

POST-APARTHEID EDUCATION RESISTANCE
IN BLACK SECONDARY SCHOOLS
IN THE GOLDFIELDS



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Post-apartheid education resistance in Black secondary schools in the Goldfields

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BY

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements of the degree of

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in the Faculty of Education

at

Vista University



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DEDICATION

*This study is dedicated to my
beloved mother, Kalafeni Eveline Radebe,
who had been by my side from birth till now.
Mme, you are the greatest and always my inspiration.*

Thank you very much.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that :

Post-apartheid education resistance in Black secondary schools in the Goldfields

is my own work, that all the resources quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references, and that this thesis was not previously submitted by me for a degree at any other university.



NTOMBI GLADYS RADEBE

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Preface

TITLE	Post-apartheid education resistance in Black secondary schools in the Goldfields.
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DEGREE	Ph.D (Ed)
DEPARTMENT	Education
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SUMMARY

The main aim of this study is to establish why there is continued education resistance in Black secondary schools in post apartheid education. Teachers and learners are still participating in marches which undermine the culture of teaching and learning in these schools.

The study firstly focuses on the background to educational resistance as it developed during the National Party rule during the period 1948 - 1994. The Apartheid ideology is analysed to determine the influence this had on education policy, legislation and resistance in general. The segregationist-based education system propounded by the National Party is accounted for in detail and the contribution of the Bantu Education Act towards resistance is highlighted through a literature study and qualitative research.

Reasons for the continued resistance in post Apartheid schools are found to be the slow pace at which issues such as funding, free and compulsory education, teacher shortages, teacher salaries and qualifications develop. The shortage of classrooms, textbooks, gender equality are also discussed as factors contributing to resistance. It is found that the service delivered to schools by the Education Department is inadequate. The control of education is top-down and management not transparent. The newly instituted Department of Education is furthermore found to perpetuate the previous regime's control and Administration.

Thorough evaluation of service delivery by the Department is recommended and a goal directed management guided by a consultative democratic approach, is suggested. Practical changes should be eminent in schools to eradicate the perception of apartheid education being perpetuated.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

The present democratic, non-racial and non-sexist education system under the Government of National Unity (GNU) faces a myriad of strike actions by both learners and teachers. The GNU was established after the democratic elections of 27 April 1994 which saw the final eradication of apartheid policy of the National Party (NP) government. However the new Government after 1994 adopted a legacy of problems in its new education system, inter alia, continued and present education resistance amongst learners in secondary schools.

① During the apartheid era the education system in South Africa was compartmentalised, racist and sexist and as a result was considered by Blacks and anti-apartheid organisations as lacking credibility and legitimacy. The result was broad mass actions, inter alia, by teachers and learners which culminated in the total rejection of apartheid and Bantu education. Schooling was largely affected as slogans such as 'liberation before, education after' and 'peoples power for peoples education' emerged.

In order to contextualise education resistance in South Africa, it is necessary to comprehend the background of the education system from which it emanates. This is necessary because structural conditions such as politics, society and economy which are vital in shaping and conditioning education need to be analysed. Not all these structural conditions can be described in a single dissertation. For this study, the focus is on the political background against which education and specifically Black education developed.

The past apartheid education exhibited racial segregation and gross imbalances in education. The policy of apartheid which framed Bantu education was introduced and implemented in 1953 by the National Party which came to power in 1948. Bantu education was regarded by those that received it as an inferior and oppressive system

of formal education designed for Africans (Cosser 1991:12) to further the aims of 'education for domestication' (Kallaway 1984:18; Mashamba 1991:25). The result was the beginning of formal politisation of 'Black' education (Maseko 1994:12) and the opposition to racial discrimination in South African schooling (Christie 1990:15). It is evident that politics cannot be divorced from education because the very act of education-planning and policy-making constitutes a political action by those people in power.

Racial segregation was based on own and general affairs in 1984 (Vos & Barnard 1984:66; Nasson & Samuel 1990:26; Department of Nation Education (DNE) 1992:3). Education as an own affair implies that education for each population group falls within the cultural and value framework of that particular group. While education as a general affair purports that all education, in South Africa, is determined by the general education policy (Behr 1988:17 - 18). This according to those who opposed the National Party government, illustrates the objective of the National Party which was to divide and gain political control over all education in the interest of Afrikanerdom. This view was supported by the African National Congress (ANC) (1992:20) when it claimed that the underlying motivation, of own and general affairs under apartheid education, was to ensure unequal education and strong political control over education.

The period following the introduction of segregated education witnessed an ever-increasing resistance and hostility against this type of education. Education resistance culminated in 1976 Soweto riots (Graham-Brown 1991:56). From then on the education struggle took many dimensions. One of the important dimensions was the struggle of African teachers and pupils. The school protest soon became a rejection of Bantu education which culminated in rejection of apartheid. This rejection became known as 'Education Resistance'.

In view of the above, when the GNU was established, there were high expectations especially among Blacks that the past imbalances and inequalities created by the NP's

apartheid policy, would be redressed. To the masses, the establishment of the new education system meant the building of schools, more teachers and equal provisioning of education for all South Africans irrespective of race and sex. They expected an overnight transformation of the education system. The energies of the past education resistance once more became manifested in strike actions which retarded the smooth running of schools. The effect of which was that the culture of teaching and learning in schools became affected.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The context in which the term 'resistance' is used in this study implies opposition to apartheid education as depicted in the era from 1976-January 1990. This period was characterised by politics of opposition and protest in schools (Mashamba & Narsing 1990:1; Singh 1992:7). In 1990 a shift to politics of transformation took place (Wolpe 1991:2; NEPI 1993:15-16; Freeman 1994:54). This period is important in the history of South African politics because, in February 1990, the present President of South Africa, Rolihlahla Mandela, was released from Robben Island where he was jailed for twenty seven years by the NP government. In 1993 a constitution which provided among others equal, non-racial education for all South African citizens, was drafted by the Government of National Unity (GNU). Amid all these changes, protests in education continued to be the order of the day. The previous apartheid education had been criticised and was being eradicated, yet education resistance in township secondary schools continued (The Citizen 1995:3; Sunday Times 1996:2). This realisation provided the researcher's interest to establish the causes of continued education resistance and to research means to curb the recurrence of education disturbances.

This dissertation focuses on the so-called 'Black' formal education in township secondary schools in the Goldfields area of the Free State not because of prejudice against other township schools, rural 'Black' schools, suburban schools or because

there are no education problems faced in those schools. The presence of non-racial schools is acknowledged and appreciated, however, the reality is that 'education resistance is presently more acute in 'Black' secondary schools in the township' (Dekker & Van Schalkwyk 1995:45; Sunday Times 1997:5; Diamond Fields Advertiser 1997:3). This had been and is still highlighted by country-wide chaos coupled with marches and strikes by both teachers and the pupils. At present, the process of restructuring education in South Africa is still continuing. The problems that face South Africa today are:

- why is resistance in 'Black' secondary schools still rife in post-apartheid education? and
- why do teachers and pupils still set up marches so that there is no culture of teaching and learning in 'Black' secondary schools?

To enable the researcher to address these problems satisfactorily, the following aims have been formulated to direct the research.

1.3 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The investigation of educational issues has to be located among others, within the broader context of political background, if the reasons behind educational resistance in South Africa are to be grasped. Therefore the aims of this research are to:

- 1.3.1 provide background against which resistance in Black education developed in South Africa, to establish reasons why resistance occurred before 1994;
- 1.3.2 establish what changes were brought about in education policy and implementation after 1994;
- 1.3.3 establish reasons for present resistance in schools; and
- 1.3.4 establish whether the present education policy effectively addresses past and present problems;

1.4 DELIMITATION OF STUDY

The field in which the present study is undertaken is comparative education. This is done in order to:

- contribute to the existing body of knowledge in that field of research;
- establish causes for instability in education;
- attempt to provide suggestions and recommendations on how such resistance may be avoided in schools as to promote effective and efficient education.

The study is to be conducted in the Goldfields region of the Free State and the focus will be on Welkom District township secondary schools. The Welkom District includes Welkom, Virginia and Hennenman. It will be expedient for the researcher to travel to these areas in search of information because of their accessibility.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A historical method of research is employed for the present study after the presentation of a thorough study of appropriate literature. Interviews as research instruments are employed to enhance the study. In order to guide the study, a detailed explanation of these concepts is necessary.

1.5.1 Literature study

The literature study consists of the review of literature in order to gather as much background to the problem as possible. Such data is analysed and synthesized in order to arrive at some definite conclusions. Literature study also provides a comprehensive overview of existing research as a preliminary step in the researcher's preparation for the study of post-apartheid education resistance in secondary schools. It furthermore provides necessary assistance and guidance needed for the problem to

be investigated.

It is a mistake according to Ary et al (1990:67) to rush headlong into planning and carrying out the study before making a thorough study of past investigations in the area of interest. Through a literature study the researcher is assisted to view her study in historical and associational perspective and in relation to the accumulated outcomes of numerous studies conducted by other researchers on the same problem (Leedy 1974:69).

Secondary sources, such as education journals and relevant documentation as primary sources were consulted in order to collect more knowledge necessary to investigate the stated problem and to be provided with new ideas, sophisticated knowledge as well as approaches of dealing with said problem. Against this background, the researcher was better prepared to suggest avenues of approaches to the solution of the problem (Leedy 1974:69).

In order to assist the researcher in her quest for knowledge on the stated problem, as well as to place her in a better position to analyse and synthesize such knowledge, a historical research method is employed.

1.5.2 Historical method

The historical research method is adopted for this research. The primary source materials which includes government documents on education were consulted. Interviews with educators, principals, department senior officials in the Goldfields region, as well as Director of School Management Development, Head of education and private company managers were conducted.

