domination. People's Education means education at the service of the people as a whole, education that liberates, education that puts the people in command of their lives (Sisulu, Cited in Van den Heever, 1987, pp. 1-2).

It was clear that people's education was seen as part of the people's struggle in South Africa. Hartshorne who was a Director of the Department of Education and Training, described People's Education as:

...the working out of the educational consequences of the Freedom Charter. It is inextricably bound up with the concept of "people's power, which is the collective strength of the community" and an expression of the will of the people (Hartshorne, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, p. 2),

2.11 Alternative Education

With the spectacular emergence of the "People's Education" expression, the big question which arose was: was there a difference between the concepts "Alternative Education" and "People's Education"? From 1976 through 1980, Alternative Education was the phrase used to symbolize the search of the democratic community for a more meaningful educational content. Molobi, of the NECC, expressed himself as follows on the question of alternative education:

The fashionable concept of "alternative education" has become a misnomer, acting as a blank cheque to wealth and status. Even big business uses it in its own programmes, some of which are outright dubious in intent and operation. We in the NECC counter pose to such notions the concept of "People's Education". Our position is that since education as we have known it has been used as a tool of oppression, People's Education will be an education that must help us to achieve People's power. People's Education is therefore decidedly political and partisan with regard to oppression and exploitation (Molobi, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, pp. 2-3).

In pursuing Molobi's criticism, it is clear that he rejected so-called "alternative education" programmes which shun the reality of the conflict in South Africa and which, in some cases, had a hidden agenda of the depoliticisation of education and the creation of political Black middle class. Consequently, the rejection of "education for domestication" and the acceptance of "education for liberation" was very strongly upheld (Molobi, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, p. 3; see also SAIRR, 1987/88: Dean, et al. 1983).

In an article in *Funda Forum* (Sebidi, cited in Van Der Heever, 1987, p.2) it was reported that the Alternative Education concept could not be seen in the same light as a change from one political system to another:

However, ‘instant’ political coup d’etat may be, they cannot bring about instant radical educational changes in the countries in which they take place. One is not being facetious when one says that there are no educational coups d’etat. There is therefore, only one way in which an “alternative education” can be brought about. It is through a process, a process of small but co-ordinated efforts (Sebidi, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, pp. 3-4).

In a South African Committee for Higher Education (SACHED) publication *Alternative Education* (1986) it was stated that an alternative education programme in South Africa was inevitably tied to the vision the educators had of an alternative South Africa. Alternative Education is therefore the education process by which people were socialized for an alternative society, a society in this case of freedom and human interconnectedness irrespective of colour, class, gender or religion. The SACHED statement concludes by saying that if these qualities of democratic practices were not achieved in the daily experience of an alternative education, then alternative education would merely be the old system in a new language. It would therefore be self-defeating to attempt to establish a credibility of any one of these two terms over the other.

It was clear that the spirit and tone behind both Alternative Education and People’s Education consist of a dedication towards bringing about a liberated education system in a democratic society. While there were finer philosophical divisions between the two expressions, they were often seen as being synonymous by many people. It was assumed that it was in this spirit that Kanyeke of the new NECC outlined the alternative as follows:

The real struggle is to replace an undemocratic, coercive, ineffective and irrelevant education system with a democratic, participatory and relevant alternative. We cannot allow the department to bring school education down with it. We must start the process of building an alternative now (Kanyeke, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, p. 4).

2.12 The Pedagogy of Liberation

At the very basis of the dynamic development of a culture of liberation in education, lies the philosophy of the pedagogy of liberation. This revolutionary philosophy is best demonstrated in the works of the South American philosopher, Paulo Freire (1972). Freire worked with the peasants of Brazil and fostered literacy by using materials that taught them the nature of oppression and how it could best be overcome so that a new society could be created. Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed has two distinct stages:

1. The oppressed unveil the world of oppression and commit themselves to its transformation, and
2. After the reality of oppression has been transformed this pedagogy ceases to belong to the oppressed and becomes a pedagogy of all men in the process of total liberation (Freire, 1972).

Freire believes that through the process of education a critical and liberation dialogue must be carried on with the oppressed. But to substitute monologue, slogans and communiqués for dialogue is an attempt to liberate the oppressed with the instruments of domestication. Attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to treat them as objects which must be saved from a burning building; it is to lead them into the populist pitfall and transform them into masses which can be manipulated (Freire, 1972; Jansen, 1990; SAIRR, 2001; Dean et al., 1983).

Through dialogue the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers. The teacher is no longer merely the-one-who teaches, but one who is him/herself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn, while being taught, also teach. They become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow. In this process arguments based on "authority" are no longer valid; in order to function, authority must be on the side of freedom, not against it (Freire, 1992; Jansen, 1990, McClaren, 2000).

The students were no longer perceived as docile and passive listeners. Instead, they were seen as critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher. The teacher would present the material to the students for their consideration, and reconsiders his earlier notions, as the students express their own. The students' own responses to the text would evoke new

challenges, followed by new understandings; and gradually the students come to regard themselves as committed (Freire, 1972; Jansen, 1990; McClaren, 2000).

The pedagogy of liberation was aimed at creating a deepened consciousness of a particular situation, which, in turn, leads people to apprehend that situation as an historical reality susceptible to transformation. This movement of inquiry must be directed towards humanisation. The pursuit of full humanity, however, cannot be carried out in isolation or individualism but only in fellowship and solidarity (Freire, 1972; McClaren, 2000; SAIRR, 1987/88; Jansen, 1990).

When one considers that the development of a critical analysis of the nature of oppression and a joint commitment of teachers and students to liberated curriculum content had become a feature of our high schools today then it is clear that Freire's pedagogy of liberation is adequately suited to our present needs in education. While there will be many reactionaries who will criticize Freire's attempt to revolutionise education, the burning need for democratisation and liberation of the South African education system provides the main thrust behind the popularization of these radical proposals in schools and society. Freire can also not be criticised for a one sided, biased theory because his philosophy is a remarkable admixture of Marx and Marcuse, Mao and Che Guevara, Fromm and Christian love, all welded into an instrument for the transformation of the human condition (McClaren, 2000; Freire, 1972; Jansen, 1990; SAIRR, 1987/88).

2.13 Educational perspectives of the Democratic World

There is a very clear correlation between the demand for education for democracy in South Africa and a more empowering educational perspective of the international community. Faure (1972) in *Learning to be: The world of education today and tomorrow* (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) described the biggest threat to human education as:

Education, being a subsystem of society, necessarily reflects the main features of that society. It would be vain to hope for a rational, humane education in an unjust society. Regimes based on authority from the top and obedience from the bottom cannot develop an education for freedom. And how can one imagine a society woven out of privileges and discrimination developing a

democratic education system? (UNESCO, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, p. 7).

The National Education Association (NEA), a professional organization consisting of 1 ½ million teachers in the USA, set out its views on education as follows in their publication, “Education in the 80s: Curricular Challenges”:

Our society expects and should demand that its schools educate and nurture its youth in such ways that each of them will be prepared and committed to participate actively in its affairs of government and of law. If we are free and if we wish to remain so, each of us must be competent to participate equally and effectively as citizens. There is no more noble or challenging mission for the American school now, and for as long as this nation exists, than that of preparing its students to participate competently in the American democracy (NEA, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, p. 7).

The World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession (WCOPT) based in Morges, Switzerland, has protected human rights and organizational freedom throughout its history. The 1973 Assembly of Delegates of WCOPT reaffirmed that “teachers as citizens in every country should have the right and freedom to exercise all civil rights generally enjoyed by citizens.” The 1975 Assembly expressed:

Its continuing support for all possible efforts to promote freedom of association and respect for human rights without which education will inevitably be subservient to political purpose in a manner detrimental to the welfare of the people (WCOPT, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, p. 8; see also UNESCO, 1987).

Since independence, there have been widespread efforts in Africa to indigenize curriculum content, to replace colonial teaching materials by something more African and locally relevant in values and content. This was particularly necessary in such subjects as History and Geography, which sometimes ignored Africa completely, or interpreted the past in such way as to downgrade African achievement and paint a flattering picture of the colonial period.

Closely related to the Africanisation of curriculum in Africa was the introduction of specific courses in civics and other forms of citizenship training like raising the national

flag, distributing pictures of national leaders and political slogans. This close link between schooling and citizenship in Africa was probably best described by the following statement of the Kenya Ministry of National Education in 1973:

Education in Kenya must foster a sense of nationhood and promote national unity. Kenya's people belong to different tribes, races and religions, but these differences need not divide them. They must be able to live and interact as Kenyans. It is a paramount duty of education to help the youth acquire this sense of nationhood by removing conflicts and by promoting positive attitudes of mutual respect which will enable people of different tribes, races and religions to live together in harmony and to make a positive contribution to the national life (Kenya Ministry of Education, Quoted in van den Heever, 1987, pp. 8-9).

2.14 The Function of the Teacher

Rensburg described the role of teachers in people's education as follows:

Teachers not activists will be the most important in implementing people's education (Cited in van den Heever, 1978, p. 9).

The dynamic development of a clear vision of an alternative curriculum in the minds of pupils in high schools, to a very great degree, outstripped the level of Freire's *conscientisation* (level of critical thinking and reflection) of many of their teachers and parents. While some teachers were progressive in their thinking on an alternative attitude and presentation of curriculum content in schools, many others reverted straight back to traditional conservative teaching methods in their classes. Mahanoe, of the University of the North, emphasized the need for relevance and contextualization of curriculum and syllabuses in a paper he delivered at the first conference of Black Educationalists in Durban in 1980. Mahanoe especially emphasized the role the Black teachers should play in the quest for the Africanisation of the curriculum:

It is only the teacher who can effectively liberate his pupils from the fetters of mental colonization and stagnation by promoting critical, analytic, productive thinking who can translate into action and articulate the feelings, thinking, aspirations and expectations of the Black communities (Mahanoe, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, p. 9).

Mphahlele also addressed the question of teacher involvement in alternate education during an address to a joint sitting of the African Teachers Association of South Africa (Atasa) and the Union of Teachers' Association in South Africa (Utasa) in East London and said:

It would not be fair to expect the student to know what should be substituted for the thing he is rejecting. But the teacher dare not try to evade the issue. Teachers, you need to re-educate yourselves, meaning studying reading material that was concealed from you by your teachers, developing perspective and perceptions that will enable you to give the maximum of yourself to the student and enjoy the maximum he can give you (Mphahlele, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, pp. 10-11).

Already, many teachers were undergoing an intensive re-orientation to their general approach to the curriculum in schools in preparation for a new society. While officially a government system of education was in force, teachers and pupils were thinking critically, in a Freirian sense of *conscientisation*, offering a more creative interpretation of the learning material. In this process the basis is created upon which the re-education and re-orientation of teachers and students can take place (van den Heever, 1987; McClaren, 2000).

A people centered curriculum was therefore busy evolving in South Africa. Although the South African government was administratively still in control of education, it had lost the minds and hearts of the Black teachers and pupils in their schools (SAIRR, 1987/88; McClaren 2000).

There is therefore a gradual, though dynamically evolving alternative vision of a community based education system in a free society. While the changeover from an old political administration to a new one can take place overnight, this cannot happen in education. Curriculum development is a slow arduous process which is continuously evolving. Obanya, the Nigerian academic working for WCOTP, states that Curriculum Development was a continuous search for improvement and that it was a continuous process rather than a single package:

The role of the practicing teacher is in ensuring that the process by which the school makes a lasting impact on the individual learner is continuously responding to the demands of changing times (Obanya, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, p. 11).

The teacher will remain the central figure in curriculum interpretation at all times, even after a relevant and fulfilling curriculum has been achieved in South Africa. Mahanoe described this important development as follows:

Even when we have at the end of it all, come up with elegant and acceptable educational philosophies and objectives, methods and procedures of transmitting them, it is the teachers who must reflect correctly the spirit behind the mute content of the curricula and syllabuses (Mahanoe, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, p. 11; see also McClaren, 2000; SAIRR, 1987/88).

2.15 Democratising Education

One of the main aims of people's education is to create people's power. People's power can only be created in education if the people are intimately involved in the planning and implementation of educational policy and curriculum development. There is an international recognition in the right of a community to determine who shall teach, who shall be taught, what shall be taught and how it should be taught in their schools.

The system that had operated in the South African educational system was that parent communities were allowed a share in the management of the schools as well as in the appointment of the teaching staff by means of participation in school committees. However, the status of school committees was low and few parents were prepared to serve on these committees (van den Heever, 1987; SAIRR, 2001).

The NECC had proposed that school committees be replaced by democratic people's committees who must assume control of the affairs of the school. In most cases the demand was for the establishment of Parent-Teachers-Student-Associations (PTSAs) by which the parents were organized around the school community to operate in unison with teachers and students (SAIRR, 2001; Norval, 1996; van den Heever, 1987).

The UNESCO publication "Learning to be", a document presented by students for a debate at the Young People's Forum in Geneva in 1971, contains the following reference about democracy in the world of education:

Democratising education does not only mean giving more education to more people, but also involving more people in educational management.

Traditional education is failing to adapt itself to the needs of the growing number of people. It must be recreated.

But who will recreate it? Not the administrators and the officials in education, but the people, all of them.

They know their needs and aspirations best. The question of democratising education must be taken to the people in every country, that is to say, discussions on education and teaching must be organized, or rather unleashed at all levels in the population. Let democratizing education begin again with a real democratic act: as many people as possible must help to create education (van den Heever, 1987, pp. 12-13; see also McClaren, 2000; SAIRR, 2001).

The advent of democracy, through democratic participation in educational management is an authentic and practical democracy, not inspired or built by bureaucrats, but a living, creative and evolving democracy. This is the kind of democratic involvement that the masses have clamoured for in South Africa and which the Freedom Charter refers to as “...democratic organs of self government” (ANC Freedom Charter, 1956; see also McClaren, 2000; SAIRR, 1987/88).

2.16 Restructuring the History Curriculum

The history syllabus and its corresponding textbooks have been identified as one of the main areas of concern in the establishment of a people’s education. The problems which the democratic community has with the syllabus of South African history in high schools are:

- a) The White-centered syllabus content depicting S.A. history as an heroic epoch of the Afrikaner nation.
- b) The relegation of Blacks in history to subservient position of useless bystanders or at worst, marauding hordes of murderers and cattle thieves.
- c) A conscious effort to coerce Blacks into accepting their status of second class citizens as set out for them in the syllabus.
- d) The attempt to create a sympathetic understanding for the various structures of the S.A. government.

One gets a good insight into the distortions of South African history when one considers the analysis of Louis du Buisson with regard to the historiography on the Zulu kings, Chaka and Dingaan (Sached, 1987; SAIRR, 1987/88; Norval, 1996; McClaren, 2000).

According to du Buisson (1974) the world's negative perception of the Zulu kings was based on the only two contemporaneous historical records of that period viz. the published diaries of two Englishmen, Fynn and Isaacs. Fynn and Isaacs had developed a deep grudge against the Zulu kings because they were expelled from Natal by the angry Dingaan because of their immoral behaviour and devious disposition.

Du Buisson reveals that soon after their expulsion from Natal, Isaacs wrote a letter to Fynn telling him that he intends to show how "treacherous" the Zulu kings were, and he hoped that Fynn would do the same:

Make them (the Zulu kings) out as blood thirsty as you can, Isaacs advises, and endeavour to give an estimate of the number of people they have murdered during their reign, and also describe the frivolous crimes people lose their lives for (Du Buisson, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, pp. 13-14).

According to Du Buisson the existence of this letter makes everything Isaacs and Fynn say about the "savage propensities" of the Zulu kings highly suspect.

The Zulu kings treated the Whites with the greatest of courtesy. They gave them all the ivory they had, and sent their soldiers out to hunt for more. They gave them enormous grants of land, thousands of head of cattle, and they elevated them to a position in society to which they could never aspire in the land of their birth. Yet when Fynn and Isaacs made it into print, they did such a thorough job of character assassination on the Zulu kings that it has dominated the world's perception of the Zulu people to this day (Du Buisson, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, p. 14).

Due to unfavourable depiction of the Zulu kings and the negative perspective it endangered with White historians, there were no Black heroes left in the public records by the generations of White historians.

Emerging Black historians have made pathetic attempts to find the heroes they know lie locked in their history, but sadly they had nothing to go on except the records of White people. The real truth is irrevocably lost (van den Heever, 1987, p. 14).

If one compares the historical works of Afrikaner establishment historians, with international history books on South Africa, one is struck by the clear deliverance of interpretation of historical facts. In comparing an establishment history book like *500 years History of South Africa* by Muller (1990) with the history book by Were (1974) (the University of Nairobi) *A History of South Africa*, one is struck by the difference in historical interpretation between these two historians (cited in van den Heever, 1987, pp.14, 15; see also McClaren, 2000; SAIRR, 2001).

In describing the relationship between the missionaries, Africans and the Boer colonists immediately before the Great Trek in 1835, Were (1974) writes that the source of the friction that developed between the missionaries working among the Black tribes and the Boer colonists was the fact that “while the Boers were bent on oppressing non-whites, many missionaries, mainly British, fought for their rights thereby creating friction between themselves and the Boers”. He also argues that “right from their earliest contact with Africans, the Boers had despised them as backward and inferior” (Were, quoted in van den Heever, 1987, p. 15).

Africans were not the equals of Europeans but an inferior race and, regarding themselves as God’s own, Boers saw the Africans as the servants of the chosen race. It is this mentality, this twist of mind, which is at the very centre of the crucial race problem in the life and history of South Africa (Were, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, p. 15).

Muller (1987) argues, on the other hand, that the government regulations brought about by philanthropic pressure gave the frontier farmer less control over their coloured labourers and that many of these labourers who left the farms “became lawless vagrants, sometimes operating in gangs”(Moller, cited in van den Heever, 1987, pp. 16, 177). In defending the position of frontier farmers Muller goes on to sympathetically explain the differences that the Boers had with the philanthropists’ policy of racial equality:

The Afrikaners attitude towards the non-whites was based on three main concepts: he distinguished on religious grounds

between White Christian and Non-White Heathen; he was very much aware of the indigenous races of Africa; he differentiated between Whites and non-whites according to their respective positions in the existing social structure.

It is not surprising therefore that the Afrikaner was profoundly affected by the British policy which did not countenance differentiation between the races; nor is it surprising that he reacted so strongly to that policy (Muller, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, pp. 16-17).

It is clear that the above statement contains subtle justification of the Boer's belief in a policy of separatism, especially if one considers the positive terms in which the explanation is couched.

Were (1974) is sympathetic towards the position of Blacks in the interior in the years following the Great Trek:

The official British policy was modified to please the (Boer) colonist, because it was felt that the government's liberal policy on the race issue had partly contributed to the Trek. Even apart from all this, the effect of the Trek on Africans was considerable. As well as losing their land, property and independence, many of them were killed while trying to resist the advancing colonists (Were, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, p. 16).

Muller (1987) on the other hand is less sympathetic about the position of Blacks. In fact he states that the Great Trek had only succeeded in "temporarily" subjugating the various tribes. He points out that the Bantu had "nowhere been defeated", that the Zulus had reorganized to resist Whites again and that there were tens of thousands of non-whites permanently settled among Whites in Trekker territories. Muller describes the consolidation of the Afrikaner's unique non-white policy and his national and religious traditions in the interior in South Africa as an "heroic epoch" (Muller, Cited in van den Heever, 1987, p.16; see also Norval, 1996),

The racial policies of the Post World War II Nationalist government were described in detail by Muller (1987) and Were (1974). Furthermore, Were (1987) writes:

Under Dr Malan and his successors the Nationalist Party Government enforced the policy of Apartheid with unprecedented vigour and precision. Their aim was to keep South Africa white by entrenching the privileged position of the white population and by permanently keeping Africans in an inferior position. This could only be attained by separating whites from blacks and by reserving certain jobs, particularly top jobs and skilled ones for the whites (van den Heever, p. 17, 1987; see also Dyson, 2007).

Muller, however, regards the implementation of Apartheid legislation in the post -1948-period as the innovation of merely changing into written law what had previously been “long established South African custom”. He also underscores the “positive aspects” of Apartheid by the granting of political rights to non-whites in their own homelands just as the whites enjoyed political rights in the white areas of South Africa. In contemplating the “future destinies of the Coloured and Indians” Muller concludes that “some measure of self-government must be granted to them” (Muller 1987, pp. 93 – 87; Were, 1974; Farrah, 2007; Dyson, 2007).

While both these two historical works in question are authoritative publications, providing clear evidence of in-depth research of valid historical facts, the perceptions and interpretations of the facts by these two historians differ greatly. If one considers that Were writes from a Black and African perspective, and Muller from an Afrikaner White perspective, then the difference in approach is not surprising.

Plaatje and “Mnguni” brought a powerful African accent to History. This message was often in the spirit of this radical statement of “Mnguni”:

The purpose of this history is to expose the process of the conquest, dispossession, enslavement, segregation and disfranchisement of the oppressed non-European of South Africa in order that the oppressed as a whole will understand better how to transform the status quo into a society worth living for and worth living in (van den Heever, 1987, p. 18).

And on another occasion it was the soulful humility of Plaatje (Were, 1974) in his “Native Life in South Africa”, who said:

We have often read books, written by well-known scholars, who disavow, on behalf of their words, any claim to literary perfection.

How much more necessary, then that a South African native working man, who has never reached any secondary training, should in attempting authorship disclaim on behalf of his work, any title to literary merit. Mine is but a sincere narrative of a melancholy situation, in which, with all its shortcomings, I have endeavored to describe the difficulties of the South African natives under a very strange law, so as most readily to be understood by the sympathetic reader (van den Heever, 1987, p. 18).

It is therefore clear that race relations, political rights and arguments about equality of opportunity form the basis of South African history. Van Jaarsveld (1975), writing in his “Geschiedkundige Verkenninge” speculates that if all the gloomy predictions of internal revolution and external pressure were true, we would be better off concentrating on the “Causes of the South African Revolution” as was the case in France. This view would only serve to strengthen calls for the speedy implementation of a “People’s History”.

The challenge to writers of school history texts is equally intense. The objection against the history syllabus operating in schools was threefold:

- 1) Educational planning in the history curriculum at schools is done by the Joint Matriculation Board, a statutory council consisting exclusively of Whites and working along the spirit of the Christian National Education Ideology prescribed by government.
- 2) The history syllabus prescribed for schools is a narrative of the Afrikaner’s heroic struggle against threats of English imperialism and Black ‘savagery’.
- 3) The history textbooks written in tune with the syllabus generally tend to support and entrench that syllabus.

It was, amongst other things, due to the preceding reasons that the Union of Teachers Associations of South Africa withdrew all its representatives from committees of the Department of Education and Culture. The need for a totally restructured educational planning committee, history syllabus and history textbook developed into one of the key issues in the movement towards a people’s curriculum (van den Heever, 1987, p. 19).

This brought up the question of whether progressive thinking educationists should not consider very seriously the writing of an appropriate and progressive history text against

the background of the current syllabus. While some perceived it unwise to legitimize an unacceptable syllabus with an acceptable textbook, there were others who felt it important to consolidate the prevailing mood of progressiveness by compiling a liberal history text for schools. Without attempting to give a final verdict on this fine line of division, I would like to offer an analysis between two textbooks prescribed for Standard 10 history, viz. *History Alive* by P. Kallaway and others, and *Tydkringe* by Lintveldt, Smith and others.

The authors of *Tydkringe* - Lintveldt, Smit, Vlok, Van Wyk and Smit (1979), have been involved for many years in the writing of prescribed history textbooks at school, and can therefore be expected to have a tried and tested textbook formula for the demands set by the Department of Education and Culture. Their Standard 10 textbook (1979), *Tydkringe*, was written to suit the syllabus to the finest detail. In fact it was so syllabus bound that some textbook-bound teachers may be tempted to teach straight out of this book without further reference to syllabus or other literature. The content of *Tydkringe*, albeit in the Afrikaner dominant mind-set, is set out as objectively as possible. There is even a clearly discernable attempt to avoid a politically controversial term such as “terrorism”. For example, the Boer-Xhosa conflict on the Fish River was attributed to the fact that both groups were stock farmers, a strongly differing opinion from original views which placed the cause of the conflict squarely in front of the door of ‘marauding Xhosa savages’. This more neutral position with regard to Blacks was however, also adopted with regard to the White government. It was clear that the authors did not want to write a text which was critical of Afrikaner practices or which condemned Blacks outright. It however, sets out the main characteristics of South African society in typical government jargon:

South Africa is a land which is inhabited by different cultures and race groups, originating from individual units, namely Europeans, Blacks, Coloureds and Indians (Translated, van den Heever, 1987, p. 20).

In *History Alive Standard 10*, Kallaway (1987) states that it was their intention to reach out towards a ‘new history’ in their textbook:

We wish to move away from parochial view of historical events and processes and examine them against a background of social, economic and political change on a global scale (Kallaway in van den Heever, 1987, p. 21).

Kallaway (1987) also makes it clear in his introduction that it is the specific aim of the writers to write a text which is in line with the demands of progressive teachers for a greater flexibility in the approach to teaching of history in schools:

There has been increasing desire to get away from chalk and talk from the 'great man' and 'great nation' approach and from excessive reliance upon narrative that was a characteristic of the conventional textbook approach. In short, the 'new history' in the schools emphasized explanatory and analytical *skills* in the learning of history (van den Heever, p. 22, 1987).

In attempting to correct biased historical perspectives after many years of indoctrination, one would expect that progressive historians could very easily fall foul to writing which was overtly pro-Black and anti-White, thereby putting a serious question mark over the legitimacy of their historical objectivity. Kallaway and his co-writers cleverly sidestepped this trap by selecting and quoting from appropriate documents rather than attempting to come to fundamental verdicts in their own name. They skillfully juxtaposed the policy speech of Hertzog ("the native must understand that equality with the Europeans is impossible") in 1926 with the view of segregation of the historian De Kiewiet ("Segregation is a myth, a fancy, anything but a fact"), and allow the student to draw his own conclusion. This is also done with the Apartheid views of Malan and the liberation philosophy of the A.N.C. as set out in official correspondence.

What was the nature of the opposition of apartheid up to the 1970s and how successful was that opposition in bringing about changes in policy?

In the comparison between *History Alive* and *Tydkringe* it appears that there is a fundamental difference in approach between the progressive text and the traditional one. In these two books both authors deal with the same periods prescribed by syllabus, and in the main both attempt to stick to the demands of objective presentation of historical facts. There is however, a distinction between the final ends towards which the two works strive.

The N.E.C.C. (1987) has also published a manual *What is History?* outlining a new approach to history for students, workers and communities. This N.E.C.C. manual is "not

designed to convey a lot of new historical information” but to instill a sensitivity in the minds of students and teachers from which to critically analyse the various materials they will come across as students of the subject. The various activities outlined in the N.E.C.C. booklet – Interpreting events; analyzing articles; selecting materials; assessing opinions – provide an excellent reference for relevant alternative education (Cited in Carr (1961).

As above shows, there was a need for school textbooks to present a new and balanced account of historical narratives. to bring about a clear perspective on South African History fundamental to the development of a new South Africa in a democracy (N.E.C.C., 1981; also Farrah, 2007).

This chapter demonstrates that the history of White-groups and their overall domination, power and control were given prominence and the intention had been to present different groups as having separate histories and destinies. The history of Blacks was presented as an account of White-imposed legislation that had determined the roles of non-Whites in the policy and economy of South Africa. Forms of Black opposition to White supremacy were either ignored or ascribed to external forces such as communism rather than to the prevailing circumstances of inequality. In spite of a few attempts to correct some traditional biases of South African history teaching, the textbooks tended to present a view of the past consistent with and generally supportive of South African racial policies.

Historian Bundy (1986) was quoted by *The Star* (n.d.) newspaper (Johannesburg) as saying:

History as taught in South African schools ... not only distorts the past, but maims it. In content it is silent or misleading on the historical experience of the majority of South Africans (n.d.).

There is no mention of Black resistance and Black political activity, leadership, or of the illegality of this History, it is always about nation-building, not, for example, about conflicts of interests within societies.

2.17 CONCLUSION

The chapter discussed the legacy of Apartheid and the effects of the Bantu Education Act on schools. This chapter shows that due to ideological, political and social constraints, it was difficult to reform apartheid, and the education system in South Africa. The state was intent on maintaining a Black educational system, inferior in both content and quality that ensured that the vast majority of Black pupils had an inferior education. Bantu Education took the Blacks back to different phases and reasons of their humiliating past as a fractured society. The apartheid era left South Africa both a first world country of rich and White society, and a third world country of poor and Black socio-economic groups.

This chapter leads to Chapter 3, which elaborates on the methodology employed for investigating research questions concerning the history of Bantu Education. The methods employed are based on the juxtaposition of two sets of data. The first set of data includes an analysis of official documents, archival sources and reports on Bantu education. The second set of data contains selected secondary sources – books and articles.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 THE HISTORICAL-COMPARATIVE RESEARCH (HCR)

This chapter describes the theoretical perspectives, epistemological underpinning, methodology, data collection methods and analysis used in this thesis.

A qualitative methodology, based on Historical Comparative Research, is used. Historical Comparative Research (HCR) is considered to be the most appropriate to examine and critique the research hypothesis and resultant major themes, which are detailed below. Historical-Comparative Research (HCR) is essentially historical and sociological. The analysis digs into the past in order to understand how the present came into being and what the dominant trends might be in the future. With regard to writing the ultimate history (Carr, 1961), observed:

The facts speak only when the historian calls on them; it is he who decides which facts to give to the floor and in what order or content... The belief in a hard core of historical facts existing objectively and independently of interpretation of the historian is preposterous (Carr, 1961, pp. 9-10).

HCR research is one of the “most effective methodologies for the study of the nature of society and social change” (Zajda et al., 2003, p. 366; Wiersma, 2006) for the following reasons:

- a) It employs all the tried and tested methodological techniques of Historical Research. It examines Primary and Secondary sources for the historical periods under investigation, but also employs External and Internal Criticism (Wiersma, 2006, pp. 225-226). In doing so, it analyses, interprets and formulates conclusions.
- b) Secondly, HCR research adopts a multi-causal approach. It is not only interested in historical events, but for my purpose, examines social, political

and economic considerations. Cultural and demographic factors were allotted equal importance.

- c) Thirdly, HCR research has a tradition of “investigating past contexts” (Neumann, 2006, p. 392). This is precisely what I have done, when I examined the Bantu (African) education in comparison to White education, i.e. in respect of primary and secondary education, matriculation results, Bush (Black) universities, funding education and the resistance to Bantu Education.
- d) Fourthly, HCR research is extremely flexible in its techniques and approaches to collecting data. It is not fixed to one investigative tradition, but embraces “a blend of sociology, history, political science, and economics” (Neumann, 2006, p. 382). This flexibility is important in this thesis because it reflects upon the ideology and conceptual influence of the evaluation of Bantu Education during its relevant periods. This will validate and verify all conclusions and provide balance and accuracy to issues raised.

The use of historical-comparative methodology, together with *mentalities* and *longue duree*, suggests that there exists a nexus between historical facts, hegemony and preferred reading of the text, be it a document or a school textbook.

3.2 HISTORICAL-COMPARATIVE RESEARCH: AN OVERVIEW

Carr (1967) defines historical research as a “process of systematically searching for data to answer questions about a phenomenon from the past to gain a better understanding of the foundation of present institutions ...and issues in education” (Carr, 1967, p. 35). As Gall, Gall and Borg (2006) explain: “Interpretation plays a central part in historical research” (p.529, see also Neumann, 2006, p. 425). The strength of historical-comparative paradigm lies in its “sensitivity to specific historical or social contexts with theoretical generalization” (Neumann, 2006, p. 423).

In short, by using historical-comparative research one can examine each textbook, monograph, periodical or document within the context of its culture, values, beliefs, politics of its time, or its “mentalities”, and compare it with other textbooks of subsequent items within their own similar context in order to determine change within a *longue duree*

context, or a long duration or historical era in a geographic space (Neumann, 2006, p. 427). In this respect, it follows the research method of the Annales School, which was founded in 1929.

Historical-Comparative Research is a “powerful method for addressing big questions” (Neumann, 2006, p.149). For example, the questions addressing the changes in education, society and “societal revolution” have been addressed by historical comparative researchers (Neuman, 2006, p. 420). Hence the major task for the historical-comparative researcher is one of “organizing” and gives meaningful new meaning (synthesis) to historical evidence. As Skopol (1979, p. xiv) stressed, the aim is not to reveal new data, but “rather in establishing the interest and prima facie validity of an overall argument about causal regularities across various historical cases”. HCR research focuses on culture, and “tries to see through the eyes of those being studied, reconstructs the lives of the people being studied” (Neumann, p. 423) – through the historical lenses of the past, rather than the present.

Skopol (1979) used HCR to study macro-sociological issues or “big questions”. His research dealt with the causes of societal revolutions in China, France and Russia. Here HCR research, like interpretive field research, focuses on culture and Bantu education, and tries to see the events through the eyes of those being studied.

The unique feature of HCR research is that it avoids the excesses of the positivistic and interpretive approaches. HCR research involves a type of translation (the researcher’s meaning system differs from the people studied), and the focus is on action, process, and sequence—defined through time and process.

Unique features of HCR research are:

- Interpreting events
- **Reconstruction** of the past or another culture
- Multicausal approach (used effectively by Max Weber and others)
- The use of the Annales school approach (associated with the group of French historians, notably Marc Bloch).

The *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* was founded by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre in 1928. Its main innovation was to shift the focus on writing problem-oriented analytical history and looking at human activity comprehensively.

In short, HCR research by questioning structural functionalism, with its static view of culture and society, and by rejecting economic determinism provides a very effective methodology for addressing the meta questions—by attempting to analyse the *mentalities* of an era, or beliefs, values and ideologies that were dominant at the time, in this case the history of Bantu education, by looking for the ‘deep-running currents’ and by examining *longue duree*, (a long duration) of a historical era in historic-political settings and “geographic space” (Neuman, 2006, p. 392).

3.3 IDEOLOGY AND TEXT

The process of the text, as depicted by education and policy statements and curriculum documents, and education reforms in general, is not only never objective and neutral, but is always coloured by a dominant ideology at the time (see Zajda, 2009). The term ‘ideology’, used in this thesis, is defined as ‘supra-individual cultural phenomenon’ (Namenwirth and Weber, 1987). Namenwirth and Weber theorised that texts can be viewed as supra-individual cultural phenomenon. They justified the use of text analysis in the study of social change and cultural dynamics.

The problem with offering a singular or one-dimensional form of knowledge in the form of policy statements concerning a core curriculum, national standards of assessment and examination is that it ignores other alternatives. Critical understanding of the political nature of education policies and associated reforms allows questioning of that which is taken to be the ‘norm’. Denial of the ideological nature of education policies and education reforms is likely to lead to what Nietzsche called the ‘morality of slaves’ – a conformist, passive and ‘dutiful reverence towards the policy, the value of which is thought to be sacrosanct and timeless’.

To summarise, in the above approach to analysis of education policy documents, by focusing on ideology and text, the emphasis is on *value-laden* historical and political *constructs* that consistently appeared in education policy and reforms, reinterpretation of events, leaders and other major actors on a historical-social arena in South Africa.

This research should be of value and interest to all those who wish not only to understand South Africa's contested Bantu Education terrain but as well to consider some of the larger complexities surrounding education in the period of 1948-1994, as an agent of redistributive justice and equal rights.

3.4 METHODS

The methods for the analysis of the History of Bantu Education specifically involved the following approaches: Data generated from analysing documents, parliamentary debates and reports available in libraries in Australia, and in South Africa; Data collected from examining the syllabi, curriculum materials and education policy documents associated with the operation of Bantu Education; and Data collected from secondary sources, such as monographs, textbooks, newspapers, periodicals, and so forth. These included the accounts of writers and academics who related the testimony of events. It is agreed that these sources have limited value because of the possible distortion of facts which are likely to take place in transmitting information. Because of this constraint, primary sources were employed as much as possible. The bulk of the secondary sources cited were based on the research undertaken in the areas of African (Bantu) education.

Data is analysed using qualitative methodology, as described above, and also using elements of discourse analysis, especially when analysing power and ideology, and their impact on education policy reforms. Discourse analysis can be found in Foucault's books *The Order of Things* (1970), *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), and *Power/Knowledge* (1980). The term *discourse*, as employed by Michel Foucault, involves an intertwining of ideas, themes, forms of knowledge and also positions held by individuals in relation to these (see Zajda, 2005a).

Furthermore, these meanings can be "embodied in technical processes, in institutions...in forms for transmission and diffusion and in pedagogical ideas" (Foucault, 1977a, p. 200). In this sense, discourse can refer to not only statements, but also to social and institutional practices through which the social production of meaning takes place or is embodied. This leads to the construct of '*discursive practices*', or activities which are systematically subjected to a certain "regimentation and patterning by one or more dominant discourses" (see Zajda, 2005a).

Textbook activities encourage students to approach history critically, and ‘persuade’ teachers to abandon the earlier, more rigid teaching styles of the Soviet era in favour of innovative and diverse approaches. The critical aspect of discourses challenges the accepted *hierarchical* structuring of *authority* concerning knowledge and the *neutrality* of knowledge and ideology. It asks questions about the historical and cultural conditions in which discourses emerged (see Zajda et al., 2003, Zajda, 2005a).

As an approach it has been applied to the production of knowledge. Foucault (1984, p. 110) suggested that dominant discourses are determined by power struggles:

Discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the power for which and by which there is struggle; discourse is the power, which is to be seized.

It was Foucault who alerted us, in a post-structuralist sense, to the politics of the text and the knowledge-power connection. According to Foucault (1980, p. 68):

Once knowledge can be analysed in terms of region, domain, implantation, displacement, transposition, one is able to capture the process by which knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power.

In the above described discourse analysis of the data, the focus was on:

1. Critiquing the *new* interpretation of social and political change,
2. *Ideological reproduction*, or an ideological re-positioning of education reforms under the Bantu Education Act, —as an attempt to create a new hegemonic synthesis,
3. A new form of the control of meaning (here Foucauldian notions of ‘discipline’ and the ‘regime of truth’) are particularly relevant in the discourse (Zajda, 2005a).

3.5 LIMITATIONS OF HCR RESEARCH

Historical-comparative methodology, while offering an in-depth analysis of historical events, where its strength lies in sensitivity to specific mentalities of the time, has certain limitations, as depicted below:

1. HCR research “tries to see the events through the eyes of those being studied” (Zajda et al., 2003, p. 366). This is very difficult to do. Whilst I

was afforded the experiences of living, interacting, feeling the culture, context, surroundings and lifestyle of the period (1948-1994) under consideration, I am analysing “occurrences” which ended almost fourteen years ago. I am also thirteen thousand kilometres away from South Africa.

2. In examining a variety of documents/monographs/articles/ periodicals, it is extremely difficult for historians to fully appreciate the cultural mindset of certain people in the past, separated from it by many years of global and local change.
3. Another problem has to do with the use of secondary sources, as some historians and researchers have biases, and carry emotional and cultural baggage, which could cloud their impressions and conclusions. Historians’ biases could lead them to emphasize one passage over another “from the infinite oceans of facts” (Carr, Cited in Zajda, 2003, p. 368).
4. Regarding the “reading and interpretation of facts” (Zajda et al., 2003) argues that:

The other problem is reading and interpreting the works of historians. Historians and researchers alike do not present theory-free, objective facts and unbiased views of reality. The next problem, deals with the historians’ selection of data. Historians and researchers select some data from the universe of all, possible evidence (p. 368).

3.6 RESEARCH ISSUES IN INVESTIGATION

As noted in Chapter 1, this research project examines the history of Bantu education during the period of 1948-1994, focusing on the following:

What was the socio-historical context of education in South Africa, prior to 1948?

What was the politico-economic and educational significance of the introduction of the 1948 Apartheid policy?

What was the role of the Bantu education Act during the 1948-1994 period?

What effects did the Bantu education Act have on the people of South Africa?

This research, using historical-comparative methodology, examines the role of ideology and education reforms and corresponding shifts in ideology and representations of schooling, as defined by the Bantu Education Act. It is argued that Bantu education represented a new form of hegemony and disciplinary practice.

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter demonstrates that the historical-comparative methodology is particularly relevant in investigating the history of Bantu Education and Apartheid, especially in analysing shifts in educational policies, documents and school curricula.