Borg and Gall (1989:811) indicates that the historical research is the attempt to establish facts and based on the facts and evidence gathered, conclusions are drawn regarding the past to increase our knowledge of how and why past events occurred.

It is also the process by which the past becomes the present. A historical study will determine and report what the present situation is in the township secondary schools in the Goldfields areas of the Free State.

The purpose of the historical method is to:

- make people aware of what happened in the past to enable them to learn from past failures and successes (Fraenkel & Wallen 1993:411-412);
- learn how things were done in the past to see if they might be applicable to present day problems and concerns;
- assist in prediction (Charles 1988:81);
- test hypotheses concerning relationships or trends; (Van Dalen 1979 : 350);
- understand present educational practices and policies more fully (Gay 1981:179); and
- provide a moral framework for understanding the present (Borg & Gall 1989:808).

1.5.3 Qualitative research

As research instrument, interviews are appropriate for the present study because they reveal what the respondents know and feel about what happened prior to the new education system and reveal their perception of the post-apartheid education resistance.

Inquiry arises in the environment in which humans are directly involved, the experiences in such environments therefore have to be studied holistically. As individuals explore human situations they must attend to the variety of factors which shape them (Kincheloe 1991:144; Sherman & Webb 1988:5). The qualitative research approach which supplement the historical method and data collection are fully discussed in Chapter five.

1.5.4 Sample

The target groups or population are educators and Department of Education officials. However, the researcher included managers in the private sector as well. The aim of their inclusion is to gather more information from people outside of the education department since they are deemed more objective.

Systematic sampling is used to select a representative number of educators to be included in the study. Simple random sampling is also implemented to include Department officials and private sector managers. Both forms of sampling are necessary in order to avoid biased ordering. The application of both forms will have a random start, which will be more detailed under collection of data (cf Chapter five).

1.6 TERMINOLOGY

- Bantu education - although the term Bantu is outdated and had been removed from the Statutes, it is used in the study for purposes of providing the background to Black education. Other names used are 'Native education', 'African education', 'Apartheid education'. All these terms have the same connotation.
- Europeans refer to White people while non-Europeans refer to people of colour.
- Student Representative Council (SRC) - represented all pupils of secondary schools in the previous education system.
- The Commission denotes the Eiselen Commission's Report.
- The Report denotes the De Lange Report.
- The Act implies the Education and Training Act of 1979.
- The Principal Act implies Bantu Education Act of 1953.
- The Delegation connotes the Mandela Delegation.
- 'He' is used not as a gender insensitive pronoun to facilitate reading. There is also a reference to both sexes depicted by 's/he'.

1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As a full-time educator holding a senior management position as School Management Developer previously referred to as Inspector, the researcher undertook this study by taking official leave. She often had to travel to Bloemfontein archives in search for primary sources. Primary source materials were gathered and were photocopied. Accommodation which implied spending a week in a hotel proved expensive. The synthesis of these restricted the researcher in her quest to gather more material as she had intended. Added to this was the time constraints which the researcher had to overcome.

Fiscal constraints had a great impact on research instruments. This is why the researcher had to employ only interviews and no questionnaires. The researcher had no option but to economise on the limited resources at her disposal, inter alia, a new tape-recorder, in order to complete this investigation. This impacted heavily on the population sample for the study. The researcher as a result made use of a limited sample.

Some of the respondents felt comfortable when asked in their mother-tongue more than in English. The result was that the researcher had to ask questions in the respondents' language of preference although the semi-structured questions were prepared in English. Although the researcher is multi-lingual, she is not fluent in all of the languages use had to be made of colleagues as translators. This slowed down the research process considerably.

1.8 COURSE OF STUDY

The course of study is divided into the following chapters:

Chapter one consists of the statement of the problem, aims and the research method.

Chapter two concisely deals with the background of Black education from 1948 to 1976 before the Soweto riots.

Chapter three focuses on education resistance from 1976 to 1989. It also indicates the impact that such protest had on education generally and in secondary schools in particular.

Chapter four deals with education resistance from 1990 to 1998. It also covers developments, transformation, failures and successes of the various Departments of Education.

Chapter five is devoted to explanation of research methodology and to data collection through interviews. It also deals with the analysis of data collected and interpretation of results.

Chapter six contains a condensed overview of the previous chapters. Conclusions are drawn and recommendations are made to suggest solutions to the problem and with a view to further investigations.

1.9 CONCLUSION

Chapter one gave an overview of the study therefore Chapter two deals with the background of Black education and education resistance emanating from it commencing from 1948 when the National Party government came into power until 1976 before the Soweto riots.

CHAPTER 2

BLACK EDUCATION DURING APARTHEID ERA

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter two attempts to examine and analyse Black education in South Africa commencing in 1948 when the National Party government came into power ending in 1976 before the Soweto riots. This period is relevant for present research because the so-called 'Bantu' education was introduced and promulgated by the National Party who at the time did not realise that Bantu education created the foundation of educational crisis in South Africa as highlighted by Alexander (1990 : 26):

The systematic and provocatively articulated Verwoerdian policies of retribilisation of the oppressed, industrially orientated people of South Africa generated the most intense opposition ever on the part of almost all Black parents, teachers and students at all levels of the schooling system.

Bantu education was introduced in 1953 and was based on the separatist principles of the Nationalist government's ideology. This reflects that education in South Africa was unavoidably bound with the policy of apartheid, the fundamental basis of which was White supremacy and Black inferiority (Hansard 1948 : 2437; Mncwabe 1990 :19; The Times 1960 : 5, 38). This perception was justified by Adv. Strijdom the then Prime Minister and chief leader of the NP. During the general elections on 26 March 1958 at Stellenbosch he announced : 'the great deal of the NP is the preservation of the White people and its supremacy in South Africa' (Senate Debates 1949 : 3866; Hansard 1962 : 8, 9, 10; Senate Debates 1968 : 2630, 2631).

It is not the aim of this study to detail Bantu education but to highlight the background against which it was promulgated and reasons why it created a revolutionary climate in South Africa. This information will enable the researcher to establish reasons for the prevailing education resistance in secondary schools and later determine whether such

reasons are still relevant in education today. This implies that it will be possible to comprehend the present occurrences in view of what happened in the past. For this reason the period between 1948-1976 will be discussed because significant events that occurred during this era form the basis for future reference.

2.2 BANTU EDUCATION : 1948 - 1976

Before the NP was voted into power on 26 May 1948 Native education was managed by the United Party (UP). This is reflected in the Assembly debates held on 18 March 1948. It is clear from the discussions that the NP and the UP differed on their views of what 'Native' education should be, its curriculum and how it had to be controlled. The UP rejected apartheid in education because they believed that '... the only hope that the country has, is to raise the Native to our level' (Hansard 1948 : 2853; 2857).

This idea among others, provoked the NP and they declared that the UP propagated a policy which would result in that '...there would be no Europeans in this country... an admission that they regarded the Native a potential European' (Hansard 1948 : 2857; 2874). It is obvious that the NP could not hide its stance on apartheid which prescribed a rigid demarcation between White and non-White (Fact Paper 107 nd:2, 9, 10) and set a ceiling to the development of the non-White (Tabata 1959 : 1). It could be premised that would the NP come to power, it was going to implement its policy. Therefore it is necessary to focus on NP political ideas, ideological objectives, education objectives as well as education policy.

2.2.1 Political ideas of the National Party

Political ideas are resources that can be used to control emotions and gain the compliance of the people while leaving political leaders free to manoeuvre. Political ideas are conceptualised as a resource affecting public policy, as well as education policy (Thompson 1981 : 49). To understand the political ideas of the National Party

it is necessary to comprehend that it represented mainly the Afrikaner people who, because of the frontier wars against the Blacks for the land in the early 1830's and a long struggle against British imperialism (McGurk 1990 : 43), became isolationist and racially prejudiced against Blacks and to some extent against the English (Senate Debates 1955 : 415; 486; PV 93: 1/9/1/3 : 3). This idea becomes evident in the following extracts from speeches by members of the NP:

'... what is more, the Native is born with a hatred of the European, and it does not matter what you have done for the Native. He has this hate against any person who is white. He hates the colour of the European' (Senate Debates 1954 : 721).

And further that:

'... it is disappointing to see Europeans here at each other's throats and that because one section wants apartheid and the other does not ... The majority of the English, ... are not prepared to try to bridge the gap. There is nothing good in whatever the Afrikaner does and whatever a National government does and just because it is done by us' (Senate Debates 1954 : 725-726).

The same theme was further illustrated in the Senate Debates of 8 June 1954 when the policy of the Minister of Native Affairs was pursued:

'... it is tragic that at this time in the life of our people, we have still two factions in the European community of the country which are so completely opposed to one another ... Our ideas concerning what education of Natives means and what it means for the European are so different and divergent that they will simply not be able to understand me' (Senate Debates 1954 : 2666).

Political ideas had been used to justify past political acts and to establish regime goals by defining current issues and directing attention to selected aspects of experiences. The first quotation depicts Blacks as people capable of hatred which is best attributed to be 'inborn'. Furthermore Blacks were erroneously viewed as having no sense of gratitude to those who help them. The last two citations clearly indicate the silent but serious tensions that existed between the English and the Afrikaners in South Africa. The tension was confirmed by the Director of Information who purported that apartheid was based on the experience of history and in the emotions which lay deep in the souls of men (Booklet 21, 1962 : 8; Pelzer 1980 : 5; The Times 1955 : 6). The African National Congress (ANC) criticised the NP's policy by defining it as a blatant oppression based on racialism which created a legacy of bitterness and hatred (Luthuli nd:1). Further illustrations of these tensions are reflected in most debates. Reference to such tension will be periodically mentioned to highlight the effect it had on Black education. Nevertheless, the political ideas served as the basis upon which the ideological objectives for Bantu education were formulated.

2.2.2 Ideological Objectives

The NP came to power with a political ideology called apartheid which was directed towards establishing their own identity on the basis of removing Black people either geographically or socially from them. General Hertzog emphasized in a speech delivered on 13 October 1921 at the Congress of the Free State National Party that 'it is our firm policy that segregation must take place. To the Black man the right will not be given to live where he wishes, but land will be set aside for him ... also industrially there must therefore be separation between the two races, otherwise there will be no peace in South Africa' (Scoltz 1959 : 8, Schreiner 1966 : 11; Hansard 1962 : 9). This apartheid perspective and policy was expanded by Afrikaner leaders like Dr D.F. Malan in the National Party congress held in Bloemfontein on November 1938 when he related the NP 'Groot Beslissing' which in his words was:

'Om Suid Afrika veilig te maak vir die blanke ras en om die blanke ras,

suiwer en bewus van sy roeping, veilig te bewaar vir Suid Afrika... ons wil seker maak dat Suid Afrika witmansland sal bly'
(Federale Raad 1938 :3, 5).

The same sentiments were expressed in the NP 1947 Manifesto published in September titled 'Nasionale Party se Kleurbeleid' (PV 93 : 1/2/2) through which the NP was brought into power on 26 May 1948 (Malan 1958 : 1, 16) as well as by Mr GPD Terblanche in the 1957 election manifesto (Terblanche nd. : 13). An NP spokesman intelligently summarised their ideology and objectives when he stated that:

'Every person has rights and one of the basic, more elementary rights of man is that he can stay as God created him so that his inborn nature and character will be respected by others and that he has a right to preserve his identity .. Nobody can blame us for being White and wanting to stay White .. With this apartheid policy we demand this right for ourselves'
(Senate Debates 1954 :1058).

The UP refuted this opinion a year later when the Policy of apartheid was addressed in the Senate Debates of 8 March 1955 (Senate Debates 1955 :264). This perception was shared by McGurk (1990 :33) when he declared that 'the pathological need to preserve our whiteness - a self destructive preservation of whiteness, is to undermine inexorably our moral legacy'.

In 1958, the NP reviewed the apartheid policy to assess if it had kept its 1947 election promises with regard to apartheid (Malan 1958 :1-16). The results were positive. In the House of Assembly debates on 20 May 1959, Dr Verwoerd posed a hypothetical statement that the NP had to make a choice between integration and separation however, emphasized that the policy of the NP was to strive for a permanent White South Africa (Pelzer 1980 :13; The Choice 1959 : 3; Terblanche nd :13). In October 1959 Mr H.E. Louw, the Minister of External Affairs addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York where he declared that the policy of apartheid was

not only the traditional policy of South Africa but it took into account the traditions, the cultures and the needs of the Bantu peoples. He stressed that apartheid had been put into practice by means of legislative enactments, such as Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, which were intended to reaffirm and to implement the policy of peaceful co-existence for both Blacks and Whites in their homelands (Fact Paper 77, 1959 :10; Senate Debates 1967:3614) so as to maintain good human relations (Pelzer 1980 :14; Verwoerd 1955 : 22). This illustrated the extent of the separation that has been formalized.

Apartheid was stressed by Dr H. Mulder a South African Ambassador, in a joint meeting of the Royal African Society and Royal Commonwealth Society held in Britain on 15 November 1962, when he indicated that it had been laid unequivocally that what had always been White South Africa would continue to be just that what he termed 'the political domicillium of White nation', the same would apply to Bantu homelands (Booklet 23, 1962 :12).

In view of these submissions by the NP's prominent officials, there cannot be any logical opposition to the deduction drawn by Archbishop Hurley at the annual Council meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) held at the University of Cape Town on 15 January 1966, when he purported that the two dominant realities of the South African scene were White survival and Afrikaner nationalism (Hurley 1966 :7). Implicit in these segregationist-based comments is concern that the education system would be segregated to comply with the NP's policy of segregation. The Nationalist party enforced the political ideology and objectives, through education while the interests and wishes of Blacks were subordinated (Hartshorne 1987 : 64). According to United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisations (UNESCO) (1967 :15) apartheid is the ideological and legal basis for the inequalities in access to education and culture.

2.2.3 Education objectives

To understand what the Nationalist government sought from education, it is necessary to make a retrospection to the utterances of prominent members of the NP in 1945 before the Nationalist government came into power. Two statements were made in the House of Assembly:

‘As has been correctly stated here, education is the key to the creation of the proper relationship between Europeans and non-Europeans in South Africa ... Put Native education on a sound basis and half of the racial question is solved ... I say that there should be reform of the whole educational system and it must be based on the culture and background and the whole life of the Native himself in his tribe’ (Hansard 1945 : 4494-4499).

The same sentiments were echoed in the 1947 election Manifesto (PV 93 :1/2/2). This is a submission of the Government that it failed to accept accountability for educating all children equally instead polarised Europeans and non-Europeans. The polarisation has resulted in the failure of the NP to provide for relevant Black education that addressed itself to critical research of the actual conditions in which Blacks lived rather than to an alien education based on White perspectives (Luthuli 1985 :8).

The objective of education was clearly illustrated by the following quotation:

‘We should not give Natives an academic education, as some people are prone to do. If we do we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in the country?’ (Hansard 1945 : 4527).

It is clear from the extract that for the NP to educate non-Europeans especially Blacks, was to create a burden. This among others caused ‘Black’ authors such as Luthuli

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It is clear from the extract that for the NP to educate non-Europeans especially Blacks, was to create a burden. This among others caused ‘Black’ authors such as Luthuli

(1982) and (1985) to focus on Black-orientated education as an alternative to White-orientated education in order to protect Blacks against being destined for manual work as the extract purports. What is highlighted by Luthuli indicates that 'the level of education among Blacks have a fundamental effect on the way the system is experienced' (Bot & Schlemmer 1986 :3). The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) (1955 :3) alleged that '... the education of the Bantu was remote from his general development'.

The above allegation is not surprising and undoubtedly was uttered because SABRA, founded in 1948, was a body for the study of race relations in line with the principles of the programme of the Broederbond. Its aim was to encourage and promote separate development of Whites and non-Whites in South Africa as well as to develop the most complete and radical doctrine of total apartheid (Hansard 1960 :8113; Senate Debates 1955 :313; 4406). While the aim of the Broederbond, founded in 1918, was the attainment of a healthy and progressive unanimity amongst Afrikaners who strove for the welfare of the Afrikaner people (UNESCO 1967 :137-138). It is thus understandable that the aim of SABRA was embodied in the aim of the Broederbond because for the assurance of the welfare of the Afrikaner people, separate development accompanied by separate education was to be maintained. Senator Swanepoel, a United Party member, supported this view when he stated that SABRA 'gave the moral content to the Colour policy of the National Party' (Senate Debates 1973 : 4032). The NP strongly felt throughout many debates that Black education needed to be reformed, to conform with their segregationist policy.

It is necessary at this stage to focus on the Broederbond to understand what it is. The Broederbond was an organization of elite consultative groups the members of which were selected to ensure representivity of all sectors of Afrikaner activities. Members were to be mission-conscious Afrikaners who desired to represent and serve the best interest of Afrikaners. The names of such members as well as all proceedings of the Bond were strictly confidential (RP 20/1965).

The education objectives was outlined by Mr W.A. Maree, a Nationalist in the House of Assembly:

'... the Nationalist Party's viewpoint is that the primary object of education should be to develop the individual as a member of society, so that he can take his rightful place within the society to which he belongs' (Hansard 1953 :3612).

The sense of Native 'belonging' was also emphatically stressed by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr H.F. Verwoerd in the Senate Debates of 8 May 1956. The long-term aim of Bantu education should be that of training the Bantu youth to aid in the advancement of their own people and their own socio-economic development (SABRA 1955 :10; Verwoerd 1955 :7). Dr Verwoerd's paternal desires to promote the welfare of the Africans as he conceived it best done, no less than to preserve White authority is equally apparent (The Times 1960 :5; Verwoerd 1955 :22). These views were much against the United Party's perspective who believed that '... The objective of education is not to mould people to a pattern; the object of education is to set the great creative forces in every man free' (Senate Debates 1952 :350; Senate Debates 1966 : 105).

The policy of the NP was:

- education for the Natives was not to be academic, as this would make them potential Europeans but it had to be a manual type of education to ensure their subservience to Europeans;
- separate education would enhance and strengthen better race relations between Whites and Blacks;
- education for Blacks would be restricted to opportunities in life which implied that certain skills would be taboo to them and they were expected to be labourers;
- education for Blacks had to be within and among them not to venture outside their areas;
- schools were to channel learners to serve their own community;

- focus was on Blacks per se not on education, because they were viewed as separate and different hence the different and separate education designed by the NP; and
- the view of knowing Blacks, understanding what Blacks wanted out of life and where they belonged, was over emphasized.

There is no doubt that the NP propounded a strongly segregationist ideology based on cultural differences augmented by racial superiority. The specificities of this ideology had been illustrated in the NP's education objectives and finally culminated in its education policy.

2.2.4 Education policy

In the field of education, policy may be defined as a course of action adopted by Government and implemented through control measures with the general implication that such a course of action is advantageous or expedient for the State. The education policy reflects political options, traditions and values and conceptions of the future of the State (Hartshorne 1987 : 62, 63; King & Van der Berg 1992 :13) and exists in the context of a particular social, economic and political order (Faure 1972 :170). The NP had made its political ideal, political objective as well as education objective categorically clear in most debates. To ensure that these ideals were implemented, they propounded a segregated-based education policy.

The alleged motive of the NP's envisaged Native education policy was summarised by one of the members, in the Senate Debates of 8 June 1954 when the policy pursued by the Minister of Native Affairs was reviewed, it indicated that:

'In this country, our Afrikaans boys and girls plucked the bitter fruits of an education policy which did not fit in with the character of the Afrikaner boy and girl ... We as Afrikaners experienced it and therefore we realize the advantages of a policy which will give to the Native population something

which will fit in with his character, his traditions and degree of evolution which he has attained' (Senate Debates 1954 : 2667).