Chapter 4, by analysing matriculation results, the final year of secondary schooling, considers whether Bantu Education offered desired upward social mobility and equality of opportunity to Black students in South Africa under the Apartheid system.

CHAPTER 4

MATRICULATION RESULTS YEAR 12 SECONDARY SCHOOLING: IMPACT ON LIFE CHANCES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter investigates the rate of success and growth of Standard 8 (Junior Certificate) and the significant levels of success and/or failure rates at Matriculation (Standard 10) level, especially between 1949-1989 (see also Adler and Setali, 2005; Norval, 1996). Matriculation refers to the successful completion of Form 6, the final year of high school.

Quantitative data used in this chapter was collected from the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR); Statistics South Africa (SSA); Department of Education and Training (DET); the Education Planning and Future Studies of the Universities of the Orange Free State and Stellenbosch, respectively; The Bantu Education Journals (called *Educamus* after the early 1970s); and Hartshorne's *Crisis and Challenge*, (1992), formerly Director of Bantu Education (Hartshorne, 1992; Bergh and Soudien, 2006).

Secondary education in South Africa has for a long time been problematic in that it has had to do with a lack of clarity as to its basic purposes. Its major policy goal was to prepare White youth for entry to the university and other tertiary institutions, such as technikons and colleges of education, and finding relevant employment (Soudien and Kallaway, 1999; Jansen, 2000).

These policy issues were once again the agenda as South Africa moved through the transition towards a post-apartheid society. There are many issues which had to do with the quality of secondary education, with its relevance in terms of curriculum and its general style and nature, which were also in need of resolution (Hartshorne, 1992; Fiske and Ladd, 2004).

Historically, secondary education in South Africa has been strongly influenced by both its continental (Dutch) and British (particularly Scottish) heritage and traditions. Both emphasised academic achievement and an insistence on academic standards, which over the years had translated itself into an over-emphasis and over-dependence on examinations and on the certificates and diplomas that were based on them. The significance of the matriculation examination had been one of the most marked characteristics of secondary

education in South Africa. Ironically, in black schools, if this was its purpose, secondary schooling was not very successful in carrying it out (Hartshorne, 1992; Kallaway, 2002).

Secondary education in South Africa has had a particular style: it has been authoritarian, teacher-dominated, and content-orientated and knowledge based. It has become common to attribute this to the influence of the Afrikaner and the philosophy of Christian National Education of which more has been elucidated earlier, and there is no question but that transmission theories of identity, culture, moulding, ‘fitting into ordered society’, as propounded both by Afrikaner politicians and black educationalists, have had to be powerful. But that is not the whole story: the particular British interests of prefects, house games, the powerful headmaster, the separation of the sexes and so on have all tended to reinforce the conservative and generally traditional authoritarianism after 1955 by large-scale appointments of Afrikaners to black State universities, teacher training colleges and boarding high schools. From time to time black students were to challenge this authoritarianism in a way that their compatriots never did, but it was only from 1976 onwards that these challenges had any real effect. Fifteen years later it was black secondary schooling, almost on the point of collapse, that became the main focus of concern of all those that were party to education and negotiations – the government, the private sector, black community and political organisations. It was the black high school which was perceived as being at the heart of the education crisis (SAIRR, 1976; Fiske and Ladd, 2005; Soudien and Kallaway, 1999; Norval, 1996).

4.2 The period from 1910 to 1948

The tables presented here are based on figures from the Department of Statistics South Africa (SSA), Annual Reports of the Bantu Education Department and the South African Institute of Race Relations. There are no comments nor analysis of this data, and accordingly, I had to rely a great deal on scholarly works published by Hartshorne (former Director of Bantu Education) and Horrell (Research Officer of the South African Institute of Race Relations) (Hartshorne, 1992; Jansen, 2000; Kallaway, 2002; Norval, 1996).

The examinations, at this level, run by the provincial education departments and the Union Department of Education, were open to black private candidates as well as others. In the Cape there had been limited facilities open to the blacks, at institutions such as Lovedale and

Healdtown, while a small number had gone overseas for secondary and university study. There were so few individuals with qualifications at Matriculation level that when the University College of Fort Hare was opened already in 1916 it was found necessary to institute a matriculation class at the college to provide students for the degree courses. In the years from 1916 to 1935 these classes had on average, between 40 and 50 students. Statistics for the period up to 1935 are very sparse. The table gives some indication of secondary schooling up to this point (Soudien and Kallaway, 1999; Hartshorne, 1992; SAIRR, 2001; Keys, 2000).

Table No 4.1: Secondary School for Africans

	1925	1930	1935
Total Secondary Pupils	837	1154	1955
Standard 8 (JC)	278	208	450
Standard 10 (SC)	63	16	37
% Total Enrolments	0.5	0.4	0.5
Comparative White %	9.9	10.8	13.1

Source: SAIRR, 1936

Although the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education in 1935-1936 had nothing specific to say concerning secondary schooling—the improved subsidization to mission schools (Rose and Tunmer, 1975), which followed the report of the Committee, led to a rapid expansion of secondary schools, as is shown in the table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Expansion - for Africans

	1935	1940	1945	1950
Total Secondary Pupils	1955	5808	12925	24083
% Total Enrolments	0.5%	1.25%	2.2%	3.1%
Comparative White %	13.1%	16.4%	17.4%	17.2%

Source: SAIRR, 1951; Hartshorne, 1992.

The pre-1948 period under review came to an end with the accession of the National Party in 1948. Secondary school examination results in table 4.3 indicate that in spite of relatively rapid growth in secondary schooling after World War II throughout South Africa with enrolment of about 20 000 – the numbers for Africans successfully completing the two public

Examinations (Matriculation Exemption and Senior Certificate) were still very limited (SAIRR, 1951/2; Hartshorne, 1992; Adler and Setali, 2005).

Table 4.3: Success Rates of Matriculation Candidates: 1949 - for Africans

	No. of Candidates	First Class	Passes Others	Totals
Cape	218	8 3.7%	103 47.2%	111 50.9%
Natal	77	4 5.2%	46 59.3%	50 64.5%
Transvaal.	15	0	0	0
O.F.S.	14	?	?	6 38.5%
Total	324			167 51.5%

Source: SAIRR, 1949; Hartshorne, 1992.

4.3 The period from 1949 to 1966

Stagnation of secondary schooling in the immediate pre-Bantu Education period (1949 – 1952) was to have serious consequences for the economy in the early 1970s, when the private sector first became aware of the acute shortage of well qualified applicants for training (Adler and Setali, 2005; Kahn, 2001). The tables 4.4 and 4.5, which provide statistical data on the examination results in junior and senior certificate during the 1955-66 period emphasised this point.

Table 4.4: Junior Certificate (Std. 8) 1955-1966 - for Africans

Year	Entries	Successful Candidates			Totals	%
		1 st Class	2 nd Class	3 rd class		
1955	6 803	220 3,2%	3 304 48,6%	-	3 524	51,8%
1957	7 817	295 3,8%	3 793 48,5%	-	4 088	52,3%
1959	9 243	219 2,4%	3 737 2,4%	-	3 956	42,8%
1961	9 119	316 3,5%	4 654 51,0%	-	4 970	54,5%
1962	9 933	469 4,7%	5 211 52,5%	-	5 680	57,2%
1963	9 532	1 084 11,4%	3 822 40,1%	2 550 26,7%	7 456	78,2%
1964	10 112	1 167 11,5%	3 660 36,2%	2 690 26,6%	5 715	74,3%
1965	11 644	1 520 13,0%	4 804 41,3%	2 796 24,0%	9 120	78,3%
1966	13 822	1 263 9,1%	4 781 34,6%	3 873 28,0%	9 917	71,7%

Sources : Horrell 1969, pp.75-6, and Department of Bantu Education, Annual Reports, 1961-1966.

The table above shows that it took twelve years from 1955 to 1966 for the number of candidates taking junior certificate to *double* in numbers. Those candidates who passed supplied the needs of teacher training and the Year 9 classes in the high school over the whole of South Africa. It needs to be stressed that in 1963, with the introduction of a third class in the examination, there was a considerable rise in the percentage passes. However, pupils with third-rate passes did not qualify for entry to the high schools or the teacher training colleges. From 1955 to 1966, therefore, there was an increase from 3,525 to about 6,000 only in those who qualified for further education in post-Standard 8 classes. The limitations that this placed on the numbers taking and passing senior certificate are clearly illustrated in the table 4.5 (Hartshorne, 1992; Kahn, 2001; Natrass and Seekings, 2001).

Table 4.5: Senior Certificate/Matriculation 1955-1966 (Black full-time candidates).

Year	Entries	Successful Candidates		Totals	% pass
		Matric.	Sen. Cert.		
1955	595	110	120	230	38,7%
		18,5%	20,2%		
1956	768	164	190	354	46,1%
		21,4%	24,7%		
1957	745	135	157	292	39,3%
		18,1%	21,2%		
1958	660	113	135	248	37,5%
		17,0%	20,5%		
1959	772	73	151	224	29,0%
		9,4%	19,6%		
1960	957	56	126	182	19,0%
		5,8%	13,2%		
1961	839	76	136	212	25,3%
		9,1%	16,2%		
1962	894	150	214	364	40,4%
		16,8%	23,6%		
1963	882	245	286	531	60,2%
		27,8%	32,4%		
1964	1 033	298	338	636	61,5%
		28,8%	32,7%		
1965	1 339	323	504	827	61,7%
		24,1%	37,6%		
1966	1 049	411	460	871	56,3%
		26,5%	29,8%		

Sources: Horrell 1968, pp.77-8, and Annual Reports, 1959-66. (Department of Bantu Education).

In the first place, the low pass rates in the years 1959-1961 were caused by the decision to limit the schools to taking the Joint Matriculation Board (JMB) examination, whereas previously they had also the option of completing the Senior Certificate examination of the Department of Education, Arts and Science. When this option was restored in 1962 and the schools began to disengage themselves from the JMB examination the results immediately began to pick up again. Since then very few black candidates have attempted the examinations of the JMB, and the National Senior Certificate (NSC) became the basic examination taken in

black schools. A second point to make is that the black State Universities – two of which, Zululand and the North, opened in 1960 and the third, Fort Hare, was taken over by the Department of Bantu Education by then – and were served by a secondary school system which in 1959 produced only 73 matriculants and 151 with senior certificate. This was hardly a secure base on which to build a new separate university system (Hartshorne, 1992; Natrass and Seekings, 2001; Adler and Setali, 2005).

After the Sharpsville riots of 1960, there was a long period in which political activity in the townships declined in the face of government action against political organizations, such as the the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) formed in 1959. It was a relatively ‘stable’ period in which the concerns and rising expectations of township parents returned to education as a way to improve the lot of their children (Hartshorne, 1992; Kahn, 2001; Jansen, 2006; Russo et al., 2005).

In the middle 1960s pressures came from the private sector for the expansion of secondary facilities in the urban areas, and the government gave way to the extent that in 1969 the administration boards were authorised to build junior secondary schools on the loan subsidies from the government. From 1967 to 1975 there was also considerable expansion in secondary schools and their enrolments. There was an average and steady growth rate of 14 percent per year in total secondary enrolments, at a time when primary school enrolments had been growing at about 5 to 6 percent. Whether intended or not, and however grudgingly, there was nevertheless a change in priorities in this period. Finally there were four-and-half times as many pupils in Standard 10 as there had been in the 1950s, and three times as many in Standard 8. 1975 was a watershed year, which marked the beginning of a greater number explosion in secondary schooling. The reason for this was the sudden jump in Year 6 entries and the overall increase of 52 percent in total enrolments (Hartshorne, 1992, p. 70; see also Keys, 2000; Jansen, 2006; Rothstein, 2004).

Black candidates from 1962 took the National Senior Certificate. The administration of this examination, increasingly through this period, was taken over by the Department of Bantu Education and many of the examiners and markers were Afrikaners, who came from within the department. By the end of the period the department was drawing up the examination

schedules, applying statistical controls and issuing the results, subject only to the general supervision of the Joint Matriculation Board (Hartshorne, 1992; Jansen, 2006; Bergh and Soudien, 2006).

4.4 The period from 1967 to 1975

As shown in Table 4.5 in 1967, 16, 389 candidates wrote the junior certificate examination, of whom 11,100 (or 67.7 percent) passed. By 1975, there were 48, 124 candidates, 15, 344 (or 31.9 percent) attempted Mathematics and 11, 153 (or 23.2 percent) Physical Science. With the subject pass requirement being set at 33.3 percent there was a fairly high level of ‘success’: 69.3 percent in Mathematics and 77.2 percent in Physical Science, but the average percentage mark in Mathematics was 40.3 percent and in Physical Science 42.0 percent (Department of Bantu Education, 1967-75; Kahn, 2001; Kallaway, 2004).

Table 4.6 reveals that during the 1967-75 period the senior certificate /matriculation results showed a fairly regular pattern, with about one-third of the candidates gaining matriculation exemption, one quarter senior certificates and the remainder failing. Matriculation exemption was a legal requirement for first-degree study at a South African university. Students who did not pass Senior Certificate with endorsement were required by law to apply for a matriculation exemption through the Matriculation Board.

As will be seen later, this is in strong contrast with the post – 1980 period when matriculation exemptions were gained by only about 10 percent of the total candidates. From 1967 to 1975, moreover, the number of successful candidates with matriculation exemption, increased sevenfold, from 485 to 3 520, a further indication of the priority being given to secondary schooling, in spite of the rhetoric still attached to its development being limited to the homelands. The growth during this period allowed the three black state universities to get themselves established, and also enabled the department to begin preparing post-Year 10 teachers in the departmental colleges (Hartshorne, 1992; Adler and Setali, 2005; Jansen, 2000).

Table 4.6: Senior Certificate/Matriculation 1967-1975 – for Africans

Year	Entries	Successful Candidates		Totals	% pass
		Matric.	Sen. Cert.		
1967	2 039	485 23,8%	482 23,6%	967	47,4%
1968	2 289	775 21,4%	491 24,7%	1 266	55,3%
1969	2 624	877 18,1%	865 21,2%	1 742	60,3%
1970	2 846	1 013 35,6%	843 29,6%	1 856	37,5%
1971	3 818	1 326 34,7%	1 062 27,8%	2 388	62,5%
1972	4 541	1 801 39,6%	1 110 24,5%	2 911	64,1%
1973	5 492	1 899 34,6%	1 327 24,1%	3 266	58,7%
1974	6 420	2 087 16,8%	1 354 23,6%	3 441	40,4%
1975	8 445	3 520 27,8%	1 880 41,7%	5 400	63,9%

Source: Annual Reports of the Department of Bantu Education, 1968 – 1976.

Summing up, only 36.8 percent of secondary school teachers had suitable minimum qualifications for the work they were doing. On the average, there were no sufficient graduate teachers to provide one per secondary school. Over 47 percent of Black teachers were 29 years old or younger. Under these circumstances the results obtained in both junior and senior certificate in the 1967-75 period were in fact a credit to teachers who, through no fault of their own, were supplied with inadequate resources in terms of equipment, books and teaching resources. The schools and teachers had struggled to cope with the growth in numbers during this period; they were ill-prepared to cope with these explosions, both in numbers and political expectations, which were to confront them in the post 1975 period, to which we now turn (Hartshorne, 1992, p.71; see also Bergh and Soudien, 2006; SAIRR, 2001; Bundy, 2005; Keys, 2000). Between 1967-1975 secondary school enrolments continued to grow (see Table 4.7)

Table 4.7: Secondary school enrolments 1967-1975

Year	Std. 6	Std. 8	Std. 10	Total enrolments	Per cent Increases
1967	35 947	17 252	2 097	2 097	
1968	42 011	19 679	2 380	2 380	14,6%
1969	42 087	22 855	2 698	2 698	8,4%
1970	49 504	26 695	2 938	2 938	14,5%
1971	53 603	29 800	4 065	4 065	12,5%
1972	63 733	32 074	4 814	4 814	14,5%
1973	70 711	37 175	5 736	5 736	14,8%
1974	82 357	42 588	6 732	6 732	15,7%
1975	149 257	50 772	9 009	9 009	52,0%

Source: Annual Reports of the Department of Bantu Education

4.5 THE PERIOD 1975 TO 1990: THE DISINTERGRATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOLING

In educational terms, two major changes in policy directions came about the same time with disastrous results. The first was **the** change to a twelve-year schooling structure with the resultant decision, to apply 50/50 language medium policy (Afrikaans and English) strictly and inflexibly. **The second** was the Portuguese Revolution of 25 April 1974, followed by the independence of Angola and Mozambique, which brought about a new militancy, a new confidence **in the youth** that they could bring about change. Sparks (1990), the *Daily Mail* news editor, described these events as giving: "...Black South Africans a huge adrenalin shot... a huge moral boost; faith in the inevitable triumph over might was reinforced" (Sparks, 1990). The new found confidence, expressed also in the ideas of new charismatic youth leaders, chief among them Stephen Biko (8 December 1946 – 12 September 1977), who were to develop a new revolutionary Black Consciousness among students of all ages that was to dominate the education scene for the next fifteen years (Hartshorne, 1992, p. 73; see also Woods, 1987; SAIRR, 1975; 1976; 1977; Kingston et al., 2003).

At the end of 1975 there were two groups of the primary school **leavers**, the old Year 6 class and the new type of Standard 5 class, both of whom sought entry to the secondary school in 1976. An attempt was made to lessen the size of this bulge in numbers by accelerating the progress of as many primary school pupils as possible in the previous year. This was reflected in the increase of enrolment in the first year of secondary schooling, from 82, 454 in 1974, to

149, 251 in 1975, to 214, 454 in 1976, an increase of 66, 000 in each of the two years. At the figure of 50 pupils per class, this implied the provision of over 1, 300 additional classrooms and teachers in each of these years. This was achieved, in part, not by the provision of new classrooms and new teachers but by converting higher primary schools into junior secondary schools, enabling existing secondary schools to use higher primary classrooms and moving thousands of primary school teachers, released by the elimination of the old standard 6, into the new secondary schools (Department of Bantu Education, 1968-1975; Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Natrass and Seekings, 2001).

Apart from all the social, economic and political dimensions that were to characterise the disintegration of secondary schooling from 1975 to 1990, it was crucial to realise that even under much more acceptable and legitimate political circumstances, and even under a much better-equipped school system, the surge in school enrolments would have placed almost unbearable strains and stresses on both the provision and quality of secondary schooling. Underlying everything that happened had been the struggle, to cope with either the quantity or quality of the educational delivery that the times required (SAIRR, 1975-2001; Natrass and Seekings, 2001; Jansen, 2000).

By 1988 there were as many pupils in Standard 8 (Junior Certificate), as there had been in the whole secondary system in 1975. By any criteria these were extraordinary growth rates which provided the hard evidence for the inevitable stresses and strains which were placed upon the system, particularly in maintaining a reasonable level of quality in the provision of secondary schooling at the same time as having to cope with an explosion in numbers of this magnitude (SAIRR, 1960-1991; Jansen, 2006; Sustain, 2001; Kahn, 2001).

As illustrated by Table 4.8, whereas the 1979 Year 10 numbers represented only 16.2 percent of those who entered secondary schools in 1975, the 1988 Standard 10 enrolments represented 55.6 percent of those who entered Standard 6 in 1984. While these were unrefined figures, because of the difficulty of establishing the numbers of failures and repeats, nevertheless they were accurate enough indicators of the progress of cohorts through the schooling system to show that drop-outs decreased dramatically in this period and that more and more pupils were completing the full secondary course. In the past, one of the major stages at which pupils left the secondary schools was at the end of Year 8. In 1976 Year 9 enrolments were 37.4 percent of those in Year 8 in the previous year; and in 1988 were 88.6 percent. The earlier bottlenecks

in schooling which had been concentrated in the lower primary schools had now moved to the upper classes of the secondary school, where, as was seen, problems of accommodation were to cause serious disruptions in the schooling process (Hartshorne, 1992, pp. 75-77; see also Sustain, 2001; Rothstein, 2004).

Table 4.8: Secondary school enrolments 1975-89 – for Africans

Year	Std. 6	Std. 7	Std. 8	Std. 9	Std. 10	Totals
1975	149 251	91 256	50 772	18 271	9 009	318 609
1976	214 454	96 018	50 631	18 988	8 975	389 066
1977	233 117	177 735	90 587	30 146	14 046	545 531
*1978	239 157	189 941	130 935	39 868	17 171	617 072
*1979	245 444	202 524	160447	60 105	24 213	692 733
1980	255 920	212 359	177 581	84 964	43 086	773 910
1981	271 712	221 888	181 246	94 073	56 920	826 839
1982	295 326	237 660	194 583	112 383	72 501	912 453
1983	317 902	256 635	227 205	112 634	86 873	1 001 249
1984	344 367	280 234	243 852	131 804	96 365	1 096 622
1985	371 623	304 543	250 604	159 140	107 022	1 192 932
1986	394 530	320 899	264 402	183 779	127 515	1 291 125
1987	461 008	355 784	282 653	217 644	157 274	1 474 363
1988	497 837	403 619	318 728	250 443	191 399	1 662 026
1989	529 489	433 007	357 994	281 334	218 983	1 820 807

Sources: 1975 – Annual Report, Department of Bantu Education 1976-1979 Annual Surveys, SA Institute of Race Relations 1980-1989 – Annual Education and Man Power Production, Research Institute for Education Planning, University of the Free State.

Note: From 1977 over-all statistics become difficult to establish because of the fragmentation of departments under homelands. The asterisk marking 1978 and 1979 indicates that these figures includes estimates for Transkei and Bophuthatswana extrapolated from their 1977 and 1980 statistics.

In 1975 there were 10, 357 secondary school teachers, which gave a pupil-teacher ratio of 1:38.8; by 1988 the number of teachers had increased to about 52, 750, which gave a teacher-pupil ratio of 1:31.5. In terms of numbers alone, therefore, teachers had increased at the same rate as enrolments and an adequate supply of teachers had been maintained. The full benefit of this was not felt, however, as throughout the period there was a serious shortage of secondary school classrooms, and teachers were not utilised to the best effect. The average size of classes bore no relationship to teacher-pupil ratios, and particularly in the rural areas stood at 15 to 20 pupils higher than the urban ratio. Classes of 50 to 60 in the secondary

school were not uncommon. This was often popularly interpreted as indicating a shortage of teachers when in fact it was a shortage of classrooms and other physical facilities. (Department of Education and Training, 1988; Hartshorne, 1992, pp. 77-78; Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Adler and Setali, 2005).

It is crucial to consider what happened to qualifications of secondary teachers during this period (see **Table 4.9**) below:

Table 4.9: Qualifications of African secondary school teachers 1975 and 1988

	1975	1988
With no professional qualifications	7,1%	10,7%
Professionally qualified with		
Std. 8 or lower	23,5%	7,5%
Std. 10 (and primary school teacher training)	31,1%	21,2%
Std. 10 and secondary school teacher training	23,0%	47,8%
Degrees	13,8%	13,5%

Sources: For 1975, calculated from the Annual Report of the Department of Bantu Education, for 1988, from Table 9, page 18, of *Education and Manpower Development 1988*, Report No. 9 of the Research Institute for Education Planning of the University of the Orange Free State.

On balance, compared with the situation in 1975, there was an improvement in the qualifications of secondary school teachers, with about 60 percent (rather than the earlier 40 percent) having qualifications suitable for secondary school work (SAIRR, 1975/6; Sustein, 2001; Bundy, 2005).

However, there remained a great shortage of teachers competent to cope with senior certificate classes, and in science and mathematics at all levels. Moreover, the better qualified teachers on the whole were young and inexperienced – in total, about 40 percent of the teachers were 30 years and younger, but in the case of graduates the proportion was 60 percent. In view of their higher qualifications, many of these graduate teachers had been placed in promotion positions for which they did not have the experience or maturity of

judgement, and this at a time when the pressures had been almost unbearable (Department of Education and Training, 1988; Kingston, et al. 2003; Adler and Setali, 2005).

The older men and women who had been moved up from the primary schools and their younger, better qualified but inexperienced colleagues, felt insecure in the 1975-90 schooling environment. Most of them worked hard in the beginning – indeed in most cases were over-teaching – but were forced into styles of teaching that were concerned with survival in the classroom. These styles were typified by authoritarian discipline, depending upon the security of a single textbook and class notes that had to be learnt off by heart. Students were given very little time for questions, discussion, active participation, group work and hands-on experimentation, because all these were seen as being threatening to the position and authority of the teacher. It was therefore common for Standard 10 (Year 12) pupils who passed Physical Science to enter college or university without ever having handled a test-tube, measured mass or tested the effects of heat on metal. The emphasis was on expository teaching, i.e., the textbook culture, with little regard to the learning of the pupils, and only in exceptional cases was any attention given to ‘learning to learn’ or the development of independent, creative thinking (SAIRR, 1991/92; Rothstein, 2004; Kingston, et al. 2003; Bergh and Soudien, 2006).

The pupils wanted an education as good as the one offered to the whites: “When we’ve got it we want the opportunity to use it – Apartheid education must go” (Hartshorne, 1992, p.79). There was a great deal of criticism, not only of the government and the department, but also of the teachers and inability to relate to the needs and aspirations of their pupils. The lack of discussion and question time in the classroom was often brought up, together with the abuse of corporal punishment and the general authoritarian nature of the schools, which prevented pupils from feeling free to express their ideas and have a say in what was going on in the classroom (Adler and Setali, 2005; Keys, 2000; Kahn, 2001).

Periods of protest and revolt continued and intensified, unabatedly through 1976-83, 1984-6 and, finally, from 1988 onwards, the learning environment in the high schools, first in the metropolitan urban areas, then in other urban areas and in some rural areas, surely and slowly began to crumble and disintegrate. So the high school youth who had been the leaders of the

political struggle in 1976-80, more and more became the victims of that struggle (SAIRR, 1986-1988; Kingston et al., 2003).

Haphazard and spasmodic school attendance, led to disastrous senior certificate and matriculation results at the end of the secondary schooling phase (Hartshorne, 1992; Jansen, 2006). An analysis of senior certificate/matriculation results for the period 1980-89 brings home the full tragedy of what had happened in African high schools during this decade (Department of Education and Training, 1980-89; Sustain, 2001).

In the ten years, covering the 1980-89 period, for which the statistics are provided in the accompanying **Table 4.10** below, just over a million black full-time candidates wrote the senior certificate/matriculation examination. 138, 167 (12.9 percent) gained matriculation exemption, 397, 428 (37.2 percent) failed. While many of the latter attempted the examination a second time, a safe, conservative estimate would be that about 400 000 left secondary school without a certificate in this 10 year period (Hartshorne, 1992, p. 80; see also Sustain, 2001; Kahn, 2001).

It is also important to note that half of the successes, as well as the failures of the last 10 years had been produced in the three-year period, 1987-89. The years after 1986 had seen a doubling of the number of black Year 10 candidates from about 100, 000 to well over 200, 000, so that in 1989 they were twice as many as all other candidates put together, yet produced fewer overall passes and only half the number of matriculation exemptions (see Table 4.10). It is a dismal record of failure (which continued in 2010, [see www.southafricaweb.co.za/.../matric-2010-and-state-education-south-africa](http://www.southafricaweb.co.za/.../matric-2010-and-state-education-south-africa)), and seldom can any state have allowed such a system to continue over a ten-year period, without attempting to transform it (Soudien, 2006). One could argue that South Africa may pay dearly for the collapse of black secondary schooling and the waste of human potential involved both in its economic development and in its social wealth and stability (Hartshorne, 1992, pp. 80-81; see also Bundy, 2005, pp. 85-98; Adler and Setali, 2005, p. 149).

Table 4.10: Senior Certificate/Matriculation - Black full-time candidates 1980-89

Year	Entries	Matric passes	SC passes	Total passes	Totals
1980	43 237	6 447	16 203	22 650	20 587
		14,9%	37,5%	52,4%	47,6%
1981	57 529	6 803	22 220	29 023	28 506
		11,8%	38,6%	50,4%	49,6%
1982	70 241	7 005	26 954	33 959	36 282
		10,0%	38,4%	48,4%	51,6%
1983	82 449	8 128	31 687	39 815	42 634
		9,9%	38,4%	48,3%	51,7%
1984	86 191	9 727	32 219	41 946	44 425
		11,3%	37,4%	48,7%	51,3%
1985	82 815	9 958	28 741	38 699	44 116
		12,0%	34,7%	46,7%	53,3%
1986	100 012	13 460	38 150	51 610	48 402
		13,5%	38,1%	51,6%	48,4%
1987	150 119	24 597	59 601	84 198	65 921
		16,4%	39,7%	56,0%	43,9%
1988	187 123	30 685	75 500	106 185	80 938
		16,4%	40,3%	56,7%	43,3%
1989	209 319	21 357	66 153	87 500	121 809
		10,2%	31,6%	41,8%	58,2%

Sources: Annual Reports DET, Hansard and *Education and Manpower Development*, Nos. 1-10, Research Institute for Education Planning of the University of the Orange Free State, 1990.

Referring to the accompanying table 4.11, the worst was not over. The results for 1989 were the worst for candidates since 1962, showing an overall failure rate of nearly 60 percent, with a range within the Department of Education and Training from 44 percent in the northern Transvaal to 72.6 percent in Johannesburg. In the latter region, largely comprising Soweto, only 6.2 percent passed matriculation exemption and very nearly three quarters failed. It is salutary to contrast this with the 42.4 percent matriculation exemption and 4.0 percent failure rate of white scholars (Hartshorne, 1992, p. 91; Sustain, 2001; Soudien and Kallaway, 1999; Norval, 1996). Let us examine **Table 4.11** below for comparative statistics. The Table also shows Racial Differences.

Table 4.11: Senior Certificate Matriculation 1989 – for Africans

Region	Entries	Matric passes	SC passes	Total passes	Failure
OFS	3 980	341	1 252	1 593	2 387
		8,6%	40,1%	40,1%	59,9%
Cape	5 381	417	1 896	1 896	3 485
		7,7%	35,2%	35,2%	64,8%
Natal	3 291	386	1 196	1 196	2 095
		11,7%	36,3%	36,3%	63,7%
N Tvl	6 415	1 119	3 574	3 574	2 841
		17,5%	55,8%	55,8%	44,2%
Orange-Vaal	4 710	576	2 430	2 430	2 280
		12,2%	51,6%	51,6%	48,4%
J'burg	5 382	334	1 473	1 473	3 909
		6,2%	27,4%	27,4%	72,6%
H'veld	10 782	857	3 874	3 874	6 908
		8,0%	36,0%	36,0%	64,0%
Diamond Fields	2 627	275	1 246	1 246	1 381
		10,5%	47,5%	47,5%	52,5%
Total	42 568	4 305	12 977	17 282	25 286
		10,1%	30,5%	40,6%	59,4%

Overall results for all candidates – 1990

	Entries	Matric passes	SC passes	Total passes	Failure
Black	209 319	21 357	66 153	87 510	121 809
		10,2%	31,6%	41,8%	58,2%
Coloured	22 666	4 044	12 431	16 475	6 191
		17,8%	54,8%	72,6%	37,4%
Indian	14 191	8 899	7 393	13 282	909
		41,5%	52,1%	93,6%	6,4%
White	70 666	29 933	37 892	67 825	2 841
		42,4%	53,6%	96,0%	4,0%

Sources: DET results; Hansard 1990, No. 2 Ques Col 41-42. Overall results; *Education and Manpower Development* 1990, No. 10, p. 14. Research Institute for Education Planning of the University of the Orange Free State.

Of particular concern was the low percentage of senior pupils, who took mathematics and physical science at Standards 9 and 10 (Year 11 and 12) as revealed in **Table 4.12** below.

Table 4.12: Percentage of Standard 9 and 10 pupils taking Mathematics and Physical Science 1977 and 1985

Popular Groups	Mathematics		Physical Science	
	1977	1985	1977	1985
Blacks	39	43	26	21
Whites	35	64	39	45
Coloureds	40	44	19	19
Asians	70	72	33	33
Total	52	53	53	34

Source: National Manpower Commission (NCA) (1987); Dostal (1989). The Long Term Future of Education in South Africa. Occasional Paper No. 15, June 1989, p.12.

The National Manpower Commission (1987) had pointed out that since 1977 there was no significant progress in the percentages of pupils who took mathematics and physical science as matriculation subjects. In fact, there was a decline amongst blacks taking physical science (see **Table 4.12**). This was in spite of various incentives alluded to which included adjustments to syllabi, improvements in teacher training, optimal utilisation of laboratory facilities and the establishment of science centres, specific attention to cultural differences and environmental handicaps, better career prospects, and bursaries, among others. At the same time, teacher shortages, underqualifications of teachers and syllabus problems continued. According to the Manpower Commission of 1987 there were also still large numbers of secondary schools (including 50 percent of Coloured and 25 percent of Indian schools) which did not offer science up to matriculation level (National Manpower Commission, 1987, p. 53; Dostal, 1989, p. 12; see also Hartshorne, 1992; Fiske and Ladd, 2004; Kahn, 2001; Norval, 1996; Soudien and Kallaway, 1999).

There were insufficient opportunities available to the African students to take subjects such as Mathematics and Physical Science (see **Table 4.12**). In the 1989 Year 10 classes one-third of the pupils took Mathematics (at all levels), just over one-fifth, Physical Science and four-fifths Biology. In the final examination less than one out of twenty successful Matriculants passed both Mathematics and Physical Science in the Higher Grade. This can be contrasted with the nearly 25 percent of white candidates who passed these two subjects with A, B and C

symbols. The concept of quality of opportunity, whether at the level of tertiary education or of employment in a technologically driven world, becomes an empty piece of rhetoric in the face of the hard realities existing today (Hartshorne, 1992, pp. 92-93; Natrass and Seekings, 2001; Kahn, 2001, pp. 169-176; Bergh and Soudien, 2006). Some researchers (Mathonsi, 1988, Hartshorne, 1986, Hartshorne, 1988/9) attempted to demonstrate that the Department of Education and Training (DET) manipulated results in order to prevent too many Black students coming into the high-level labour market to compete with whites. One such example to show manipulation was made by Mathonsi (1988), mentioned earlier, in a study entitled 'Black Matriculation Results – A Mechanism of Social Control'. Unfortunately, his statistical presentation was open to serious question and he was not able to prove a connection between results and economic cycles.

What the study did demonstrate, however, was to reinforce the evidence in respect of the inefficiency of the department both in its general administration of the examination and its marking procedures. Mathonsi (1988) data, confirmed by recent reports, since his study, showed negligence, lack of supervision, irregularities, and a disregard in the interest of individual pupils, was powerful and disturbing. These factors, rather than a controlled and sophisticated manipulation, also “encompass the complexities and inconsistencies of human behaviour at all levels from pupil and teacher, through to examiner and administrator, not to speak of the politician” (Blignout, 2001, p. 167). Black secondary schooling, as discussed in this chapter, had indeed operated as a mechanism of segregation and social control (Blignout, 2001, pp. 167-168; see also Mathonsi, 1988; Natrass and Seekings, 2001).

4.6 THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATION RESULTS

One of the reasons why the examination results were not better was due to the quality of the teaching, low academic standards and substandard conditions in primary schools. While teachers with low qualifications were employed, classrooms were overcrowded, and books and equipment were in short supply, the quality and standards of education were not expected to improve (Horrell, 1968, p.84; see also Kahn, 2001; Rothstein, 2004).

Secondly, there had been a serious shortage of secondary school teachers with adequate qualifications, particularly for subjects such as English, Afrikaans, Mathematics and Science. One reason for this shortage was the rapid increase in the number of secondary schools. Many teachers had been promoted to be principals of new primary or secondary schools, and more than 200 senior African principals were appointed as sub-inspectors or supervisors of schools. Their positions, in turn, were filled from the ranks of the best class teachers. Numerous other teachers left to become secretaries of school boards. Numbers went to other African territories. They were only gradually being replaced. Another reason was that teachers' salaries were low in comparison with what well-educated Africans could earn in other professions (Kahn, 2001, pp. 169-176; see also Horrell, 1968; Rothstein, 2004).

The Minister of Bantu Education in 1961 admitted that when it (The Department of Bantu Education) assumed control, his Department was too hasty in substituting African Teachers for Whites. The Matriculation and Senior Certificate passes in 1966 were 65.1 percent in Government schools with White teachers but only 40.7 percent in Government and community schools with African staff. There had been a similar wide gap in academic achievement in previous years (Horrell, 1968; Hartshorne, 1992; Norval, 1996; Natrass and Seekings, 2001).

As discussed earlier, the science equipment and the laboratories and libraries in the schools had in the past been highly inadequate, and poorly equipped. Most schools, particularly in urban areas, had been very much understaffed, and under-resourced. In particular, there was a acute shortage of technicians, and, science and mathematics teachers (Horrell, 1968; Kahn, 2001; Blignaut, 2005).

Finally, another reason for poor results in the decade prior to 1964 was a degree of restlessness and instability among pupils, during periods of general African resentment. Disturbances occurred at numbers of schools and senior pupils who had participated were suspended or expelled (Horrell, 1968, p. 84; see also Rothstein, 2004; Jansen, 2006).

4.7 REASONS WHY THE RESULTS WERE NOT BETTER: 1970-1990

Manipulations of the results, in the true sense of the word, were possible, especially in the application of statistical controls after raw marks had been supplied by the examiners. As Hartshorne and others revealed:

The arcane world, presided over by the Joint Matriculation Board (JMB), had been kept as far as possible from the public eye. In this world of statistical norms, standard deviations, normal distributions, Ogive curves and the like, the 'experts' are king, and the public, from lack of any substantial information, has had to take this world on trust. (Hartshorne, 1992, p. 84).

Year after year, the results of white candidates showed a pass-rate in the mid-ninety percent, with a steady percentage (pre-determined) of 'A' results in the various subjects. Was there an assumption here that white secondary schooling had not suffered any setbacks, that there were no shortages of well-qualified White teachers in some subjects, that standards of schooling were as good as they ever were? Or was there any substance in the suspicion that high pass rates were being maintained to protect white youngsters' entry into the world of work and tertiary institutions. Until there was much less secrecy, until the assumptions were tested and until all South African Youth wrote the same, basic examination, these suspicions remained (Hartshorne, 1992; Natrass and Seekings, 2001; Bergh and Soudien, 2006).

Using its moderation function, it was assumed that the Joint Matriculation Board (JMB) was able to ensure that all eighteen different departments, administering examinations had observed the same standards and that comparative certificates were of the same value. Highly confidential studies conducted within various universities and by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) seem to suggest that it was not so, not only as between DET and the white education departments, but also among the latter themselves. Departments applied the statistical controls decided upon by the JMB for each examining body, but reviewing by the JMB took place only after publication of the results. In spite of the cloak of secrecy placed over these procedures, it became clear in the late 1980s that the JMB was not satisfied with the Department of Education and Training's (DET's) application of the statistical controls.

From what was said by the Director-General of the DET in a television interview at the end of December 1989, it would appear that the statistical control of the raw marks in 1989 was carried out by the JMB itself and not by the DET. If this was true, then it was difficult to

avoid the conclusion that in the years 1986-88 the results were artificially boosted by a far too generous application of the control laid down by the JMB, and that the 1989 results were in fact a truer reflection of the state of affairs in the schools. Certainly, it was difficult to reconcile the improved results of the years 1986-88 with what was actually going on in the schools, the cumulative deterioration of the learning environment and the collapse of teacher morale. Unpalatable as it may seem, the 1989 results came much nearer to the truth of the state of affairs in black secondary schooling (Hartshorne, 1992, p. 8; see also Kingston, 2003; Blignaut, 2005; Bundy, 2005).

4.8 EDUCATION POLICY CHANGES: LATE 1970s TO EARLY 1990s

While government, at the political level, appeared unwilling or unable to undertake the radical, transformational policy reforms that were necessary to rescue black secondary schooling during the 1980s, this does not mean that the department itself, the private sector, and many non-governmental and community agencies were unaware of what was happening. Large sums of money and an immense amount of energy were ploughed into African Secondary Schooling during these years by all these interests. Within the DET itself, which became vulnerable and ultra-sensitive to the press onslaught at the end of each year when the matriculation results were published, there was a kind of desperation as it struggled to do something about the situation within the grave constraints of the 'own affairs' apartheid policies set by the government. Unit costs at secondary level rose steeply, vastly improved buildings were provided, white teachers were introduced in considerable numbers, equipment and libraries were improved, in-service education and management courses were made compulsory, special remedial programs for Years 9-10 together with examination revision materials were drawn up, and special 'motivation camps' for senior pupils and prefects were even brought into being (Hartshorne, 1992, pp. 84-85; see also Bowles and Gintis, 2001; Kahn, 2001; Bergh and Soudien, 2006).