It had become apparent that there was a lot of resentment from the Afrikaners against the English.

In the same debates an NP member expressed that:

'... the Minister's policy will be to bring the Native back to the land, to bring him back to the undulating fields and mountains to which he is used, to bring him back to his natural self and to then make him a happy person and to give him the education which will suit him in that sphere where he is ...' (Senate Debates 1954 :2659).

This idea was emphasized earlier, by the Minister of Native Affairs, in the House of Assembly on 17 September 1953 when introducing the bill he said 'Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life according to the sphere in which they live' (Hansard 1953 :3575). What has become apparent from the Minister's speech is that there were certain 'opportunities in life' set aside for Natives in their areas, not outside. Those opportunities in life were to be such that they should know that they were subordinates (Senate Debates 1955 :513) an assertion which helped to destroy the self-image and social fabric of the Black nation (Taunyane 1992 :16; Hartshorne 1992:52).

The Blacks were considered as fit only for manual labour on farms and their education had to be designed for that. At the time they appeared as protectors of the Natives on the other hand they stated clearly that the Natives belonged somewhere and were to be kept there. This attests that the education policy of Blacks entailed issues which determined the future in a way which seemed to be provocative of embitterment and opposition among the Blacks (Davies 1955 :12) and was intended to create differences in outlook and modern abilities between races (Bot & Schlemmer 1986 :9).

What is eminent is that European society was continuously compared to Black population which according to Lekhela (1972 :18) and Le Roux (1993 :176) emanated from the belief that Black culture was inferior, a denigration of Black culture and the arrogance of White civilisation (Nürnberg 1994 :12), as a result education for Blacks was affected by these beliefs. They were to be segregated and the implication was that the education for both groups would differ greatly. This meant an inferior type of education for the Blacks otherwise as McGurk (1990 :31) attests that there had to be a convincing rationale that it was not education for inferiority in a Verwoerdian sense. This idea had snowballed after it had been summed up in The Report of the Departmental Committee on Native Education of 1935-1936 as 'The education of the White child prepares him for the life in a dominant society and the education of the Black child prepares him for a subordinate society' (Tabata 1959 :4).

To conceptualise the NP education policy even better, it is necessary to understand that Government policies are statements that indicate the intentions of the Government and the reasons for such intentions.

According to the ANC (1994 : 6) the following criteria has to be met in order to produce policy statements:

- is policy based on accurate knowledge?
- is it based on acceptable principle?
- is it aiming to achieve acceptable objectives?
- how has the policy been arrived at?
- who has been involved in the process of policy advice and development? and
- have reasonable means been chosen to reach policy objectives?

If these criteria are to be used as a yardstick to understand how the NP operated, it is evident that the NP had an accurate knowledge of what their intentions were for Black education. The NP's apartheid policy on education was not based on acceptable principles by all South Africans as reflected, in both the Senate and the House of

Assembly debates, the United Party as well as the Native Representatives objected. Also highlighted in these debates were the NP's objectives which were 'segregation and unequal education for different racial groups and political control over all education in the interest of Afrikanerdom' (National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) 1992 : 6; Hartshorne 1987 : 70). The NP's education policy was to divide the South Africans to rule them. In support of this view Davies (1955 :1) asserts that there was an apparent intention on the part of the Government and its supporters to enforce certain aspects of their policy on the whole of South Africa. Nürnberger (1994 : 27) concludes that policies should emerge from analysis and not from ideological perceptions.

In order to achieve policy objectives, on 19 January 1949 the Nationalist government appointed a commission of inquiry which was to investigate and provide its findings; suggestions and recommendations on the nature of Native education (Luthuli 1982:79; Luthuli 1985 : 55). This Federal commission was under the chairmanship of Dr W.M. Eiselen who incidentally was the Secretary of Native Affairs (Hansard 1953 : 3598) a former Chief Inspector of Native education in the Transvaal and a separate development theorist (Hartshorne 1987 : 68). Dr Eiselen was a Nationalist who had to maintain the status quo.

It was therefore to be expected that one of the terms of reference of the commission, known as Eiselen Commission, named after Dr Eiselen, reads as follows:

'The formulation of the principle and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, the inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitudes and their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration' (Education League 1953:2; Behr 1988 :32)..

The description of Blacks as an independent and different race was politically inclined to justify the NP's willingness to separate education in South Africa. The Eiselen Commission seemed to have accurate knowledge of 'Natives', their inherent qualities,

aptitudes and needs, which Ross (1967 : 7) attributed to Dr Eiselen's close contact with and knowledge of Bantu people in his youth as a son of a missionary. However, this assertion did not justify his knowledge of what ought to be in Black education since 'the two lived in two separate worlds'. It was therefore difficult to understand or imagine how the Whites could have succeeded in understanding, appreciating and interpreting the views and values of Blacks (Mphahlele 1982 :1). In the Senate Debates of 3 March 1952 when the Eiselen Commission report was tabled, Senator Brookes strongly opposed its findings on education for Blacks. He stated that the whole future of Bantu should not be planned because the Commission had a 'somewhat dogmatic attitude' about what was and what was not Bantu culture without considering the wishes of the Bantu themselves. As a result the education policy and administrative machinery had to ensure that such an objective was achieved. He summarised his views on the report as making 'a pretty fair diagnosis of present ills and some of its remedies are sound, but there are a few remedies which are worse than the disease' (Senate Debates 1952 : 3; 349-350).

It is evident that the Eiselen Commission was involved in the process of policy advice and development of education. Equally clear is that no reasonable means, such as consultations with Blacks on their education was considered. The NP with its supporters unilaterally decided on what Black education ought to be. It was equally true that the 'separate education' was worse than 'apartheid'. Luthuli (1982 : 80) supported Dr Brookes' criticism of the report when he related that 'no group or individual is able to interpret the philosophy of life of another people objectively unless he is part thereof'. The aims and principles of Black education would best be expressed by the Blacks themselves not Dr Verwoerd or Eiselen Commission. At this stage it is necessary to focus on Bantu Education Act which would control Bantu education.

2.2.4.1 Bantu Education Act

In order to entrench the programme of Apartheid, the NP drafted a bill to create 'Bantu' education. The Education League (1953 : 2) pointed out that 'the Bill is the natural offspring of the Eiselen Commission's Report'. This idea was also clearly outlined by the NP supporters, SABRA (1955 :11), as well as Lantern (nd :7) when they stated that on the basis of the Commission's report the Bantu Education Act was introduced. Luthuli (1985 : 55) and Nasson and Samuel (1990 :17) support what SABRA indicated when they stated that the Commission's findings led to the promulgation of the Bantu Education Act which came to force in 1954. The very aims and purposes as were suggested by the Commission were basic to every aspect of Bantu education system (Lekhela 1972 :20; Ross 1967 : 8). Bantu education meant education of the Bantu whenever possible by his own people and in accordance with his intellectual, spiritual, social, cultural and economic development (Donaldson 1989 : 36). It also implied one of the dynamic instruments for guiding and assisting the Bantu child along his difficult route to complete civilisation (Lantern nd :1).

The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr Verwoerd endorsed the opinions of the Commission when the Bantu Education bill was debated in the Senate Debates of 30 September 1953 (Senate Debates 1953 : 1288-1289). He further enunciated the following in 7 June 1954 Senate Debates:

'... The general aims of the Bantu Education Act are to remove the ... defects by transforming education for Natives into Bantu education, by transforming a service which only benefits a section of the Bantu population..., into a general service which will help in the building up of the Bantu community' (Senate Debates 1954 :2599).

The main proposals of the Commission were embodied in the Bantu Education Act of 1953 as amended in 1954, 1956, 1959 and 1961. The Education Act represented the first major application of the official policy of apartheid in education. This was justified

by SABRA which declared that 'new avenues of development for Blacks were opened which heralded a new dawn in the relations between White and Bantu in South Africa (SABRA 1955 : 48) and on the success of Bantu education would depend the future peaceful co-existence of White and Black (Lantern nd :1).