The business sector invested substantial amounts of money into building and provided schools, particularly in the technical and commercial fields, as for example, through the efforts of the Anglo-American and De Beers Chairman's Fund, or those of the American Chamber of Commerce in setting up the Pace Colleges in Soweto. Through the 'Adopt a School' program, many companies improved the buildings and equipment of existing schools. Private sector foundation funding enabled a wide range of non-governmental agencies

throughout the country to provide programs in English, Mathematics and Science, to hold regular in-service education courses for teachers, and Saturday and Winter Schools for pupils (Hartshorne, 1992; Bundy, 2005; Jansen, 2006; Blignaut, 2005, pp. 167-168; Sustain, 2001).

In general, the professional work of these agencies was of a very high standard, their approaches were innovative and their staffs highly committed and motivated. There was no question that many individual teachers and students gained great benefit from those interventions, but at the end of the day they were not able to penetrate 'the system', nor were they able to 'stop the rot' and turn secondary schooling around. The best illustration of this must be Soweto, into which both DET and non-governmental agencies poured resources of all kinds on a scale not seen in the rest of the country, only to end up with the poor level of Senior Certificate/Matriculation results in 1988 and 1989 (Hartshorne, 1992; Rothstein, 2004; Bundy, 2005; Natrass and Seekings, 2001).

More recently, there were significant changes in the overall pass rate in the Senior Certificate examination in the last ten years. It fell from 56% in 1992 to a low of 47% in 1997 (see <http://www.umalusi.org.za/ur/research/SC%20Research%20Summary.pdf>).

4.9 CONCLUSION

The above analysis of the matriculation results (the final year of secondary schooling) demonstrates that, when one considers political, social and economic factors, it is clear that only the transformation of the total ecology of secondary school classrooms held out any hope of providing a firm foundation for the much needed educational reconstruction, and quality pedagogy. Such schools had the power to influence Black students in their attitudes and values to continue their education, either in formal or informal education sectors.

The challenge posed by educational expansion lies in its contribution to the struggle and development of the culture of liberation, as examined in the next Chapter (5) - Inputs and Outcomes of Bantu (African) Education. The chapter focuses on educational inequalities and discrimination in education.

CHAPTER 5

INPUTS AND OUTCOMES OF BANTU (AFRICAN) EDUCATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines differential schooling and segregated schools, divided along the dimension of race, and ethnicity. The chapter compares privileged schooling for the Whites and schooling for black Africans. This chapter examines how the government in South Africa used education in an attempt to strengthen their political, social and economic power over the African majority or consolidate the status quo in maintaining the existing stratification in education and society.

In this connection, the roles of the unequal allocation of revenue could be discerned through enrolments at schools and universities, teacher-pupil ratios, teacher qualifications, drop-out rates and the output of the education system in terms of matriculants and graduates. Literacy and adult education were also considered, as was the relationship between education and employment (Farrah, 2007; Bundy, 2005; Mamdani, 1996).

This chapter uses primary and secondary sources obtained from the South African Institute of Race Relations, the South African Bureau of Census and Statistics, the National Manpower Commission, the Universities of the Orange Free State and Stellenbosch (Pillay, 1990; Mamdani, 1996; University of the Orange Free State, 1991/2000).

The Whites received a very high academic level of education, which was comparable with the best in the industrialized world. The most visible way by which the state limited the provision of education to Africans was by allocating little educational revenue relative to what was being spent on the other races. This was characterised by “inequitable and poorly qualified teachers, and is generally considered by Blacks to be inferior and designed to confine them to lower class occupation” (Pillay, 1990, p. 30; see also Adams, 1971; Mamdani, 1996; Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Jansen, 2000; Russo, et al. 2005).

One could argue, using principles of democracy, social justice and human rights that there is an obligation on the State to support all children irrespective of race, colour or creed (Zajda,

2009). Children are the least able of all citizens to protect or further their own interests. Where children are disadvantaged this can be through no fault of their own; and they rely on others to redress the situation. For many children, especially Africans in South Africa, schools provided the only experience of stability and security, as well as access to worth-while learning and rewards (Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Pillay, 1990; Farrah, 2007; Rose and Tunmer, 1975).

Children's opportunities in adult life must not be constrained by the limits to parents' capacity to provide their education, or the disparities in what parents do provide. The state should be the guardian of equity across the nation, and should ensure that the quality of a child's schooling is not dependent upon living in a particular area (city, urban or rural area or reserve or Bantustan) and that the educational system and school share the responsibility for contributing to the quality of education for all children (Tabata, 1960; Farrah, 2007; Pillay, 1990).

The compulsory period of schooling is an improvement time for learning, when the foundations of future participation are laid. The compulsory period is also a stage during when all children can benefit from State support, as distinct from post-compulsory education. Thus the state had an obligation to maintain and even expand its commitment at the school level. Increased funding should not be provided for later stages of education and training at the expense of primary and secondary schooling (Commonwealth Schools Commission of Australia, 1985; Auerbach, 1981; Wilson and Ramphele, 1991, Mamdani, 1996; Adam, 1971; Norval, 1996).

In South Africa, Bantu education was intended to produce subservient individuals with the skills needed to minister to the needs of the White economy rather than to develop critical thinkers. Its aim was to maintain – if not actually create – a state of intellectual underdevelopment and dependency. Education appeared to have become, according to facts and figures discussed in this chapter, one of the principal disintegrative agents of the South African system (Nkomo, 1981; Norval, 1996; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Bergh and Soudien, 2006).

5.2 CONTROL OF EDUCATION AND STATE EXPENDITURE

Control of education in South Africa occurred under 18 different education departments: For Africans in each of 10 Bantustans (homelands), and the Department of Education and Training (DET) for Africans in the “White” or “common area”, four for Whites and one each for Coloured people and Indians. Education for Whites was controlled by the four provinces with the exception of advanced technical and university education which fell under the Department of National Education. Coloured education was controlled by the House of Representatives and Indian education by the House of Delegates, formerly known as the Department of Coloured Affairs and the Department of Indian Affairs, respectively (UOFS, 1991/2000; Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Norval, 1996; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Farrah, 2007).

Table 5.1: Per Capita Expenditure on African Education

Year	Expenditure (SA Rands) (in thousands)	Enrolment (in thousands)	Cost per pupil (SA Rands)
1930	1, 235	282	4.2
1935	1, 382	348	4.2
1940	2, 030	465	4.2
1945	5, 724	589	7.3
1950	11, 635	749	9.7
1954	16, 210	942	8.7
1955	15, 879	1, 014	7.7
1956	17, 467	1, 103	7.6
1957	18, 184	1, 259	6.8
1958	18, 225	1, 345	6.1
1959	20,223	1, 409	6.1
1960	19 662	1, 506	5.6

Source: Christie and Collins, 1988, p.181.

Table 5.1 on per capita expenditure for Blacks’ education illustrates a number of important trends. There was a vast increase in expenditure on Black education after the introduction of Bantu Education: the total expenditure for 1953-1954 was nearly four times that of 1945. Clearly the establishment of the system including its expansion, and separate facilities was not to be achieved without great expenditure. Nevertheless, expenditure did not increase as much during the decade, and increased enrolment meant that expenditure did not keep pace with expansion. During the same period, however, the per capita expenditure on Whites increased (Christie and Collins, 1988, p.181; see also Mamdani, 1996; Farrah, 2007). This is shown in **Table 5.1(a)** below.

Table 5.1(a): Per capita expenditure on education

Year	(SA Rands) Blacks	(SA Rands) Whites
1945	7.78	76.58
1953	17.08	127.84
1960	12.46 (Republic)	144.57 Cape

Year	Ratios - Blacks	Ratios - Whites
1945	1	9.84
1953	1	7.48
1960	1	11.60

Source: Christie and Collins, 1988, p.182, (Table VI).

The quality of schooling provided for Blacks could not measure up to the one provided for Whites. The funding policy of the state was criticised for making the poorest section of the community pay for its own social services. As Horrel stated: “As should have been obvious to all the legislators... this method of financing Bantu Education inevitably curtailed development...” (Cited in Christie and Collins, 1988, p. 181; see also Pillay, 1990; Norval, 1996; Mamdani, 1996).

Analysing the education system on the basis of a theory of labour reproduction, the discrepancy was not unexpected (Norval, 1996). Bantu Education was geared towards the reproduction of labour as required by the needs of capitalist accumulation in general: it was a mass-based system, geared towards schooling on the lower levels, quite unlike its White counterpart. Rather than judging it in terms of equality with White education, it was more useful to understand the part it played in the reproduction of unequal social relations which were part of the capitalist accumulation process in South Africa at that time (Christie and Collins, 1988, p. 181; Wilson and Ramphela, 1991; Norval, 1996).

In the broad interpretation of Black schooling and the 1953 Bantu Education Act, the crisis was viewed as an exclusively ideological struggle between liberalism and racism with the

Christian missionaries allegedly wanting to produce scholars with a good academic background, of sound character, and with the ability to take their place as Christian gentlefolk in a communal society. The Nationalists were seen as emphasising an inferior and somewhat more vocational education for the purpose of producing inferior non-threatening and tribalistic Africans (Christie and Collins, 1988, p. 182; see also Mamdani, 1996; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Farrah, 2007).

The amount of money spent on White and Black education reflected huge inequalities. The per capita expenditure on school pupils for various years in the 1970s and 1980s, and expenditure on Black education as a percentage of White education is shown in **Table 5.1(b)**.

Table 5.1(b): State per capita expenditure on school pupils (Rand per annum) (P.C.E. Per capita expenditure)

Year	AFRICANS		COLOURED		INDIANS		WHITES
	P.C.E.	% of white P.C.E.	P.C.E.	% of white P.C.E.	P.C.E.	% of white P.C.E.	P.C.E.
1971-2	25.31	5.5	94.41	20.5	124.40	27.0	461.00
1975-5	39.53	6.5	125.53	20.7	170.94	28.3	605.00
1975-6	41.80	6.5	139.62	21.7	189.53	29.4	644.00
1976-7	48.55	7.5	157.59	24.5	219.96	34.2	654.00
1978-9	71.28	9.8	225.54	31.2	357.15	49.3	724.00
1979-80	91.29	7.8	234.00	20.0	389.66	33.3	1 169.00
1980-1	176.20	17.3	286.08	28.0	n/a	n/a	1 021.00
1981-2	165.23	13.5	418.84	34.3	798.00	65.7	1 221.00
1982-3	192.34	13.9	593.37	42.8	871.87	63.0	10385.00
1983-4	234.45	14.2	569.11	34.4	1 088.00	65.8	1 654.00
1986-7	476.95	19.0	121.41	40.7	1 904.20	75.9	2 508.00

*Estimates. Figures for African pupils in the 'common' area only

Sources: Blignaut, Statistics on Education in South Africa, 1968-1979; SAIRR, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1988.

From **Table 5.1(b)**, it is clear that there was a great difference in per capita expenditure between education for the Blacks and the Whites. The disparity between African's per capita expenditure as a percentage of White expenditure was extremely low, and in fact decreased in 1981/2 as shown in Table 5.1(c).

Table 5.1(c): Per capita education expenditure: in African rand

Year	Africans	% of white capita expenditure
1977-8	52.86	n/a
1978-9	62.37	8.6
1979-80	71.03	6.1
1981-2	111.36	8.5
1982-3	125.93	9.1
1983-4	164.17	9.9
1984-5	214.00	n/a

Source: Research Unit for Education System Planning, University of the Orange Free State (Education and Manpower Production, 1978-1984).

5.3 SCHOOL ENROLMENT PATTERNS

School enrolment patterns are specifically useful indicators in determining the educational development in a society. Hence, here, school enrolment ratios are examined for primary and secondary levels together. The secondary phase is then looked at separately to calculate what percentage of the school-going population is actually at school. Pupil progress through school was also examined to demonstrate the high drop-out rate among Black pupils (Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Farrah, 2007).

5.3.1 HOLDING POWER OF SCHOOLS

The Eiselen Report (1951), mentioned earlier, which is the blueprint for the Bantu Education System, stated in 1951 that any pupil/student who had less than four years' primary schooling benefited so little that the money spent on his/her education was virtually wasted (para. 1025(c)). In the light of this comment, the economic significance of losses at this level must be profound. The African beginners' group that started in 1972 with 688,200 pupils had shrunk to 419,200 in 1975, i.e., 269,000 had left before completing the four years. Thus a quarter million pupils who started school left before achieving literacy (Auerbach, 1981; SAIRR, 1951, 1952, 1975, 1976; Bundy, 2005; Eiselen Report, 1949-1951).

As indicated elsewhere (see **Chapter 4**, Matriculation Results), in this dissertation another indicator of educational progress is the percentage of the total enrolment receiving secondary

education; this in 1979, was 36.52 percent for White, 30.0 percent for Indian, and, in 1978, 16.77 percent for Coloured and 14.5 percent for African pupils. Auerbach (1981) clarified this by asserting that:

The implication of these figures for economic development and for the goal of fully developing the talents of all South African children is disturbing and South African society should spare no efforts to ensure longer schooling for growing numbers of those who now leave before having been educated to the limit of their individual capacities (Auerbach, 1981, p. 80).

Education policy was discriminatory, not only in terms of opportunities denied to individuals who received little schooling, but also in terms of vocational and academic skills that could be used for the benefit of the economy and the community (Pillay, 1990; Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Norval, 1996; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997).

5.3.2 THE INFLUENCE OF POVERTY

According to a 1975 survey by Market Research Africa, “in 1975 the average White household received an income 1.9 times as large as the average Coloured and 8.5 times as large as the average African household.” (SAIRR, 1976, p. 276). A significant connection between low-status occupation levels and schooling was found by Auerbach in a detailed investigation into drop-out problems in African, Coloured and Indian schools at four school levels. Without going into detail, two sentences will be of interest to illustrate the extent to which poverty appears to influence the holding-power of African and Coloured schools. In the Coloured and African samples (consisting of 255 and 183 pupils respectively) there were almost twice as many fathers in the unskilled group at the two lower school levels than at the two upper ones (Sub A, Standard two, Standards five and eight). Occupational status was not, of course, purely an economic matter, but since unskilled workers generally earn a good deal less than professional and skilled ones, it seems probable that the poverty of families with fathers doing unskilled work contributed to many lower primary pupils leaving school prematurely, so that pupils in the upper classes in Auerbach’s sample had proportionately fewer fathers in the unskilled category (Auerbach, 1981, p. 891; see also Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Mamdani, 1996; Adam, 1971; Meredith, 2005, pp. 116-140).

Thus, there seems to be a direct connection between parents' economic status and early school leaving. A good deal of research abroad has reached similar conclusions (Farrah, 2007; Russo, et al. 2005). If South Africa was to improve job skills of its entire population significantly, it needed to improve the retention of Black schools, and this required – apart from any other measures – financial support, to enable poor families to have kept pupils at school for longer than they did then (Farrah, 2007; Horrell, 1968; Bundy, 2005; Russo et al., 2005).

The gap between per pupil expenditure for children in South Africa's various population groups and any equalisation of expenditure, let alone discrimination in favour of disadvantaged communities, was so wide that almost all narrowing of that gap would have produced improvements in the educational facilities available to African, Coloured and Indian children (Bergh and Soudien, 2006). It must be mentioned that on available evidence the position in Indian education was substantially better than in the other two systems, and it looked as if Indian education would have become nearly equal to the White system within a few years (Auerbach, 1981; Mamdani, 1996; Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Pillay, 1990; Bergh and Soudien, 2006).

5.3.3 SCHOOL ENROLMENT RATIOS

The Adjusted School Enrolment Ratio (ASER) is used in order to give the ratio of pupils of school-going age. Auerbach has shown that the proportion of individuals of school-going age should be taken as 80 percent (12/15) of those persons in the 5-19 age groups (Pillay, 1990, p.32; see also Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Jansen, 2006). The ASER for the four race groups and the total population is shown in Table 5.2 below:

Table 5.2: Adjusted school enrolment ratios (ASERS) by race, 1920-1980

Year	White	Indian	Coloured	African	Total Pop.
1920	78.4	14.9	29.7	13.8	28.7
1930	80.5	27.9	40.0	18.0	32.0
1940	82.0	37.2	60.2	24.7	38.2
1950	85.8	49.1	67.9	32.9	45.8
1960	94.9	82.6	69.2	45.0	55.4
1970	95.7	84.0	74.6	54.2	66.7
1980	96.3	94.8	93.0	83.1	86.1

Source: Pillay, 1990, p.32.

The African ASER showed a dramatic increase especially in the 1970s, reaching 83.1 percent in 1980. In 1980, some 96.3 percent of Whites of school-going age were at school. Commencing from rather low ASERs in 1920 the Indian and Coloureds had also both reached high levels by 1980. The ratios indicate that a very large percentage of persons of school-going age were at school. One of the reasons for this was compulsory school attendance up to age 15 required of Whites, Coloureds and Indians and four years of schooling for Africans (Pillay, 1990; Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Mamdani, 1996; Meredith, 2005).

UNESCO statistics show that the ASER for South Africa as a whole, and for the different races compared favourably well with a range of developing and developed countries. In fact, Table 5.3 shows that the Coloured, Indian and White ASERs were very close or equal to those in industrial countries (Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Farrah, 2007).

Table 5.3: ASERs for South Africa and some Developed and Developing Countries (1980)

Country	ASER
South Africa: total population	86
- Africans	83
- Coloureds	93
- Indians	95
- Whites	96
Algeria	73
Botswana	64

Table 5.3: (Continued): ASERs for South Africa and some Developed and Developing Countries (1980)

Country	ASER
Egypt	71
Zimbabwe (1981)	94
Canada	92
Cuba (1979)	90
Argentina (1979) Chile	96
Peru (1979)	88
Hong Kong	91
Israel (1979)	89
Japan	96
South Korea (1981)	96
Singapore	80
France	96
Greece (1978)	92
Spain (1979)	96
United Kingdom	92
Yugoslavia	88
Australia	99

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1982 – for all countries; Except South Africa, SAIRR, 1979.

In order to point out the discrepancies between the development and underdevelopment of Black and White education it is essential to determine the secondary or high school enrolment ratios (see also the analysis of matriculation results data in chapter 4).

5.3.4 SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT RATIOS (HSERs)

The development of a society is stressed by the importance of its secondary education. As Malherbe (1977, p. 269) stated: “the proportion of the population receiving post-primary education is the best single index of educational progress in a developing country” (Cited in Pillay, 1990, p. 33). High School Enrolment Ratios (HSERs) reflect the ratio of pupils in secondary school to the population of secondary school-going age. Auerbach (1981) has taken the age group 15-19 as the range nearest to a correct single secondary school age-range for purposes of comparison over several decades (Pillay, 1990; Farrah, 2007).

The HSERs for 1960, 1970 and 1980 for the four races as well as the whole population is shown in **Table 5.4**. The secondary school enrolment is also given as a percentage of total school enrolment.

Table 5.4: Secondary school enrolments as a percentage of the 15-19 age Group (HSER) and total school enrolment, 1960, 1970 and 1980.

Year	Race	Percentage of roll at high school	HSER
1960	Total population	11.3	19.8
	White	31.17	76.9
	Africans	2.5	3.6
	Coloureds	9.3	19.9
	Indians	12.9	19.5
1970	Total population	15.6	30.2
	Whites	36.4	60.9
	Africans	9.4	16.4
	Coloureds	11.5	27.1
	Indians	24.5	54.1
1980	Total population	20.5	44.5
	Whites	37.7	89.2
	Africans	15.9	35.0
	Coloureds	18.9	44.4
	Indians	31.7	80.2
	Whites	39.6	95.1
	Total population	26.1	62.2

Source: Pillay, 1990, p.34 (Table 4).

The HSERs were lower than ASERs for both primary and secondary phases for all race groups but considerably more so in the case of Africans and Coloureds. The low HSERs in these latter groups were a reflection of the high drop-out rates at the secondary level, where students often leave school to take up jobs to supplement the family income (Pillay, 1990; Wilson and Ramphela, 1991; Jansen, 2006).

Comparing the HSER for South Africa as a whole and for the different races with the same range of countries as in **Table 5.3** shows (in **Table 5.5**) that with the exception of Algeria, Botswana and Zimbabwe, all the countries have a higher HSER than the South African national, Coloured and African figures – this indicated the degree of underdevelopment of black education; and that only one country in Table 5.5, Japan (91%) had a higher HSER than White South Africans (Pillay, 1990, p. 34; Mamdani, 1997; Farrah, 2007; Adam, 1971).

Table 5. 5: HSERs for South Africa and some Developed and Developing countries (1980)

Country	HSER
South Africa: Total Population	45
Africans	35
Coloureds	44
Indians	80
Whites	89
Algeria	33
Botswana	32
Egypt	52
Zimbabwe (1981)	13
Canada	89
Cuba (1979)	71
Argentina (1979)	56
Chile	55
Peru (1979)	56
Hong Kong	62
Israel (1979)	71
Japan	91
South Korea (1981)	85
Singapore	55
France	85
Greece (1978)	81
Spain (1979)	87
United Kingdom (1979)	82
Yugoslavia	83
Australia	86

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1982 – for all countries except South Africa; SAIRR, 1980.

5.3.5 PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT

To inflate enrolment figures in primary school, the so-called double sessions system was introduced to provide for the use of schooling facilities by two groups each day. This increased school enrolments, but at the expense of quality. Not only were facilities strained, in addition the school day was shortened by approximately one-third (Christie and Collins, 1988, p.177; see also Jansen, 2006).

Considering enrolment figures alongside school structure, a pattern of labour reproduction emerges. Table 5.6 provides a break down of Black school enrolment for 1950-1960. Looking at these figures, there was no doubt that the introduction of Bantu Education increased Black school attendance, indicating to some degree the expansion of schooling demanded by the increased numbers of Blacks participating in the urban capitalist mode of production. However, the percentage distributions across the grades are almost static, indicating that efforts were not being put into redressing the unbalanced distribution in lower primary schools. On this pattern of distribution it is obvious that most schooled Blacks would be prepared for subordinate positions in the work force. This is substantiated by a close look later at the provision of teachers and pupil-teacher ratios (Wilson and Ramphela, 1991: Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Norval 1996; Hartshorne, 1992; Soudien and Kallaway, 1999; Farrah, 2007).

Table 5.6: Black pupil enrolment by years

	1950	1955	1960
Substd A and B Standard	350 640	466 527	665 655
Prep 1	114 729	151 144	238 146
Year 2	82 847	113 449	188 668
Year 3	67 154	90 948	138 495
Year.....4	48 211	66 101	97 437
Year.....5	34 087	47 353	70 012
Year.....6	25 325	34 667	53 833
Year 7	17 162	9 879	14 105
Year 8	4 873	6 915	9 607
Year 9	840	1 393	1 741
Year 10	439	647	835
Unclassified	719	552	164
<i>Totals</i>	747 026	1 005 774	1 500 008

Expressed in percentage distributions, these figures become:

	1950	1955	1960
Substandard A to standard 2	73.5	72.7	72.8
Standards. 3 – 6	23.4	23.8	24.0
Forms 1 – 5	3.1	3.5	3.2
Substandards only	46.9	46.4	44.4
Forms 4 and 5 only	0.171	0.206	0.172

Source: Christie and Collins, 1988, p.178 (Table 111).

5.3 PUPIL PROGRESS

This section traces the progress of pupils in schools from the primary level to matriculation. Table 5.7 shows the percentage of pupils who reached Year 10 from year 1 nine years earlier while table 5.8 indicated the proportion of pupils who reached Year 10 (Year 12) from (Year 8) four years

earlier (Pillay, 1990; Hartshorne, 1992; Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Hlatshwayo, 2000; Farrah, 2007).

Table 5.7: Pupil progress by race: Standard 1 to Standard 10

Years of Schooling	Percentage Whites	Percentage Indians	Percentage Coloureds	Percentage Africans
1967-1976	59.9	21.5	5.9	3.2
1968-1977	66.8	25.5	9.1	3.7
1969-1978	69.0	34.4	10.5	3.9
1970-1979	68.4	48.5	11.4	n.a.
1971-1980	68.9	42.1	12.0	n.a.

Sources: Compiled from SA Statistics, 1980, and Annual Reports of Education Departments of Transkei and Bophuthatswana, various years.

Table 5.8: Pupil progress by race: Standard 6 to Standard 10

Years of Schooling	Percentage Whites	Percentage Indians	Percentage Coloureds	Percentage Africans
1969-1973	55.9	29.1	11.8	4.8
1970-1974	58.5	32.4	12.5	5.0
1971-1975	56.7	28.4	13.5	6.1
1972-1976	60.1	25.3	13.0	6.9
1973-1977	65.3	30.8	18.3	7.7
1974-1978	68.3	40.6	22.3	7.8
1975-1979	68.0	60.3	24.1	n.a.
1976-1980	69.5	53.1	24.8	n.a.
1981-1985	76.5	61.7	34.2	n.a.

Sources: Compiled from SA Statistics, 1980, 1986, and Annual Reports of Education Departments of Bophuthatswana and Transkei, various years

The alarming feature of Table 5.8 was the high drop-out rate of Africans and Coloured pupils, reflecting the great wastage of human potential. In 1978, the percentage of White pupils who reached Standard 10 from Standard 1 was about eighteen times greater than that of Africans, six and a half times more than that of Coloureds and twice as many as that of Indians (Auerbach, 1981; Pillay, 1990; Farrah, 2007; Mamdani, 1996; Adam, 1971; Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Hartshorne, 1992).

In the *Star* (29 March 1983), de Lange of the Rand Afrikaans University claimed that 46 percent of Coloured and 58 percent of African children dropped out of school after four years (Pillay, 1990, p. 35).

The percentage of pupils in 1980/81 who reached Year 10 after having reached Standard 6 is higher in all race groups than the Year 1-10 figures. The number of Africans who reached matriculation from Year 6 was increasing but was still very low. In 1978, the percentage of whites who reached Year 10 from Year 6 in 1974 was almost nine times greater than that of Africans (Auerbach 1981; Farrah, 2007, Pillay, 1990; Hartshorne, 1992).

Only 60.9 percent of a sub A group of 1972 reached Standard 2 by 1975. In other words, two out of five pupils had not reached the fourth year of education and in practice would have regressed to almost complete illiteracy (Auerbach, 1981; Wilson and Ramphela, 1991; Farrah, 2007; Hartshorne, 1992). In the same year, the Standard 5 group was 35.4 percent of the Sub A group of 1969. This meant that nearly two thirds of the pupils had not reached the seventh year of education, which was generally regarded as the minimum base for further training (Financial Mail, 22 May, 1981; see also Pillay, 1990; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Mamdani, 1996; Adam, 1971; Norval, 1996; Bergh and Soudien, 2006).

Furthermore, the 1975 African Standard 10 group represented only 1.96 percent of the Sub A group of 1963. By 1981, a total of 100 'Sub A' African pupils in White areas reached secondary school and nine out of 100 made it to matriculation. In 1983, however, it was estimated that only 1.5 percent of pupils in schools controlled by the Department of Education and Training reached matriculation (Pillay, 1990, p.36; see also Wilson and Ramphela, 1991; Farrah, 2007; Hartshorne, 1992).

Table 5.9: Estimated outflow of African pupils at different levels of education, 1981 and 1982

	1981	1982
Illiterate (school leavers without Sub A)	175 764 (28.2%)	156 558 (23.75%)
Semi-literate (obtained Sub A – Std. 2)	160 551 (25.8%)	192 380 (29.18%)
Literate (obtained Std. 3 – 5)	125 102 (20.1%)	130 272 (19.76%)
Junior Secondary (Std. 6 – 8)	108 432 (17.5%)	116 378 (17.65%)
Senior Secondary (Std. 9 – 10)	52 415 (8.4%)	63 659 (9.66%)

Source: Pillay 1990, p. 36

Table 5.9(a): Estimated outflow of African pupils at different levels of education, 1983, 1984, 1985 and 1987

	1983	1984	1985	1987
Illiterate (school leavers without Sub A)	158 446 (22.2%)	161 650 (22.9%)	160 800 (22.2%)	161 650 (22.9%)
Semi-literate (obtained Sub A – Std. 2)	191 471 (28.1%)	195 300 (27.7%)	197 900 (27.3%)	195 300 (27.7%)
Literate (obtained Std. 3 – 5)	131 815 (19.3%)	134 400 (19.1%)	139 800 (19.3%)	134 400 (19.1%)
Junior Secondary (Std. 6 – 8)	124 964 (18.3%)	130 700 (18.6%)	136 400 (18.8%)	130 700 *(18.6%)
Senior Secondary (Std. 9 – 10)	75 439 (11.1%)	82 300 (11.7%)	90 500 (12.5%)	82 300 (11.7%)

Source: Education and Manpower Production (Blacks), Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5: 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, Research Unit for Education System Planning, University of the Orange Free State.

Note: Figures in parenthesis show percentage of total outflow.

The Research Unit for Education System Planning of the University of the Orange Free State had estimated that the outflow of African pupils at different levels of education was enormous. Table 5.9 shows that the number of pupils dropping out at the lower levels was large in both relative and absolute terms (Pillay, 1990; Hartshorne, 1992; Norval, 1996; Rose and Tunmer, 1975, Farrah, 2007). According to the Education and Manpower Production publications (1984, 1987) outflow as a percentage of enrolment for African pupils at Standard 5 was respectively 34 percent (1984) and 58.7 percent (1987) (Pillay, 1990, p. 37; see also Hartshorne, 1992; Farrah, 2007).

5.4 TEACHERS

In the past, Mission schools in particular, relied on White teachers as an important source of staffing. In his Senate speech of 7 June 1954, Verwoerd indicated that it would be state policy to phase out White teachers in Black schools (part of his hegemonic, separate cultures strategy), and also to replace male teachers with female teachers in lower primary schools, which would bring about a considerable saving of funds (Tabata, 1960; Christie and Collins, 1988; Hartshorne, 1992). The staffing had to be provided by training Black teachers. To boost the number of teachers available for primary schools, a three year post-Form 1 (Std. 6) certificate and a three year post-Form 3 (Std. 8) certificate were introduced.

Overall, there was a marked deterioration in the qualification levels of teachers under Bantu Education. Together with an increase in teachers without matriculation, came a significant reduction of professionally qualified teachers with university degrees, in comparison with the pre-1953 period. This no doubt affected the quality of education offered, especially when compared

with Whites. But the policy achieved its aims in increasing the numbers of Black teachers trained to fill the primary schools, which was the critical area of expansion (Christie and Collins, 1988, pp. 177-179; Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Pillay, 1990; Norval, 1996; Adam, 1971; Mamdani, 1996; Farrah, 2007; Tabata, 1960). It is a truism to state that an educational system is only as good as the teachers it employs:

The de Lange Commission in 1981 correctly stated that “without a corp of well trained and talented teachers any endeavour aimed at a system of education by means of which the potential of the country’s inhabitants is to be realized, economic growth promoted, the quality of life of the inhabitants improved and education of equal quality provided for everyone, cannot be successful” (Pillay, 1990, p. 37).

In South Africa there was both a quantity and quality deficiency of teachers. This was especially true of the African population where a high teacher-pupil ratio was combined with a serious quality deficiency in respect of the majority of teachers. The pattern was a vicious circle of poorly qualified teachers, producing poorly qualified pupils who in turn go on to become poorly qualified teachers (Welsh, 1981; Auerbach, 1981; Pillay, 1991; Farrah, 2007).

5.5.1 TEACHER-PUPIL RATIOS

Turning to pupil-teacher ratios, figures showed an increasing shortage of Black teachers to fill the needs of the system. Some figures in the 1940s to the 1960s were as follows:

1946	42.3 pupils per teacher
1959	51.3 pupils per teacher
1960	54.7 pupils per teacher

Source: Christie and Collins, 1988, p. 179.

The figures include primary, secondary, vocational and teacher training institutions, thus obscuring high numbers in the more crowded levels of the system (Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Norval, 1996; Farrah, 2007; Hartshorne, 1992). The teacher-pupil ratios for the four racial groups and the population as a whole were given in Table 5.10 for various years since 1960 (Rose and Tunmer, 1995; Soudien and Kallaway, 1999; Hartshorne, 1992, Jansen, 2005).

Table 5.10: Teacher pupil ratios by race

Year	Africans	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Total
1960	1:57	1:23	n/a	n/a	-
1970	1:65	1:20	1:31	1:27	1:40
1975	1:54	1:20	1:28	1:27	1:38
1978	1:51	1:19	1:28	1:27	1:37
1980	1:47*	1:19	1:29	1:25	-
1982	1:39#	1:18	1:27	1:24	-
1984	1:41#	1:19	1:26	1:23	-
1987	1:41#	1:16	1:25	1:21	-

Sources: SA Statistics, 1981, 1982: Bignaut, Statistics on Education in South Africa, 1968-79; Annual Reports of Departments of Education of Transkei and Bophuthatswana, 1987.

*1980 African figures exclude Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Venda.

1982, 1984 and 1987 African figures exclude these regions and Ciskei.

Here, one needs to note the teacher-pupil ratios assume that teachers and pupils are of the same race. This is not quite true for African and Coloured education where there was a small proportion of teachers of other races (Pillay, 1990; Norval, 1996; Mamdani, 1996; Jansen, 2006). The teacher-pupil ratio for Africans improved from 1:57 in 1960 to 1:51 in 1978 (an improvement of 12 percent), but was still 2.7 times higher than that for Whites. The White teacher-pupil ratio was about half the national average in 1978. In 1984, the ratio for Africans outside the independent homelands was still more than double that of Whites (Wilson and Ramphela, 1991; Farrah, 2007; Hartshorne, 1992; Bergh and Soudien, 2006). The need for teachers was clearly most urgent in African schools. Table 5.11 shows that the shortage was serious in primary schools, especially in Transkei and Kwazulu (Farrah, 2007; Pillay, 1990; Norval, 1996).

Table 5.11: African teacher-pupil ratio in 'White South Africa' and Homelands, 1986

Area	Teacher-Pupil Ratio		
	Primary and Secondary	Primary	Secondary
'White South Africa' (1984)	1:38	1:39	1:31
'Independent Homelands'	1:38	-	-
'Non-independent Homelands'	1:44	-	-
Transkei	-	1:60	1:22
Bophuthatswana	-	1:37	1:32
Ciskei	-	1:43	1:25
Gazankulu	-	1:44	1:28
Kangwane	-	1:42	1:35
KwaZulu	-	1:53	1:37
Kwandebeble	-	1:40	1:35
Lebowa	-	1:44	1:39
Qwa Qwa	-	1:34	1:31
Venda	-	1:35	1:25

Source: SAIRR, 1988; Nasson and Samuel, 1990, p. 38.

A frequent argument in defence of the status quo was that Africans in this country (South Africa) were better off than most people elsewhere in the continent as well as in many other Third World countries. A comparison of African teacher-pupil ratios in South Africa with those in a number of developing countries shows that, in this respect, African pupils here were certainly worse off than their counterparts elsewhere (Pillay, 1991; Mamdani, 1996; Adam, 1971; Farrah, 2007).

Table 5.12: African teacher-pupil ratios in South Africa and Teacher-Pupil Ratios in some Third World countries

Country	Year	Primary	Secondary
South Africa	(1980)	1:51	1:36
South Africa	(1988)	1:44	1:32
Algeria	(1985)	1:28	1:22
Botswana	(1985)	1:32	1:15
Egypt	(1985)	1:31	1:21
Ghana	(1985)	1:23	1:22
Kenya	(1985)	1:34	1:26
Swaziland	(1984)	1:33	1:18
Argentina	(1985)	1:20	1:18
Brazil	(1985)	1:25	1:14
Chile	(1983)	1:33	1:20
Mexico	(1985)	1:34	1:17
India	(1985)	1:42	1:20

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1987; Department of Education and Training, Annual Report, 1982.

Note: South African figures exclude Transkei and Bophuthatswana (1979 and 1980) and Venda (1980).

Teacher-pupil ratios were much lower in the countries compared with South Africa, confirming that the shortage of teachers in African schools in South Africa had reached alarming proportions by 1980 (Farrah, 2007; Norval, 1996; Hartshorne, 1992).

5.5.2 TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS

Teacher-pupil ratios, as discussed above, did not give a true reflection of the level of training reached by the teachers, especially African teachers. As shown earlier, the numerical shortage of African teachers was clearly appalling but an even more aggravating problem was the poor qualifications of the majority of teachers as stated earlier (Norval, 1996; Pillay, 1990; Farrah, 2007).

All White teachers were matriculated and 97 percent of them also had a professional teaching qualification. 34.3 percent of Whites had a university degree. Table 5.13 and 5.13(a) gave the qualifications of Indian, Coloured and African teachers in schools, excluding Transkei and Ciskei (Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Soudien and Kallaway, 1999; Kallaway, 2002).

Almost 94 percent of Indian and all White professionally qualified teachers had a matriculation certificate. The corresponding figures for Coloured and African teachers were significantly lower. Only 12 percent of Coloured teachers and approximately 7 percent of African teachers had university degrees (Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Kallaway, 2002).

South Africa was thus clearly faced with a teacher crisis in Black education both in terms of numbers and in terms of quality of teachers (Pillay, 1990, pp. 39-40; see also Farrah, 2007; Norval, 1996).

Table 5.13: Qualifications of Coloured and Indian Teachers, 1986

Qualification	Coloureds %	Indians %
A. Professional qualification plus below standard 8	0.2	-
Junior Certificate	30.2	-
Matric or equivalent	51.6	1.9
Degree	10.0	82.3
Other	0.1	-
Sub-total	92.1	93.7
B. No professional qualifications plus Junior Certificate or lower	1.4	-
Matric or equivalent	4.2	3.1
Degree	2.0	3.2
Other	0.3	-
Sub-total	7.9	6.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Source: SAIRR, 1982, 1988

Table 5.13(a): Qualifications of teachers in African schools in White South Africa Non-Independent Homelands, Bophuthatswana and Venda, 1986

Qualification	White SA %	Non-Independent Reserves %	Indians %
A. Professional qualification plus			
Below standard 8	6.5	3.8	-
Junior Certificate	38.3	29.0	22.4
Matric. or equivalent	34.7	42.1	37.9
Degree	3.0	3.0	6.6
Other	0.3	0.1	6.1
Sub total	82.28	78.0	73.0
B. No professional qualifications plus			
Junior Certificate or lower	-	-	-
Matric. or equivalent	10.6	9.0	1.4
Degree	5.9	12.6	24.1
Other	0.5	0.4	1.0
Sub Total	0.2	-	0.4
..... TOTAL	17.2	22.0	27.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SAIRR, 1988

5.5.3 TEACHERS' SERVICE CONDITIONS

There had been steady improvements in the matter of leave and pension conditions of African, Coloured and Indian teachers, so that by the end of 1976 in these areas the conditions of these teachers were similar to those of their White counterparts except that they could not belong to the Public Servants' Medical Aid Association. Since 1976 there had, however, been state-subsidised medical aid schemes for Coloured and Indian teachers. One must remember, of course, that pension benefits depended upon the salaries earned before retirement; where these salaries were lower, would mean lower pensions than those paid to teachers whose salaries were higher. In the area of leave and pension, the state had moved steadily towards parity. Coloured and Indian and, since 1979, African teachers could also obtain housing loans and subsidies (as could White teachers) if they were in permanent service (Auerbach, 1981; Wilson and Ramphela, 1991; Farrah, 2007; Tatz, 1972).

When one compares salaries, there was a very wide gap until 1971, the year in which the state committed itself to narrowing and ultimately closing the gap. At one time, revised salaries for white teachers did not necessarily imply any revision of the pay of other non-White teachers; then the state moved to revisions following White revisions – a year later. During the last few years, revisions had been simultaneous for teachers of all population groups – a great step

forward. To narrow the gap, the state introduced two salary revisions for African teachers during 1974, when others were given a revision; and in 1976, when White teachers were given a 10 percent increase to compensate them for increases in the cost of living, Coloured and Indian teachers were given a 15 percent increase and African teachers 20 percent. This moved Coloured and Indian salaries about 2.5 percent and African salaries about 6 percent closer to equality with Whites. These steps show clearly that the state was moving away from discrimination in salaries. On 20 November 1976, the Minister of National Education announced that the cabinet had approved the principle of equal pay for equal qualifications, irrespective of race or sex, when the economy permitted it (Auerbach, 1981; Pillay, 1990; Farrah, 2007; Tabata, 1960; Hartshorne, 1992; Tatz, 1972).

Two salary revisions based on this decision had taken place, the first taking effect on 1 January 1978 and the second on 1 April 1980. All teachers were placed on the same key salary scale in 1978 so that the annual increments were then the same irrespective of race or sex. On average, African salaries were then about 70 percent of those for White teachers, an improvement of about 15 percent over the past five or six years (Auerbach, 1981; Mamdani, 1996; Adam, 1971; Hartshorne, 1992; Russo et al., 2005).

For ordinary teachers with comparable qualifications, Coloured and Indian teachers were now one notch behind Whites, and Africans were four notches behind. In promotion posts, the gap remained one to two notches more than for ordinary teachers. In 1980 no changes were made which affected the sex pay gap, with the exception of pay for the heads of large high schools: the twenty White women and one Indian woman affected then earned the same as their male colleagues (Auerbach 1981; Farrah, 2007; Pillay, 1990; Russo et al., 2005).

These moves then were welcome, but one had to remain aware that even after they had been made, a young man with four year post-matric. training will start on R382.50 a month if African, R502.50 if Coloured or Indian, R542.50 if White; while the corresponding figures for women were R322.50, R422.50 and R462.50. These were still wide gaps. Race parity had only been achieved in the category of heads of large high schools who held masters' and doctors' degrees, of whom there were unlikely to be more than ten outside the White system (Auerbach, 1981; Wilson and Ramphela, 1991; Mamdani, 1996; Norval, 1996; Kallaway, 2002).

The February 1981 mini-budget announcement of new pay scales for teachers which gave Coloured and Indian teachers with a minimum of matriculation plus three years' training parity with their white counterparts (Auerbach, 1981; Farrah, 2007; Pillay, 1990; Adam, 1971).

One must also remain concerned that the majority of African teachers in primary schools, who had a two year post-standard eight professional qualification, and of whom some six thousand still qualified annually, started at R110 per month rising to R232.50 for women; the corresponding figures for men were R132.50 to R322.50. There were still 15 300 Coloured and 950 Indian teachers in this category whose salaries were one notch above those for Africans (two for men at minimum only). Many of these teachers were studying for Standard Ten (Matriculation Certificate) certificates and the salary scales then ensured a R60 – R100 a month increase to those who succeeded. The state clearly moved to close pay gaps, though the above figures raised questions about the time-scale for closing gaps and about the problem of paying professional people a living wage. A commitment to close both the race and sex gaps within five years would have done much to raise the morale of the teaching profession (Auerbach, 1981; Adam, 1971; Mamdani, 1996; Kallaway, 2002). In 1977, after decades of endeavour by the organised teaching profession, a statutory Teachers' Council was introduced. Unlike other professional councils, however, it was restricted to White teachers, a fact which had been seen as discriminatory by teachers of the other population groups. All their recognised professional bodies had rejected the government's offer of parallel councils for African, Coloured and Indian teachers. Moves to amend the Teachers' Council for Whites to allow the Council to register suitably qualified teachers irrespective of race were confined to relatively small numbers of white teachers. Such amendments were unlikely to be made until the majority of members of the Council – all representing White teachers' associations – asked for them (Auerbach, 1981; Farrah, 2007; Pillay, 1990; Hartshorne, 1992.; Tatz, 1972).

5.6 OUTPUT OF THE SCHOOLS

Although the number of Black pupils who passed matriculation had increased significantly during the 1980s (see **Table 5.14**), this figure was still disproportionately, small in relation to the size of the population. The number of matriculants who emerged from the school system showed a highly skewed distribution in favour of Whites (Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Norval, 1996; Adam, 1971; Kallaway, 2002).

Table 5.14: Matriculation passes by race (including exemptions and School-leaving certificates)

Year	Whites %	Africans %	Indians %	Coloureds %	Total %
1970	36,544 (85.6)	2,820 (6.6)	1,926 (4.5)	1,406 (3.3)	42,696 (100.0)
1975	42,985 (75.8)	6,761 (11.9)	3,920 (4.5)	3,048 (5.4)	56,714 (100.0)
1978	46,170 (57.4)	12,045 (17.6)	5,632 (8.2)	4,623 (6.7)	68,576 (100.0)
1980	48,389 (47.0)	23,999 (28.6)	7,009 (8.3)	4,819 (5.7)	83,997 (100.0)
1983	48,389 (47.0)	39,815 (38.6)	6,950 (6.7)	7,894 (7.7)	103,048 (100.0)
1987	62,067 (36.2)	84,966 (49.6)	11,836 (7.3)	12,419 (6.9)	171,288 (100.0)

Source: SA Statistics, 1980, 1982; Education and Manpower Production (Blacks), no. 3, 1982; no. 4, 1983; No. 5, 1984 and 1987; Departments of Education of Transkei and Bophuthatswana, Annual Reports, 1987.

The number of African pupils passing matriculation increased 3.5 times between 1980 and 1987 that of Indians 1.7 times, Coloureds 2.6 times and Whites 1.3 times. Whilst it might appear that the number of Black matriculants might seem impressive a more vital statistic was the number of students obtaining matriculation exemption, as this provided access to university education and ultimately a professional occupation or qualification. In 1980, for example, only 27 percent of African pupils gained university entrance pass (SAIRR, 1981; Wilson and Ramphela, 1991; Farrah, 2007).

Table 5.15: Pupils who passed matriculation with exemption by race

Year	Whites %	Africans %	Indians %	Coloureds %	Total %
1970	14 412 (88.0)	1 104 (6.7)	410 (2.5)	454 (2.8)	16 380 (100.0)
1975	20 850 (79.9)	3 725 (13.8)	1 189 (4.9)	1 337 (4.9)	27 101 (100.0)
1978	22 288 (73.8)	4 963 (16.4)	1 805 (6.0)	1 163 (3.8)	30 219 (100.0)
1980	24 227 (73.8)	6 447 (19.0)	1 871 (5.5)	1 416 (4.2)	34 011 (100.0)
1984	25 391 (62.3)	9 727 (23.8)	3 561 (8.7)	2 108 (5.2)	40 787 (100.0)
1986	28 071 (58.5)	13 460 (28.0)	3 787 (7.9)	2 707 (5.6)	48 025 (100.0)

Sources: SA Statistics, 1980, 1982; Education and Manpower Production (Blacks). No.3, 1982 and No.8, 1987; Departments of Education of Transkei and Bophuthatswana Annual reports, 1987.

The percentage of African pupils according to Table 5.15 with exemption actually decreased in areas excluding the ‘independent homelands’ between 1980 and 1982. In 1980 some 15.7 percent of African matriculation candidates passed with exemption. The corresponding figures of 1981, 1982 and 1983 were respectively 12.7 percent, 10.4 percent and 9.8 percent. In Kwazulu (1982 only 770 students (5.2 percent) out of 14 931 candidates gained a matriculation exemption; in Bophuthastwana, 12 percent; Venda 16 percent; Transkei 8.0 percent (New York Times, Feb., 1991; see also SAIRR, 1990; Norval, 1996; Pillay, 1990; Russo et al., 2005).

5.7 TERTIARY EDUCATION

5.7.1 UNIVERSITY ENROLMENT

The distribution of university students by race is given in **Table 5.16** for various years since 1970. The great majority of the students at university were White. Although the proportion of White students had shown a steady decline since 1970, Whites still formed over half of the university student population in 1987. The percentage of African students increased fifteen-

fold in the period under consideration in Table 5.16, but it was clear that university education was still only available to a minuscule proportion of the African population. The number of Indian students showed a consistent increase but the proportion of Coloured students in relation to population size remained at a rather low level in 1980 (Pillay, 1990; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Farrah, 2007; Russo et al., 2005).

Table 5.16: University enrolment by race

Year	Whites %	Africans %	Indians %	Coloureds %	Total %
1970	73 001 (88.0%)	4 609 (5.6%)	3 474 (4.2%)	1 813 (2.2%)	82 897 (100.0%)
1975	96 232 (83.5%)	9 181 (7.9%)	6 186 (5.3%)	3 878 (3.3%)	116 168 (100.0%)
1980	114 119 (75.4%)	17 989 (11.9%)	11 496 (7.6%)	7 660 (5.1%)	151 334 (100.0%)
1982	115 181 (72.5%)	22 836 (14.4%)	12 165 (7.7%)	8 654 (5.4%)	158 836 (100.0%)
1984	130 686 (67.4%)	36 619 (18.9%)	15 346 (7.9%)	11 300 (5.8%)	193 951 (100.0%)
1987	151 307 (58.5%)	72 072 (27.9%)	19 057 (7.4%)	15 935 (6.2%)	258 371 (100.0%)

Source: SA Statistics, 1980, 1982; SAIRR, 1985, 1988.

Table 5.17: University students as a percentage of population 1970, 1980 and 1990

Year	Whites %	Indians %	Coloureds %	Africans %
1970	1.91	0.54	0.09	0.03
1980	2.52	1.48	0.33	0.11
1989	3.11	n.a.	n.a.	0.26

Source: Compiled from student figures in table 6.15; Sunday Times, 7 May, 1989.

5.7.2 UNIVERSITY DEGREES

Table 5.18 gives the number of degrees awarded to Blacks and Whites. Figure for other race groups for 1970, 1980 and 1989 are also shown. In spite of a decline since 1970, white

students still obtained almost three quarters of all university degrees. The number of degrees awarded to Africans increased dramatically between 1980 and 1985. The figure for Coloureds in 1985 was lower than both the Indian and African groups (Pillay, 1990, pp. 42-43; see also Adam, 1971; Rose and Tunmer 1975, Farrah, 2007).

Table 5.18: University Degrees and Diplomas awarded in 1970, 1980, 1985

Year	Whites	Blacks	Total
1970	9 243 (93.2%)	674 (6.8%)	9 917 (100.0%)
1975	12 569 (89.8%)	1 442 (10.2%)	14 317 (100.0%)
1980	17 573 (85.6%)	2 941 (14.4%)	20 514 (100.0%)
1985	27 069 (74.0%)	9 500 (26.0%)	36 596 (100.0%)

UNIVERSITY DEGREES and DIPLOMAS AWARDED IN 1980-85					
Year	Whites	Indians	Africans	Coloureds	Total
1980	17 573 (85.6%)	1 121 (5.5%)	1 103 (5.4%)	717 (3.5%)	20 514 (100.0%)
1985	27 069 (74.0%)	2 241 (6.1%)	5 363 (14.7%)	1 896 (5.2%)	36 596 (100.0%)

Sources: SA Statistics 1980, 1988; Departments of National Education and Internal Affairs, Annual Report.

At school level the discrepancies were large, and the figures for the universities had not shown any significant differences. It should be pointed out that the fees payable at Black universities were substantially lower than at White ones, a fact which may have enabled significantly more Blacks to obtain a tertiary education than might otherwise have been the case (Welsh, 1981; Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Soudien and Kallaway, 1999; Kallaway, 2002; Farrah, 2007).

5.7.3 ADVANCED TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Technical high schools had existed for many years; most of them in the White system, but more provision for African, Coloured and Indian technical high schools was made during the 1970s. In 1977, there were five technical high schools for Africans and two vocational high schools (now Technikons) for Coloured pupils, while M L Sultan Technical College (now Technikon) for Indian pupils in Durban, with some satellite campuses elsewhere in Natal, also provided some technical education at secondary level. What is significant was that without doubt provision in the field of technical education had been less developed in the Indian,

Coloured and (especially) African education systems (Welsh, 1981; Adam, 1971; Wilson and Ramphela, 1991; Farrah, 2007).

Table 5.19: Enrolment in Technical and Vocational Education

Year	Number of Institutions		Number of Students	
	Whites	Non-Whites	Whites	Non-Whites
1953	82	54	10 716	13 842
1954	88	21	11 814	3 981

Source: Christie and Collins, 1988, p. 180 (Table IV)

Table 5.19 shows that during the 1950s, technical and vocational training for Blacks was virtually non-existent. It was only in the period of economic growth in the 1960s that this sector of education expanded (SAIRR, 1954/55; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Bundy, 2005). The student enrolment for advanced technical education at technikons in 1981 and 1982 is given in Table 5.19(a). The disconcerting feature of Table 5.19(a) was the lower number of Africans getting advanced technical education compared to other racial groups.

Table 5.19(a): Technikon enrolment (post-matric) by race, 1981, 1982 and 1985

Year	Whites	Africans	Coloureds	Indians	Total
1981	21 753 (86.6%)	641 (2.6%)	1 428 (5.7%)	1 291 (5.1%)	25 113 (100.0%)
1982	23 620 (86.8%)	524 (1.9%)	1 676 (6.2%)	1 400 (5.1%)	27 220 (100.0%)
1985	31 948 (78.6%)	2 698 (6.6%)	2 983 (7.3%)	3 058 (7.5%)	40 687 (100.0%)

Source: 'Educational Statistics, 1981 and 1982 Summary', Statistical News Release p.23, 1981-1982, and June 1985. (Central Statistical Services, Pretoria).

In 1990, there were eight technikons for Whites and three for Africans (Pillay, 1990, p. 43).

The award of diplomas and certificates by technikons is revealed in Table 5.20.

Table 5.20: Number of diplomas and certificates awarded by Technikons: Whites and Africans (1978, 1979 and 1986) and Indians and Coloureds (1986)

Year	Whites	Africans	Indians	Coloureds
1978	5 918	165	-	-
1979	6 813	192	-	-
1986	5 597	872	390	392

Sources; SAIRR, 1982; Department of Internal Affairs, Annual Reports, 1981; SA Statistics, 1988. (Figures for Coloureds and Indians not available in 1978, 1979).

The figures in Table 5.20 once again underpinned the discrimination against Blacks, especially Africans, as reflected in the disproportionately low number of Black diplomas awarded (Pillay, 1990; Soudien and Kallaway. 1997; Kallaway, 2002).

5.7.4 LEVELS OF LITERACY

In a modern industrial economy it is difficult, especially in urban areas, to earn one's living without education, particularly if jobs are scarce and employers make literacy the first criterion for selection (Wilson and Ramphele, 1991, p.138; Hartshorne, 1992; Bergh and Soudien, 2006). For a country whose industrial revolution has been under way for a full century and where more than half the population is urbanised, the degree of illiteracy is staggering (Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Farrah, 2007; Hartshorne, 1992). Wilson and Ramphele (1991) argued that:

The 1980 census (which excluded Transkei and Bophuthatswana), 33 percent of those Africans over the age of 15 who filled in census forms, judged themselves to be illiterate, whilst 30 percent of those older than 20 had not achieved an educational level as high as Standard 4 (six years of schooling) and so were functionally illiterate.

Amongst whites, by contrast, less than 1 percent assessed themselves to be illiterate, and the proportion older than 20 with less than standard 4 education was only 2 percent. Those classified as Coloured and Asian, fell as usual somewhere between Africans and Whites (p. 138).

The following Table 5.21 clearly reveals that whilst the general level of education of the population as a whole was improving the number of young illiterates, between the ages of 10 and 24 was highly disturbing. The current estimates indicated that there were between two and three million illiterate Africans (Wilson and Ramphele, 1991, p. 138; see also Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Pillay, 1990; SAIRR, 1991/92; Farrah, 2007). Table 5.21 shows the percentage of the adults who are illiterate in each race group. The adult age is taken as 15 years and over.

Table 5.21: Percentage and number of adult population illiterate by race, 1980

Race	Percentage	Number
Africans	33.0	3.3 Million
Coloureds	15.5	247 000
Indians	7.6	39 000
Whites	0.7	23 000

Source: Compiled from SA statistics, 1982. African figures exclude Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda; Wilson and Ramphele, 1996, p. 39.

Although the African illiteracy figures are an improvement from the 1960 and 1970 figures of 60.5 percent and 50.6 percent respectively, there was nevertheless a large and in absolute terms, growing problems of illiteracy among the African population (SAIRR, 2001; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Jansen, 2005).

The number of illiterate adult Africans almost equaled the whole of the Coloured and Indian population (approximately 3.4 million) in 1980. As this illiteracy figure did not include those in the independent homelands it seems likely that the number of illiterate adult Africans in South Africa might have been in excess of 4 million (Pillay, 1990, p. 44; see also Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Mamdani, 1996; Adam, 1971; SAIRR, 1980/81; Farrah, 2007).

Table 5.21(a): Adult Illiteracy in South Africa, 1980 (263:5)

Race	Percentage	Numbers
White	2	88 540
Asian	13	102 660
Coloured	18	483 280
Black	30	5 039 440
TOTAL	63	5 713 920

Source: Wilson and Ramphele, 1991, p.138 (Fig.7.01) – Adult illiteracy in South Africa.

Table 5.21(b): Adult Illiteracy and Age, 1983

Age	Proportion %	
10-14	38	Average % Illiterate ages 10 – 65+ : 63.8%
15-19	37	
20-24	56	
25-29	52	
30-34	54	
35-39	66	
40-44	73	
45-49	65	
50-54	68	
55-59	80	
60-64	82	
65+	88	

Source: Fig. 7.02 Adult Illiteracy and Age, Nkandla, 1983; 1991, p.138; Wilson and Ramphele 1991, p.38

The rate of illiteracy among the four South African Racial Groups could be gleaned from Tables 5.21(a). The rate of illiteracy among aged groups for the entire Nation was revealed in Table 5.21(b), 63.8% (SAIRR, 1983/84; Pillay, 1990; Norval, 1996; Wilson and Ramphele, 1991).

5.7.5 ADULT EDUCATION LEVELS

The adult education levels reached in a country point to past educational development and in fact are good indicators of the general education level. Table 5.22 shows the comparison of educational qualifications achieved by the different races. The highest qualifications obtained from matriculation for the years 1970, 1980 and 1985 are listed in Table 5.22. Table 5.23 reflects the racial composition of the population during these years (Farrah, 2007; Pillay, 1990; Mamdani, 1996).

Tables 5.22: Adult Education Levels by Race (highest qualification obtained)

Qualification/Year	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Africans	Totals
Matric 1970	585 514 (91.0%)	13 689 (2.1%)	15 369 (2.4%)	29 166 (4.5%)	643 738 (100.0%)
Matric. 1985	823 873 (68.0%)	61 277 (5.1%)	62 440 (5.1%)	264 190 (21.8%)	1 211 780 (100.0%)
Degree 1970	104 511 (95.5%)	2 392 (2.2%)	2 392 (2.2%)	1 411 (1.3%)	109 409 (100.0%)
Degree 1985	244 536 (90.0%)	11 542 (4.3%)	11 542 (4.3%)	9 579 (3.5%)	271 714 (100.0%)
Diploma 1970 plus Std. 10	169 805 (90.5%)	3 767 (2.0%)	3 767 (2.0%)	7 815 (4.2%)	187 591 (100.0%)
Diploma 1985 plus Std. 10	447 429 (84.0%)	17 835 (3.4%)	17 835 (3.4%)	40 022 (7.5%)	52 278 (100.0%)
Diploma 1970 plus Std. 9 or lower	34 118 (45.0%)	1 304 (1.7%)	1 304 (1.7%)	31 932 (42.1%)	78 852 (100.0%)
Diploma 1985 plus Std. 9 or lower	122 657 (63.5%)	24 033 (12.4%)	6 932 (3.6%)	39 595 (20.5%)	193 217 (100.0%)

Sources: Compiled from SA statistics, 1980, 1982; and 1985 Population Census. African figures exclude Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda.

Table 5.23: Racial composition of the population in 1970, 1980 and 1985 (percentages)

Year	Whites %	Coloureds %	Indians %	Africans %	Total %
1970	17.3	9.5	3.0	70.2	100.0
1980	18.2	10.5	3.3	68.0	100.0
1985	19.5	12.1	3.5	64.9	100.0

Sources: Compiled from SA statistics, 1980, 1982; SAIRR, 1987, 1990.

Table 5.22 and Table 5.23 show the existence of discrimination based on race and colour (which can be equated with inequality, injustice and deprivation). The African and Coloured statistics were especially dismaying, when taken into account in relation to the magnitude of the respective populations.

Black adults, in total, made up only 4.5 percent of all adults with matriculation in 1970, increasing to 21.8 percent during the next 15 years. Of this figure in 1985, Africans constituted 21.8 percent, Coloureds and Indians both 5.1 percent. The university degree figure was even lower with Black adults only making up 1.3 percent of all adults with degrees in 1970 and 3.5 percent in 1985 (Pillay, 1990, p. 45; Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Farrah, 2007).

In the diploma category, Black adults coped better, especially where a matriculation qualification was not required, but even here the Black adult share had declined to below 40 percent in 1985 from 55 percent in 1970 (Pillay, 1990, p. 45; see also Rose and Tunmer, 1975, Farrah, 2007; SAIRR, 1985/86; Hartshorne, 1992; Norval, 1996).

5.8 EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

The education debate had been dominated by questions of efficiency and utility. The money spent on public education should produce better standards of achievement and higher economic return. There was an assumption that students were learning for a purpose, i.e., to make them more capable as citizens and workers. This meant making them better able to bring their minds and knowledge to bear on the practical problems of living and working (Pillay, 1990; Wilson and Ramphela, 1991; Farrah, 2007; Soudien and Kallaway, 1999; Russo, et al. 2005; Bowles and Gintis, 1976/2006). Thus, a country's education policy usually has two main objectives:

- (a) to meet the demand of individuals for their own development; and
- (b) to meet the needs of society for its general development (see also Pillay, 1990; SAIRR, 1985/86; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Farrah, 2007, pp. 10-25; Russo, et al. 2005).

In a free society the first objective is served by making education available to all citizens irrespective of class, race or income. The second objective is served by seeing to it that industries as well as cultural and public institutions are provided with persons who have the requisite general education and skills. Education and development are inextricably linked, and so are job opportunities and the supply and demand of skills in the wider society (Pillay 1990; Collins and Gillespie, 1985; Wilson and Ramphela, 1991; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; SAIRR, 1986/87; Farrah, 2007; Malherbe, 1975).

Schools in South Africa have failed to produce desirable knowledge and labour skills in school leavers. This failure has resulted from the effect of educational disparity in South Africa and has been clearly shown in the employment structure. While Bantu Education might have produced unskilled and semi-skilled workers in sufficient numbers for capital, it was also generating people with "aspirations out of keeping with requirements for a quiescent labour

force” (Chisholm, 1983, p. 362). The more complacent White population, on the contrary, had a monopoly of skilled jobs. This is clearly seen in Table 5.24, which gives the occupational distribution of Blacks and Whites in 1985 (Pillay, 1990, p.46; Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; SAIRR, 1986/97; Farrah, 2007; Malherbe, 1975; Meredith, 2005).

The majority of Whites were in managerial and skilled positions, while the Blacks were confined largely to the lower levels of unskilled menial jobs. They had to be trained for certain forms of labour (Senate Debates, 7/6/1954; Meredith, 2005).

Table 5.24: The Occupational Distribution of Blacks and Whites in 1985

Category	Percentage Distribution	
	Blacks %	Whites %
Professional and Technical	39.9	60.1
Managerial and Executive	12.4	87.6
Clerical and Sales	47.1	52.9
Production workers	92.3	7.7
Unskilled	98.9	1.1

Source: Compiled from Department of Manpower Survey No. 16, 1985. Data exclude employment in Agriculture and Domestic Service and in the Independent Homelands.

In South Africa’s high level manpower (HLM) sector, the racial composition reflects a disproportionate distribution in favour of Whites. The racial mix of high level and total manpower in South Africa is shown in Table 5.25. In 1985 the Whites constituted 69 percent of South Africa’s high level manpower. Africans composed only 20 percent of the HLM. The South African labour market was thus a stratified one, in which skills were to a great extent, controlled by White artisans. Key categories of educated or high-quality manpower reflected the dominance of Whites in top management positions (SAIRR, 1985/86; Norval, 1996; Farrah, 2007; Bremmer and Spio-Garbrah, 2007; Meredith, 2005).

A significant number of Blacks had been prevented by Bantu Education and Tribal Universities from reaching many higher level occupations as shown by Table 5.26 (National Manpower Commission, 1987). The future in education and policy in South Africa might be a far cry from the conceptions which underpinned the Verwoerdian discourse in the 1950s and 1960s when it was maintained that “there is no place for him (the Black) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour” (Cited in Chisholm, 1983, p. 365; see

also Pillay, 1990; SAIRR, 1986/87; Farrah, 2007, pp. 5-10; Bremmer and Spio-Garbrah, 2007).

Table 5.25: Race composition of South Africa's High Level Manpower, 1979, 1985

Race	High Level Manpower	
	1979	1985
Africans	17.1	20.2
Whites	71.9	69.2
Coloureds	7.8	7.23
Indians	3.2	3.4

Source: National Manpower Commission, Report on High Level Manpower in South Africa. 1980, 1987. Data excludes Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda.

Table 5.26: Percentage Distribution of Blacks in some Key Occupations, 1965, 1975 and 1985

Occupation	1965	1975	1985
Engineers	0.0	0.5	0.1
Architects and Surveyors	.0.0	1.2	2.9
Doctors	2.0	5.7	8.1
Technicians	5.4	11.7	17.8
Scientists	0.6	3.7	5.5
Nurses	44.9	58.5	60.0
Accountants and Auditors	0.3	4.5	7.4
Lawyers	0.9	5.0	6.0
Managing Directors	3.6	6.9	3.9
Educationalists	56.2	61.2	63.0

Source: National Manpower Commission, 1987.

5.9 ESTIMATES OF AMOUNTS PAID BY AFRICANS TOWARDS THE COSTS OF EDUCATING THEIR CHILDREN

It is important to note that White/Black per capita expenditure discrepancies existed in South Africa from 1658 to 1994. The 1960-61 statistics reflected here serve to give an insight to the sacrifices made by African parents throughout this period.

5.9.1 TAXATION

The four-fifths of the general tax paid by Africans in 1960-61, which was credited to the Bantu Education Account, amounted to R5 459, 033 which was minimal in relation to the large African population (Horrell, 1968; Farrah, 2007; Dyson, 2007). This caused dissatisfaction by the low salaries and wages earned by unskilled and semi-skilled, illiterate Africans, who were caught in a discrimination trap decreed by the White Nationalist Government, in terms of the Job Reservation Act (discussed earlier).

5.9.2 COST OF BUILDING SCHOOLS

The sums Africans had contributed to the costs of building schools since the establishment of the Bantu Education Account in 1955 had not been made public. In 1960-61, R494, 888 was spent from the Loan Account on the erection and purchase of schools, and R292, 866 from the Bantu Education Account on financial assistance to community schools for capital expenditure: a total of R787, 754 (Horrell 1964, p.177; SAIRR, 1965/66; Farrah, 2007; Dyson, 2007).

According to the State Information Office 153 State or community schools were built during 1961. Of these, 2 percent, were State schools, about 69 percent were lower primary schools (for which Africans must have borne all the costs over a period of years) and 29 percent for higher or post-primary schools Africans must have contributed at least half of the costs of these schools (Horrell, 1964, p.177; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Pillay, 1990; Wilson and Ramphela, 1991; Farrah, 2007; Meredith, 2005, pp. 1-16; 116-140).

Assuming that all the schools cost the same amount, and applying these percentages to the total amount spent in 1959-61, one might hazard the extremely rough guess that, of the R787 754 spent:

R54 3,550 had to be repaid by Africans over a period of years;

R114, 225 had to be advanced by Africans;

R15, 754 was spent on State schools (Horrell, 1964, p.177).

These sums do not include amounts that urban Africans gradually had to repay, by means of additions to their rents, for the interest on and redemption of loans to municipalities from the Housing Commission for the erection of lower primary schools. The total between 1956 and 1961 was R1, 177, 556. (Horrell, 1964, p.177; see also South African Yearbook, 1965; Pillay, 1990; Farrah, 2007).

5.9.3 PARENTAL CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE SALARIES OF AFRICAN TEACHERS

A Departmental official stated that in 1961 African parents in the Southern Transvaal contributed more than R50, 000 towards the employment of African teachers additional to those whose salaries the Department could afford to pay (Horrell, 1968, p.177, 178). According to the *Bantu Education Journal for February 1958*, of the 1,080,176 African pupils then attending school, 239, 522 were in the Southern Transvaal. Assuming that this proportion had remained constant, and that Africans in the various regions had contributed equally towards the salaries of African teachers, one might make the very rough guess that in 1961 parents in the country as a whole paid R225, 500 (Horrell, 1968, p.178; Tatz 1972; Tabata, 1960; Farrah, 2007; Meredith, 2005, pp. 1-16).

In fact, it is understood that there were more privately-paid African teachers in the Transvaal than elsewhere. Allowing for this, the total given in the last paragraph is reduced to R200, 000 (Horrell, 1964, p.178; see also Wilson and Ramphele, 1991; Norval, 1996).

5.9.4 SCHOOL REQUISITES, FEES and UNIFORMS

The Minister of Bantu Education said in 1961 that parents had to spend an average of R69.50 per child during the years he/she proceeded from Standard 1 to the Junior Certificate class on books and writing materials, contributions to school funds, and examination expenses. This total, payable over a nine-year period, was made up as follows:

R49.40	for text books, exercise books, atlases, slates, pens, pencils erasers, ink, rulers, etc.;
R15.60	for school fees;
<u>R 4.50</u>	for examination fees
<u>R69.50</u>	tTotal

(Source: Horrell, 1964, p.178; SAIRR, 1965/66)

Only a small proportion of the pupils proceeded as far as the Junior Certificate class. In 1958 nearly half of them were in Prep. Grade to Year 3, where the amounts payable were far smaller than in the upper classes Year 4 to Year 6. To arrive at a rough estimate of the total

sums paid one must resort to guess-work. There were 1, 430, 316 children in state and state-aided schools and unaided community schools in 1960. The parents of each of these pupils might have had to pay R1 for writing material and R1 towards school funds and incidentals: a total of R2. This would mean that a total of R2, 860, 632 was spent in these ways in 1960 by parents of children in State and state-aided schools. Amounts spent on school uniforms were not included (Horrell, 1968, p.178; Tatz, 197; see also Tabata, 1960; Pillay, 1990; Meredith, 2005).

5.9.5 TOTAL AMOUNTS PAID BY PARENTS

To sum up, it would appear, as an estimate that in the year 1960-61 African parents contributed the following sums towards the education of their children:

Rand	
5, 459, 033	Indirect Taxation
114, 225	Advance towards the erection of schools (this sum excludes amounts added to rental of houses in urban areas)
200, 000	Contributed towards the salaries of teachers
2, 860, 632	On school fees, requisites, etc.
8 633 890	TOTAL

(Horrell, 1964, p.178; see also SAIRR, 1965/66; Wilson and Ramphela, 1991; Meredith, 2005, pp. 116-140).

5.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on differential schooling and segregated schools. It also examined how the government in South Africa used education in an attempt to strengthen their political, social and economic power over the African majority. The underdevelopment of Black education was reflected in the facts and figures discussed above. Furthermore, Black education had failed to train sufficient Black people with skills. As a result there was a growing shortage of skilled and professional workers.

Part of South Africa's educational shortcomings was that, contrary to the practice of many other countries, South Africa spent almost the same fraction of its national income on education today as it did 46 years ago (Auerbach, 1981; Rose and Tunmer, 1975). In 1953

South Africa spent 3.5 percent of its gross domestic product on education; the figure rose to 3.8 percent in 1963 and 4.00 percent in 1973. In 1978, the total education expenditure was R1 553 million, while the GNP was R38 000 million, giving a figure of 4.1 percent. In contrast, the United States, from 1955 to 1966 increased its spending on education from 4.00 to 4.6 percent, the Netherlands from 4.6 to 7.6 percent in 1968. South Africa in the 1980s seems to rate education more highly in their scale of national priorities (Rose and Tunmer, 1978). Probably its overall spending on education had to be increased substantially in order to have made a more equitable allocation of money available to education sectors previously discriminated against (Auerbach, 1981, p. 67; see also Pillay, 1990; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Norval, 1996; Meredith, 2005).

The skills shortage in the past had been a springboard to restructure education. The deeply entrenched and chronic problems of Black education could have led to a sophisticated attempt to negotiate new common sense about education. This in turn could have led to the obsolescence of Bantu Education and made possible the ideological incorporation of the Black population. If it (education) is used to rally all forces it may be a support for free enterprise institution as against those who wish to destroy Black education (Chisholm, 1983, p. 369; Farrah, 2007). In conclusion, Pillay (1990) asserts:

However, even the best education system is limited in the extent to which it can contribute to the advancement of the individual. In the final analysis the pupil is part of his or her broader environment, which in the case of black South Africa, is mostly an environment of poverty and deprivation... (p. 47).

The part played by resistance in education by Blacks may have lead to improvements in the provision of education for Africans.

The next chapter discusses the role of the 'Bush University', as an alternative schooling path, which promoted the notion of genuine 'People's Universities', as an alternative for social and educational transformation. Apartheid was the 'mask' of the regime, and Bantu Education was the Afrikaners' best means for reproducing labour and social stratification to maintain the status quo (Hartshorne, 1992; Norval, 1996; Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Kahn, 2001; Sustein, 2001).

CHAPTER 6

BUSH UNIVERSITIES AS ALTERNATIVE PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter examines the social, cultural and pedagogical significance of Bush Universities in promoting social change and educational transformation. It was not surprising that the South African National Government had conceived the idea of Bantu Education. The Government had to cap it with the invention of an educational neologism, “tribal universities.” What was surprising, however, was that the Government found it necessary to pass a law forbidding the White universities to allow “Non-Europeans” to enter or to be admitted to White universities. It is interesting to note that “open” (White) universities, of which there were only two, (Witwatersrand and Cape Town), permitted Non-Europeans only into a limited number of faculties and without participation in the social amenities of the universities. Legal exclusion seemed unnecessary; see also Tatz 1972; Jansen, 2006; Bundy, 2005; Russo, et al. 2005). ‘Bantu-ized’ education carefully incapacitated the African student from reaching the required standard for entering a university, as Tabata (1960) proclaimed:

...far from the Afrikaner really believing in his own myth about the mental inferiority of the African, his actions suggested that he saw himself as contending with a superman. Hence the mountain of oppressive laws and his obsession with erecting every possible barrier against the Non-Whites (Tabata, 1960, p. 35).

The purpose of this chapter is to stress that a new philosophy was born on the Black university campuses – which, ironically, stressed Black leadership, values, culture and identity and played an important part in reviving national resistance in the 1970s and 1980s. The underpinning proposition in the chapter is that African student behaviour did not conform to government policy because the African’s reactions to Bantu Education were never taken into account. Two explanations for these conflicting outcomes of Bantu Education and the subsequent uprising of the 1960s to the 1980s are suggested. The first is that Bantu Education had developed a culture of its own which was at odds with official intentions. The second explanation is that forces external to in-class instruction had exerted a great influence on the

official curriculum (SAIRR, 2001; Adler and Setali, 2005; Kahn, 2001; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Norval, 1996).

6.2 THE SEPARATE UNIVERSITIES ACT OF 1959

Residential universities developed out of university colleges shortly after Union in 1910. At that time no thought was given to the possibility of multi-racial universities and the Universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch, which were established in 1916, were effectively for Whites only, despite Cape Town's reluctant admission of a few Coloured students. Indeed, the formation in 1915 of the South Africa Native College specifically for African higher education was a direct result of the refusal by other institutions of higher education to admit Africans (Welsh, 1981; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Russo, et al. 2004; Keys, 2001).

In general, university autonomy was respected and academic institutions could determine their own admissions policies. The Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, subsequently did open their doors to Black (i.e. African, Coloured and Indian) students, but only on the basis of academic equality, i.e. in the residential, social and sporting spheres of university life, racial segregation was maintained. All other universities and university colleges remained racially exclusive, although the University of Natal, Durban, developed a segregated Non-European section, including a medical school, and Rhodes University was, in principle, prepared to admit Black graduate students when its affiliate Fort Hare University College (as the South African Native College was later renamed) could not offer suitable facilities (Welsh, 1981; Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Bundy, 2005).

A commission was appointed in 1955 to inquire into separate university education for Blacks. Ironically, the Commission was comprised of, among others, three highly respected academics Holloway, Wilcox and Malherbe, who were opposed to the Government's policies. The commission was to "... investigate and report on the practicability and financial implications of providing separate facilities for Non-Europeans at universities." The terms of reference excluded the desirability of such separate facilities (SAIRR. 1953/54, p.107; see also Tatz, 1972; Tabata, 1960; Bundy, 2005).

The Separate Universities' Commission Report was made available in 1955 and emphasized that if facilities were to be separate, they should also be substantially equal, but pointed out that advantages such as extra-curricular content and activities enjoyed by non-White students at the "open" universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand would disappear with the introduction of segregation (SAIRR, 1955/56; Kahn, 2001; Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Bundy, 2005).

On financial grounds, the three-man commission rejected proposals that new universities for non-Whites only should be established, or that separate campuses should be created at the "open" universities at Cape Town and the Witwatersrand in accordance with the system which prevailed at Natal University. In fact, the Commission rejected the suggestion that full apartheid should be implemented in the "open" universities (Welsh, 1981; Tabata, 1960; Tatz, 1972; Adler and Setali, 2005; Russo et al., 2005).

Whilst agreeing that university bodies should be autonomous, the Minister for Education, Arts and Science emphatically stated that it was the "...declared policy of the Government to institute apartheid in the universities" (SAIRR, 1954/55, p.190; see also Kahn, 2001; Bergh and Soudien, 2006). The Government introduced an amended Separate University Education Bill in 1957. It became the subject of a Commission of Inquiry. The latter's Report which was published in 1957 consisted of a Majority Report (8 members) and a Minority Report (5 members) (Tatz, 1972, p.147). The Commission's report was expressed in a Bill, the Extension of University Education Bill, which was introduced in Parliament in 1957. Parliament adopted the recommendations of the Majority Report, while rejecting that of the Minority Report. This would possibly have been due to the fact that the Majority Report was in-line with Nationalist thinking (Tatz, 1972, p. 147; see also Tabata, 1960; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Adler and Setali, 2005; Kahn, 2001).

The Majority Report's opinion was that the existing "open" mixed universities will not be able to meet the "real requirements of the Non-Europeans" (Tatz, 1972, p.147). At best this report stated they (open universities) will only be able to provide university education for "a limited number of Non-Europeans" (Tatz, 1972, p.147). Furthermore, it stated that these universities will give Black students a background which did not fit their national character and would give them an alien and contemptuous attitude towards their own culture (Tatz, 1972, p. 147). The Majority Report favoured the establishment of universities for Blacks as

they believed that such universities should serve an ethnic group, as well as promoting the broader interest of South Africa. In part the Report stated: "...each college should serve an ethnic group, enriching it both spiritually and materially ... the product of the university should seek and find its highest fulfilment in the enrichment of its own social ground" (SAIRR, 1956/57, p.200; see also Tatz, 1972; Tabata, 1960; Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Jansen, 2006). The piloting principles were in line with the "station in life" guidelines as enshrined in the doctrine of Christian National Education (CNE, 1939; Tatz, 1972; Tabata, 1960; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Norval, 1996).

The Minority Report was disregarded by the Minister when he introduced the Extension of University Education Bill in the Assembly. The Minority Report held that the control of the proposed university colleges should be the responsibility of one minister – the minister in charge of higher education for all racial groups. The members of the Minority report also rejected:

- (a) The idea that university colleges for Africans should be financed from and through the Bantu Education Account – the Africans thus being called upon to finance their own higher education;
- (b) The suggestion that separate, racially segregated Councils and Senates administer the Colleges; and
- (c) Exclusive ethnic division as the foundation of any university college (see also Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Tatz, 1972; Tabata, 1960; Adler and Setali, 2005; Bergh and Soudien, 2006).

Instead, it proposed the postponement of the closing of "open" universities (to Blacks) for at least ten years. Even after the ten year period Blacks should be able, with the Minister's permission, to attend White institutions for post-graduate study or research (see Tatz, 1972; SAIRR, 1959/60; Tabata, 1960; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Kahn, 2001; Jansen, 2006).