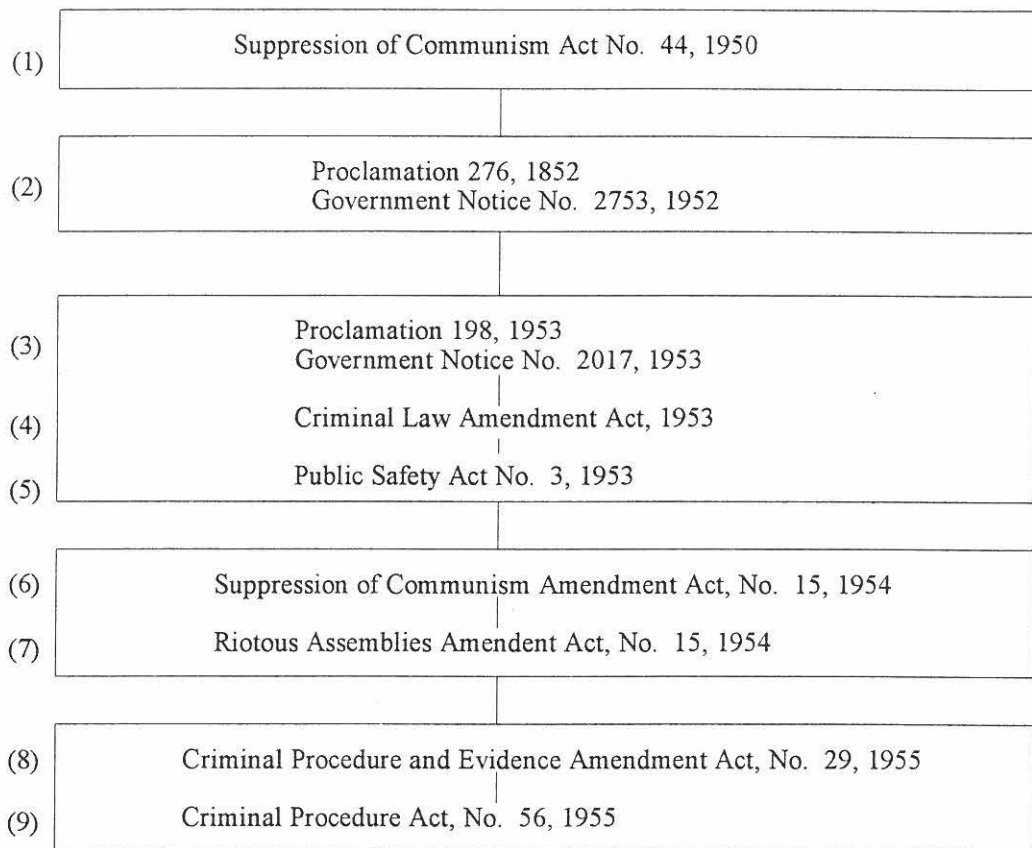
Dr Verwoerd's outline of general aims of Bantu Education Act is not surprising because in the Assembly Debates of 17 September 1953 he stated that it had been the tragedy of Native Education that it was planless and further indicated that for the first time in history, Bantu education would be planned, to prepare the Blacks for the type of service they would render in the community. According to Davies (1955 :15) there was little doubt of the intention of the framers of the Act that the education of the African child should be different from that of the European and further this difference should establish and perpetuate an inferior status in the African in relation to the European. This proves that the Bill was introduced despite the failure of the Commission to motivate whatsoever for the separation of education (Education League 1953 :2).

According to Dr Verwoerd the education received by Blacks alienated educated Blacks from their community, and denationalised individuals and made them quasi-Europeans (Department of Information nd : 5). He was supported by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in the conference of the University College of Fort Hare on 14 September 1966. He further emphasised that the educated Bantu people would have to take a role to the people that Bantu education was called to serve (Duminy 1967 : xvi; F.A.K 1948 :132). The emphasis on creating better race relations is not substantiated and is contradictory to the remarks of the Minister of Exterior when he proudly stated that there were no clashes between the European and non-Europeans in South Africa as was the case in other parts of the world.

The NP knew that Black people would not summarily accept the Bantu Education Act, as the United Party as well as the Native Representatives strongly opposed it. Therefore to enforce it, a year after the Eiselen Commission was delegated to investigate the policy of Black education (cf: 2.2.4), the Government passed legislation

which was supported by proclamations and Government Gazettes. Diagram 1 reflects these.

DIAGRAM 1 : GOVERNMENT’S LEGISLATIONS



These Acts, Proclamations and Government Notices are labelled 1-9 to facilitate smooth reading and to ensure clarity. In passing Act (1), the NP widely defined the term ‘communism’ to include, among others, any doctrine or scheme which aimed to bring about any form of change within South Africa by the promotion of disturbances or which aimed at encouraging feelings of hostility between Black and White. The Minister was empowered to ban publications and to prohibit gatherings suspected to further the aims of communism (Horrell 1963 : 48-49; PV93 1/9/1/3 :17). Act (1) was strategically passed because it was prior to the Eiselen Report of 1951. The NP knew that Black people would not accept the Commission’s recommendations, therefore Act (1) would ensure that their feelings were suppressed.

Proclamations (2) and (3) were initially intended to control meetings in rural areas and to suppress political action while Government Notice (2) contained similar provisions and empowered the Governor General to bring them into force. Government Notice (3) extended powers of the Governor General from rural areas to any area where there had been unrest. Act (4) considered any form of protest against the laws of the country, a crime. Act (5) provided that public order had to be maintained and should the ordinary law of the land be inadequate to deal with the situation, the Governor General could proclaim a state of emergency (PV93 1/9/1/3 :17). Act (6) as amended provided similar but strong suppression of feelings of hostility or signs of communism. Act (7) provided that the Minister could prohibit public gatherings in any public place for specified periods. Acts (8) and (9) were passed after the Government realised that certain groups of Whites, like the Native Representative Council, were assisting Blacks in their struggle against apartheid. Through Acts (8) and (9) activities deemed undesirable would be controlled by the Government (Horrell 1963 : 49-51).

Guided and assisted by these myriad Acts, Proclamations and Government Notices, the Government intended to continue with its apartheid policy, which materialised in education, unopposed.

2.2.4.1.1 Christian National Education

As a reinforcement to Bantu education, its sibling the Christian National Education (CNE) was introduced. The NP utilised education to maintain its dominant position in South Africa (Harber 1989 :184). The concept of CNE had an important influence in defining the objectives of education in South Africa. The Institute of CNE which means Christelike Nasionale Onderwys (CNO) in Afrikaans, was established by the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniging (F.A.K) (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organisations, FACO). The F.A.K. was a body which was considered to be a mouthpiece of Afrikanerdom in cultural matters and in turn an off-shoot of the Broederbond (Tabata 1959 :12, 17; Currey & Snell nd : 4; cf 2.2.3). The Christian National Education policy, subsequently referred to as the 'Beleid' had its origin in a

conference in Bloemfontein called by F.A.K in 1939. Its executive was instructed to draw up a statement on the principles of Christian National Education. The final and approved draft appeared as a pamphlet in 1948 (Currey & Snell nd : 3; F.A.K 1948 : 244).

At this stage it is important to establish the purpose of CNE. As conflict began to emerge over the content of White education, attempts to develop schooling for Whites along 'English' lines were met with resistance from Afrikaners. This resulted in Afrikaners devising a system called CNE, which aimed to protect and foster the Afrikaner language and culture. The politicisation of White education was focussed around the launching of CNE (Cosser 1991 : 47, 49; Education Policy Unit 1989 :2). The CNE schools were an act of resistance against the indoctrination of Afrikaner children with foreign, unacceptable influences on their thinking and outlook on life (Hansard 1992 : 3225; Behr 1984 : 24-25).

The CNE policy was published in 1960. In article 6 (5) of this document South Africa was labelled as 'the soil' of 'our country' and 'our land' given to the Boer nation by the Creator (Malherbe 1977 : 2; Behr 1984 : 28). As far as different races were concerned, article 6(6) stated that God willed separate nations and that each separate nation had been given its own particular vocation, tasks and gifts (Enslin 1987 : 106). Articles 14 and 15 indicated that the Boer nation had been called by God and that it was holy vocation to civilise and Christianise Blacks and Coloureds on a basis of trusteeship (Rose & Tunmer 1975 : 127-128; Fact Paper 2, nd :1). As to the provision of Black education it had to be grounded in the perspective of the Boer nation and to be funded on such a basis that it would not interfere with White education (Singh 1992 :102).

The analysis of the content of the CNE policy clearly and stressfully indicates and supports the NP view and statements that South Africa was for Whites and was to be kept as such. Their possessiveness is indicated in 'our land', 'our country' as though someone claimed it before. What is highlighted is the idea and belief that Afrikaners

or Whites are God's chosen people as the Israelites were. God never willed apartheid, in His eyes all people are the same and equal. The idea of Fatherland set aside for a particular group is not a Christian notion. It deviates from the basic democratic psychology of Christianity (McGurk 1990 : 43) and violates Christian teaching (Education League 1953 : 4). As for the provision of Black education it was the intention of the NP and its supporters to keep it different and unequal from that of Whites. The notion of racial superiority was essential to the function of an ideology like CNE (Hartshorne 1989 : 8). It is therefore conceivable that the philosophy of CNO remained the principle informing the public provision and policy of education for South Africa acceptable to the principles of Afrikanerdom. The CNE policy as an expression of some aspects of the dominant ideology could be seen to serve the purpose of justifying a separate and inferior system of education for Blacks (Enslin 1987 : 107). This indicates and emphasizes that education for a preconceived role in society was basic to Christian-National Education doctrines (Education League 1953 : 4).

Among the proposals purported by the Beleid, were that:

- education had to be based on Christianity and that 'Christian Education' was to be national in its character;
- different schools for different groups were to be established, namely for Afrikaners, English, Coloureds and Natives; and
- the control was to be based on the right relation of home, church, school and state. This control is reflected in the Diagram 2.

It is apparent from the proposals of the 'Beleid' that education in South Africa was to have a Christian character because of the belief and description of Blacks as 'barbarians' therefore Whites as 'purified guardians' had to purify and convert Blacks to Christianity (cf: 2.2.1; Verwoerd 1954 : 5). Christianity also implied that for admission in school, a child had to adopt a 'Christian' name (Mphahlele 1982 : 2), which was either Afrikaans or English. To ensure that Christianity was fully practised especially in Black schools, Religious Education (R.E) was made a compulsory school

subject (Currey & Snell nd : 7). To maintain Christianity the Government appointed a special inspector for R.E to ensure that it was taught according to stipulations set by the Government (Department of Information, nd : 5; RP 75/1974 : 63; RP 93/1973 : 59). Opportunities were also created for ministers of religion to conduct Bible classes for their own adherents at all schools (Fact Paper 2, nd : 7). Education in South Africa was also to have a National character which implied education-differentiation according to racial groups. In order to achieve this the NP government had a comprehensive control over education.

2.3 NATURE OF BLACK EDUCATION

2.3.1 Introduction

Control of Black schools, the curriculum taught, the implementers and the recipients of such curriculum, is scrutinized because throughout the parliamentary debates the National Party had been emphasizing the perpetuation of one type of education system that had been offered to Blacks by their predecessors, the missionaries and the United Party (c.f. 2.2.3). 'A better' system of education according to the NP would be offered to Blacks. Understanding the NP's intention and views on schools for Blacks is essential if the resistance against the system is to be comprehended. In spite of criticism the NP steamrolled the Bantu Education bill through parliament and Senate to rectify the alleged shortcomings of the then Native education.