The Bill made several recommendations, all of which were considered objectionable by the Blacks. Inter alia, it provided for:

- (i) A Minister of Native Affairs;
- (ii) The creation of a Government appointed Council with an all-White membership, and an Advisory Council composed of Blacks. The Council resorted under the

authority of the Minister of Native Affairs, and would concern itself with the maintenance and conduct of the colleges, limitations on student members for any course and the selection of students;

- (iii) The omission of the “conscience clause”, which is usually contained in the constitutions of universities. The conscience clause states that no religious test shall be imposed on a student, or a staff member, as a condition of admission or employment and that no student preference should be given or advantage withheld from any person on the grounds of his religious beliefs. Black universities were to enjoy this privilege with two other bastions of Afrikaner academia, the Potchefstroom and the Orange Free State. By excluding the conscience clause, the Government could effectively select not only the staff, but “responsible” students who were of the calibre that would abide by Government policies. This meant that all atheists, communists, radicals and agnostics, i.e. the enemies of the God-fearing Afrikaner, would be refused admission as students or employment as lecturers. As such the university staff and students would have to conform to the requirements of Christian National Education (see Tatz, 1972; Tabata, 1960; Bundy, 2005; Adler and Setali, 2005).

The Majority Report was therefore used to formulate the guiding principles of Black Tertiary Education. Although it appeared that the Commission was entitled to provide more Blacks with an opportunity to get a University Education, there was also an underlying motive, namely the implementation of apartheid in higher education (Kahn, 2001; Jansen, 2000; Tatz, 1972; Tabata, 1960).

The extension of University Education Bill was enacted in 1959 in spite of the hostile opposition of Blacks and the English medium open universities of Natal, Cape Town and the Witwatersrand. The Act thus retribalised an already detribalised people, and consolidated racial and social stratification, based on race, wealth, occupation, education, and class (Sparks, 1990; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Bundy, 2005; Bergh and Soudien, 2006).

6.3 HISTORY OF RESISTANCE LED BY THE BLACK UNIVERSITIES

The massive opposition to apartheid of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s began with students and intellectuals. Since 1961, liberation politics had been expressed through guerilla insurgency, first inside the country and, then, after 1965, from outside. The African National Congress (ANC) fought alongside Zapu units (Zimbabwean African Peoples’ Union) in Zimbabwe in 1967 and 1968. They mounted several unsuccessful efforts to rebuild political and military organizations inside South Africa. By the early 1970s, the history of resistance was dominated

by debate rather than gunfire (SAIRR, 1968/69; Tabata, 1960; Tatz, 1972; Jansen, 2006; Russo, et al. 2005).

During the 1960s, the numbers of Black university students quadrupled. By 1967, many Black students were uncomfortable with the leadership provided by the predominantly White, though theoretically, non-racial, National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) (*The New Nation*, 1987, p. 9; see also Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Kahn, 2001; Russo et al., 2005).

Among the new generation of Black students being educated at segregated universities working politically with White students in NUSAS, resentment slowly built up and eventually overflowed. The White student dominated NUSAS limited the militancy of the Black students. It was felt that despite the fact that Whites protested orally, over and over again, almost ritually, this was as far as they would go. To the Black student leadership, this epitomized liberalism. It was not, as they saw it, an inspirational force that could lead to constructive action, but a “sterile dogma that concealed an unconscious attachment to the status quo” (Sparks, 1990, p. 258). As Sparks (1990) philosophically analyzed: “White liberals could concern themselves just sufficiently with the Black man’s plight to appease their consciences, and then switch off” (p. 259; see also Bundy, 2005; Adler and Setali, 2005). Biko perceived that the liberals’ view of apartheid was: “an eye sore spoiling an otherwise beautiful view; and eye sore they would take their eyes off whenever they wanted” (Quoted in Sparks, 1990, p. 257; see also Biko, 2002; Woods, 1987; Tatz, 1972; Tabata, 1960).

Discontent with White liberal institutions came to a head at the 1967 NUSAS AGM when Rhodes University insisted that Black delegates should be confined to segregated social facilities. In 1968, Black members of NUSAS and participants in the University Christian Movement (UCM) which was a multi-racial body with strong leanings towards the American Intellectual Black Theology movement, and sympathetic to the plight of Black Students (Tatz, 1972, p.3) began to discuss the formation of an all-Black student movement. This deliberation resulted in the founding of the South African Students’ Organization (SASO), which held its inaugural meeting at Turfloop University in July 1969 (*New Nation*, 1987, p. 9; see also, Biko, 2003; Woods, 1987; Bundy, 2005).

The creation of separate universities was also consistent with the government’s goal of producing an African administrative corps to manage ethnic institutions in the homelands and,

increasingly, to fill token middle management positions that had little impact (Nkomo, 1981, p. 19; see also Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Adler and Setali, 2005; Jansen, 2006).

SASO's leaders argued that before Black people could be effectively organized, a psychological barrier needed to be overcome. Blacks, they said, had been mentally conditioned to accept White oppression and paternalism. They felt that Whites because of their privileged position even among the most sympathetic Whites, would always, albeit unconsciously, seek to control the resistance movement and guide it in directions that would not be too destructive of their interests (SAIRR, 1968/69; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Tabata, 1960; Tatz, 1972; Kahn, 2001; Bundy, 2005).

Black liberation politicians who worked in partnership with White liberals merely reinforced the psychological helplessness and cultural dependency of the oppressed. Emphasis on Black leadership, Black values, Black culture and Black identity should precede any effort to mobilize popular resistance. Black people should attempt to lessen their dependence on White controlled resources (Sparks, 1990; Adler and Setali, 2005). For this purpose a wide range of organizations should be established, such as welfare, cultural, occupational and so forth. Around this core the Black Consciousness Movement flourished for the next decade (The *New Nation* 1987; Sparks 1990; Adler and Setali, 2005; Woods, 1987; Biko, 2002; Bergh and Soudien, 2006).

6.4 TRIBAL BLACK COLLEGES

By 1976 there were three tribal colleges, each serving a particular Black ethnic group, namely the well established University of Fort Hare in Alice, serving mainly Xhosas, the University of the North near Pietersburg, for the Sotho, Tswana and Venda, and the University of Zululand, 160km north of Durban which catered for the Zulu and Swazi people (Tatz, 1972, p. 147; Farrah, 2007; Bundy, 2005; Rose and Tunmer, 1975).

The Extension of the University Act of 1959, therefore effectively closed the open English language medium universities to Blacks namely, the universities of Cape Town, Natal, Rhodes and Witwatersrand, where Blacks were allowed to study (Farrah, 2007; Tabata, 1960; Jansen, 2000). By this Act tertiary education was finally abruptly segregated. Blacks who

wished to have university education had three options. Firstly, there remained the University of South Africa (UNISA), a correspondence university without resident students. Its student body is taught by correspondence (post). A great many Blacks have, after years of individual sacrifice, and penny pinching, obtained their degrees by external study. Second, they could attend the University of Fort Hare which was technically non-racial up to 1959, but which was now a tribal university. Blacks could also avail themselves of other university colleges established by the Act. As mentioned earlier, these colleges and universities were funded from the Bantu Education Account and fell under the ultimate control of the Minister of Bantu Education (South African Yearbook, 1976, p.696). The institution for Coloureds, the University of the Western Cape, Bellville, and one for Indians, the University of Durban Westville, were also controlled by their respective ministers (Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Tatz, 1972; Farrah, 2007; Bundy, 2005).

All Black (Coloured, Indian and African) universities showed a broad similarity. The Ministers had ultimate control over admissions, expulsions, salaries, grants and syllabuses. The students at these universities were forbidden to hold public meetings or publish any material without rectorial approval. Movements on and off the campus were also subject to strict control, as well as student action at home. These rules were, of course, merely the icing on the much larger indigestible cake of state law but together they formed a formidable corpus of regulations. The intention, quite overtly, was to erect a fence around the most educated section of the Black population's freedom (Horrell, 1964; SAIRR, 1976/78; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Adler and Setali, 2005; Kahn, 2001; Bundy, 2005).

The intentions of the 1959 Act were clear enough. Within the racist logic for separate development it made perfect, if appalling, sense. Like so much else in separate development, the development was profoundly unequal; one of the constant themes was the protest of Black students for example, Fort Hare 1959; University of the Western Cape 1973 - at the poor amenities, second-rate teaching, and of course the lack of freedom they possessed as students. This was contrary to the Majority Report's assertion that "...as fully fledged universities they will take their place amongst the best in the world" (Rathbone, 1976, p. 104); these tribal colleges had academic criteria which were low by South African and world standards (Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Norval, 1996).

The most disconcerting consequence of the Act was to sever whatever links there were between the intelligentsia of those groups the state chose to define as “ethnic groups”. The possibility of forming a monolithic student organization across the race line was surgically and clinically removed (Tatz, 1972; Tabata, 1960; Farrah, 2007).

For many students, however, Bantu Education seems to have promoted the idea of an undivided South Africa, rather than fragmentation among its various African groups. Power relations between Whites and Blacks became the defining variable. For many students, Bantu Education instilled collective pride instead of ethnic rivalry and subservience. Socialized throughout their formal education experience to identify with their own ethnic group, students had reacted by forming a culture of their own, one having autonomous will, logic, and momentum quite contrary to the official intensions. From this cultural ideology the novel idea of Black Consciousness (BC) was conceived (Nkomo, 1981, p. 129; see also Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Adler and Setali, 2005; Jansen, 2006).

6.5 BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

6.5.1 INTRODUCTION

Emerging out of the very colleges the government had set up to control Black students’ minds, BC’s founders recognized the importance of the mind of the oppressed. The word “Black” denoted a new sense of unity and liberation of the oppressed and dropped the term non-White, which they viewed as a negation of their being (Gibson, 1988, p. 11; see also Woods, 1987; Norval, 1996; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Farrah, 2007; Rose and Tunmer, 1975).

All of Africa was independent by the end of the 1960s. In the United States the civil rights campaign had run its course and the legacy of Black Power had begun. With the substantial body of literature which emerged from these experiences, Biko, the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement and his fellow students Pityana and Nengwekulu and others could draw on the work of many Black leaders, writers, and intellectuals to broaden and reinforce their own thinking. They explored the theories of Diop, the Senegalese cultural historian who had sought to reaffirm the authenticity and significance of the African race and culture in the world that denied it recognition; they delved into Senghor’s philosophy of negritude;

Kaunda's African humanism; Nyere's concepts of self-reliance and African socialism; and the polemical writings, poetry, and plays of Black Americans like Cleaver, Carmichael, Hamilton, Hughes, Malcolm X, and Bopaka (Fanon, 1967; Tatz, 1972; Tabata, 1960; Bundy, 2005; Jansen, 2000; Woods, 1987; Biko, 2002).

Above all they read Fanon. For Fanon the Black/White conflict was philosophical content of transcendence of contradiction and self-liberation as a cognitive development. Although BC never adopted his ideas of vengeance and racial hatred, they were deeply interested in his psychological analysis of the mind of both oppressor and oppressed, in his rejection of gradualism, and in his belief in polarizing the conflict to bring it to a head. BC was not merely a passing stage in the revolutionary process; it was an actuality in which the transformation of reality was grounded (see also Sparks, 1990; Gibson, 1988; Fanon, 1991; Tabata, 1960; Tatz, 1972; Farrah, 2007; Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Jansen, 2006).

6.5.2 LIBERATION

The National Party's Bantu Education Act of 1953 did not produce a generation of malleable African students as it was supposed to. Instead of having subservient, docile and indoctrinated Africans, an entirely unexpected strain of outspoken young men and women emerged. Most of the African students in the forefront of the new awareness came from the White towns (urban areas), where they kept in touch with the developments elsewhere in Africa. Not only were they sophisticated, but in the school system where one in 750 obtained university entrance qualifications, they also represented tough intellectual elite (Tatz, 1972, p. 148). Of these young men and women, Sebukwe in 1960 proclaimed:

“... we are not leading corpses to the new Africa. We are leading the vital breathing and dynamic youth of our land. We are leading that youth, not to death, but to the life abundant” (Cited in Herbstein, 1978, p. 7).

It is not accidental that the Black Consciousness movement gained popularity in the late 1960s a period that more or less coincided with the emergence of the first Bantu Education graduates. In one sense Bantu Education had achieved its goal of ethnic pride and had not misled its students into believing that “the green pastures of the European” were meant for their grazing. As Suzman, member of the Progressive Federal Party in Parliament, said at a March 1973 House of Assembly debate: “... the government had spawned an indestructible

Black nationalism which was, after all, only a by-production of White nationalism” (SAIRR, Quoted in Nkomo, 1981, p. 131; see also Fanon, 1991; Norval, 1996; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Jansen, 2006; Bundy, 2005; Bergh and Soudien, 2006).

Student leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement like Biko, Pityana and Nengwekula became the giants of the decade. These leaders had little direct knowledge of Marxism. Many were initially reluctant in any case to employ class analysis. They preferred the social identities which appeared immediately relevant, those created by racism and colonialism (Farrah, 2007; Adler and Setali, 2005; Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Bundy, 2005).

BC caught the imagination of its initial student constituency. Its message appeared to correspond with their grievances as students, while at the same time giving them a sense of wider social purpose. From the universities, BC worked to expand its following through the construction of community projects, the founding of the Black People’s Convention and the establishment of the Black Allied Workers’ Union (BAWU) (The New Nation, 1987, p. 9; see also Farrah, 2007, pp. 1-5; Biko, 2002; Jansen, 2006; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Woods, 1987; Tabata, 1960).

The slogans and catch phrases filtered down to inspire the massive army of school children which had been created by the institutions of Bantu Education. It also developed as a broad social movement, embracing most closely the younger members of the black middle class which had been consolidated by the boom years of the 1960s. BC also made itself attractive to Black economic nationalists within the tiny but growing group of black businessmen (Tatz, 1972; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Bundy, 2005; Biko, 2002; Woods, 1987).

The BC ideology was predominantly radical. On the eve of the Soweto uprising its leaders had rediscovered the older resistance traditions provided by the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African Nationalist Congress (ANC), motivated by Poqo and Mkhoto we Sizwe, the military arms of the PAC and the ANC, respectively (SAIRR, 1987/88; Farrah, 2007; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Norval, 1996; Bundy, 2005; Woods, 1987; Biko, 2002).

They had also started to move from the Afro-Socialist dislike of capitalism to the opening of dialogue with Marxism (The *New Nation*, 1987, p. 9; see also Fanon, 1991; Fanon, 1967; Cescure, 1956; Jansen, 2006; Bergh and Soudien, 2006).

6.5.3 GOVERNMENT REACTION

Initially, the government regarded SASO as a healthy development and gave it the same recognition as its ethnically defined counterparts (NUSAS) for English-speaking students and the Afrikaanse Studentbond (ASB) for the Afrikaans-speaking students. The Snyman Commission, which inquired into political disturbances relating to the operations of the University of the North in 1975 observed:

SASO has some positive features. The idea that the Black man should help himself, that the students should go out and serve their own people, that the Black man should build his future by his own efforts, is surely not wrong and is compatible with the approach of the Whites. The Black man should after all be encouraged to be himself, to be proud of what is his own and not to be a Black White. If he now in fact develops some pride, there is no need for alarm (Cited in Nkomo, 1981, p. 151).

Its early emphasis on the solidarity of colour meant it was for a while tolerated by the authorities. Any objectives, beyond or contrary to the official policy of separate development, however, were regarded as subversive (see Woods, 1987; Biko, 2002; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Norval, 1996; Tabata, 1960).

In 1970, the Minister of Police, Kruger, expressed the Government's delight at the establishment of an independent Black Students' Union. He saw this as an expression of approval of the Government's apartheid policy. The pro-Government Afrikaans press was also complimentary of the Black students. *Die Burger* (The Burger, an Afrikaans daily newspaper) in July 1971, stated:

A new spirit has lately taken root amongst non-Whites in South Africa. The people with whom this new thinking has taken root reject the condescension with which they have often been regarded by Whites, who they regarded as friends ... they want to determine their future themselves as people in their own rights (Quoted in Gerhart, 1978, p. 33).

The English press also felt that Black Consciousness conformed with apartheid ideology, and derived equally phantasmic conclusions. The Daily Dispatch of 10 August 1971 noted that the emergence of SASO:

Is one of the sad manifestations of racist policy at government level ...The result is the emergence of a Black only mentality amongst Blacks... The promoters of SASO are wrong in what they are doing. They are promoting apartheid. They are entrenching the idea of racial exclusivity and therefore doing the government's work. Fortunately they represent only a small minority of Black students (Cited in Gerhart, 1978, p. 291).

The message was that Blacks had to develop pride in their own heritage. The philosophy of liberation helped in weaning Blacks away from dependence on Whites, particularly those claiming to be sympathetic to their cause. It gave Blacks the strength to decide for themselves what they want. As Biko pointed out in SASO's policy declaration in 1971: "Blacks are tired of standing on the touchlines to witness a game that they should be playing. They want to do things for themselves and by themselves" (Tatz, 1971, p. 4; see also Farrah, 2007; Adler and Setali, 2005; Tabata, 1960; Biko, 2002; Woods, 1987).

Psychological liberation was very important. Africans fought for physical liberation as well, but what was physical liberation when you were psychologically unprepared to handle the liberation? On the whole Whites in South Africa still clung to the pathetic idiocy that it was their divine vocation to renew everyone else. Black Consciousness rejected the Whites as models to emulate. The American activist writer, Baldwin writes: "White people cannot in generality be taken as models of how to live. Rather the White himself is in sore need of new standards which would release him of his confusion ..." (Gerhart, 1978, p. 280; see also Fanon, 1991; Bundy, 2005; Kahn, 2001).

SASO too, in its policy manifesto upheld the concept of Black Consciousness as the drive towards Black awareness as the most logical and significant means of ridding the Blacks of the shackles that bent them to perpetuate servitude to a White model (see Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Farrah, 2007; Fanon, 1991; Adler and Setali, 2005; Biko, 2002).

BC wanted more flexibility to express their ideas, to ask new questions. As Pityana explained, "Black Consciousness constitutes a revolution of ideas, of values and of standards" (Quoted in

Woods, 1978, p. 33). They wanted to engage Black people in the emancipatory process. To cry out "...to the Black in the factory, at home, on the train, in the shebeen, at the playing fields, in the classroom" (Gibson, 1988, p. 19). Black Consciousness was "... attitude of mind, a way of life" (Morris, 1986, p.79). Its aim was to rebuild and recondition the mind of the oppressed in such a way that eventually they forcefully demanded, in all spheres of life, what was rightfully theirs.

Group cohesion was another important consequence of Black consciousness. If Blacks were to join what Tatz (1972) called the "mainstream" society, they should have first closed ranks to the exclusion of the non-Blacks. Cognizance was taken of this fact by SASO when it re-defined Black to mean all those who were victims of social, political and economic discrimination i.e. Africans, Coloured and Indians. By adopting this definition Blacks could define their every move clearly and broaden the base from which they operated. In the process the divide-and-rule strategy of the ruling elite was countered (see Tabata, 1960; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Russo et al., 2005; Jansen, 2006; Biko, 2002, Woods, 1987).

In the question of the relationship between race, income and class, there has been a focus on too much BC writing. Patel, editor of Kwasala, the official media workers' newsletter, wrote:

A system of thought or an ideology is of little value if it can only be defined as a response to a particular period of historical crises. When ideology is able to reflect the continuous process of change and conflict, then that ideology has the potential for challenging the dominant ideas of the ruling class (Cited in Gibson, 1988, p. 11).

Black Consciousness had to become such a mirrored ideology which asserted its humanism. Patel stated categorically that BC should foster: "...a negation of White superiority, not a negation of Whites as people – Black consciousness is at the same time a positive assertion of our being what we want to be" (Cited in Gibson, 1988, p. 11).

Patel expressed the view that BC wished "...to restore our being human even if the environment is hostile and inhuman for it prepares us for participating in the historical movement towards a free society" (Gibson, 1988, p. 11). It is therefore clear that race was a class determinant in the current South African context (Farrah, 2007; Norval, 1996).

There was a feeling though that Black Consciousness had done little “to bridge the gap between empirical consciousness of alienation and radical action to uproot the causes of alienation” (Tlhagale, Cited in Gibson, 1988, pp. 13-4). To be radical, according to Tlhagale, both economic exploitation and racial discrimination had to be addressed. Hence, Tlhagale emphasized that:

Within South Africa capital is made possible by the collective effort of Black workers. It is cheap labour that keeps the capitalist monster alive. The mobilization of Black workers (is) a radical solution. It strikes at the very root of exploitation and alienation. (Gibson, 1988, p. 13).

It is therefore Black labour, specifically, that could herald in a new epoch. Once Black labour was recognized as a central category in the Black struggle BC ceased to be just an attitude of mind, it became a material weapon in the struggle, a structural power focused at fighting the violence of the state. In elevating Black labour BC did not neglect the incessant importance of the students who gave “rise to the Black Consciousness philosophy” spelling out the “student worker alliance (as) part of the total modus operandi in the Black liberation struggle” (Gibson, 1988, p. 13). Workers would be mobilized in the factories as well as in the ghettos (Woods, 1987; Biko, 2002; Soudien and Kallaway, 1987; Bundy, 2005; Russo et al., 2005).

To say that SASO’s Black Consciousness ideology was “imported” would be to assign much too little significance to the life experiences and political intuition of its founder fathers. All these men were exposed from an early age to the harsh realities of apartheid. In the Financial Mail, Kane-Berman, the Assistant Editor, drew attention to the fact that although “...the Black students were influenced by the writings of Malcolm X, Fanon, and others, Black Consciousness in the Republic was an indigenous phenomenon” (Cited in Gerhart, 1978, p.272). His (Berman’s) colleague Herbstein, Correspondent for the Guardian, was of a similar opinion, but added that the Black consciousness ideologies are more usefully perceived as the heirs to a tradition of “cultural nationalism in Africa itself, ranging from negritude philosophy of African societies and African humanism” (Herbstein, 1978, p. 70; see also Woods, 1987; Biko, 2002; Adler and Setali, 2005; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Norval, 1996; Jansen, 2006; Farrah, 2007).

Basically then, Black Consciousness in South Africa was “home grown”, with roots in foreign influences. The success of SASO, with its propagation of Black Consciousness, was also due to the fact that the same foreign influences at work on the thinking of students had already independently been at work, through press and radio reports, on the thinking of the Black population. The way was thus prepared for the development of a new self-image.

6.5.4 THE LEGACY OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

As mentioned earlier, the spirit of Black Consciousness also led to the formation of the Black People’s Convention (BPC), a body which was to be an adult, non-student wing of the movement. In 1972, a conference of 100 African, Indian and Coloured delegates met in Pietermaritzburg, Natal, to launch the BPC. The convention expressed its unequivocal opposition to apartheid and its outright rejection of Bantustans, Indian and Coloured Councils, Bantu Education and other institutionalized bodies (Herbstein, 1978, p. 68).

It was clear to the BPC that they had to move Black Consciousness from an elitist to a broader constituency, to give it more organizational extent as the precursor to translating consciousness into planned action. In its constitution the BPC stated that it was essential and necessary for Blacks in the Republic to unite and consolidate themselves into a political movement if their needs, aspirations, ideals and goals were to be realized and actualized.

Since the convention consisted of Black priests, Black parents as well as other professional people, it was envisaged to reach a wider audience than SASO. Adults who were reluctant to listen to the intellectual reasoning of Black students, could possibly be reached by older members, this way then, the BPC could spread the ideology of Black Consciousness (see Jansen, 2006; Kahn, 2001; Farrah, 2007; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Woods, 1987).

Black Consciousness was also expressed in various diffuse groups and associations rather than in a single organization. This continued until the movement was banned on 19 October 1977. Some of its main thrusts were in Black theology, community work and cultural activities like poetry and drama (Sparks, 1990). These groups formed the nucleus around which Black Consciousness could take root, for a broader, community-based movement against apartheid at a later stage.

An illustration of Black independence and pride was the development of the Black Community Programme (BCP). It was an ambitious attempt at instilling an awareness of Black Consciousness amongst rural Blacks. Two female African doctors started up a mothercraft clinic at Zenampilo near King Williamstown in the Eastern Cape. In the first six months, 500 patients visited the clinic (Herbstein, 1978, p. 79). There were signs that self-reliance and pride in Black efforts were being generated in one of the most debilitated areas of the country.

BCP also set up many cottage industries specializing in leather goods and Xhosa clothes. The purpose of the project was to encourage people to exploit the natural resources and to ward off starvation. Once these projects showed any signs of success, the Government intervened and Biko – who launched the program – was banned (Woods, 1987; Biko, 2002; Jansen, 2006; Kahn, 2005; Bundy, 2005). The BCP was but one example of what Blacks could do under the guiding principles of Black Consciousness (see Woods, 1987; Biko, 2002; Farrah, 2007; Norval, 1997; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997).

6.5.5 REBIRTH OF MASS PARTICIPATION: 1970s AND 1980s

In the 1980s the struggle led by university students included demonstrations, stay at homes, boycotts, and other actions (Nkomo, 1984). It is sufficient for our purposes to note that the difference between the 1950s struggle and the 1970s/1980s struggle showed some growth and maturity in the majority of students. As mentioned later in this thesis, the education struggle was led by the bona fide products of Bantu education – “...those who had for a week or more sucked the milk of Bantu Education” (Hlatshwayo, 2000, p. 84).

The education struggle shocked the ruling circles. The Nationalist party was in a state of disarray due in part to student militancy. Vorster, the Prime Minister and his head of the security police, General van den Bergh, were forced to resign. They were replaced by members of a group with close links to the defence force, such as Botha, then minister of Defence, who later became Prime Minister and then President. The judicial machinery operated on an extremely narrow terrain as the centralization and militarization process continued to grind on under President Botha. There was some decentralization of African

social, and political and economic affairs as long as these (affairs) adhered to the policy of “separate development” or “self development.” Community councils and boards (Africans) were elected and/or appointed to carry out the duties and functions of the state, such as collecting rents, allocating houses, and administering health, and assisted with removals of Blacks, welfare and education in areas decided and directed by the state (see Hlatshwayo, 2000; Tatz, 1972; Farrah, 2007; Bremmer and Spio-Garbrah, 2007).

Table 5:1 Removal of Population, 1960-1983

Eviction of farm tenants and redundant farmworkers	1,129,000
Removal of “Black spots” in “White” land	674,000
Moving Urban township from “White areas” to homeland	670,000
Removal of squatter settlements	112,000+
Rezoning under the Group Area Act	834,000
Removals for development schemes and security reasons	23,000
Exiles, either self-imposed or state imposed	50,000
Moving to resettlement areas	30,522,000+
Total	3,522,000

Source: Omond 1985, pp.114-115 (Cited in Hlatshwayo, 2000, p.85).

The devolution of functions and duties to local structure (councils or boards) created an illusion and fantasy of “legitimate political space”; it was therefore not surprising that the council members were perceived by students and African communities as collaborators with the state. This became evident when we look at the struggle for education and the rent issues, during which council members were forced to resign under duress and some of them paid dearly with their lives for loyalty to the state. During this period, there was a strong resurgence of community organization and the formation of new ones, which resulted in the resurfacing of a new extra-parliamentary political terrain. Within schools and universities, the following organizations emerged: The Azanian Students’ Organization (AZASO) and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) (see Tabata, 1960; Norval, 1996; Kallaway, 2002; Dyson, 2007; Farrah, 2007).

The state embarked on massive reform programs which affected primary, secondary and tertiary education – part of which was elaborated in Chapter 4 on Matriculation Results (see Bremmer and Spio-Garbarah, 2007; Biko, 2002, Farrah, 2007).

The 1976 student uprising had its desired effects, which caused a renaissance of student activism in secondary schools and universities. It also led to vital small concessions, which resulted in significant changes, inter alia: (1) the compulsory use of Afrikaans as a medium of

instruction was abandoned; (2) African teachers' unions or associations were allowed to air their grievances to the Bantu Education Department; (3) Some autonomy was granted to the Bantustan universities in regard to the appointments of Blacks to senates and faculty; (4) More Black students were to be admitted to "White" universities, although the residential facilities were segregated; (5) The Department of Bantu Education changed its name to Department of Education and Training (DET) in 1979 according to the South African Institute of Race Relations Annual Survey, (1980).

The Minister of Education and Training declared that his department was committed to achieving compulsory education for Africans and parity expenditure for Africans with other ethnic groups. This declaration did not materialise, as it was merely rhetoric by the minister of Education and Training. More persuasion was required in parliament to get a majority vote against the ravages of Bantu Education. The objects of the Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953 deprived the Africans of their rights politically, economically and afforded them no opportunities for upward social mobility (see Hlathswayo, 2000; Farrah, 2007).

6.5.6 UNIVERSITY STUDENT ACTIVISM: 1970s AND 1980s

The most damage in Bantu Education occurred at the lower levels of education, essentially at primary level. A small number of students made it through to university. For example, in 1972, as indicated earlier, out of a total of 105 671 university students of all races, only 7 348 (or about 7%) were Africans, of these 3 583 (or under 50%) were enrolled as regular full-time students, the rest (3 765) were enrolled in correspondence courses with the University of South Africa (SAIRR, 1972/3). Even more significant though, is the fact that Bantu Education channelled students to pursue studies in disciplines other than those that the government wanted to make a 'White preserve'. The ethnic colleges of the government did not cater for certain disciplines, and as such Africans who wanted to study in these areas had to obtain the permission from the Minister of Native Affairs in charge of Bantu Education. The number of Black students enrolled in White universities offering fields not available in the Bantu Universities, i.e., commerce, dentistry, medicine, engineering, science, music, divinity, law, nursing, increased by leaps and bounds (SAIRR, 1975; S Norval, 1996; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Bergh and Soudien, 2006).

The choice of discipline (for choosing courses) was itself constrained by the limitation imposed by the Apartheid system in the field of employment. Segregation at university level has served to underdevelop rather than promote the cultural development of the African people; a careful look at government statistics (which we have not done here – increasing funding and compulsory education for Blacks) shows that the government was in the habit of making misleading claims about the condition of African education (SAIRR, 1984; Adler and Setali, 2005; Bundy, 2005).

Bantu Education was viewed as an effort by the dominant White group to proscribe and arrest the development of Africans in a direction that would ensure perpetual peonage. It sought to produce a semiliterate industrial labour force to minister to the needs of an expanding (White) economy. Credence is thus accorded the critics of Bantu Education who charged that it was designed to ensure the subordinate position of the Africans in the South African social hierarchy (see SAIRR, 1975; Woods, 1987; Biko, 2002).

6.6 OUTLINE OF THE STRUCTURE AND ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF BLACK TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS

Until the mid 1970s Black university councils were dominated by White representatives of the State and senates were controlled by White staff. This fact was alluded to earlier in this chapter. What is being emphasised now is an important part of a new stage in the African revolt in the 1970s. In the period under review, partly as a result of previous student demands and partly to link universities more closely to the Bantustans and collaborationist Coloured and Indian political structures, there were changes in the representation and powers of council. Convocations were established at all Black universities (see also SAIRR, 1975; Norval, 1996; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Kahn, 2001; Farrah, 2007).

Thereafter, in 1977, the number of state (White) appointees on councils was reduced from eight to four, senate representatives on council were increased from two to three, and provision was made for a member of the convocation, and representatives of Bantustan and Coloured or Indian collaborationist administrations, to sit on councils. Councils now had the power, albeit, with the concurrence of the minister of Native Affairs to appoint the rector of the institution, to admit students other than those for whom the university was reserved in racially-defined terms, and to determine staff establishment. After 1975 Black rectors began

to be elected or appointed at some Black universities and technikons (see SAIRR, 1984; Farrah, 2007; Bundy, 2005; Russo et al., 2005).

6.7 CONDITIONS AT TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS FOR BLACK STUDENTS

From 1977 the State made physical improvements to Black universities and instituted new academic faculties and departments. It built a number of new technikons and teacher training colleges. However, many of the long-established inadequacies of Black tertiary institutions altered little. Students compared the academic facilities, quality and content of teaching, student facilities and other features of Black institutions with those designated for Whites and found theirs to be wanting (see SAIRR, 1984/85; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Woods, 1987; Russo et al., 2005).

It was partly through student unions, despite the organisational problems encountered, and range of student opposition they co-ordinated, that the reformist aims of capital and the state in tertiary education were frustrated. Changes in administrative control at institutions created space for new forms of tertiary education to develop. Nonetheless it would be simplistic to assert that all students at black institutions were politicised during this period 1977 – 1990. Contradictory forces continued to work on students. On the one hand, there were pressures for co-optation through the better job prospects available to them. On the other hand, their continued experience of national and class oppression, despite their educational and professional qualifications and opportunities, were significant factors in shaping their organisational and ideological affiliations generally in favour of the mass democratic movement and the outlawed ANC and PAC (see Woods, 1987; Kahn, 2001; Farrah, 2007).

6.8 CONCLUSION

Even though one of the aims of Bantu Education was to facilitate the development of “stations-in-life” role, it had not happened. African leaders did emerge, as they did in the past and as they will in the future, in developing and adapting Black Consciousness. The interplay of Black Consciousness and “Bantu Education” was of paramount importance in shaping the political maturity of the Black youth (see also Tatz, 1972).

The real education of South Africa's Black students started when they had been through the system and when they had learnt how to reject it, while using it for their own purposes (see Woods, 1987; Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Farrah, 2007; Kahn, 2007).

One of the attributes of a good educational system is whether it is able to produce leaders of vision, ability and moral fibre. In spite of the promise of full developmental opportunities under the Bantu Education Act of 1953, it is evident that the training of leaders did not occupy a very high place in the priorities of the Act. Thoroughness, breadth of vision and individual excellence were played down, as against superficial education of the mass of people (see Adler and Setali, 2005; Farrah, 2007).

While the organisational foundations of BC were fragile, its rise as a national movement filled a political vacuum. However, it certainly supplied a forceful new political vocabulary to express the widening popular rejection of the state's moral authority. It helped their rejection in ringing poetic phrases. BC was only one of several factors which contributed to the resurgence of national resistance in 1976 and in the 1980s. Thus while completely rejecting "Bantu Education", and its evils, and embracing Black Consciousness the spirit of determination and assertiveness among young University students was developed, resulting in economic, cultural and political changes.

Chapter 7 deals with the nature and extent of Black Africans resistance to Bantu Education. The chapter demonstrates that the Bantu Education Act helped to consolidate the status quo of social, economic and educational inequalities. This was achieved by the inequitable social and political system, which institutionalized racial discrimination against Black South Africans.

CHAPTER 7

RESISTANCE TO BANTU EDUCATION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Resistance in education generally may be defined as opposition to measures in education enforced upon a group or groups of people in an economy. The right to withstand such measures is the right of those who are forced by legislative means or rules and regulations to resist separate and equal opportunities in education. Where there were separate education systems and facilities for different people in South Africa, these systems and facilities cannot be equal (see Russo et al., 2005; Brown, v. Board of Education, 1954; Jansen, 2006).

In South Africa, resistance was a legacy of Bantu Education which resulted or had resulted from the ideology and practice of an inferior system of education for Africans. In this chapter it will be shown that various factors have contributed towards protests and revolution as a legacy of Bantu Education. As pointed out earlier, these were consequences of the introduction of Afrikaans (the language) as a medium of instruction; the inferiority of the educational system and facilities; inferior quality of food served to boarders at different institutions; personal attitudes and social values of White teachers towards Blacks; separate tertiary education at Black universities which led to the Black Consciousness Movement; discrimination against Black teachers and lecturers in respect of salaries, qualifications, and differentiated funding, and so forth (Kingston et al., 2003, pp. 53-70; Jansen, 2006; Farrah, 2007).

Objection and resistance to education is not unique to South Africa. Reference will be made to other countries in order to draw parallels between these and South Africa. The reasons for resistance or protests in various countries may differ, but, in the final analysis, inferiority in the educational systems and facilities, values which underpin oppression, indoctrination and askewed curricula and syllabuses are causes of dissatisfaction in various countries (Hertz, 2001; Walker and Archung, 2003).

7.2 PAULO FREIRE'S VIEW: PEDAGOGY OF THE OPPRESSED IN LATIN AMERICA

Paulo Freire's experience as a political exile was enriched by his educational activities in Brazil. His contribution to the education of illiterate adults in the Third World was quite clearly seen from his methodology and education philosophy with the dispossessed from the Least Developed Countries (LDCs). The struggle of the oppressed in Latin America was similar in many ways to the strife in education in other areas. Even in South Africa Blacks were struggling to "become free subjects and to participate in the transformation of their society..." (Freire, 1978, p. 9; see also Kingston et al., 2003).

He described the life of the poor as a culture of silence. He soon realized that their ignorance and lethargy were the direct result of economic, social, and political domination. These peasants were kept submerged in circumstances which locked them away from "critical awareness and response" (Freire, 1978, p. 10; see also Hertz, 2001; Walker and Archung, 2003).

Freire set his thoughts in an historical context through direct involvement in the struggle to liberate men and women for the creation of a new world by developing a perception in education which is authentic and which reflects upon the concrete realities of Latin America. Paulo Freire incarnates "a rediscovery of the humanizing vocation of the intellectual, and demonstrates the power of thought to negate accepted limits and open the way to a new future" (Freire, 1978, p. 11; see also Kingston et al., 2003, pp. 53-70; Farrah, 2007).

He believes that through their ontological vocation as human beings, men and women are subjects who can act upon and transform their world and thus create "new possibilities of fuller and richer life individually and collectively" (Freire, 1978, p. 12). This transformation, he claims maybe attained by means of the western world's advanced technology, but contends that the social vision which drives the peasants or oppressed to remove the shackles of subjugation of the present order reflects that history has not stopped, and stems from the suffering and struggle of the people of the Third World (Freire, 1978; Biko, 2002; Farrah, 2007; Kingston et al., 2003).

With his wide background of experience and the belief that the oppressed can negate the present order no matter how “ignorant” or “submerged” in the “culture of silence”, every human being is capable of looking critically at his world in an “ideological encounter with others” (Freire, 1978, p. 12). Peasants can communicate with others more freely and effectively than with a teacher who might be regarded as an outsider. By overcoming the paternalistic teacher-student relationship, Freire advocates that: “men educate each other through the mediation of the world” (Freire, 1978, p. 12; see also Hertz, 2001; Kingston et al., 2003; Farrah, 2007).

Apartheid, like colonialism in Latin America, has generated strong opposition. People have been led to discover their transcending unity through and in opposition to colonialist degradation and dehumanization. Once the urge to protest is awakened insecurity struck the oppressor resulting in increased or more violent repression which in turn compounded tension and conflict. Africans in general, in South Africa had taken courage to resist injustice and were regarded as patriots or comrades. These patriots or comrades were normally ordinary human beings (Freire, 1978; Kinston, et al. 2003; Farrah, 2007).

The spirit of resistance is quite often born through simple incidents. This brings to light the awareness of the humanity of the violated and the downtrodden. As will be observed later, inter alia, the 1976 Soweto riots, the 1920 and 1946 strikes at Lovedale College, the strikes during World War II and so forth were sparked off by small, but significant, incidents (Woods, 1987; Biko, 2002).

7.3 ANTONIO GRAMSCI'S CONTRIBUTION TO HEGEMOIC EDUCATIONAL VIEWS

Education may be looked upon as the handmaiden of the political force which wields power at a given time. According to Antonio Gramsci (Entwistle, 1979, p.17), it stands to reason that those who oppose a particular government in power would tend to use education to advance their cause. It is therefore not surprising that education had always been and will continue to be politicized. The relationship between education and politics will therefore continue at most times to reflect the potency of education as a political weapon (Entwistle, 1979, p. 1; see also Althuser, 1977).

Gramsci suggests that education might be employed as a political weapon where he uses the word “hegemony” for relationships between groups, especially social classes. This was commonly encountered where one group (nation) exercises political, cultural or economic influence over others (Entwistle 1979, p. 10; see also Kingston et al., 2003, pp. 53-70).