2.3.2 Shortcomings and ratification of Native education

The NP's criticism of Native education should be understood against the background of their political ideology as well as education objectives. According to the NP the transformation of Native education to Bantu education led to a more suitable education without the defects which were present in the Native education system (Verwoerd 1954 : 7).

Dr Verwoerd in the Senate Debates of 7 June 1954 as well as other NP members in various Senate Debates illustrated the following shortcomings of Native education:

- there was no co-ordination among provinces which implied that each province controlled Black education independently. Therefore uniformity had to be acquired;
- there was no co-ordination between the school and the community it was supposed to serve; and
- the curriculum to a certain extent and the teaching methods ignored the apartheid policy of the Government as a result Blacks could not be prepared for services within their communities. Therefore the school education was to be co-ordinated to the national policy of segregation.

The control of Bantu education was to be handed over to the Department of Native Affairs and removed from provinces to the Government (Statutes 1953 : 258; Statutes 1954 : 431; Kgware 1967 : 55) so that a uniform education policy in accordance with the segregation policy of the country, could be introduced. Schools were to be controlled by Bantu communities (c.f. 2.2.4.1 : Diagram 2; Statutes 1953 : 268-270; Statutes 1959 : 344). The control of mission schools as well as the reformation of teaching methods was considered a long term goal.

The NP's plan for Bantu Education to succeed and become effective unlike its previous Native Education, was to ensure that it complied with the following requirements:

- every Bantu parent would have an equal right to the basic education facilities for his children (RP 52/1979);
- the Bantu pupil was to receive knowledge and training as well as adopt an attitude in school which would be effective so that he might serve his community; (F.A.K. 1948 :131 - 132); and
- the Bantu teacher was to be utilised in such a way that he would contribute towards development of his own community (F.A.K. 1948 :104).

What can be deduced from the NP's plan with regard to Bantu education is that:

- uniformity among the provinces is desired for the benefit of a learner who may wish to study in other provinces, but it is undesirable if it is to further the aims of segregation among the citizens of South Africa;
- provincial education is to be in accordance with the national education policy but becomes unsound if it strengthens the NP's apartheid policy in expense of national unity characterised by the same education system for all;
- although the NP criticized the missionaries for indoctrinating Blacks, their policy was indoctrination at its best;
- by controlling Black education the NP would achieve its segregationist objective; and
- it is reasonable that parents must take a role in the education of their children however the NP used such a clever input in order to shift its financial responsibility to parents. Therefore such a step would ensure that few pupils would receive education.

The same thinking is prevalent in the NP's view of the role of learners and teachers in education. These will be discussed in detail as the chapter progresses. The next section focusses on the NP's view of the school in broader terms.

2.3.3 The National Party's view on the school

In order to understand the structure of the school as an institution for tuition, it must be seen against the background of the general nature of education (Van Vuuren 1976 : 359). The South African education system had a segregationist-based character. According to the Nationalists, schools in South Africa were to follow a four-stream policy of segregation. This implies that there were to be separate schools, for the four racial groups namely Blacks, Whites, Coloureds and Indians, which according to their 1947 election campaign would condemn the idea of mixed schools (PV 93 :1/2/2) as

proposed by the Beleid (cf 2.2.4.1.1).

The State's emphasis on separate schools was deemed necessary by the NP in order to assist in achieving segregation (Unterhalter et al 1991 : 57; De L van Staden nd : 31) and to ensure rigid educational separation (Young 1987 : 67). An emphasis is placed on Bantu schools as they are the focus of this dissertation however contrast will be made in the process in order to highlight the imbalances created by the NP.

Before the NP's view of Bantu schools can be discussed, it is necessary to give a pedagogic meaning of the school. A school is a social institution and a terrain where the teacher carries out his profession (Van der Stoep & Louw 1984 :154). These educationists further state that the school can be described from various perspectives namely from an economic perspective, a judicial perspective, a cultural perspective, a purely social perspective and a political perspective. While Van Vuuren (1976 :359, 361) asserts that a school is an institution for providing the immature child with the necessary education to become a fully mature member of the civilisation to which he belongs. He further adds that a school exists in specific relation namely one of educative instruction in which growing and developing children are instructed and educated by trained teachers by means of differentiated subject-matter in a methodically planned way in observance of certain norms.

The school thus is:

- a social institution where the three components parents, teachers and pupils; meet on a common ground;
- a terrain or a place where the teacher executes his profession of teaching and educating the immature, growing and developing children in observing socially accepted norms so that they (children) become fully matured members of society;
- described according to different perspectives; and has
- an educative task achieved through differentiated subject-matter which is methodically planned.

It is against this background definition of a school that the NP's perspective of schools is analysed. A retrospective outlook of an utterance, by one of the NP's spokesman, which summarised the Government's view of schools, declared that 'we should so conduct our schools in such a way that the Natives who attend those schools will know that to a great extent they must be the labourers in the country' (Hansard 1945 : 4527).

This emphasises that schools were used as centres for ideological contestations (Harber 1989 :187) to further the aims of 'education for domestication' (Kallaway 1984 :18). The other NP spokesperson also declared that apartheid in schools 'gehandhaaf sal word' (De L van Staden nd :31). The function of the school was to give the pupil a clear conception of his social and economic environment taking into account the fact that he had to adapt himself to the environment in which he has to live as an adult (Department of Information nd :18). Ross (1967 : 8) concluded that through Bantu Education Act, schools moved closer to the community which they were intended to serve. Some Black educationists seem to agree that the chief function of the school is to teach and transmit the culture and ideology of the community from its mature members to its immature ones to perpetuate a certain mode of life (Kgware 1967 : 60; Luthuli 1985 : 4). In the Senate Debates of 7 June 1954, Dr Verwoerd clearly expressed the following views with regard to Bantu schools:

- that Bantu schools were not equipped for recreation;
- it was not the function of the school to keep children off the streets by using well-paid teachers, but the function was to provide education;
- education in schools especially with regard to lower classes, Sub A - Standard two, was only 'supervision' not 'real education';
- the four and half school-going hours were to be reduced to three hours so that both teachers and classrooms could accommodate a platoon system;
- care and maintenance of school building was the responsibility of the pupils under the supervision of teachers. The Bantu community was also to play a role;

- the number of schools, which fall under a board, would depend on ethnic affinity and geographic location; and
- secondary schools would be established in Native areas, homelands away from the urban environment.

It became apparent from the Minister's utterances that he was maintaining his party status quo on apartheid policy and as best described by a member of the opposition that 'he is not a man who changes his mind very easily ... he is driving this country into very dangerous channel' (Senate Debates 1954 : 2640). Dr Verwoerd was aware that Bantu schools were without recreation equipment yet he did not redress that imbalance. He pedagogically reasoned that a school's function is to provide education yet he reduced the school-going hours to three hours. The reason for this was to enrol a large number of beginners in the sub-standards (National Party nd : 8) as lower primary schooling was 'the schooling of masses' (Lantern nd :17). Dr McConkey, a former Director of Education in Natal, questioned the quality of education provided for Black children because an increasing enrolment of Blacks in schools did not qualify its quality but was 'a mass educational abortion' (McConkey nd : 4). The NP defined the school from a political perspective and ignored the educative function of the school as well as the fact that lower classes is where basic education through which the foundation of children's self-concepts are either firmly established or flimsily planted in shifting sands (Hamachek 1975 : 313) and has to be kept sound, effective and efficient (Dreyer & Duminy 1983 : 31).

Dr Verwoerd introduced the double session system, which according to a UP member was a soul-destroying abomination (Hansard 1975 : 5453), wherein a teacher and classroom took two sessions of three hours each, the result of which would be a serious restrictive effect on the quality of teaching (Davies 1955 :14). Lantern (nd :17) justified the establishment of double sessions as a redress of the past mistakes of the UP education dispensation. It asserted that due to population explosion among Blacks the old dispensation of Native education could not accommodate the vast number of learners. Double sessions were introduced to supplement enrolment at the expense

of quality education (Christie & Collins 1984 :177). Initially double sessions were temporary expediciencies, however, their existence proved the opposite and they remained indefinite (McConkey nd : 6; Hartshorne 1981:20) as a result the most horrendous educational environment was created for teachers and learners (O'Connel 1991 : 1). It became a salient cause of the inferior standard of primary education (Hartshorne 1981 : 19; Kgware 1967 : 58). For Dr Verwoerd the shortage of school buildings was to be solved that way. This is proof enough that it was the beginning of overcrowding in classrooms and the double session system as prevalent to this day in Black schools.

The building of new primary schools were not in the programme, but new secondary schools were established far away from urban areas in Bantu reserves or homelands. The NP had shown a remarkable progress to increase the number of secondary schools in these areas (Fact Paper 88, 1961 :10). This was a further indicated plan to make education in cities and towns inaccessible to the Bantu child. Children had to travel to the homelands for their secondary schooling, and travelling expenses as well as schooling was to be procured by their parents, while education for White children was provided free of charge from primary to high school (Government Gazette 1974 : 5; UNESCO 1967 : 45; Statutes 1967 : 614). In the conference of the University College of Fort Hare on 14 September 1966, Mr M.C. Botha, declared that secondary schools would become progressively important in order to prepare the Bantu youth for the skilled tasks which lay ahead of them in the service of their communities. He emphasised that secondary education had to become increasingly diversified and geared to the needs of the territorial authorities in developing their own areas. Because of this the Department was attaching more and more importance to technical, commercial and vocational aspects of the secondary level of education (Duminy 1967 : xiii).