Gramsci recognizes that the school, among other institutions, plays a vital part in political hegemony. According to Gramsci the concept of hegemony does not occur through physical coercion, but happens by formulation of moral and intellectual persuasion rather than control by the police, the military, or the coercive power of the law. Therefore, power for the oppressed should provide stability and wide-ranging consent and acquiescence. It would appear that control of the subjugated classes is much more subtly exercised than is often assumed: “thus it operates persuasively through cultural institutions, such as churches, labour unions and other workers/associations, schools and the press” (Entwistle, 1979, p.12; see also Kingston et al., 2003; Walker and Archung, 2003; Hall, 1990). Gramsci also saw education as an integral part of the task of resistance and advocated it as a banner:

Instruct yourselves because we shall need all our intelligence.
Agitate because we shall need all our enthusiasm. Organize
yourselves because we shall need all our power (Entwistle, 1979,
p. 14).

Keirnan (1972) claims that he who “fills the ink pot rules the world” (p. 29). Gramsci pontificated that the educational task was inescapable, and in his Notebook he reiterates that one of the fundamental tasks of resistance was:

to educate the popular masses, whose culture was medieval ... and
to create a group of intellectuals specific to the new social group
whose conception of the world it was (*Notebooks*, 1971, pp. 392-
393).

Much of what Entwistle advocates about Gramsci’s views on resistance in Italy is similar to what was happening in South Africa. To cite one, among many incidents, a brief insight into the 1976 Soweto riots may shed light upon the issue. About 500 Black people were killed in these riots, which lasted from June 1976 to January 1977. It is true that South Africa will never be the same again (Tutu, 1990; Woods, 1987, Tatz, 1972; SAIRR, 1977/78; Farrah, 2007).

Before June 1976, it was believed that anybody trained in the Bantu Education system, could be little other than a docile, unthinking conformist. Products of this system were not capable of protesting in such a disciplined and organized manner. The very children who were fed on the thin gruel that passed for education said “no” in no uncertain terms:

We have had enough. We are God’s children made in his image, and we demand our birthright of an educational system equal to that for children of other racial groups in South Africa (Tutu, 1990, p. 66).

The students took parents and even the Security Police by surprise. It is now known that the issues of education and the attempted imposition of the Afrikaans language were merely the tip of the iceberg. They rejected the entire apartheid system of legalized inferiority, oppression, injustice and exploitation. The students demanded their rightful share of all South Africa’s resources: social, political, economic and educational. They demanded their freedom and rightfully claimed that whites cannot withhold their freedom (Tutu, 1990; Walker and Archung, 2003; Farrah, 2007; Kingston et al., 2003, pp. 53-70).

Overall, students were prepared to be imprisoned, exiled or even die to attain the glorious goal for all in a united South Africa. They believed that they were all called to work for true freedom and liberation – otherwise, they were prepared to perish “in the alternative too ghastly to contemplate” (Tutu, 1990, p. 67; see also Hertz, 2001; Farrah, 2007; Walker and Archung, 2003). South Africa could never be the same again because of what took place on the 16th June 1976.

7.4 RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

7.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Not much has been written about resistance in education in South Africa by South African and international scholars or academics. Therefore, it is necessary to rely upon three principal sources, namely:

- a. Christie, Pam (1986) *The Right to Learn*;

- b. Lodge, Tom in Peter Kallaway, (Ed.), (1988): *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans*;
- c. Nkomo Mokubung. (1984). *Student Culture and Activism In Black South African Universities: The Roots of Resistance*;

As pointed out earlier, 16 June 1976 brought about a new era of resistance in education. This date, however, does not stand isolated as an example of resistance in education, as will be revealed later (see Biko, 2002; Hertz, 2001; Hall, 1990; Meredith, 2005).

In this section of the chapter, the local antecedents and history of resistance in education were traced in the hope that this section will provide an understanding of broader traditions of popular resistance, as well as an appreciation of why these were stronger in some centres (towns, cities, rural areas), rather than in other areas. This section first of all concerns itself with local history, a special account documenting some of the popular movements Education's close association with "the cost of transport, the price of food, the availability of housing, the freedom of movement, lay at the heart of political responses..." (Lodge, 1988, p. 266).

There is, as mentioned earlier, a long and continuing history of protests by Blacks against the schooling system. Sometimes resistance was linked to events outside of schools. Sometimes it was well organized; sometimes it occurred on the spur of the moment (spontaneously). Sometimes it was effective and brought changes, sometimes it did not. But whatever these differences, there is no doubt that resistance had always been present in South African Schools (Christie, 1986, p. 219).

Naturally, exclusion from participation in the national law-making process engendered resistance and protest among blacks as a whole. Formal opposition to education discrimination was first expressed in 1923 when African National Congress conferences in Bloemfontein, and Pretoria demanded, among other things, that, due to the desperate state of African education, the "Union Government should take full control of African Education" (Troup, 1976, p. 15). In 1925, for the first time the government as stated elsewhere in this dissertation, made changes in the financing of African Education. The major demand for the takeover of African Education by the South African government was not heeded. Another vociferous

protest in 1954 demonstrated the distaste of Africans for the introduction of Bantu Education. Nkomo emphasizes that:

Bantu Education was viewed as an effort by the dominant white group to prescribe and arrest the development of the African in a direction that would ensure perpetual peonage (Nkomo, 1984, p. xviii).

While the 1953 Bantu Education Act was intended to apply to all levels of African Education, it was not applied to university education until the Extensions of University Education and the University College of Fort Hare Transfer Acts were passed in 1959. Since the inception of Black universities, their existence had been marked:

By regular closure, suspensions and expulsions of sizeable numbers of students and the stipulation of increasingly rigid conditions for admission or re-admission. Their curricula have been restrictive, limiting areas of study largely to the social sciences and the humanities. Although designated for Africans, the faculty and staff at the institutions are predominantly non-African – a seeming contradiction to the policy of separate development (Nkomo, 1984, p. xx).

The above matters and others of a similar nature, such as allocation of resources, the quality of education, the degree of autonomy and academic freedom had been among some of the perennially nagging issues at Black universities. Overall, these matters appeared to raise basic questions about the intent of separate, but equal development in African Education (see Nkomo 1984; Farrah, 2007; Woods, 1987; Walker and Archung, 2003).

7.4.2 RESISTANCE IN BLACK SCHOOLS

The intention is to trace the history of resistance and opposition in Black schools, from the earliest days of African education to the years after 1985. Different forms of protest will be alluded to. Hopefully, the reader will gain a better understanding of what was going on in African schools. The study of resistance will be divided into chronological periods to illustrate the significance of each era, in order to highlight the political, social and economic imperatives peculiar to carve out the identity of the struggle that raged between the majority of Blacks and the minority European (White) ancestry (Farrah, 2007, pp. 130-141; see also Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Russo et al., 2005).

7.4.3 EARLIEST RESISTANCE: THE SLAVES RESIST

In 1652, and shortly thereafter, Europeans from different countries settled in the Cape of Good Hope. The first White inhabitants were part of the trading company called the Dutch East Indian Company (DEIC). It was not the intention of the DEIC to establish a colony at the southern tip of South Africa (the Cape). The Cape was seen as a halfway station for its trading activities in the east. Eventually the Cape became a permanent settlement, with different groups of people living there (History, n.d.; Muller, 1990).

Many of the Whites who settled permanently at the Cape were from Holland, France, Germany and England. Some of these settlers established themselves around what today is known as Cape Town and nearby towns. Some of them were farmers and traders. Over time, they set up enterprises and businesses further and further away from Cape Town. In this way the trekboers expanded the borders of the settlement (Muller, 1990; History, n.d.; Kingston, et al. 2003).

The Khoi and the San (the indigenous inhabitants around the Cape) resisted the settlers who were taking their land, but, in the long term the settlers established control:

Many of the Khoi and San were killed or died of disease, others moved away; and others stayed to become part of the new colony. Some of them were independent, but mostly they worked as servants and labourers for the settlers (Christie, 1984, p. 31).

Another group of people who came to settle at the Cape were the slaves. These slaves were imported from other parts of Africa, and the East (Asia) as there was an insufficient supply of cheap labour to meet the settlers' needs. These slaves worked as servants and labourers for their masters (History, n.d.; see also Walker and Archung, 2003; Hertz, 2001).

The first school in South Africa was established in Cape Town for slaves (mostly adults) in 1658. This school was opened one month after the slaves arrived. Some historians claim that the colonizers were concerned about the intellectual and moral welfare of the slaves – and consequently opened a school. Other historians argue that the colonizers were most concerned

about the slaves as workers. As Christie (1984) explained: “The school was one vehicle of teaching slaves to understand and accept their masters’ orders” (Christie, 1984, p. 222).

The slaves resisted attempts to educate them. Their first form of protest was to run away. The authorities encouraged teachers to try and win their (slaves’) attention with a tot of rum and a few inches of tobacco each. Despite the use of these devious methods of encouragements slaves continued to run away until this school was finally closed down. Probably, the slaves resisted the imposition of schools on them as a sign of reflecting their disapproval as slaves in society (*History*, n.d.; Farrah, 2007; Walker and Archung, 2003; Muller, 1990),

7.4.4 RESISTANCE IN MISSION SCHOOLS

There was also protest to the early mission schools by African people. African society did not always welcome the missionaries and their schools’ education. Sometimes they did not send their children to schools at all. Some of them sent their children to school for long enough periods to gain specific benefits, such as clothing and food. After a considerable time these children would be removed and parents would “rotate them with other children” (Christie, 1986, p. 222). It was therefore not a simple matter to accept the missionaries and their schools. “It was only later that people began to value mission education as a way of advancement in the colonial society” (Christie, 1986, p. 222; see also *History*, n.d.; Hertz, 2003; Kingston et al., 2003; Meredith, 2005).

It is therefore clear that whole groups of people opposed the missionary schools and later accepted these institutions on their own terms. It will be seen that people continued to resist once they were in the schools (Farrah, 2007; Muller, 1990; Walker and Archung, 2003).

7.4.5 RESISTANCE IN MISSION SCHOOLS AFTER 1920

Between 1920 and the introduction of Bantu Education in 1954, there was periodic unrest in black schools across the country. Students resisted in different ways through demonstrations, protests, riots, and by boycotting classes or chapel (Christie, 1986; Muller, 1990; Hertz, 2001; Kingston, et al. 2003; Meredith, 2005; Hall. 1990).

Information about events during this period was poorly documented. The media (newspapers) reported only some of these strikes. According to Christie (1986), the two official commissions of inquiry, “set up to investigate grievances and disturbances at Black schools, were never reported” (Christie, 1986, p. 223). However, the information that is available shows a consistent pattern. Most of the cases of unrest occurred at high schools or teacher training institutions and were led by students who were boarders. “These demonstrations or strikes were directed against conditions in the mission schools, for example, poor food, compulsory manual labour, and unwarranted or harsh punishment from teachers” (Christie, 1986, p. 223).

Food was an important indicator of difference or discrimination and thus served as a source of protest. Staff and students, who paid higher fees, received much better food than the students contributing at reduced rates. A student waiter at Lovedale College in 1930 had the following report:

The students were divided into four categories, and sat at separate tables. There were the R28 students, the R34 students, the R44 students and R54 per year students. The first category of students received meat once a week with their soup, and so on up the scale (Christie, 1986, p. 223).

Despite the fact that some of the mission schools, like Lovedale and Zonnebloem College were non-racial, caste distinctions of the wider society were perpetuated in the schools. Catering for boarders at these institutions was one way in which these distinctions were made (Christie, 1986; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Kingston et al., 2003, pp. 53-70; Meredith, 2005).

On the one hand, it may be said that students were simply protesting about their conditions in schools and colleges. These protests might be, according to some people, not linked to any broader (social) issues, so they were not truly political. On the other hand, other people might argue that the students were protesting against general and deep-rooted discrimination, so that in a way, their food protests were actually political demonstrations (Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Farrah, 2007; *History*, n.d.; Hertz, 2001; Hall, 1990).

Various types of protests occurred: at Kilnerton Training Centre for Teachers, for example, a hunger strike for more food occurred in February 1920; several months later theological

students at Lovedale College set fire to the buildings, in retaliation against the inferior quality of food. Thousands of rands' damage was done (between R6 000 and R100 000). One hundred and ninety (190) students were taken into custody, tried and received sentences ranging from strokes with a light cane to three months' imprisonment, with a fine of R100 (Christie, 1984, p. 224).

7.4.6 1939-1945 STRIKES DURING WORLD WAR II

Protests during this period coincided with events outside the classroom/s. By the time World War II commenced there were at least six protests at mission schools. Students also freely discussed local (South African) and international problems. Staff at the various institutions referred to these activities as an unnatural interest in politics. Mphahlele, who was a student during this time at Adams College (Natal), later wrote in his autobiography:

In a great number of mission schools, certain political journals were banned, and topics for school debate were severely censored. As the World War raged on, the tempers of the students raged to the extent that certain school buildings were burned down (Mphahlele, 1962, p.146).

More than twenty serious strikes took place from 1939 to 1945. Each protest resulted in expulsions (see Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Christie, 1986; Lodge, 1988; Meredith, 2005).

7.4.7. PROTESTS AFTER 1945

In August 1946, premises at Lovedale College (Eastern Cape) were damaged, prefects and White staff members were attacked. Lovedale Governing Council set up its own Commission of Inquiry which found that the unrest was initiated in 1945 and that students were influenced by the 1946 mine workers' strike (SAIRR, 1947/48; Hertz, 2001; Farrah, 2007).

One hundred and fifty two students were arrested and charged with public violence and fined. These students were barred from attending any school in the future. After another 80 students were excluded from Lovedale, the College was closed for nine weeks (Christie, 1986, p. 225; see also Muller, 1990; Tabata, 1960; Kingston et al., 2003).

In 1946, five other strikes occurred in the Transvaal and the Cape. Two important strikes during 1946 to 1949 were at Bethesda Bantu Training College near Pietersburg (1946) and a sit-down strike called by the nurses at Victoria Hospital (Eastern Cape), supported by the Fort Hare students (1949). There was a perpetuation of “strikes, stoppages and demonstrations” (Christie, 1984, p. 225; see Walker and Archung, 2003; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Hertz, 2001; Hall, 1990). The Torch (1953) reported the situation in graphic terms:

At almost every African mission boarding school, conditions for students are deplorable, and this has been the root of all the minor revolts which have taken place from time to time at these institutions. Food and the Nazi-like control are usually the main causes for dissatisfaction. Last week the authorities were expecting some sort of explosion at Healdtown Missionary College. Police at five Eastern Cape towns were asked to stand by, in case something should happen at the College.

Earlier last week, 100 senior pupils were sent home after a passive resistance strike – escorted off the premises by 20 armed police (*Torch*, 3 November 1953).

Whilst it would appear that opposition was linked to what was going on outside the school, activities were uncoordinated. However, the next phase of protest, viz, Bantu education, organized by the parents, the ANC, the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), South African Communist Party, teachers’ unions and student’s organizations was better planned and organized. In this instance, established political groups organized opposition in schools, and schools responded directly to broader social issues (Kingston et al., 2003, pp. 53-70; see also Muller, 1990; Walker and Archung, 2003).

7.4.8 OPPOSITION TO BANTU EDUCATION

Before 1955, missionary schools could qualify for state financial aid if they registered with the various Provincial Education Departments. This meant conforming to syllabuses prescribed by the Departments. The daily administration of the school was effected by a school manager or superintendent, himself usually a White missionary. Schools which did not comply with the requirement determined their own syllabuses and trained their own teachers. In the Transvaal, however, there were 600 community schools, built by funds provided by the local community and matching government subsidies: “In such cases control was in the hands of a

superintendent employed by the province and advised by an elected parents' school committee" (Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Hertz, 2001).

School syllabuses varied between provinces but were all prepared for African primary school pupils. At high school level, students all followed the same curriculum as their White counterparts (Lodge, 1988, p. 266; see also SAIRR, 1954/55; Tatz, 1972; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Farrah, 2007).

Whilst some African schools experienced serious shortcomings, some of these schools were prestigious ones. As indicated earlier, African teachers were atrociously under-paid; teaching was an unattractive profession and many teachers were seriously under-qualified. Missionaries who could be heavy-handed and patronizing in their methods of control and resentment of this (especially in so-called country institutions) would frequently cause the schools to "overboil in fierce and destructive riots" (Hirson, 1979, pp. 20-34). Apart from the shortcomings mentioned here, there was also a great inequilibrium between the number of primary and secondary schools. Up to 1945, financing of African Education was based on the level of African taxation income (revenues). Africans earned less and a very small number of them could justifiably contribute towards the taxation revenue system. Added to this imbalance, the wartime economy and its consequent industrialization, which in turn resulted in large-scale urbanization, contributed to fresh pressures on the education system. School enrolment for Africans had risen by 300, 000 by 1955 or 50 percent since the Second World War. Parents were desperate to get their children into overcrowded schools with overworked and under-paid teachers (Carter and Canes, 1975, p. 217). The fact that a need existed for some public intervention was beyond dispute. The African National Congress (ANC) claims in 1943 demanded compulsory education to be provided by the state. By 1949, in response to the feelings of African parents, 800 of the 2000 mission schools in the Transvaal were placed under direct departmental control (Horrell, 1963, p. 37). African communities were prepared to make "... considerable sacrifices, raising the money for extra teachers' salaries, classroom buildings and equipment, as well as establishing their own independent schools" (Lodge, 1988, p. 257). Shanty secondary schools existed in 1948 in Orlando, Western Native Township, Brakpan and Attridgeville. In Alexandra, an independent primary school, Haile Selassie School was founded in 1950 (see Lodge, 1988; Horrell, 1968; Muller, 1990; Walker and Archung, 2003; Kingston et al., 2003; Meredith, 2005).

Verwoerd (1954), as the chief ideologue of the nationalist apartheid philosophy, had some crude social policy considerations in mind when he said:

Good racial relations are spoilt when the correct education is not given. Above all, good racial relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who create wrong expectations on the part of the Native himself, if such people believe in a policy of equality, if, let me say, for example, a communist gives this training to Natives (Murphy, 1973, p. 118).

In general, the Nationalist Government accepted the need for intervention, though its primary concern was not so much with catering for the African educational needs, but instead it (the Nationalists) attempted to control the social, political and economic consequences as these related to educational expansion. The obvious concern was not to restructure the system, but to reform it. An ever-increasing number of literate job-seekers, with fundamental literacy and numeracy skills were thrust into an employment market increasingly reluctant to absorb them (see Christie, 1986; Muller, 1990; Hertz, 2001; Meredith, 2005).

Doubts existed as to whether missionaries had “egalitarian beliefs” as Verwoerd accorded them and definitely few had communist beliefs. Thus, the government of the day was naive to underestimate the problems of inculcating an ideology of subordination. Official policy on African education was tenuous and brutally simplistic. In pursuit of its ideology the Nationalist Government created the Eiselen Commission in 1949 to formulate a blueprint for Education for Natives as a Separate Race. This report which was published in 1951, listed the following guiding principles:

- (a) the reconstruction and adoption to modern requirements of Bantu Culture;
- (b) the centralisation of control, the harmony of schools and Bantu Social Institutions;
- (c) increased use of African languages and personnel;
- (d) increased community involvement in education through parents’ committees;
- (e) efficient use of funds; and

- (f) an increased expenditure on mass education” (Lodge, 1988, p.267; see also Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Kingston, et al. 2003; Farrah, 2007; Eiselen Commission, 1949-1951).

It was emphasized that Black expectations were to be geared towards the homelands as “there is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour...” (Cited in Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p. 266). Participation of African communities on partly elected school boards and committees would be used to legitimize the school system and give neo-traditional Bantu Authorities firmer dictatorial powers. Central control of curriculum would ensure indoctrination through syllabuses and the production of skills conducive to a subordinate role in the economy. Rose and Tunmer (1975) expressed the Black expectations in the ideology of Bantu Education so aptly by stating:

A beginning (at the end of Standard II) should be made with the teaching of at least one official language on a purely utilitarian basis, i.e. as a medium of oral expression of thought to be used in contacts with the European sector of the population. Manipulative skills should be developed and where possible an interest in the soil and in the observation of national phenomena stimulated. (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p. 254).

As stated earlier, cost per pupil would be lowered and expansion facilitated by the use of shorter daily sessions, the employment of more female assistants who were under-qualified, and the pegging of state subsidization (the balance to be drawn from African taxation). Post-primary schools were to be located away from an urban environment in the reserves, wherever possible to exclude African youth from international news and occurrences, and to curtail the influence of city traditions and values to exclude them from exposure to what is happening in White and Black secondary schools and tertiary institutions (Lodge, 1988, p. 268; see also Eiselen Commission, 1949-51; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Muller, 1990; History, n.d.; Meredith, 2005; Farrah, 2007).

In 1953, with the promulgation of the Bantu Education Act control of African education was transferred directly to the Native Affairs Department (NAD). Murphy (1973) summarized this big step in which millions of Africans had no say as follows:

All schools had to be registered, all state-aided schools had to be staffed by government trained teachers, and all would have to use official syllabuses. Mission schools from 1957 could continue only if they registered – they would receive no subsidy. Syllabuses for primary school outlined in 1954, though in operation only from 1956, stressed obedience, communal loyalty, ethnic and national diversity, the acceptance of allocated social roles, piety, and identification with rural culture (Murphy, 1973, p. 199).

Some of the features mentioned above may have appeared to be an improvement to some African parents. Access to more education would surely have been an attraction. However, to parents whose children were already at school, Bantu Education harboured blatant disadvantages. Lodge (1988) listed the disadvantages:

- (i) Primary school children learning the fundamentals of English and Afrikaans making it difficult to acquire a proficiency in the one, which was a minimum requirement for most white-collar employment;
- (ii) Shortening of primary school hours made life more intolerable for working mothers, as did the closing down of nursery schools;
- (iii) In urban areas, school boards and committees were partly elected and nominated members were most probably unpopular; and in rural areas these institutions composed of servants of local authorities. Rivalry and competition for elected places on such committees most probably were testimonials to parental anxiety than to approval of the system;
- (iv) The rural and tribal bias of proposed syllabuses would have been especially objectionable to parents in long-established urban communities (Lodge, 1988, p. 268).

The connection of education with tribal development ensured its unpopularity with communities protesting against government land rehabilitation and stabilization schemes. For instance, as reflected in facts and figures, a two Rand monthly education levy was implemented on urban households, while teacher-pupil ratios would increase, per capita expenditure would decrease, school meals services would close down and the abolition of janitors' posts would make pupils and parents responsible for school cleaning and maintenance. These were draconian measures to the Africans who as "... an underprivileged society in which ... access to education provided the most common means of social mobility

for one's children. These were serious blows" (Lodge, 1988, p. 269; see also Christie, 1986; Muller, 1990; Walker and Archung, 2003; Meredith, 2005).

7.4.9 OPPOSITION BY TEACHERS' ORGANISATIONS

Education was an issue evoking common interest, and at times, anxiety among Africans. Not surprisingly, the earliest protests came from the group most directly affected and most sensitive to their implications. Bantu Education offered African teachers a slight improvement in promotion possibilities as sub-inspectors and promised the expansion of schools. However, Verwoerd, despite these promises of improvement, did not hide his hostility to the profession when he claimed in a senate speech in 1954 that:

The Bantu teacher must be integrated as an active agent in the process of the development of the Bantu Community. He must not learn to feel above the community, with a consequent desire to become integrated into the life of the European community. He becomes frustrated and rebellious when this does take place, and he tries to make his community dissatisfied because of such misdirected ambitions which are alien to his people (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, p. 262).

The two teachers' associations which offered open opposition to Bantu Education as early as 1952 were the Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA) and the Transvaal African Teachers' Association (TATA). We will first examine the activities of the CATA. The CATA condemned the Eiselen report and called on teachers and parents to do everything in their power to resist Bantu Education. The government in turn withdrew its recognition from CATA and instead embraced the Cape African Teachers' Union and gave instant recognition to the latter newly established teachers' organization (CATU). Militant members of the CATA were sacked from schools (Christie, 1984, p. 226; see also Muller, 1984; Tatz, 1972; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Kingston et al., 2003).

The Transvaal African Teachers Association (TATA) also opposed Bantu Education. TATA also organized protests against Bantu education by calling meetings of the teachers and parents. However, they were less militant and their activities were not as widespread as the

CATA's. Fewer teachers were dismissed from Transvaal schools (Rose and Tunmer, 1975; History, n.d.; Walker and Archung, 2003; Farrah, 2007).

As Lodge (1988), the historian argues, the positive contribution and leadership of the teachers were "an important part of the backdrop to the communal boycott of schools that took place in those areas" (Lodge, 1988, p. 120; see also Christie, 1986; SAIRR, 1988/89; Kingston, et al. 2003).

7.4.10 OPPOSITION TO BANTU EDUCATION BY POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS AND PARENTS

In May 1954, the ANC launched a "Resist Apartheid Campaign" of which Bantu Education was one of six issues in the campaign. The other issues were: The Group Areas Act; the Pass Laws; the Suppression of Communism Act; the Native Resettlement Act; and the Anti-Trade Union measures (Christie, 1975; Kingston, et al. 2003; Muller, 1990).

Bantu Education was seen as one of the many new apartheid measures that were beginning to affect people's lives. The boycott of Bantu Education was part of a larger campaign (Christie, 1986; Farrah, 2007; Meredith, 2005).

The ANC did not possess all the resources to fight all the issues of the Resist Apartheid Campaign. In fact, the National Executive of the ANC called in the help of the Women's League and the Congress Youth League (CYL) (Christie, 1984, p. 227; see also SAIRR, 1953/54; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Walker and Archung, 2003). Uncertainty and disagreement reigned for some time. Those in favour of indefinite boycotts of schools opposed those who felt that fuller preparations should be resorted to first. Eventually, the National Executive of the ANC decided to launch an indefinite schools' boycott in December 1954 which would have started on 1 April, 1955. Whilst no full-scale program of action was drawn up, action was left to local branches to organize people and to plan preparations. In March 1955, the boycotts were postponed by the National Executive of the ANC until arrangements were made about who would be out of school during the boycott. The African Education Movement (AEM) was then established as a planning committee to organize alternative education (SAIRR, 1954; Farrah, 2007).

The CYL disagreed and even though proper planned alternative education was not arranged they called a boycott for 12 April, 1955. The boycott commenced in the Eastern Cape and the East Rand on this date (SAIRR, 1955; SAIRR, 1956/57; Christie, 1986; Hertz, 2001).

In the East Rand locations of Brakpan, Benoni, Germiston, Katlehong and in Alexandra, the only Johannesburg township, children stayed away from school. Lodge (1988) graphically described the boycott in the following terms:

By Wednesday, 3 000 Brakpan children were out of school – the highest figure for any single location. In Germiston schools were empty, and in Katlehong Township only 70 of 1 000 odd pupils at a community school attended. On Thursday, a march by women and children in Benoni was broken up by police. By the following Monday, the boycott movement had penetrated Johannesburg. Six primary schools in Western Native Township and Newclare were abandoned by their pupils after visits from the Youth League and the Women's League.

The marches and processions continued more or less daily in the locations, and became increasingly violent. By the end of the week two unsuccessful attempts at arson had been made against school buildings in Benoni and Katlehong. On, Friday, the total number of children out of school exceeded 10 000, and the boycott had spread to Moroka/Jabavu schools in Soweto, and to Sophiatown.

In the Eastern Cape the boycott took place at a snail's pace. Eventually, 2,500 children from New Brighton, Korsten, Kirkwood, Missionvale, Kleinvee, Kleinschool and Walmer location were involved (Lodge, 1988, p.125).

The Minister of Native Affairs, Verwoerd, soon took action and issued a statement to the effect that all children who were still absent from school by 25 April, 1955 would receive no further education. Again the ANC Executive could not come to an agreement. Some called upon parents to end the boycott. As a result of the reigning disorganization, many children returned to school. Those pupils who stayed away from school after Verwoerd's proclamation were expelled. The boycott appeared to be at its end (Christie, 1984, p. 228; see also SAIRR, 2001; Hertz, 2001; Farrah, 2007).

The AEM attempted to organize alternative education programs for the children who stayed away from school. In contravention of the Bantu Education Act, independent schools were set

up and were quite well attended. These schools took up the form of a network of cultural clubs where the “aim was to use songs, stories and games to teach basic maths, history, geography and general knowledge” (Christie, 1984, p. 229).

Some of the cultural clubs were well attended. In Brakpan, for example, this cultural club had 700 members a year after the boycott had begun. Shortages of money, facilities and teachers plagued the existence of these clubs. Clubs were subjected to police raids; club leaders in townships were harassed; and many of the AEM committee members were banned (Christie, 1984, p. 229; see also SAIRR, 1955/56; Kingston et al., 2003).

These clubs were not schools but were an attempt to provide an alternative education. This differentiation was clearly reflected in their aims, methods and general approach (Christie, 1984, p. 229; Lodge, 1988, p. 129). An insurmountable difficulty existed to keep an alternative going, especially in the light of the fact that government schools began to operate again (SAIRR, 1955; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Walker and Archung, 2003). As Lodge (1988) points out in argument, the clubs were a significant change in educational terms:

The AEM’s approach involved a reversal of normal South African educational conventions. Even in terms of formal criteria, the clubs could be successful. Some of their members wrote and passed Std 6 exams. As late as 1956, clubs in Benoni and Brakpan were even winning over students from government schools. The AEM and the cultural clubs were a brave experiment, but their significance became increasingly symbolic as numbers dwindled and children went back to government schools. But they showed an interesting attempt by Congress members to spell out an alternative world view in educational terms (Lodge, 1988, p. 129).

Despite the efforts of the ANC and AEM, clubs finally folded in 1960. The events of the 1950s against Bantu Education were of special importance, but they failed to prevent Bantu Education from gaining full operation (SAIRR, 1960/61; Tatz, 1972; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Hertz, 2001).

7.4.11 THE FAILURE OF THE BOYCOTT AGAINST BANTU EDUCATION

The question earned different answers from different historians. Some of the answers ventilated the following views:

- a) The ANC was not well enough organized. Their planning and programming was inadequate. Not enough thought was devoted to what would happen to children who were out of school.
- b) Whilst part of the problem may be ascribed in the planning and organizing by the ANC, the government's repressive actions must not be overlooked. Children were expelled from schools and the government was also able to intimidate and harass the leaders, teachers and parents. These measures made it very difficult for the boycott to succeed (see also Christie, 1986; Lodge, 1988; SAIRR, 2001; Kingston et al., 2003).

In this situation where the government was playing the tune and the community was forced to dance to the tune, the boycott could not have been more successful (Christie, 1984, p. 230; Lodge, 1988, pp. 269-287; see also Farrah, 2007).

7.4.12 THE PROBLEMS WITH THE CLOSING OF SCHOOLS

One of the problems of the boycotts of Bantu Education in the 1950s was that they involved primary school pupils. Parents were requested, and, in fact, encouraged to keep their children out of the Bantu Education primary schools. Several problems surfaced as a result of this situation (SAIRR, 1956/57; Lodge, 1988; Farrah, 2007).

Compounded by the fact that there were not enough schools, "... parents often struggled to get their 7 or 8 year olds into schools. It was a difficult decision, in the face of that, to withdraw them" (Christie, 1984, pp. 230-231). Furthermore, parents depended on schools to educate their children and to keep them busy and off the streets. This situation became a practical problem as the ANC and its cultural clubs had no facilities for the thousands of young children (Lodge, 1988, p. 271; see also Tatz, 1972; Muller, 1990; Hertz, 2001; Walker and Archunng, 2003).

7.4.13 THE SHORT-LIVED EXISTENCE OF THE CULTURAL CLUBS

As mentioned before, the cultural clubs played a significant role as an alternative form of education. They were, however, not just like other schools. Teachers and parents saw this alternative as strength in that teachers could offer variations from restrictive syllabuses and

classrooms. They could introduce their pupils to more relevant topics, themes and areas of study (Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Hertz, 2001).

However, there was the problem of getting the community to accept this alternative education as a worthwhile innovation. The cultural clubs experienced the difficulty of competing with the government schools when they resumed operating once more. The government schools appeared to emerge as the victors because they were in a position to offer certificates and job prospects. As stressed before, education cannot survive in isolation from the wider society; it is a close tie with the economic and socio-political set-up. Problems of this nature will always be difficult for people who venture to create alternatives (SAIRR, 1954/55; Tabata, 1960; Muller, 1990; Walker and Archung, 2003).

Apart from the significant participation of the parents, teachers and the ANC in particular in the fight for equality in education for Africans, the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Federation of South African Women and the Black Sash also played particularly important roles. Resistance against Bantu Education commenced in the 1940s and earlier. The Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953 was legalized only by State in 1954 (SAIRR, 1955/56; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Farrah, 2007).

7.4.14 THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The history of the African proletarian class is clearly reflected in the socio-economic conditions which existed among the urban blacks who lived in the East Rand through their social solidarity. Although they accounted for a relatively small number of the workforce their importance in industrial employment was immeasurable during the 1940s and 1950s. The radicalism among males and females is easier to understand if it is seen in the context of political and trade union reactions during the 1940s (Kingston et al., 2003, pp. 53-70; see also SAIRR, 1956/57; Tatz, 1972; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Muller, 1990).

A number of examples of the responses of this oppressed group was reported in the *Inkululeko* between November 1943 and September 1947 (The Great One – a daily newspaper, circulating in the African townships on the East Rand during this period). The Communist

Party of South Africa also featured prominently in the struggle for equality and, in fact, won considerable support with its involvement in small local community disputes, usually emanating from day-to-day difficulties of economic survival. The issues included:

- (a) municipal prohibition of female hawkers in Benoni (December 1943);
- (b) violence against location inhabitants in Brakpan (December 1943);
- (c) intimidation of rent defaulters in Brakpan (August 1944);
- (d) location conditions and the behaviour of the (white) location superintendent in Brakpan (August 1944);
- (e) dismissal of teachers in Boksburg and Brakpan (March to November 1944);
- (f) housing shortages in Benoni (June 1945 to September 1947);
- (g) bus services in Brakpan (April 1946);
- (h) food shortages in Brakpan (May 1946);
- (i) municipal extension of passes to women in Brakpan (July 1946) (see also Tabata, 1960; Tatz, 1972; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Christie, 1984; Hertz, 2001; Farrah, 2007).

Most activity in the 1940s seems to have been in Brakpan which appeared to have been in a state of constant ferment (Lodge, 1988, p. 87). During this period there was also an increase of Brakpan's police force, erection of fencing around the African location and a clamp down on illicit brewing –Africans brewed their own corn beer (Tabata, 1960; Adams, 1971; Tate, 1972; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Marais, 1984; Lodge, 1988; Muller, 1990; Mamdani, 1996; Walker and Archung, 2003).

The Brakpan residents, like other East Rand townships also supported different issues involving injustice to Africans, but on a bigger scale. When Bopape, for instance, was dismissed from his teaching post at Brakpan's Amalgamated Mission school, matters came to a head between the African community and the authorities. Bopape who was energetic and active in the 1940-41 TATA salary campaign joined the SACP in 1946 while retaining an important position in the Transvaal ANC. Bopape who had a large following also involved himself in bread and butter issues. He was the spokesman campaigning for better living conditions in the location, which included housing shortages, inadequate and expensive transport, low pay for municipal workers, high municipal rents, no running water and White officials' racism (Lodge, 1988, p. 289; Kingston et al., 2003, pp. 53-70; see also SAIRR, 1945/46; Christie, 1986; Muller, 1990).

What was of significance was that the Communists established a tradition of involvement in local socio-economic issues that were taken up later by ANC politicians. Communists also made valuable contributions in the struggles related to employment that occurred in the 1940s on the East Rand. Lodge summed up the part played by the communists in the work place struggles as follows:

Their role in the 1946 African Mine workers' strike is well known, though the effect on location residents of the brutal treatment of miners who marched out of their compounds into the East Rand towns has yet to be considered. Communists had a role in the organization of the African Iron and Steel Workers' Union, which with the Food and Canning Workers' Union was to form the two strongest regional affiliates to, first the Council for Non-European Trade Unions, and later the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) (Lodge, 1988, p. 290).

The East Reef in the mid-1950s then was an area in which a tradition of radical politics had existed for a comparatively long time within its Black communities, a tradition which was characterized by sensitivity to parochial concerns and successful intervention in them by African nationalist and socialist politicians. With this background, it becomes easier to understand why the parents within these communities responded in the way in which they did to the call for the boycott of schools in 1955. The boycott should be seen as flowing out of a well established momentum by poor people to retain some control over their lives (SAIRR, 1956/57; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Lodge, 1988; Muller, 1990; Norval, 1996; Kallaway, 2002; *History*, n.d.).

7.4.15 THE FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION

The discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in 1869 and gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886, unleashed revolutionary economic changes in Southern Africa. This in turn ushered in a modern capitalist state which transformed a backward pastoral society or a number of societies into urban dwellers. These discoveries fuelled political conflict between Afrikaner and Briton and also created a "voracious appetite for a cheap and docile labour force to work the mines and then the industries that grew up around them" (Walker, 1982, p. 9; see also Tatz, 1972; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Norval, 1996; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; SAIRR, 2001; *History*, n.d.; Hertz, 2001).

Women seem hardly to have featured in this dynamic and formative period in the history in South Africa. Those who featured in history were men; the struggle for land was between men; those who laid down the foundations of Union in 1909/10 were men; the workers in the first mines and developing industries were men (Walker, 1982; Christie, 1984; Lodge, 1988; Norval, 1996; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; SAIRR, 2000/2001; Kallaway, 2002; Farrah, 2007).

There were few recorded utterances by South African women in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Eventually, a year after a meeting in Port Elizabeth, on 17th April, 1954, and later in 1954 in the Trades Hall, Johannesburg, the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) was formed. On this joyful occasion a skeletal framework of a national body of women was created. A Women's charter listing the philosophy behind this new organization was set out in broad terms: "This organization is formed for the purpose of uniting all women in common action for the removal of all political, legal, economic and social disabilities" (Walker, 1982, p. 153). At this point the organization had no name and the conference was known simply as the First National Congress of Women (Walker, 1982, p. 10; see also Christie, 1986; Lodge, 1988; Muller, 1990; Norval, 1996; Kingston et al., 2003; Fiske and Ladd, 2004).

As seen earlier, the draconian measures taken by the Department of Native Affairs smothered resistance by the ANC and its alliance in their attempt to protest against Bantu Education. This setback benefited the FSAW's campaign. Two pillars of the Nationalist Party's apartheid statutes which evoked many public meetings and angry discussions by the FSAW were the Group Areas Act and the Bantu Education Act. In terms of the Group Areas Act, the Minister of the Interior was empowered to proclaim group areas for Whites, Asiatics, Coloureds and Africans, the four official races of Apartheid theory. The removal of these people into the colour caste areas had a dramatic "politicizing effect on local women, who saw their families' lives disrupted; their homes threatened" (Walker, 1982, p. 177). More and more women appeared at meetings where moves from one area to another aroused great interest. In terms of the Bantu Education Act all facets of African education were controlled by the Department of Native Affairs (NAD) and streamlined into the apartheid system. Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs, when he introduced the bill said: "Education must train and teach people in accordance with the opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live" (Quoted

in Horrell, 1964, p.29). The FSAW rejected the act as a blatant attempt to impose an inferior education system on the Africans. The act was designed to perpetuate the role of Africans as: “the suppliers of cheap labour for White prosperity. Black women, concerned about the opportunities open to their children, felt particularly strongly about it. In the memorable phrase Ngoyi likened “Black mothers to hens that laid eggs, only to see them taken away from them for others to use. In exactly the same way, the Bantu Education Act would take away and destroy their children” (Walker, 1982, p. 177; see also Tabata, 1960; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Norval, 1996; Kallaway, 2002; Walker and Archung, 2003; Fiske and Ladd, 2004).

The ANC made serious attempts to establish the cultural clubs, as explained earlier. The FSAW supported this effort as was evidenced by the conferences organized on the Rand and in the Eastern Cape by Joseph, then Secretary to the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUSCA) and a member of FSAW. Techniques were developed through which children were taught “arithmetic by look and see ... with pebbles and sand-writing ... multiplication tables ... translated into African songs” (Joseph, 1960, p.76).

The success of the clubs was short-lived because of the lack of funds, facilities and competition from government primary schools. The campaign was finally destroyed by intimidation of leaders and harassment of the clubs by police. “Bantu Education remained a potentially explosive issue, deeply despised and resented, but by 1957, the first round of protests against its implementation had petered out” (Walker, 1982, p. 178; see also Adams, 1971; Tatz, 1972; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Mamdani, 1996; Fiske and Ladd, 2004).

The defeat of these campaigns undoubtedly contributed to a growth in political consciousness and militancy amongst Black women. In the same manner that the escalating cost of living and housing shortages during World War II had politicized women, the group areas act, the pass laws and influx control, and the Bantu education act forced women to re-enter the political arena in which their daily lives were located. “Both acts impinged directly on Black women in their homes where they could not be ignored or overlooked” (Walker, 1982, p. 178; see Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Christie, 1986; Hertz, 2001). Protests in the late 1950s also enveloped responses to separate university education which espoused resistance of a different calibre (SAIRR, 1959/60; Lodge, 1988; Kingston et al., 2003).

7.4.16 THE REPUBLIC ISSUE OF 1961

When South Africa was declared a Republic in 1961, Black Educational institutions were again provoked into resistance. Sporadic and continuous unrest persisted in the schools and universities for some time (Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Norval, 1996; Meredith, 2005).

At the University College of Fort Hare, for instance, students stayed away from lectures on the 29th and 30th May, 1961 as a protest against the birth of the Republic of South Africa supported by the majority of the Whites. The College was closed until the 18th July (SAIRR, 1961; Tabata, 1960; Tatz, 1972; Christie, 1986; Muller, 1990; Farrah, 2007).

Students at a number of schools refused to accept the Republican medals and flags handed to them and also boycotted flag raising ceremonies. There were numerous reports of expulsions and punishment of students because of insubordination and misconduct. Many students were arrested and appeared in court. The charges brought against them were those of violence, malicious damage to property and contravention of the Riotous Assemblies Act (SAIRR, 1961/62; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Christie, 1984; Norval, 1996; Fiske and Ladd, 2004; Farrah, 2007).

It is important to note that whilst the 1960s were regarded as quiet years in terms of the resistance movement, schools' unrest continued. The unrest was not mainly school-based, but was linked to broader issues related to cultural, social, political and economic imperatives, such as housing, Education, the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws and Job Reservation, to name a few (Christie, 1984, p. 233; see also SAIRR, 1961/62; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Hertz, 2001).

7.4.17 THE BLACK SASH

The Black Sash was an association of White women (Afrikaans and English speaking) as referred to earlier, formed during the late 1940s, who turned their full energies against the apartheid system. They investigated and protested against all the laws passed since 1948, which were designed either to establish racial segregation or to suppress opposition to it. Through its vigilance the Black Sash protests kept apartheid before the public eye, no matter

how unwilling the public eye was to focus on them (the laws). This kind of meticulous analysis and explanation of the meaning and interpretation of these laws had been a major achievement of this organization (Michelman, 1975, p. 92). They created institutions to mitigate the sufferings of apartheid victims, that is, giving insight into “the politics of inequality” (Michelman, 1975, p. 75; see also Muller, 1990; Norval, 1996; Hertz, 2001; Walker and Archung, 2003; Fiske and Ladd, 2004).

Protestations, as intimated earlier, were invariably directed against the Group Areas Act; the Pass Laws; the Farm Labour Scheme (an offshoot of the Pass system); the Bantu Education Act, Separate Universities Act, the Job Reservation Act, Separate Amenities Act, and so forth. These laws, inter alia, amounted to and also dramatized the human cost (suffering) under the system of apartheid (Michelman, 1975, p. 75; Kingston et al., 2003, pp. 53-70; see also SAIRR, 1962/63; Norval, 1996; Kallaway, 2002).

These women at first focused their attention on White education and White concerns. Later they devoted their energies to the philosophy and quality of education for Coloureds, Indians, and especially Africans. Furthermore, they pressurized officials at all levels, from municipal and provincial officials and government ministers, down to School Board bureaucrats. Their resistance concentrated on the “debasement of education through thought control” (Michelman, 1975, p. 96; see also Drerup, 1978; Christie, 1986; Lodge, 1988; Norval, 1996; Farrah, 2007).

In a forceful manner these women denigrated the current educational ideology of the Nationalist government, which guaranteed that these inequalities would be eradicated: they were not meant to stay. Verwoerd’s emotive speech in the senate (1954) was brought to the notice of the South African community in general, where he flagrantly avowed: “When I have control of native education, I will reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them”(Quoted in Michelman, 1975, p. 97; see also Senate Debates, 7/6/1954; Tatz, 1972; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Lodge, 1988; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Walker and Archung, 2003)..

In their arguments, these women firmly supported universality in all tertiary institutions, but the government by advocating university apartheid, consequently the contact between Black and White students, was obliterated. The so-called separate but equal education meant that:

“the contact of minds essential to the educated spirit is no longer whole nor universal” (Michelman, 1975, p. 97; Drerup, 1978, p. 78; see also History, n.d.; Muller, 1990; Norval, 1996; Hertz, 2001; Kallaway, 2002).

According to The Cape Times (Nov. 2, 1976) the Bantu Education Department denied that Bantu Education was inferior but conceded that there were differences related to the fact that the department was serving developing nations (urban and rural Africans) and the fact that a sudden demand for education necessarily created shortages of funds, schools, and classrooms, of well qualified teachers and teaching resources (Drerup, 1978, p. 13; see also SAIRR, 1978/79; Christie, 1986; Kallaway, 2002; Fiske and Ladd, 2004).

Adequate funding would go a long way towards alleviating many of the difficulties but the scrapping of apartheid would not necessarily result in improved education for Africans. As the problems were mainly financial, it was estimated in 1977 that it would cost at least R300 000m to overcome the disparity between Black and White education (Drerup, 1978, p. 13; see also Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Walker and Archung, 2003).

The Black Sash movement in its fight against apartheid education was epitomized by the remarkable display of courage as revealed in one of its publications in 1960, titled “Education for Isolation.” The statement concluded with an eight-point recommendation, calling for: “equal, free compulsory education for all South Africans, academic freedom, and independence from government indoctrination and control” (Michelman, 1975, p. 99; see also SAIRR, 1960/61; Muller, 1984; Norval, 1996; Kingston et al., 2003; Fiske and Ladd, 2004).

The student reactions of the 1960s spilled over into the Black Consciousness Movement of the 1970s (Woods, 1987; SAIRR, 1978/79; Biko, 2002; Meredith, 2005).

7.5 OPPOSITION IN DIFFERENT ETHNIC UNIVERSITIES

In 1959, the Extension of the University Education Act promulgated separate Tribal Universities for the different groups. This Act held that “open universities”, such as the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) and the University of Cape Town (UCT), would not be allowed to admit any new Black students, except with special permission of the government

authorities in question. As revealed in the chapter on separate universities resistance to the apartheid measures were mainly symbolic. Witwatersrand (Wits) and the University of Cape Town (UCT) declared their commitment to being “open universities”. To this end, they decided to hold an academic freedom lecture every year; there were also meetings and one day boycotts of classes. Members of the different convocations dressed in their academic gowns demonstrated in the streets in protest against the Act. None of these symbolic measures prevented the Act from becoming legislation (Rose and Tunmer 1975; Kallaway, 2002; Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Jansen, 2006).

Clearly this form of resistance was different. The 1959 university protests were different from the Bantu Education Act boycotts of the 1950s. It was not a mass movement, but was more symbolic:

These demonstrations appeared especially among universities and were not as well supported by the entire Black community. It would appear that the people were still smarting under the painful wounds of the boycotting against the Bantu Education Act (Christie, 1984, pp. 232-233).

7.5.1 ORGANISED BLACK STUDENT ACTION

There are striking connections between the organized Black student action in South Africa and what occurred in the rest of the world. As Nkomo (1984) explains:

The response of Black South African university students to the oppressiveness of apartheid reminds us that just as during slavery in the United States, just as during the era of Nazism in Europe, just as in countless exploitative situations in our world today – where there is oppression, there will be resistance (Nkomo, 1984, p.xi).

The process of education, even when it was as oppressive as that in South Africa, had the potential of encouraging free enquiry, criticism and even rebellion. Just as during the years of racially segregated schooling in the United States, when the intention was for education to solidify the status quo, it can be a vehicle for social change (Nkomo, 1984, p. xii). Murphy’s (1973) observation that the curriculum of Bantu Education would produce a student culture that was contrary to official government intentions had materialised in South Africa as

reflected by the protests/resistance discussed in this chapter (Rose and Tunmer, 1975; SAIRR, 1978/79; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Marais, 1984; Hertz, 2001).

In human situations, like the separate universities for Blacks and Whites in South Africa, that is structures that are exclusionary tend to shorten their natural life span, thus becoming “remiss” in the fulfilment of a “stable existence over relatively long periods of time” (Nkomo, 1984, p. 150). The assumption exists that no society is static, and that among the multifarious forces that generate social change, education, definitely in the case of South Africa, played an important part. In South Africa, education did play a vital role and it was congruous to “student interests, aspirations and values, and societal aspirations and values or government policies” (Nkomo, 1984, p. 150). The absorption of knowledge and skills by students was viewed by them as an investment that will yield dividends for social good. “A less investigated role of education is that which develops in situations of social incongruity...” (Nkomo, 1984, p. 151), like the existing situation in ethnic South African universities where there was a lack of harmony between student needs and values, societal objectives and repressive government policies (Fiske and Ladd, 2004; Jansen, 2006; Bergh and Soudien, 2006).

In Chapter 6 (pp. 124-146) which focused on separate (Bush) universities, student activism and resistance was exhaustively dealt with, where reference was made to community institutions and activities organized by students. Inter alia, the South African Students’ Organization (SASO) and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) initiated and aided health projects, cultural activities, domestic industries, legal services, and so forth. These activities undertaken on a community basis made Blacks aware that they were capable of operating their own self-help projects (Woods, 1987; Norval, 1996; Biko, 2002; Meredith, 2005; Farrah, 2007).

SASO’s values or social orientations tended to be highlighted by the association between the socio-political privations of the Black community and the conditions of Black students and universities. According to the Star (7/7/80), the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and the Azanian Students’ Organization (AZAS), successors of SASO seemed to be following the same tradition (Rose and Tunmer, 1975; SAIRR, 1984/85; Muller, 1990; Walker and Archung, 2003; Fiske and Ladd, 2004).

During the thirty-two year period (1960-1992) of the existence of the Black ethnic universities, these institutions have served as the terrain for perennial struggle between the authorities and the students. The struggle, as indicated in the section on separate universities, is represented on the one hand by an instrumental culture of resistance, and from all indications, will continue to have a significant impact on the universities and societies at large. This brief discussion of student patterns of behaviour that are a product of the influence of their experiences in society at large and the character of the particular universities African students attended will suffice (Tatz, 1972; Norval, 1996; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; SAIRR, 2001; Hertz, 2001; Fiske and Ladd, 2004).

Like their counterparts in other parts of the world, African university students in South Africa have attitudes, values, aspirations, and so on. Having no choice to go to a university of their choice, but to one designated for their ethnic group, the African students had “delineated dispositions” that “... are deeply subsumed under non-conformism” (Nkomo, 1984, p. 154; Kingston et al., 2003, pp. 53-70; see also Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Kallaway, 2002; Meredith, 2005).

Curriculum content was supposed to extol in general terms the benefits of Western civilization in which certain universal concepts enshrined values of “... democracy, freedom and self determination at the same time denying the free exercise of these concepts” (Nkomo, 1984, p. 155).

Murphy (1973) has meticulously painted the picture of the Bantu Education curriculum at primary and secondary levels, where he correctly claims that the curriculum frequently refers to: “...our South Africa while at the same time promoting ethnic fragmentation, something that university students have perpetually criticized. Such socialisation is fraught with transparent contradictions which highlight student dissatisfaction, bitterness, frustration and of course, alienation” (Nkomo, 1984, p.155; see also Rose and Tunmer, 1975; SAIRR, 1989/90; Kallaway, 2002; Walker and Archung, 2003).

Religious, racial and national minority status in the United States, tended to encourage activism. In South Africa, however, the Blacks, whilst constituting the majority, enjoyed neither civil nor fundamental human rights that all other race groups in South Africa took for granted. Thus, political consciousness was unwillingly promoted, and the knowledge that the

Africans were the subjugated majority was likely to encourage an ideology of a radically different alternative future (Legasick and Shingler, 1968, p. 116; see also Van Jaarsveld, 1984; SAIRR, 2001; Meredith, 2005; Farrah, 2007).

Events that took place internationally have influenced students' attitudes and behaviour in South Africa and all over the world. The achievements of independence in neighbouring Angola and Mozambique in 1975 and Zimbabwe in 1980 had a big impact on Black university students as demonstrated by their solidarity movements. Overall, the manner in which independence was achieved was of particular importance. Of the 4 000 to 8 000 students who left South Africa during the 1976 Soweto aftermath, a fair number of the university, primary and secondary students who fled under security police pressure had joined the freedom (liberation) movement or had pursued education abroad with the aim of eventually playing a significant role in solving the South African problems. Judging from the on-going crisis in the Black universities that existed, this revolutionary trend persisted continuously,

... increasing the number of individuals who have picked up skills that will pose even greater challenges to the South African State. The difference between the Black South African university student activism and that in other countries, at least for the last twenty years, is of enduring nature. The crisis can be looked upon as an organic crisis in South Africa, that is, deep and systematic in magnitude (Nkomo, 1984, p. 157).

The intellectual background of the university students seemed to have offered more opportunities for critical analysis and evaluation of the South African situation than other organizations outside the university. It would appear that youth contributions to social change in most societies had been more clearly demonstrated within than without university campuses. In South Africa this had definitely been the case where students in separate universities "... have invoked the concepts of university autonomy and freedom of speech to challenge established authority" (Nkomo, 1984, p.157). Despite the objectives of Bantu Education, student activism "tended to be more universalistic" in its "outlook than ethno-particularistic" (Nkomo, 1984, p.157; see also Rose and Tunmer, 1975; SAIRR, 1985/86; Hertz, 2001; Meredith, 2005; Farrah, 2007; Easterly, 2006).

In South Africa's ethnic universities, the power conflict factor had appeared to be associated to broader issues of the decision-making process within the community at large. Thus, the student activism in South Africa was more politicized and society-oriented instead of "simply

etudialist” (Nkomo, 1984, p. 158; see also SAIRR 1989/90; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Fiske and Ladd, 2004; Easterly, 2006; Jansen, 2006).

Most of these students were compelled to work for separate development institutions and others were attracted by the pecuniary allurements of private, local and multinational corporations, which dampened their sense of outrage. It was fair to assume that there were the active few within and without these institutions who would challenge existence of separate universities and the differences that existed in adult society (Nkomo, 1984; Christie, 1986; Lodge, 1988; Walker and Archung, 2003; Meredith, 2005; Easterly, 2006).

There were no indications that separate ethnic Bush universities would be abolished, “an action that is impossible to conceive at this juncture, with their attendant structural dysfunctions...” (Nkomo, 1984, p. 164). The cause of this dysfunction, seemed to be the lack of a democratic system that allowed for universal participation in all facets of the body politic. “Until this is resolved satisfactorily, stability will be an elusive goal and catastrophe a certainty” (Nkomo, 1984, p.165; see also Lodge, 1988; Fiske and Ladd, 2004; Meredith, 2005; Easterly 2006).

It is clear these ethnic universities, to a significant degree, had produced and continue to be producing, an increasingly cadre of activists whose resolve and determination to effect change were swelling the ranks of the mass resistance movement – thus edging it closer to the critical point (Nkomo, 1984, p. 165).

7.5.2 ORGANISED BLACK STUDENT ACTION IN 1970s

The crises on Black campuses evoked a new sense of pride in the hearts of students and rekindled the flame of resistance in Black universities and among the African community. Students like Biko, Sono, Tiro and Pityana, Issel and many others held centre stage and came to the fore (SAIRR, 1961/62; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Farrah, 2007).

The political trials of the South African Students’ Organization (SASO) and the Black People’s Convention (BPC), an off-shoot of the Black Consciousness Movement, provided a platform for Biko, for instance, to explain that Black Consciousness. His speech in court is

strongly reminiscent of Mandela's treatise in court of more than a decade earlier. The torture which eventually led to the death of medical student, Biko, sparked sentimental reactions in South Africa, and internationally, and eventually laid the seeds for sport, investment and economic sanctions or boycotts enforced against the Republic of South Africa (Rose and Tunmer, 1975; SAIRR, 1977/78; Nkomo, 1984; Woods, 1987; Biko, 2002; Walker and Archung, 2003; Meredith, 2005).

Whilst Minister Botha and his deputy, Treunicht, were in charge of Black Education, school children in Soweto took to the streets in their thousands in resistance to the enforced Afrikaans language as a medium at school. Police killed many children on the 16th June 1976 and when these young ones "bit the dust" the world witnessed and became strongly aware of the resistance of the African students to Bantu Education and apartheid. "It is fair to say that this action in 1976 was a watershed event in a variety of ways, one being that students have now become aware of their power and their ability to resist" (Sonn, 1989, p. 9; see also SAIRR, 1976/77; Christie, 1986; Lodge, 1988; Hall, 1990; Hertz, 2001; Meredith, 2005; Easterly, 2006).

7.6 THE CHURCHES

Almost all of the mainstream churches had opposed Bantu Education. The denominations against it included the Catholic, Anglican, Congregational, Lutheran, Methodists, Presbyterian and Seven Day Adventist churches. In addition the London Missionary Society and the American Board Mission had resisted it as well. Only the three Dutch Reformed churches had been in general agreement with the government's policy (Tillema, 1974; Christie, 1986; Lodge, 1988; Fiske and Ladd, 2004; Easterly, 2006). The active part played by missionary schools in opposition to Bantu Education was discussed extensively earlier in 7.4.4 and 7.4.5 (Christie, 1986; Fiske and Ladd, 2004; Farrah, 2007).

In many ways the churches opposed to Bantu Education seemed to be the most formidable opponents which the government faced after passing the Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953. At that time the churches operated approximately ninety percent of the schools for the Africans (Cawood, 1964, p.13). Moreover, they provided much of this education in the urban areas where the demand for education was greatest. Consequently, they had acquired

considerable teaching expertise and had developed extensive relationships with Africans who were highly desirous of obtaining education. Furthermore, the clergy possessed legitimacy and a claim to moral suasion that could not be easily dismissed (Tillema, 1974; Lodge, 1988; Muller, 1990; Norval, 1996; Kingston et al., 2003; Meredith, 2005).

Since the concept of Bantu Education, the churches took issue with it on three separate points of view. First, they resisted implementation of the Bantu Education Act. Second, they gave support to those who opposed the introduction of *University Apartheid*. Third, the churches began a campaign in 1968 in order to change public opinion about unequal educational opportunities for Africans. On each occasion, the churches had used their resources somewhat differently. In general they (the Churches) had been more active in their opposition to apartheid in primary and secondary education than on university education (Tillema, 1974; Christie, 1986; Farrah, 2007).

Although it was widely known that churches would oppose transferring control of their schools to the state under the Bantu Education Act, the government did not know precisely what the churches' response would be. In order to minimise open conflict with the churches and to gain control of as many schools as possible, the government decided to exercise restraint *vis-à-vis* the churches even though it was empowered under the Bantu Education Act to fine or imprison anyone who conducted classes not in accordance with the principles of the act. Concluding that its most effective resource was financial, the government announced that it would reduce subsidies available to church schools in the 1955-56 school year. It gave the churches three options: to conduct Bantu Education with seventy-five percent of the previous years' subsidy, to operate private schools under church control but without any subsidy or to cease operating educational institutions while exercising an option to lease classroom space to the government (Tillema, 1974; Lodge, 1988; Fiske and Ladd, 2004; Meredith, 2005; Easterly, 2006).

In response the Bishops of the Catholic Church issued a memorandum which expressed misgivings about the weakening of the Christian influence under the Bantu Education Act (Ibid, p.14). The Bishops later indicated that they would lease their churches' training colleges to the state if the churches were permitted to control the academic parts and hostels. A Catholic Mission Schools Fund was launched to enable as many of the eight hundred schools as possible to operate as private unaided schools. During 1955 R1.5 million was raised in

addition to local funds used to pay the salaries of teachers who voluntarily accepted 25 percent reduction in salary (Mamdani, 1996; Hertz, 2001; Meredith, 2005; Easterly, 2006).

An episcopal synod of the Anglican Church condemned apartheid and declared that it was “morally wrong to follow a policy which has as its object the keeping of any particular racial group in a position of permanent inferiority” (Peterson, 1971, p.34). The church refused to conduct Bantu Education but agreed to allow individual dioceses to lease their buildings to the state for educational purposes. While many dioceses chose to lease their classrooms, others decided that their schools would become private institutions. Bishop Reeves of the Johannesburg diocese closed all schools in the Southern Transvaal to protest the Bantu Education Act. Strongly supported by his clergy, the Bishop then re-opened those school buildings that were owned by the church and proceeded to use them for training Sunday school teachers, Scouts and other leaders of adult and Youth groups. In a widely publicised test case protesting Bantu Education, Father Huddleston raised funds at home (in South Africa) and abroad to help the Community of the Resurrection to re-open its school in Sophiatown and to provide education as before (Tillema, 1974; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Biko, 2002; Farrah, 2007)..

The remaining churches and missions refused to conduct Bantu Education and issued statements highly critical of it. The Methodist church, for example, stated that “a policy which, in effect, aimed at conditioning the African people to a predetermined position of subordination in the State is incompatible with the Christian principles for which the church stands” (SAIRR, 1954). However, the Methodist church found that it was unable to operate its schools without the government subsidy. Except for the Seventh Day Adventist church, which never received a subsidy and continued to operate private schools, the other major denominations found themselves in the same position as the Methodists and the Presbyterians, and most other churches decided to lease but not sell many of their schools to the government. Though highly critical of Bantu Education, each of these churches was unable to support more than a few private schools (Tillema, 1974; Norval, 1996; Mamdani, 1996; Hertz, 2001; Hall, 1990; Meredith, 2005).

When the government saw how effective the reduced subsidy was going to be in removing churches from education in the 1955-56 school year, it announced that government subsidies would continue to be reduced to one-fourth of their original amount in each of the following

three years until no subsidy would be provided. In this way the government diminished the influence of the Dutch Reformed church, which had initially agreed to provide Bantu Education was not whole-heartedly in support of it (Keet, 1956; Keet, 1960; Christie, 1986; Muller, 1990; Fiske and Ladd, 2004; Easterly, 2006).

The government then warned the Catholic Church to speed up registration of schools that had formally received state aid to file applications for registration of 130 additional schools that had never received state aid. Finally the state began cancelling the registrations of the few remaining Protestant church schools (SAIRR, 1974/75; Tillema, 1974; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Walker and Archung, 2003; Easterly, 2006).

With pressure from the state increasing, the recalcitrant Johannesburg Anglican diocese reopened its Community of the Resurrection school. A reprimand from the Apartheid regime indicated that the situation merited further investigation. With the dying down of publicity, the government refused to re-register the school and threatened to take the educators into custody if the school was not closed (Reeves, 1962, pp. 125-127; see also SAIRR, 1974/75; Lodge, 1988; Muller, 1990; Hall, 1990; Meredith, 2005; Easterly, 2006; Farrah, 2007).

The government stressed the fact that private schools were a thing of the past; “that they had no right to establish them but might do so temporarily whenever the state was unable to fill the need.” (Christian Council of South Africa, Cited in the *Johannesburg Star*, 25/4/1956). Few Protestant churches failed to heed these warnings. After 1957, only the Catholic Church’s solidarity warded off the early sanctions of the Bantu Education Act. They (the Catholic Church) continued to operate a substantial number of private schools. At the end of the day the Catholic schools were diminished to approximately half their former number as the state had engaged them in a war of attrition, closing schools individually by stricter and stricter application of the Group Areas Act (Tillema, 1974; Marais, 1984; Adam, 1971; Mamdani, 1996; Hertz, 2001; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Easterly, 2006).

The resistance to university apartheid was generally limited to protests critical of this aspect of Bantu Education. The Executive Committee of the Christian Council of South Africa, which included members from the major Protestant denominations, passed a resolution at its January 1957 meeting expressing concern about the government’s intent to restrict the admission of African students at South Africa’s open (white) universities and about possible interference

with academic freedom. Opposition to university apartheid, as elucidated in Chapter 6 (Bush Universities), was continued throughout 1958 and 1959 by the Christian Council of South Africa. Even the Dutch Reformed churches, which favoured the establishment of separate colleges (which eventually became universities) in the African homelands (Bantustans), had indicated that its representatives met with Prime Minister Verwoerd to express their opposition to restrictions of admissions to the Universities of Cape Town, Witwatersrand and Natal. The Executive Committee eloquently expressed their opinion:

While the activities of the churches in opposing *university apartheid* were not effective in reversing the situation, they did add support and legitimacy to the concern expressed by the universities and helped to highlight the lengths to which the South African government was prepared to go in extending special privileges on grounds of race rather than competence (Tillema, 1974, p. 233).

From 1960 until 1968, criticism of Bantu Education was again expressed by the churches. In 1968 a document titled “Message to the People of South Africa” was issued by the Theological Commission of South African Council of Churches. The “message” rejected *separate development* (apartheid) because it was “hostile to Christianity” and worked to separate people rather than reconcile differences among them (SAIRR, 1969, pp. 21-22; see also Muller, 1990; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Tatz, 1972; SAIRR, 1974/75; Walker and Archung, 2003; Easterly, 2006; Meredith, 2006).

The “message” mentioned above, was not binding on member churches. Even though not a member of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), the Catholic churches also endorsed the principles of the “message”. The Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches did not issue a public statement on the “message”, but recommended that individual churches gave it serious consideration (Tillema, 1974; Adam, 1971; Mamdani, 1996; Kingston et al., 2003, pp. 53-70; Van Jaarsveld, 1984; Soudien and Kallaway, 1997; Easterly, 2006; Meredith, 2007).

Following publication of the “message” the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute of South Africa set up study groups on six aspects of *apartheid* including *apartheid in education*. Between 1971 and 1973 these study groups developed reports which

were printed and distributed by the Christian Institute. The study group on education in its report titled *Education beyond Apartheid* recommended an end to special privileges in education. After each study group had completed its report, the Christian Institute began to set up action groups to organise conferences and courses to expose the detrimental effects of Bantu Education. The institute also offered to co-ordinate the activities of groups and organisations with similar interests and to aggregate the demands of these organisations in pursuing a non-violent program for educational change (SAIRR, 1973/74; Muller, 1990; Christie, 1986; Lodge, 1988; Hertz, 2001; Adam, 1971; Mamdani, 1996; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Easterly, 2006; Meredith, 2006).

On numerous occasions advocate Vorster, the Prime Minister, had responded negatively to the efforts of the churches. In addition to open criticism he (Vorster) had placed the Christian Institute of South Africa under investigation by a special parliamentary commission. Cases in which individual churchmen were involved led to prosecutions of individuals for direct and indirect assistance allegedly given to African liberation movements (SAIRR, 1987, pp.87-89; SAIRR, 1973, pp. 40-43; see also Adam, 1971; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Hall, 1990; Meredith, 2005; Mamdani, 1996; Easterly, 2006; Farrah, 2007).

The government had also suspended the transfer of funds from accounts of South African churches to the World Council of Churches. From fragmentary evidence at hand - evidence may prove to be unsubstantiated; it appeared that the government might have been less concerned with demands to change Bantu Education than it was with the relationships that South African individuals and churches maintained with organisations like the British Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches.

Why was the South African Government concerned about relationships with these organisations? It was concerned because these organisations or their affiliates had expressed support for African liberation movements. For example, the British Council of Churches appointed a committee to inquire into revolutionary violence in South Africa. In a report aimed at stimulating discussion and expressing its own views about Southern Africa, the Committee concluded that “there can be just rebellion as a just war and we cannot sincerely withhold support from those who had decided to face the certain suffering involved in such rebellion” (British Council of Churches, Cited in Tillema, 1974, p. 237). In an even more direct way, the World Council of Churches had granted funds to various African liberation

movements for their medical and educational needs. Although the South African Council of Churches had repudiated the World Council's support of African liberation movements, the South African government might have feared that individual churches maintained relationships not only with the World Council but with African liberation movements as well. If so, the government would in all likelihood try to disrupt these relationships and at the same time it would interrupt any violent or non-violent efforts to change educational policy (Tillema, 1974; SAIRR, 1975/76; Norval, 1996; Fiske and Ladd, 2004; Easterly, 2006).

The churches had not been particularly effective in changing South African educational policy between 1954 and the late 1960s, despite control of resources greater than those available to many other organisations. The churches' strongest opposition to South African educational policy was expressed in response to implementation of the Bantu Education Act, but the withdrawal of government subsidies for operating the church schools proved to be critical. The churches' loss of control of their schools also diminished their base of available resources such as teaching skills and relationships with Africans. Although their efforts did delay transfer of control of the schools to the government, the churches did not effect fundamental changes in policy. Similarly, the churches' support for those directly opposed to *university apartheid* may have helped to delay its implementation but, once again, failed to alter policy. Since 1968 the churches mounted a campaign to change public opinion about the Bantu Education system, but in order to become effective, they had to convince the uncommitted that their major purpose was to introduce reform in domestic policies rather than support African liberation movements (SAIRR, 1960; Christie, 1986; Lodge, 1988; Kallaway, 2002; Fiske and Ladd, 2004; Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Easterly, 2006).

7.7 THE HOMELANDS (BANTUSTAN) LEADERS

As a result of the Bantustans/Homelands Constitution Act, No. 21 of 1971, six Legislative Assemblies with Constitutions similar to that of Transkei were created. Leaders of two of these governments – Chief Buthelezi of Kwazulu, Chief Mangope of Bophuthatswana – had joined with Matanzima in criticising Bantu Education. Three other leaders, Chief Mababdlá of the Ciskei, Ntsanwise of Gazankulu, and Phatudi of Lebowa had indicated that improvement of education was a high priority of theirs. Chief Mpepha, reportedly a conservative, had not made educational policy a major issue in Venda (Hofmeyer and Vorster, 1984, pp. i-iii; see

also SAIRR, 1971; McConkey, 1972; Rose and Tunmer, 1995; Norval, 1996; Meredith, 2005; Farrah, 2007).

These leaders of these homeland governments or Bantustans found that there were severe constraints in utilising their resources. Although elected by members of their legislative assemblies the chief ministers could be banned by the White central government. On numerous issues, the ministers had to secure approval for the policies from the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and they had to rely on non-African bureaucratic public servants to implement these policies. On the one hand, African ministers did not have control over defence, foreign affairs, police, postal services, currency, and banking. On the other hand, the chief minister and his cabinet ministers held portfolios of finance, justice, interior, education, agriculture, and public works. *Ne vi, nec precario* (without noise or objection and precariously) these actors in the international theatre/system or their constituents, the chief ministers pressurised the Apartheid (National) government, to make or allow decisions to be made beyond those that would result from the exercise of their carefully limited formal powers (Lantern, 1961; Hofmeyer and Vorster, 1984; Hall, 1990; Norval, 1996; SAIRR, 2000/2001; Hertz, 2001; Meredith, 2005).

In this context it was not surprising that the ministers responded positively and cautiously to the new opportunities of “self government” or “separate development” that were contained in their new constitutions. However, not all of them did so. Chief Buthelezi had been particularly shrewd (skilful) in announcing to an international audience South Africa’s unwillingness to act on his legislature’s appeals for self-government and changes in policy (Hoagland, 1972, pp. 180-183). Buthelezi reportedly demanded change in the medium of instruction from Zulu to English or Afrikaans and the Kwazulu government passed resolutions to this same effect. Support for such changes had also been expressed by the governments of Bophuthatwana and Gazankulu. These governments were then empowered to effect these changes at the beginning of the 1974-75 school year, even though the official languages could not be used as a medium of instruction in urban areas until the beginning of secondary schooling (SAIRR, 1975; Hofmeyer and Vorster, 1984, Mamdani, 1996; Walker and Archung, 2003; Meredith, 2005; Easterly, 2006). One needs to remember that in 1955, a policy of teaching in both English and Afrikaans on a 50-50 basis in the secondary schools was adopted.

The Apartheid government was willing to change the “ruling” with regard to medium of instruction without delay. It is necessary to understand earlier events in the Transkei, which had limited self-government since December 1963. Even before the Transkei gained so-called “self rule”, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development appointed a commission of review to investigate the teaching of official languages (English and Afrikaans) and the use of vernacular in Xhosa primary schools. Instead of setting out recommendations that would promote the objectives of Bantu Education, the commission, comprised of Africans except for two White advisers, issued a critique that condemned double sessions, the quality of teaching, and the rather late introduction of English, and syllabus (curriculum) that emphasised gardening, needlework, sewing and handwork. The commission published its report shortly before the Transkei’s first electoral campaign and its themes were flogged by both major contenders, namely, Matanzima and Poto (Woods, 1987; Biko, 2002; Meredith, 2006; Farrah, 2007).

To support the Xhosa people’s faith in education Matanzima made the following provocative statements:

The Department of Education in the Transkei should be solely responsible for the nature and standard of education to be given to the Bantu child. The Republican Government should stop interference. The people of the Transkei should decide on the medium of instruction and syllabi (Hill, 1964, p. 40).

Poto, in turn demanded “an educational system that will fit the individual into human society which is unlimited by geographical boundaries” (Hill, 1964, pp. 70-71; see also Tatz, 1972; Farrah, 2007).

When the Transkei Legislative Assembly convened following the elections, Matanzima’s Transkei National Independence Party and Poto’s Democratic Party formed a select committee to develop joint recommendations on educational policy. The select committee unanimously rejected use of the mother tongue (vernacular) as the medium of instruction and it (the select committee) appointed a sub-committee of African teachers to draft a model syllabus based on that of the Cape Education Department.

Thus, African leaders in the Transkei, like other so-called tribal leaders, emphatically repudiated two of the cardinal principles of Bantu Education: that is instruction through the vernacular and syllabuses designed to enforce (promote) acceptance of a plural society (SAIRR, 1974/75; Woods, 1975; Biko, 2002; Meredith, 2005; Easterly, 2006).

How did the Apartheid regime react to this defiant initiative? Official sources, such as the Bantu Education Journal (April 1964) “ran editorials warning the Transkei to retain Bantu education. However, no further actions were taken even though the South African government could have withheld funding from the Transkei” (Tillema, 1974, p. 26; see also Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Hofmeyer and Vorster, 1984; Mamdani, 1996; Walker and Archung, 2003; Meredith, 2005).

Of the organisations examined in this chapter, the Bantustan (homelands) governments had been the most effective in challenging and changing educational policy despite the fact that the central government (National Party) controlled virtually all of their funding and exercised close supervision and control over their bureaucratic practices. In the case of the Transkei’s precedent of rejecting Bantu education, it appeared that it would have been extremely difficult for the Apartheid government to withdraw its resources from the Transkei or insist on Bantu education at precisely the moment that it (the central government) was attempting to convince its critics that the homelands (Bantustans) were independent governments (Hill, 1964; Carter et al., 1967; SAIRR, 1977/78; Kingston et al., 2003; Meredith, 2005; Easterly, 2006).

An analogous situation existed then when, once again, the National government had announced its plans to extend limited “self-government” to the other reserves (homelands/Bantustans). In this light, the Bantustan governments could use their formal control of policy to gain concessions without extensive (undue) fiscal and administrative resources. In doing so, the homelands’ governments gained “ready international and somewhat more limited support for their demands” (Tillema, 1974, p.266). However, before concluding that substantial changes in race relations came to South Africa, one must bear in mind that the Bantustans were essentially rural, were of questionable economic viability, and could achieve “de jure” independence while remaining “de facto” dependencies. Hence the homelands governments could in future change their educational policies internally without changing the pattern of White dominance (superiority) in South Africa. (Tillema, 1974; Kallaway, 2002; Jansen, 2006; Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Farrah, 2007).

7.8 RESISTANCE IN THE 1980s

The uprisings in African schools during the 1970s were followed by another large-scale revolt mainly among “Coloured” and Indian schools in the 1980s. These prolonged protest movements almost brought education to an absolute halt and directly gave birth to the establishment of what has become known as the De Lange Report on Education which purportedly was an attempt to re-design education in South Africa (SAIRR, 1980-1990; Bundy, 2005; Molteno, 1988; Meredith, 2005; Easterly, 2006; Hall, 1990).

Sadly enough, the De Lange Report was a “re-gripping” of the hold of “old-apartheid” on the education of Blacks in South Africa. As Huddleston, writing in 1956, then expressed his conviction:

I am convinced... that the Bantu Education Act and its implementation are the beginning of a resistance movement amongst the African people: that, however, outwardly compliant they may be, there burns beneath the surface a fire of fierce resentment which, one day, will get out of control. It cannot be otherwise. Bantu Education is one of the chief instruments of a policy of racialism whose avowed aim is the establishment of an enduring white supremacy. It is, indeed, an education for servitude. But it has come too late (Huddleston, 1956, p. 132).

The institution of the Tri-Cameral system of government which included Whites, Indians and Coloureds, but excluded Africans again set off large-scale protests, which ultimately resulted in the declaration of a State of Emergency which for a number of years, 1985 to 1990, became “a permanent feature of South Africa under apartheid” (Sonn, 1984, p. 9; see also Russo et al., 2005; Jansen, 2006; Farrah, 2007).

The student activism in the years after 1985 brought parents to the realization, that as parents, they were too docile and too accommodating of their patience, as Sonn posited:

Parents, teachers and workers have come to respect the new spirit among the young and, this in fact, has given rise to an authority crisis realizing that young people are right and that it is best to accept resistance as the legitimate and correct political position for these times. (Sonn, 1984, p. 9).

Resistance politics in education had come to stay and was then an accepted feature in the Black community. Resistance in education had filled Africans with a sense of pride and power and had been carved into an image of a carefully disciplined and planned movement (Tatz, 1972; Hofmeyer and Vorster, 1984; Molteno, 1988; Kallaway, 2002; Walker and Archung, 2003; Bundy, 2005; Meredith, 2005; Easterly, 2006).

My research findings show that people power ultimately prevails, as demonstrated by events in South Africa, and discussed above, and we can refer to similar collapse of totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe, especially in the former Soviet Union—at the time the world’s second nuclear superpower.

7.9 THOUGHTS ON THE THEORY OF RESISTANCE

Segregated schooling in South Africa was seen as equipment to manufacture inferior segments for Africans in order to create “instruments of domination, racial discrimination in the liberal principle and capitalist domination in the more radical principle” (Molteno, 1988, p.53). Molteno argues that the system of Bantu Education was designed to control the:

...direction of thought to delimit the boundaries of knowledge, to restrict lines of communication, and to curtail contact across language barriers. It aimed to dwarf the minds of black children by conditioning them to servitude (Molteno, 1988, p. 54).

Like the segregated and inferior system of schooling before 1948, Bantu Education was intended to prepare Black children for the subordinated positions in order to appropriately equip them with limited skills and prepare them to resign themselves to the fate of exploitation (Molteno, 1988; Christie, 1986; Fiske and Ladd, 2004; Russo et al., 2005; Meredith, 2005; Farrah, 2007).

Contrary to what the architects of Bantu Education planned, perhaps the most obvious implication of what happened in the 1970s and 1980s was that the system of Bantu Education had showed to a significant extent signs of failure. Significantly, Nkomo (1984) was the only

one who appeared to have published an academic expose', which gave an explicit recognition to the apparent failure of Bantu Education. Unarguably Nkomo observed that:

For many students Bantu Education seems to have promoted the notion of an undivided South Africa, rather than fragmentation among its various ethnic groups. Power relations between whites and blacks became the defining variable. For many students, Bantu Education instilled collective pride instead of ethnic rivalry and subservience, socialized throughout their formal education experience to identify with their own ethnic group, having autonomous will, logic, and momentum quite contrary to official intentions (Nkomo, 1984, p.129).

The failure of the Bantu education system did not appear to be problematic for liberal opinion: the dominators had distorted education to the end of domination and the dominated have demanded real education in defiance of domination. Ultimately it was hoped that good would triumph over evil:

It is not known how many of the system's opponents ever thought that it could succeed in the ruler's terms. Black schools ... have failed ... in the sense that the rulers' objectives for black schooling ... have failed to have been realized" (Molteno, 1988, p. 55).