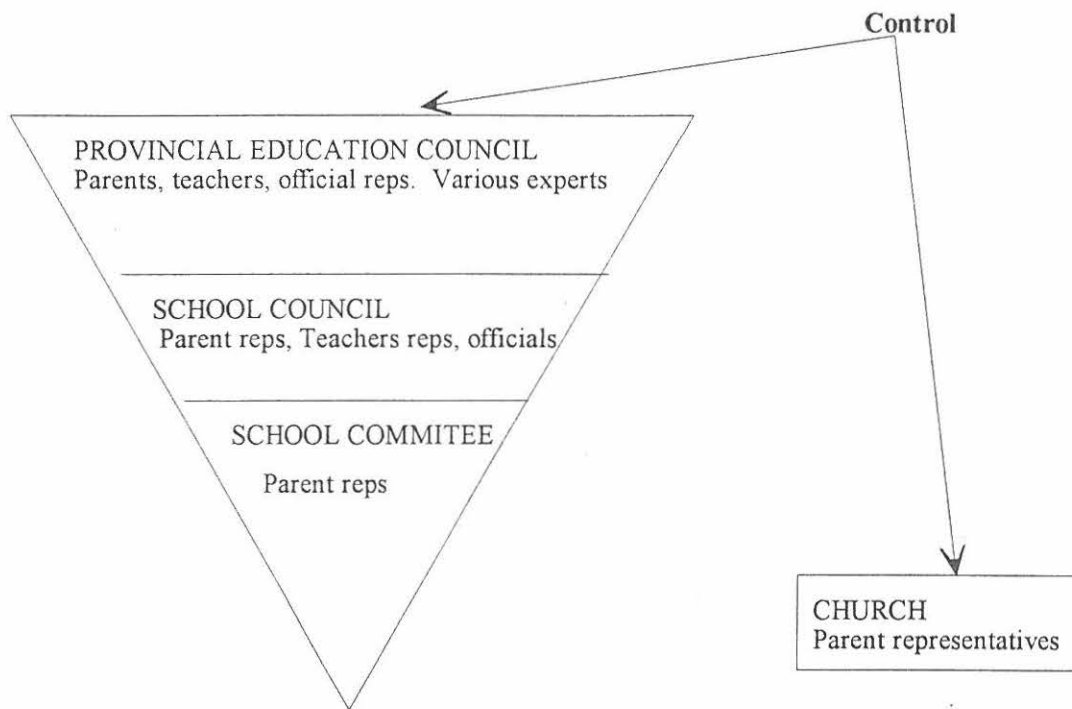
In the Senate Debates of 9 May 1967 there was a call from the opposition for parliamentary intervention with regard to the move taken by the NP on secondary schools. However the NP ignored the opposition and carried on with their action. The

aim of such a drastic step was briefly summarised by the then Prime Minister, Mr B.J. Vorster when his policy was debated in the Senate, on 3 March 1969. He indicated that '... we in the Republic are building a pure White nation which will give to each of the non-White races inside its border independencies in their own homelands' (Senate Debates 1969 : 213). As for the care and maintenance of Bantu schools, it became apparent that NP ensured that Blacks do menial jobs commencing from childhood as children were expected to clean classrooms (National Party nd:14) while the same did not apply in 'White' schools.

Schools in urban areas were to be located according to ethnicity. Blacks were not only separated from Whites, Indians and Coloureds but among themselves. The aim of the NP was clear, it was to divide Blacks so as to decrease their strength because it is a fact that the NP was threatened by the Black population. Schools had served as powerful instruments for supporting and legitimizing the position of the NP (Le Roux 1993 : 177). This view was enhanced by the ANC when it declared that schools were being turned into schools of ignorance, tribalism and servitude (Luthuli nd :1). Black schools had emerged as institutions on the frontline of the ideological conflict and the power context in South Africa (Bot & Schlemmer 1986 :16).

For the NP to ensure that schools became instrumental to their policy, the overall control of Black schools fell under the Department of Bantu Education as propounded by the Commission and its acquaintance Bantu Education Act of 1953. Diagram 2 reflects school control.

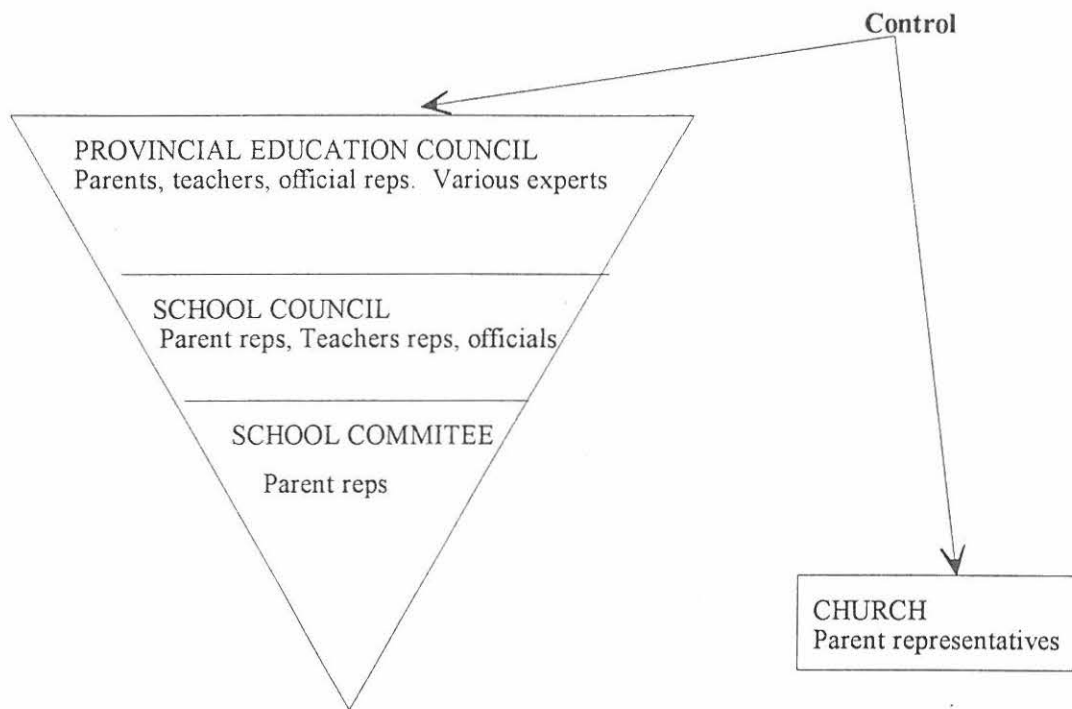
DIAGRAM 2 : CONTROL OF SCHOOLS



The funnel-shaped control as promulgated by the NP was well planned. The control at the school was to be exercised by a school committee drawn from the representatives of parents. It is clear from their position that they were to implement and promote the interest of the school councils. The latter was above the school committee and was formed by parent representatives, teacher representatives and Bantu education officials. The reason for the existence of school committees was to enable education to play its essential part 'in general advancement of the 'Bantu' people and to associate the schools intimately with the life of the communities about them' (Booklet 21, 1962 :10, Fact paper 2, nd :1).

The committee's powers among others included the appointment, dismissals and transfers of teachers (Statutes 1959 : 342; Data Fact 1978 :1) as a result teachers were sent from pillar to post, without any protection from their employers (Senate Debates 1956 : 3248). Above the school council was the Provincial education council comprising of parents, teachers, officials and various experts. Parents and teachers

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were window dressing and rubber stamps for policies and procedures laid down by the Department of Bantu Education (Rand Daily Mail 1954 : 3). This was confirmed by Dr Verwoerd when he announced that the local Bantu boards would be under the supervision of the Department (Verwoerd 1954 :12; Cape Times 1954 : 2). They would fit properly as Native Representative Council members in the Senate and the House of Assembly yet the Council members were Whites who sympathised with Blacks and were also anti-apartheid.

As for the Church control, article (8) of the Beleid categorically stated that 'We reject in principle ... a system of Church schools' (Currey & Snell nd :13). From the diagram it became apparent that the Church was not placed under the funnel-type of control envisaged by the NP, it was alienated. This symbolised the calculated numbered days of the church control over Black education.

2.3.3.1 The State and Church Schools

The State's action to close down Church schools was driven by several reasons.

(i) Parents involvement

The Government alleged that it aimed to involve Black parents in the control of their children's education which would be affected through the establishment of school boards and school committees (Statutes 1953 : 268-270; Statutes 1954 : 43; Statutes 1959 : 344). The Church management of mission schools therefore would be replaced by community control (Fact Paper 88, 1961 : 5; Nasson & Samuel 1990 :18). In August 1954 all churches were given options either to sell, or rent schools to the Department or close them (Horrell 1963 : 38; Cape Times 1956 : 3; Tilemma 1974 : 227). If the churches wished to retain control of schools they would have to apply for registration as private schools (Cape Times 1954 :2; Bixby 1977 : 31-32). The approval would be obtained from the Minister of Bantu education (Statutes 1956:801-803, Statutes 1961 : 924-928) who would ensure that the NP ideology, through the

agency of its Native Affairs Department, would be implemented in Black schools (PV 93 : 1/31/1/7). To strengthen and facilitate the process the State subsidies to the Church schools were progressively reduced until 1957 (Sunday Times 1954 : 6) and in 1958 completely ceased (Kgware 1967 : 55).

(ii) European-orientated education

The NP alleged that education provided by the Church schools was inevitably European-orientated, the product of which were only a number of denationalised individuals, quasi-Europeans who had lost contact with their own people (Lantern and : 3). This view was over-emphasised by the NP supporters and was also reflected in many Senate as well as House of Assembly Debates. However, it is ironical that the NP criticized the missionary education as European-orientated while CNE was equally of European orientation. Their criticism was biased and depended on what favoured them, as a result they contradicted their own set of principles. For this reason, the Church concluded that Dr Verwoerd was mobilising Christendom against his country (Cape Times 1954 : 3). However educationists such as Professor Kgware asserted that the Mission school was not only Christian in outlook but also western in content which divorced completely from the institutional life of the Black people (Kgware 1967 : 60).