There was more to schooling than the official policy-makers' objectives for it. Schooling could not be reduced to design (Bowles and Gintis, 1976/2006; Illich, 1976; Jansen, 2006; Bundy, 2005; Russo, et al. 2005; SAIRR, 1981/89; Easterly, 2006). In contradiction to the conception of schooling as an instrument of capitalist domination, there is the view supporting a Marxist perspective on education. The Marxist view, in its various formulations, supports the reproduction model. Bantu Education according to this theory was geared towards the reproduction of labour required by the needs of capitalist accumulation in general:

The proponents of this theory maintain that Black schools function to reproduce the sort of workers desired by capitalism in general, i.e., the reproductive needs of capital in general can be said to be met by the schooling system (Molteno, 1988, p. 55).

The reproduction theory might have been unacceptable to some who recognised that schooling's failure implied failure on the part of the theories of reproduction too. There was

therefore a denial that schooling had something to do with the reproduction of capitalist relations of production. Schooling should be seen not from the top down or from the bottom up but dialectically as the ever new, yet historically rooted, product of structurally located struggles (Molteno, 1988, p.99). However, Willis (1983) observes: “so long as the burden of election sorting/examination is placed on schooling in an unequal and class society, then the reproduction perspective must be taken into account” (p.110; see also Illich, 1976; Bowles and Gintis, 1976/2001; Hall, 1990; Hertz, 2001; Meredith, 2005; Easterly, 2006).

7.10 RESISTANCE AS A LEGACY OF AFRICAN EDUCATION HAS RECLAIMED EDUCATION SPACE

The struggle of Black South Africans students had re-claimed space for the entire Black community. Tremendous responsibility had been placed on the shoulders of students, parents and teachers to protect this space by a disciplined struggle no longer to gain control but to hold control. It might also be true to note that student activism had revealed that non-racial democratic principles had much to offer and had gained much ground. Democratic tenets and space should be jealously guarded even in the face of the most terrible provocation (Sonn, 1989, pp. 9, 10; see also Hofmeyer and Vorster, 1984; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Walker and Archung, 2003; Illich, 1976; Meredith, 2005; Easterly, 2006; Hall, 1990). This was true for South Africa, and many other countries. Any oppressive government like the Nationalist government in South Africa was always bent on controlling what was to be taught and by whom it was to be taught (Sonn, 1989). Created by apartheid’s architect, Verwoerd, Bantu Education had left a bitter, ravaging and devastating legacy not only for Blacks who had suffered from inferior schooling, but also for the nation, which needed an educated workforce to fuel economic growth. With the post-apartheid era in sight, the government and other majority groups (the ANC, the PAC and the SACP) had begun the arduous task of restructuring the educational system (Sonn, 1989, pp. 9, 10; see also Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Farrah, 2007).

7.11 CONCLUSION

Of all the legacies apartheid’s planners had left for future South African governments to rectify, the deliberate miseducation of the country’s Blacks might well prove to be the worst. The Bantu Education Act, a system designed for Blacks, had left South Africa with a majority

of its people functionally illiterate and its economy shackled by a lack of skilled labour which starved productivity and resulted in mass unemployment (SAIRR, 1988/89; Tygesen, 1991; Mamdani, 1996; Hertz, 2001; Kingston et al., 2003; Meredith, 2005; Easterly, 2006).

Bantu Education was designed as a cornerstone and pillar of apartheid. As reflected in the survey of resistance in education here, education had proved to be a powder keg of discontent so explosive that when it ignited, it blew away the entire system. The horrendous physical degradation of schools, the boot-string per capita expenditure, the unqualified and underqualified African teachers, the pupil-teacher ratios, etc., are only part of the tip of the iceberg. Thus, the magnitude of South Africa's education problem was staggering. "As cabinet ministers openly admit, the application of apartheid was a terrible mistake, the creation of Bantu Education (Black education) seems to have been the biggest mistake of all" (Tygesen, 1991, p. 14; see also Russo et al., 2005; Meredith, 2005; Easterly, 2006; Farrah, 2007).

The 1976 revolt of school children was one of many forms of student resistance as reflected earlier that initiated the political upheaval which forced the Afrikaner government to finally negotiate with African Students' parents in the ANC and other Black organisations. Inflamed by the imposition in 1976 of Afrikaans as the language of instruction in high schools, black students took to the streets. As they quickly expanded their protest to target the entire system of broader education and apartheid itself, they had indeed initiated the first full-scale attack against the Nationalist government since it banned the liberation movement in 1960 (Tygesen, 1991). As Tygesen illustrated clearly:

Students, a new generation of them, were once again on the frontlines in the anti-apartheid revolt when it picked up steam in the mid 1980s. Under the slogan liberation first, education later, the school children became the foot soldiers of the townships' blood street battles.

To untangle this huge bureaucratic mess, the political activists must face another battlefield. This is absolutely essential in order to free the schools for teaching. Education must finally be planned according to the needs of the communities, not the wishes of the oppressors (Tygesen, 1991, pp. 14-15).

As the living standards were declining in South Africa because of the boycotts and disinvestment caused by the pillars of apartheid, South Africa had been a net exporter of educated Whites. With the declining role of gold and agriculture in the economy, South Africa needed well-educated Blacks to man secondary industry and globalisation brought about by e-commerce, information technology (IT) and research and development in industry and commerce in general (Lewis, 1988; Tygesen, 1991; Bowles and Gintis, 2006; Bergh and Soudien, 2006; Jansen, 2006; Dyson, 2007).

The interests of their (Africans') old life was lost. This could not be manufactured, but through the spread of religion and education it could be cultivated. Cleanliness, faithful discharge of duty, thoroughness in the performance of work, and prompt obedience to others were virtues which to the White man's mind, outweighed the passing of education standards (Tabata, 1960; Zeus, 2005).

In another resolution, although not said specifically, parliamentarians believed that during the apartheid era Blacks and Whites were opposites in many cardinal points. The one has a large frontal region of the brain, the other a large posterior region; the one a great reason, the other evidently emotional, the one domineering but having great self-control, the other meek and submissive, but violent and lacking in self-control when the passions are roused (Tatz, 1972; Farrah, 2007).

Resistance to Bantu Education took many forms. The popular form was people's Universities. It demonstrated that alternative and progressive schooling in non-formal education sectors had a significant input on black African consciousness, ideology, knowledge and skills.

It will be shown in Chapter 8 that 'Bantu Education' had in practice, served certain sectors of the community poorly rather than well. Education in South Africa was not only reflected in the nation's racial pattern, but served directly to enforce and promote the economic, social, cultural and political systems. As the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education of 1935-36 noted: "The education of the White Child prepares him for life in dominant society and the education of the Black Child for life in a subordinate society."

Since 1948, under the National Party's apartheid policy to, achieve the physical, cultural and psychological separation of races, while maintaining European and economic, political and

social domination, the education of the non-European population (Coloured, Indian and African) had become an increasingly more significant means of perpetuating the South African way of life. For this reason the apartheid government in its program for African development especially gave top priority to the reformation of the educational system, namely the Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953.

CHAPTER 8

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter, by way of conclusion, focuses on education and social reproduction. In particular, it presents an important finding that the power, control and hegemony of apartheid and its education policy in South Africa was designed to preserve the status quo – racial stratification. As a result of this policy, the racial and ethnic groups were kept divided, confused, deluded and oppressed (Norval, 1996; Sonn, 1989; Mamdani, 1996). White (1996, p.14) argues even Europeans in South Africa were disillusioned with the government and its policies:

Europeans feel increasingly cynical, powerless about government. They see public policy made under the anaesthetic of corporate influence, political information organised through spin doctors and a media which constantly feeds them on a diet of pap and consensus. People simply do not have the tools to participate in public life (White, 1996, p.14).

The word “policy” will be used frequently this chapter with a definite purpose. Education policy has become increasingly central as an organizing ‘principle’ in contemporary societies, shaping the way we live, act and think (see Zajda, 2002, 2005a). Zajda (2005a) suggests that, as concepts, “policy and policy-making involve certain conceptual and epistemological difficulties” (Zajda, 2005a, p. 3). Furthermore, the idea of education policy “tended to be equated with planning” (p. 4). This was particularly relevant to education policy reforms in South Africa.

Policies create new categories and labels of individuals such as ‘subject’, ‘citizen’, ‘professional’, ‘national’, ‘criminal’, ‘deviant’, and so forth. Policies also influence the way individuals construct themselves as ‘subjects’, acting both on and through people as free and rational agents. If policy is a tool of government, it is equally a tool for tracing the links – between different sites, agents and levels within the complex policy process (Shore and Wright, 1997, pp. 3-4).

The study of policy, therefore leads straight into issues at the heart of anthropology: norms and institutions; ideology and consciousness; knowledge and power; rhetoric and discourse; meaning and interpretation; the global and the local – to mention but a few (Shore and Wright, 1997, p. 4).

Policy has become an increasingly central concept and instrument in the organization of contemporary societies. In Foucault's (1977) discourse analysis, policies (together with power) are used for shaping individuals. Increasingly, policies are related to a more global phenomenon of changing patterns of governance:

...through international structural adjustment programmes and Western training schemes for "Southern" policy makers, neo liberal models of the state and patterns of governance are being exported to the Third World. By examining policy, we hope to shed light on changing styles and systems of governance and how these are reconfiguring relationships between individual and society (Shore and Wright, 1997, p. 5).

Like Victorian photography or the 'pan option' person (or the alienated European whom White says are fed on a diet of pap), "the objectified person is seen but he does not see, he is the object of information, never a subject in communication" (Foucault. 1977, p. 200).

Policy may be defined as a plan of action, statement of ideals, and so forth, proposed or adopted by a government (State) to govern the acts, relationships, activities or institutional mechanisms, of decision-making and service delivery. Policies may differ enormously in these various manifestations, and the challenge is to make them appear to be coherent:

Much of the work of organizing is to make these fragmented activities appear coherent, so it can be claimed that an intention has been realized and a successful result achieved (Shore and Wright, 1997, p. 5).

Policies can be read in a number of ways: They encapsulate the entire history and culture of the society that generated them. Policies can be studied as total social phenomena as they have important economic, legal, cultural and moral implications. Policies can also create whole new sets of relationships between individuals, groups and objects. They can be given various meanings, as narratives that serve to justify or condemn the present or as rhetorical devices and

discursive formations that function to empower some people and silence others. In South Africa, legislation lent superiority to Whites and made sure Blacks remained inferior, through poverty, inequality and racial discrimination.

Education policy, based on the concept of investment in *human capital*, as part of the neoclassical economy theory of the 1970s, was dominating education reforms in South Africa. However, for education reforms to be more effective there had to be a major policy paradigm shift—stressing the “socialising” function of education and the “micro” workings of labour markets. As Zajda (2005a) explains “Policy makers should concentrate on providing the optimal economic and social conditions that work as incentives for future human capital needs” (Zajda, 2005a, p. 5).

Policies are almost always political phenomena, yet policies are disguised by the objective, neutral, legal-rational euphemisms in which they are portrayed. Policies seem to be mere political and administrative devices for promoting efficiency and effectiveness:

Government isn't about morality ...preventing anarchy, stopping society falling to bits. Still being here tomorrow ...Government isn't about good and evil; it's only about order and chaos (Sir Humphrey Appleby, Cited in Lynn and Jay, 1983, p. 116).

As this example, and many others suggest, policies – and the iron laws they purport to rest upon – often function as a vehicle for distancing policy authors from the objects of policy (Shore and Wright, 1985, p. 29). Equally, perhaps, policy serves as a mechanism for disguising the identity of decision-makers. Hence, defining a course of action as ‘official policy’ of the government or organization serves to make decision-making more generalised, more impersonal, bureaucratic and anonymous. Like bureaucracy (of which it is a major accessory), policy can serve to cloak subjective, ideological and arguably highly ‘irrational’ goals in the guise of rational, collective, universalised objectives.

Policies are plans of action – statements of ideals proposed or adopted by a government, for example, in respect of education to lay down rules and regulations for the administration or conduct of an educational system. Through the legitimation of Bantu (African) policies of education Africans were subjected to draconian measures resulting in discriminatory funding,

high pupil failure and other inadequate educational facilities, high rates of enrolment and many unqualified and underqualified educators. Four years of education was set aside for Africans and this in turn resulted in unskilled and semi-skilled employees. The Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953 and the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 were enforced through state apparatuses in the form of police, the defence force, the special branch (security police) and incessant banning orders, detentions and numerous other repressive proclamations attached hereto.

This explains why the state and education in some historical periods (for instance 1948 to 1994 – the apartheid era) acted to demote, instead of promoting, social mobility and resulted in greater social inequality. Like in most western countries, education was responsible for cultural reproduction (see Chapter 1 and 2; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Zajda, 2009).

Cultural reproduction, as discussed in Chapter 1, was characterised by social stratification and social inequality:

Education's conflicting roles create a contradiction in capitalist development by exacerbating the conflict between democratic demands – which include demands for social mobility and greater economic equality – and the demands – of the hierarchal, highly unequal economic system (Carnoy and Samoff, 1990, p. 9).

Fagen (1990) in “transitional politics” draws on the sociopolitical elements that Poulanzens (1980) used to analyze the capitalist state: “individualism, the law, the nation, and knowledge” (Cited in Carnoy and Samoff, 1990, p.36). These are the political elements that those who overthrow the dictator, the colonial power, or in the case of Zimbabwe, or South Africa, an “indigenous” White minority, must transform in order to create a legitimate transition state and a transition society with its own self-reproductive dynamic (Carnoy and Samoff, 1990, pp. 36-37).

8.2 POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES

This dissertation has examined the way in which political and economic policies and resources had been used in South Africa to implement educational policies that promoted or consolidated

racial discrimination. A summary of the findings of this thesis will be related to the directions of change in South Africa.

First of all, we examined the process through which control of educational findings became centralised after a long period of conflict between the provinces and the central government. This was clearly exhibited in **Chapter 5** (pp. 84-123) dealing with the evolution, economics and financing of African Education. As a result of this conflict, the provincial governments assumed responsibility only for White primary and secondary education and were very unlikely to gain control of technical, university, or African education. Moreover, the central government had increased its expenditure for education to the extent that it would be difficult for either the provinces or individual educational institutions like the mission schools and especially open universities to introduce variations in the pattern of race relations in education. In almost all instances, the central government did not initially seek to expand its control of educational funding, for the express purpose of introducing discrimination, but, it had been able to use its control of funding to implement discriminatory practices as its educational policy objectives had moved in this direction.

What were these objectives and how have they changed? From the period from Union (1910) to the Rand revolt (1946 – Black miners’ strike), the objective of educational policy in South Africa was to socialize both Whites and non-Whites (Africans/Blacks) to White society. The primary objective of educational opportunities would in turn have promoted competition between Africans and Whites for scarce jobs. After the political challenge of African nationalism became apparent following World War II, a new objective for African education was sought. This new objective, which had been the position of the Nationalist party since it came to power in 1948, was the object of using educational policy to justify to Africans their subordinate place in South African society.

As the objectives of White and African education became more and more disparate, specialization increased in respect of the administration effort to control educational development for each racial group. Between 1948 and 1994, specialized bureaucracies were created for administering education for all racial groups. Even though the bureaucracy for administering Bantu education had provided new limited employment opportunities for

Africans in the Bantustans (reserves), it had also limited the span of control of African schools there and the administration of Bantu Education, the education for Africans then became firmly controlled by Whites.

However, it was only in the reserves (homelands) that opponents (Chief Gatsha Butheleze of Zululand, Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei, and Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthaswana) of Bantu education had been able to introduce changes (refusal to accept Afrikaans as a medium of instruction) to the stated objectives of Bantu education policy. Elsewhere as observed in Chapter 7 (Resistance in Education), Africans and White opponents of Bantu education were unsuccessful in changing educational policies due to the government's control of funds and administrative practices that regulated the conduct of education.

How are these findings related to the four research questions listed in Chapter 1 and the critique of these in this chapter, to reflect upon the possibilities for change in South African educational policy? Below is the summary of my research findings:

8.3 POLICIES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research Question 1:

What was the socio-historical context of education in South Africa prior to 1948?

The official government policy was that Blacks were not to be given an academic education, as previously supplied by the Missionaries, which would have resulted in a shortage of Black labourers in South Africa. The consensus among Whites was that schools should be conducted so the 'native' who attended Black schools knew to a greater extent that the Black man should be the labourer in the country. South Africa had a segregated educational system designed not to liberate, but to institutionalise subordination, and the acceptance of the status quo, namely that schools for Blacks were designed to prepare labourers for low-skilled occupations.

Research Question 2:

What were the political economic and educational significances of the introduction of the 1948 Apartheid policy?

Since 1948, under the National Party's apartheid policy to achieve the physical, cultural and psychological separation of races, while maintaining European and economic, political and social domination, the education of the non-European population had become an increasingly more significant means of perpetuating the South African way of life. For this reason the apartheid government in its education program gave priority to the formation of the educational systems, namely the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the Coloured Education Act of 1963 and the Indian Education Act of 1965.

The best guarantee for ultimate Black victory in their struggle, and the greatest threat and danger to White exploitation and domination is the political consciousness of the masses of the oppressed people, their contact with current world events and trends in international relationships. The acquaintance with and knowledge of the history of the liberatory movement in other parts of the world, and their unity of purpose with all democrats in this country and abroad – a unity which transcends racial or ethnic differences—helped to undermine the very foundations of the social economic and political structure.

Blacks had realised that their hope for improving their social and economic condition, and upward social mobility lay in education, but they were restricted to Bantu education, and tribal universities: a shortage of accommodation, a lack of educational resources and poorly qualified teachers.

Research Question 3:

What was the role of the Bantu Education during the 1948 – 1994 period?

The principal role of the Bantu Education Act was certainly the break with past practice. Black children were brought up under state control. The provisions of the Bantu Education Act left little doubt that central control was to be the springboard for educational policies to contribute towards the reproduction of Black labour in stable form. Verwoerd maintained that there was no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. The African must stand with both feet in the Reserves.

Research Question 4:

What effects did the Bantu Education Act have on the people of South Africa?

Four aspects of the apartheid legacy are particularly relevant for education:

- residential segregation and persistent and endemic poverty among Africans;
- inadequate resources and low-quality instruction for Black children;
- low-levels of educational attainment among Blacks and low student achievement;
- the absence of an adequate culture of learning.

My research findings comprise two key messages:

- the ways in which dominant ideology and political resources have been used in South Africa to implement educational policies that promoted racial discrimination between 1948 – 1994;
- The resultant negative effects that continued to persist in all aspects of South African society and education, despite the fact that apartheid ended with South African's democratic elections in 1994.

As the above research findings indicate, in terms of the legitimation of Bantu education, political resources had been consistently managed to eliminate opposition to the distribution of public benefits according to racial criteria. Due to the pressures of an expanding industrial economy political resources had been used in ways that eliminated special privileges in education despite stated ideological preferences to the contrary. Political and economic resources that could result from education, a laudable and potential “great equaliser”, had not been mobilized for the purpose of increasing special privileges in education despite stated ideological preferences to do so.

Have political resources been used to eliminate opposition to the distribution of educational privileges according to racial criteria? The use of political resources to eliminate organized opposition to educational policy was a feature of Nationalist rule from 1948. In the past, funds, ideas, and administrative practices were certainly used in the 1920s to the 1930s to reduce educational opportunities for Africans. Africans' education was funded through their payment of increased taxes. However, resources were not used to eliminate organizational critics of educational policy, partly because African critics were not at the time organized to demand political representation as well as educational reform, and partly because the objectives of

educational policy for Whites and Africans were not as disparate as they were then. The use of resources to suppress opponents of educational policy corresponded to the attempts of Afrikaner nationalists to prevent Africans from gaining political representation and to prevent White liberals from engaging in practices that would further African aims on representation.

To counteract White liberals and Africans who could not accept the view that educational policy should be used to gain African acceptances of an inferior status in South Africa, resources were used selectively. Funds were withdrawn from the church schools whose suburban base corresponded to that of African nationalistic organizations (the ANC and pro-Black unions). Administrative sanctions were taken to make school graduation difficult for African children who participated in boycotts organized by the African National Congress. Legislative and administrative rules and regulations were promulgated to force open universities to impose racial segregation. But, funds were not withheld from African leaders as mentioned earlier, in the reserves even though they too had opposed Bantu education. From the evidence available, it appeared much more likely that resources were used to suppress urban opponents of Bantu education than African leaders in the Bantustans (reserves).

Did this mean that resources were being used at least in the reserves to discourage racial discrimination in education and to offer the possibility of incremental social change? Under pressure from homeland leaders, funds had been applied to education even though two of the major principles of Bantu education were set aside when the content (domestic science for girls and handwork for boys, and so forth) and medium of instruction were changed to correspond with that of Provincial Education Departments for Whites. However, bureaucratic organizations in the Bantustans were controlled by Whites. In this way, the South African government retained specialized administrative capabilities for reasserting control of delaying further change. Moreover, no new objective after the 1976 Soweto riots and the “Liberation Now, Education Later” smites of the 1980s to the early 1990s, concessions were made, and increase in funding occurred and new buildings **were** constructed in the urban areas. However, no new objectives for African education in the reserves had been articulated by White political leaders in parliamentary debates. Improved conditions for farm schools only took shape in the mid – 1970s to the late 1970s. Apart from the latter changes, it was difficult to conclude that all resources were being used in the reserves to eliminate special privileges in education,

although African leaders skilfully made demands and exercised the resources available to them which offered some hope for change (SAIRR, 1979; Nasson, 1990).

What more can be said for the hypothesis that education could be a potential and laudable “greater equaliser”, and in the process result in social mobility? If this research, on the one hand, was taken to mean that the South African government would have been forced to use its resources to provide educational opportunities for Africans in urban areas, there seemed to have been very little evidence to suggest change of this sort despite the demands of Africans living in the cities and pressure from business and industry. On the other hand, if the hypothesis meant that Africans continued to participate in the manufacturing sector of the economy at some cost to the South African government, there seemed to be little question of its validity. For example, a common pattern among Africans in the Transkei was to be educated there and then migrate to urban areas where their education enabled them to qualify for employment and further on-the-job-training. To the extent that African leaders in the reserves exercised their opportunities not available elsewhere, they will have enabled Africans in the reserves to continue migrating to cities where the greatest economic rewards for their skills were available. However, such a system of migration was not without costs associated with transportation, housing, and separating migrants from their families in addition to the initial cost of education. Because there appeared to be no slackening of the demand for an educated African workforce, it seemed quite likely that the South African (Nationalist) government would be diverting resources to the solution of this problem for years to come, whether or not it agreed to expand opportunities for Africans to obtain education in the cities.

Still another idea mooted in passing which was mentioned at the outset and seems worthy of further comment even though it had not been confirmed, was that change in South African educational policy had occurred primarily in the “ideational” sphere. Such an occurrence could not result either because the South African government was unable to use its other resources to extend special privileges in education on account of the demands of the economy, as above, or it could result because the South African government never intended to accomplish its stated goals but wished to give the appearance of doing so. As indicated above, no evidence was found that the processes of industrialization forced the South African government to abandon its policy of limiting funds for Whites. Instead, resources had been used both to prevent

competition between Whites and Africans for education and employment to overcome economic inefficiencies which could have resulted from restricting this competition. At no time did it appear that political ideas were used to formulate objectives that were never implemented. In the 1920s to the 1930s, subsidies to White schools were based on their abilities to increase enrolment while subsidies to African schools were frozen. Under the policy of apartheid funds for African education had been shifted from urban areas to the reserves and from the higher primary grades, secondary education, and the technical training to the lower primary grades and literacy training. Administrative practices had also been adopted to make these changes effective. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that political ideas about constructing a plural society were expressed only for rhetoric effect.

Does this mean that ideas and administration practices had been used consistently? In general, it did. When the objective for education for Blacks was that of socializing of them to White society, no special limitations were placed on the use of funds for this purpose and there was no bureaucratic differentiation to oversee spending for Black education. When the objection of education for Blacks became that of restricting opportunities, funds were frozen and some organizational differentiation was instituted to see that spending remained within prescribed limits. When the purpose of educational policy became that of socializing Africans to accept a subordinate place in the reserves (homelands), funds were diverted there, to establish most of the secondary schools and “bush colleges” (universities), and a separate bureaucratic organization (Department of Bantu Education (DBE) eventually became the Department of Training and Education (DTE) was created to implement this new objective. All of these events have, against the volition of most whites, been conducive to the creation of a plural society in South Africa. This is not to say that every act had been undertaken by evil men operating under the single motive of racial prejudice. However, revulsed the author is by racial discrimination, he cannot fail to see that special privileges in South Africa were the outcome of mixed motives and unanticipated social and economic consequences that will continue far into the future. This did not mean that the situation would be excused, ignored, or dismissed but it meant that the situation was complex.

What then of the future? Were there any hopeful signs for the more equitable treatment of Africans? As a prelude to answering these questions, by 1948 the Board of Trade and Industries was warning that:

Racial and class differences will create a homogeneous proletariat which will ultimately lose all its earlier ties with community groupings which previously had influence and meaning in their lives (Quoted in Mamdani, 1996, p. 99).

The result could only “be detribalization of large numbers of Natives”; the accumulation of “rootless masses concentrated in the large industrial centres” was surely “a matter which no government can sit back and watch.” (Cited in Mamdani, 1996, pp. 99-100).

This sentiment was echoed by the first minister of Native Affairs in the National Party Government, Verwoerd. This architect of apartheid declared that “the position in the urban areas has become intolerable.” He then warned of the “social danger “of “detribalization,” which had removed “the tribal form of control” but left “nothing to replace” it (Quoted in Mamdani, 1996, pp. 99-100).

In the long term, in answering the above two questions, much depended on certain ambivalence in Afrikaner thinking. Was it their purpose to induce Africans to have accepted institutions in the reserves which were subordinate at that time because they were underdeveloped? Or was their purpose subordination per se? So far emphasis had been placed on the latter. Yet, devaluation of control to the reserves had potentially far-reaching significance for extending to Africans opportunities to develop political organizations and gain administrative experience. As far as educational policy was concerned, **devolution** of control had already brought substantial increases in funding and educational practices contrary to the principles of Bantu education. If grand apartheid were turned into a meaningful program of political change, it could offer substantial hope for resolving conflict based on racial discrimination.

On the basis of material presented in this thesis, at least two major kinds of change, in addition to the 1970 – 1980s increase in funds, would signal a substantial shift in South African educational policy for the homelands (reserves). The first of these would be an explicitly stated

reorientation of political ideas and values, such that recognition is given to the capacity of Africans for substantial educational achievement, and the primary objective of educational policy would then become that of giving Africans opportunities to learn about their own, as well as other cultures, and to select what they thought best for developing their own institutions. Second, bureaucratic organizations for regulating African education would need to be transferred to African control. Both of these steps were essential, if Africans were to determine their own political, economic and cultural fate.

In the larger context, there were a number of other conditions that had to be met, if grand apartheid was to be the basis of meaningful change in South Africa. First, Africans had to have more than thirteen percent of the land they held then. The land holdings could not be composed of isolated enclaves surrounded by Whites but had to provide Africans with one or contiguous territories. If such a program was to be meaningful, it should have also made provision for the four million Africans who lived in urbanized areas then. To do so, was likely to require some combination of incorporating new urban areas into reserves (Bantustans) and creating new economic opportunities there. This was in fact done after the 1994 democratic elections – nine provinces instead of four have been proclaimed, each with a capital city of its own. Economic development has been stimulated not on the borders of the reserves but in their own towns and capitals. The new provinces are permitted to conduct relations internally, inter-provincially and internationally – both with business and humanitarian organizations. Civil liberties and the rule of law have been granted to all areas.

In the light of political realities existing then all these changes seem unrealistic. All these dispensations required “sacrifices” by Whites who in the long run sacrificed their unearned inherent special privileges. Africans were also inspired to work towards such a goal despite inevitable frustrations and the slow pace of changes. Yet, independent African political organizations in South Africa initially offered some hope for decreasing fear, moderating discrimination, and curtailing violence. Although the realization of this hope seemed remote, the effort to work toward it preserved the margin of rationality that choice brings to politics (Tillema, 1974).

8.4 THE NEXUS BETWEEN EDUCATION AND POLICY

Finally, it must be borne in mind that critical theory in education, as a paradigm, fails to address the ecology and totality of the education system, and its symbiotic dependence on political economy, whether in a developed or developing country. Transformative education could not occur without a simultaneous transformation of all the education sub-systems including curriculum structures, management structures, organizational systems, teacher education, the state, educational mediators, economics, and so forth. Zajda (2010a), for instance argues in his *Global Pedagogies* that there is a need for a new paradigm shift:

One could argue that the new and evolving paradigm shift in pedagogy is dictated by forces of globalisation, politico-economic change, ‘knowledge society’, and ITCs, to name a few... Recent education policy research also reflects a rapidly changing world where citizens and consumers are experiencing a growing sense of uncertainty, alienation, loss of values, and loss of flexibility...**Research indicates that cultural capital, as a significant dimension of educational inequality**, continues to shape and influence students’ academic achievement and destinies globally...

Educational systems, by upholding a single ‘gold standard’ defining knowledge, excellence and quality in education, not only reinforce the differentiated achievement status of privileged social strata, but also reward those who are conversant with implicit rules of dominant ideology (Zajda, 2010a, pp. xvi-xvii).

Yet little serious attention is given to address the way in which changes, as suggested above, in pedagogical practices might interface in one sub-system may even have little overall effect on other systems is not readily recognised (Lynch, 2000).

Some educators and policy makers steer clear of critiquing the state. They tend to work on projects which are safe and their politically correct. Academics can luxuriate in the purity of their thoughts when distant from institutions of power and struggle. But when the project of research and teaching is “equality” such distancing seems intellectually and politically counter-productive (Lynch, 2000). Gordon, 1973, postulated this inequality succinctly when he proclaimed:

...Black clientele are treated as commodities – useful for a time, but ultimately undeserving of genuine consideration except as may be

required to ensure the attainment of investigatory goals (Gordon, 1973, pp. 87-96).

Dumont adds a critical comment on the way researchers interpret data:

...There has been a vampirish quality to the manner in which researchers sucked the data from their subjects... Moreover, they did so with a sense of righteousness as if every monograph partook of Galileo's divinity (Dumont, 1969, pp.161-169).

Regarding Blacks as guinea pigs and 'sucking' information like vampires; the apartheid education of 1948 to 1994 from the beginning lacked the basis for any general legitimacy (Bordieu and Passeson, 1977, p.178). The possibility of education enjoying even limited legitimacy amongst Blacks was destroyed once and for all when the National Party government linked the deliberately discriminating differentiation of education along racist lines with the explicit objective of preparing them for permanent inferiority under apartheid (Molteno, 1987, p. 6).

In retaliation students suspended formal curriculum and went some way towards substituting it with their own spontaneous experiment in education for liberation. In what has been described "a most extreme form of educational and curriculum innovation" (Millar and Philcox, 1981, p. 2), this involved not only an alternative to the curriculum in both formal and 'hidden' dimensions but also an attempt to relocate their schooling in relation to a future as exploited workers.

In South Africa, education had been the on-going anti-apartheid struggle—a battle for equality, social justice and human rights (see also McLaren, Macrine, and Hill, 2010). Its task, everyone agreed, was social transformation. A new government assumed power in 1994. Responding to both general and specific pressures, it moved from mobilization to planning to implementation. As elsewhere in Africa, its principal concerns were expanded access, and equity, desecration (denied the right to worship in any church) and the redress of inequality. In the context of a constitutionally required fundamental decentralisation, education debates were less focused on learning and liberation, but increasingly concerned with schooling and examinations and more

generally with education as preparation for the world of work. Surprisingly, and rather quickly, education's conservative character once again became paramount (Samoff, 2001, pp. 25-26).

Finally, the general curriculum, defining specific knowledge and skills, could be defended, not only because of its economic significance and contribution to Human Resources Development - and human capital, but also because general education contributes to human development and social mobility (NEPI, 1992, pp. 178-179).

The apartheid education system for Africans (Bantu) underinvested in school facilities, provided poor training for teachers and school principals, and followed an impoverished curriculum. Despite some significant investment in the African system during the years of apartheid, the quality of education provided to most Black students in the country as of 1994 was far below the quality that they needed to function in the new era. Moreover, the long struggle against apartheid, much of which was played out in the schools, engendered a destructive distrust of authority within the Black schools, in terms of higher education, the placement of universities for Blacks in remote locations as well as the staffing of them with second rate Afrikaans academics and managers produced a number of inferior institutions that could not compete with the more richly endowed former White universities once the latter opened their doors to Black students (Hirson, 1979; Fiske and Ladd. 2004; Soudien, et al. 2006).

In fact, the segregated education exemplified apartheid and White domination under the apartheid system designated to ensure White privilege in all sectors and throughout the country. What is more, all content of education was Eurocentric. The Nationalist vision of citizenship was seriously flawed because it was exclusive, violent, sectional and rooted in bigotry and racism. The philosophy of white superiority was so widespread among the Afrikaner that it had been called his civil religion. This legacy that South Africa faced, affected the direction of its policy planning and designing an education system that would meet the needs of its new democracy in an increasingly global economic environment.

8.5 CONCLUSION

As has been demonstrated in this research, education reforms taking place in South Africa, as in the past, are essentially ideological in nature, and serve the interests of the dominant power elite. The goal of redressing entrenched social, economic and racial stratification that resulted from the legacies of the apartheid's planners has been very problematic. As my research findings document, the apartheid education system has left very painful legacies. Policy makers have failed to take into account the existing levels of poverty and social and economic inequality.

Blacks had long realized that the only avenue for upward social mobility was quality education. However, Blacks were forced to receive *sub-standard* education in inferior schools. The goal of Bantu education, was, in fact, as demonstrated earlier, designed to prepare Black Africans for their subordinate status and subservience in society. Tribal universities suffered similar problems: a shortage of accommodation, a lack of educational resources, and poorly qualified teachers. Black education, through the alternative pedagogy, on the other hand, served and promoted social change and transformational pedagogy.

The long period of colonialism, followed by four decades of apartheid, prevented South Africa's move from moving towards a more racially equitable education system. Apartheid was ruthlessly effective in separating the races geographically, and in privileging the interests of White South Africans. Though a small Black middle class developed during the apartheid period (1948-1994), the vast majority of Africans emerged from apartheid with low educational attainment, low income, and a scarcity of employment opportunities (Rose and Tunmer, 1976; Hirson, 1997; Worden, 2000; Fiske and Ladd, 2004; Soudien et al., 2006; Aveling, 2007).

The importance of this legacy of inequality for the reform of the education cannot be overstated. Policy makers did not have the option of simply installing a new breed of managers and teachers imbued with the values of the new era. Rather, it had to work with existing educators who had been trained under the former system (Bantu Education Department) who in many cases were unqualified or underqualified, and who worked within the system at a time of great stress and turmoil. Though many of those schools were clearly disorganized and

inefficient, changes had to be made to the deeply embedded negative attitudes of teachers toward authority, educational policy, and curricula. Efforts to keep children in school and to succeed in the matriculation exam were complicated by extensive family poverty, child malnutrition, undereducated parents, and, increasingly, the devastation of families caused by HIV/AIDS (Worden, 2000; Fiske and Ladd, 2004; Farrah, 2007).

The outcomes of Bantu Education hampered South Africa's future technological, economic and scientific progress, which, in turn, resulted in little or no employment opportunities and upward social mobility for Black Africans – either in white collar occupations or in unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled employment. At the heart of this education policy, that promoted racial segregation and inequality, was the desire to condition non-whites to an acceptance of apartheid and to wean them away from the concept of a free, democratic and culturally diverse society—defined and informed by liberty, democracy, human rights, equality and social justice (see Zajda, 2010b).

While the school system was organized along the Western educational tradition and values, it was increasingly used to realize tribal tradition, as a basis of education policy and schooling to keep the African's feet firmly in the reserves.

To understand sources of social and economic inequality in South Africa under apartheid, it was necessary to investigate the nexus between Bantu Education and social stratification. While the Afrikaners continued to rely on state violence and the repression of human needs, there were several limitations on these instruments of control. For example, the Whites were dependent upon industrial and domestic labour of Blacks for the reproduction of the economy and relations of privilege. Blacks also needed the economy and the relations of privilege to reproduce themselves in the absence of alternative means of securing their material livelihood.

Blacks, while not revolutionary, have also not been passive, and have adapted traditional forms of struggle – boycotts, strikes, counter-civic associations – to the political situation. Neither party won or lost, although the stalemate bears seeds of its inevitable transformation.

Apartheid was being clothed in the moral rhetoric—one of supporting Black ethnic identity through homelands policy of a form of “democraticization”. Yet, it was only a mask for banishing Blacks to the squalor of desolate and barren countryside. Thus, one can understand why secondary and university education was set up in the bush (homelands/reserves).

Bantu education, as a segregated system of schooling for low-skilled occupation and domestication, was racially discriminatory and it aimed to consolidate the status quo. This education policy was used by the government to condition the African and to make ‘baasskap acceptable to him’. Given the supply of poorly qualified teachers, lack of education facilities and a system of automatic promotion, it was unlikely that academic standards would be high. Although the purpose of language instruction was undoubtedly to facilitate communication in the language of the employer, it was unlikely that such a rudimentary exposure would result in mastery, and this in itself would perpetuate the ideology of racial inferiority, and the social relations of domination and subordination. On the other hand, four years of basic elementary schooling would certainly perform the function of preparing Blacks to participate in the economy—as low-skilled and poorly paid workers. This elementary level of literacy would, for example, enable Blacks to participate in such low-skill practices as filling in basic forms, and reading basic instructions. The few who managed to succeed in schooling would form the small elite, to be catered for in separate institutions right up to tribal (Bush) colleges, where the ideology of the state was promoted.

Fiske and Ladd (2004) describe and evaluate policy strategies that South Africa pursued in its quest for democracy, racial equality and social justice. They note that the policymakers who came to power with Nelson Mandela in 1994 inherited the education system, which was designed to further the racist goals of apartheid. Hence, Mandela’s government policy was to change and reform the education system, along democratic principles, ensuring equality of access to quality education for all.

However, Fiske and Ladd (2004) having reviewed the outcomes of education reforms, conclude that while South Africa has made some progress toward equality, much more needs to be done. As a result of ideology, inequality and poverty, South Africa was less successful in promoting equality of educational opportunity. Clearly, this is due to existing social

stratification and poverty. As my research findings demonstrate, equality of access to quality education for all, and equity continue to remain elusive, and are difficult to achieve.

Finally, in order to change the existing social stratification and inequality, education reforms and education policy goals in South Africa, targeting quality education reforms, need to improve the social and economic condition of all Black Africans. As my research findings demonstrate, the heritage of apartheid practices continues to exist and will be difficult to eradicate completely. It is also suggested that as an alternative pedagogy, progressive education and democratic schooling in South Africa after 1994 had to reflect the following policy shifts:

- a) The visions for reconstruction and transparency in education should feature high on the agenda for the liberation and social justice for all South Africans—as already revealed through the truth and reconciliation commission, but unfortunately the discrepancies in education between Blacks and Whites have not been, to date, critically evaluated and analysed.
- b) The long term need for technical/scientific manpower training has not been addressed adequately by all educational institutions, especially in respect of Africans. In the future, this matter warrants considered and concerted attention by all stakeholders in the various spheres of education.

This research, dealing with the politics and history of Bantu Education in South Africa, is relevant to other nations, which are repressive and authoritarian, and where dominant ideologies, political systems and power elite control the politics, the economy and society. It demonstrates that repressive regimes use education as a tool of political socialization to consolidate the status quo and maintain social stratification, along the dimensions of power, occupation, class, income, wealth, status and education. This unequal distribution of socially valued commodities, such as income, power, wealth, and education, perpetuate social stratification and inequality—is a typical feature of totalitarian regimes, and oppressive societies. Eventually, it results in the bottom-up, rather than top-down reforms, or the people power and resistance—as was the case in South Africa during the 1970s and the 1980s.

In Eastern Europe in 1989 the people power and civil resistance, accompanied by massive protests and demonstration, resulted in the fall of communist regimes (totalitarian systems, with a one-party rule—communist party) in Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria. In December 1990 USSR also collapsed, and the Russian Federation was formed—characterised by a parliamentary democracy. Recent events in North Africa, and subsequent change of government in Egypt and Tunisia in 2011 were also a direct result of the people power.

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