(iii) Opposition to Bantu Education Act of 1953

Since the inception of Bantu Education, the churches resisted the implementation of Bantu Education Act which was an attempt to control the Church schools (Tilemma 1974 : 237; Bixby 1977 : 28, 121) and the destiny of Blacks from cradle to the grave (The Star 1954 : 3). For this reason Christians were urged to demand the repeal of the Act (Sunday Times 1954:2; The Star 1954:3) which they viewed as unChristian, educationally unsound, restricted and retarded Blacks (Rand Daily Mail 1954 : 2). Father Raymond Raynes, Superior of the Anglican Community of the Resurrection in London, stated that the Bantu Education Act was designed to educate people for a

certain state of life which was already decided for them to make them subservient to Europeans. Therefore the Church condemned it as immoral and an expression of tyranny (Pretoria News 1955 : 2, PV93 :1/31/1/7). In 1955 Father Trevor Huddleston openly challenged Dr Verwoerd and the Minister of Justice, Mr C.R. Swarts and Dr Eiselen on Bantu Education Act (Cape Argus 1955 : 2; Huddleston 1954 :1). As a result they began a campaign in 1968 in order to change public opinion about unequal opportunities intended for Blacks (Cawood 1964 :13).

(iv) Opposed apartheid

The churches were more active in their opposition to apartheid in primary and secondary education than the universities (Cawood 1964 :13). However they gave support to those who opposed the introduction of university apartheid. As a result individuals from these churches were detained for direct and indirect assistance to liberation movements (SAIRR 1971 : 87-89; SAIRR 1972 : 40-43). The repressive response from the Government did not retard the aim and intention of the Churches to fight apartheid. Episcopal synod of the Anglican church was vocal about its condemnation of apartheid. It declared that it was morally wrong to follow a policy, the object of which was to keep any particular racial group permanently inferior (Robert 1971 : 34; Cape Times 1956 : 4) and according to the Methodist church such a policy was incompatible with the Christian principles for which the Church stands (SAIRR 1954 :103). In 1968, The Theological Commission of South African Council of Churches in their document entitled 'Message to the People of South Africa' reiterated the NP's hostility to Christianity and its objective to separate people rather than reconcile differences among them (SAIRR 1969 : 21-22, Muller et al 1989 : 8).

The State viewed the opposition to Bantu education in a very serious light and repressive measures were utilised to silence and stop the Church schools from functioning. It is ironic that the State introduced Christianity in schools while at the same time fought with the fountain and core of Christianity, the Church. Private Catholic schools were amongst the first White educational institutions to respond to the

unequal policy of separate education when the Roman Catholic Church introduced a non-racial and non-discriminatory policy in 1976.

It is therefore necessary to focus on the teacher as a component of the school as institution.

2.3.4 The Nationalist perception of a Black teacher

A world-wide accepted view of the teacher is that an educator has to educate an educand in a pedagogic situation so that the educand could become a mature person who is capable to find his niche in a complex world. The teacher is also a curriculum implementor in a classroom. The last view was also mentioned and recognised by the NP in debates and therefore they used it as an opportunity to transfer Bantu education to immature and unaware Black children. On the other hand Dr Verwoerd despised the Black teachers by alleging that they had a 'Standard VI mentality' and ascribed the lower quality and ineffective education to them (Verwoerd 1954 :16). This statement is appalling and ironic because the NP had ensured that higher institutions were limited and racially biased for Black teachers to further their education so as to either have a 'Diploma or Degree mentality'. Black teachers were success-deprived by a strategy to make them 'not to feel above the community' (Luthuli 1985 : 56). Dr Verwoerd emphasized in the Senate Debates of 7 June 1954 that Black teachers 'belonged to a class which felt that its spiritual, economic as well as political home was among the civilised communities of South Africa, namely the Europeans' (Senate Debates 1954 : 2607) as such had to be integrated as active agents in the process of the development of the Bantu community (Verwoerd 1954 :15; Hansard 1967 : 6390).

The NP's strategy was to ensure that teachers remain inferior and as members of the Black community were not to compete with their White counterparts. There was no substantiated proof that Black teachers did not want to belong to their community, this was an assertion driven by a perpetual force of apartheid and its accomplice, Bantu education. Furthermore the NP, through Department of Native Affairs, decided to have

complete control over teacher training colleges. Such control would enable the NP to impart its segregation policy on the teachers who would later implement it to the learners.

It is therefore necessary to indicate some of the repressive measures taken by the NP to ensure the Black teachers did not have 'a consequent desire to become integrated into the life of the European community' (Verwoerd 1954 :15).

2.3.4.1 Teachers' salaries

Teachers' salaries were to be fixed to match the community they came from. Dr Verwoerd expressed that the salaries of European teachers were not 'a permissible criterion for Bantu teachers' (Verwoerd 1954 :19). Here again a parallel is drawn and comparison made between Whites and Blacks. It is an undisputable fact that Black teachers earned far below the White teachers as well as a submission that provisioning in education in South Africa was discriminatory. Dr Verwoerd further stated that the salary of Black teachers was not to be increased as this would make them '... more favoured in comparison with the parents of the children under their care and it will favour them at the expense of those who must help to bear the burden of education' (Senate Debates 1954 : 2614).

The implication of 'those who must help to bear the burden of education' were the Black parents who had to fund the education of their children. This also reflected the NP's aim to use every means at its disposal to discourage Blacks from receiving education. This fact was also expressed by a member of the opposition who indicated the unfairness of expecting the poorest community to fund its own education (Hansard 1967 : 6392). However, this was ignored by the NP who responded by stating that those teachers who wanted to earn more had to seek opportunities in other professions while the outstanding teachers could be promoted to sub-inspectors depending on their

bilingualism. These reasons were not sophisticated enough to justify the salary disparity between White teachers and Black teachers.

There was also a disparity in salary between female and male teachers. Women teachers were expected to teach lower classes as Dr Verwoerd stressed that they were 'by nature so much better fitted for handling young children'. This was a wide allegation based not only on race but also on gender. The question of disparity in salary was not honestly and comprehensibly reasoned and explained. This was a clear submission that Bantu education was not only inferior, but discriminatory and sexist.

It may be deduced that during the Verwoerdian era professional Black teachers were treated like commodities. The last fact was highlighted when Dr Verwoerd stressed that the teacher and classroom would be utilised for the different groups of learners per day which implied either platooning or double session system (cf 2.3.3). Teachers had no choice but to perform their duties as they were expected to be 'faithful' to the Department of Bantu education, failing which they were threatened with expulsion (Verwoerd 1954 : 20; Senate Debates 1956 : 3292). Teachers had primarily been responsible for the transmission, interpretation and reproduction of the cultural values of the NP with a view of assimilating sub-dominant groups into the mainstream culture and establishing cultural homogeneity and supremacy (Le Roux 1993 :178). This was a dilemma in which Black teachers found themselves in because their livelihood depended on teaching a syllabus which in conscience they could not approve (Huddleston 1954 : 1).

2.3.5 The Curriculum for Black children

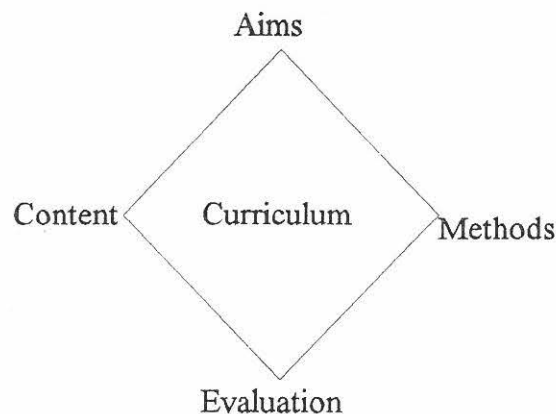
A curriculum is a concept which denotes all the activities which constitute a teaching and learning programme (Nacino-Brown et al 1982 : 32). It is also a codified way of learning and a summary of learning content related to school subjects including educational aims. Furthermore it is a design of contents to provide the pupil with a way to lead him to adulthood (Van der Stoep & Louw 1984:204, 213; White 1975: 392).

When constructing a curriculum, fundamental aspects are to be considered. Van der Stoep and Louw (1984 : 217) assert that these basic aspects are:

- the establishment of educational aims of the curriculum (Pope 1983 : 48, 55). This implies what is intended to be achieved through and by the curriculum;
- learning activities to be assumed in the curriculum. The implication is that content to be taught should be identified and selected in order to realize the aims;
- the ways in which learning activities are to be ordered or organised to ensure that the learning effect is as high as possible. The implication is that methods are to be applied to present the content as this will enhance the orderliness and organisation of such content; and
- the ways in which the effectiveness of a curriculum can be evaluated (Tyler 1982 :173). This means that a curriculum has to be evaluated in order to ensure its viability.

The implication is that all curricula must comprise four components namely the aims, content, methods and evaluation as outlined in Diagram 3.

DIAGRAM 3 : COMPONENTS OF ALL CURRICULA



This background is important in order to assess the NP's construction of the curriculum and to ascertain the impact which the curriculum had on the Black South African education system. According to the Nationalist government the curriculum was to fulfill, among others, the following requirements:

- to instil in pupils knowledge, training and attitude such that they will serve their community;
- to start with their circumstances of the community; and
- to aim at meeting the requirements of the community (Hansard 1967 : 6391).

It is evidenced from their perspective of the curriculum design that the NP used it as an instrument to facilitate its separate development policy. It is therefore necessary to focus on the curriculum as presented in Black schools commencing in primary schools. This discussion is not detailed but only illustrates how the NP planned to achieve its political goal through Bantu education. One of the most important decisions concerning the curriculum occurs when a country decides on its national aims or goals of education (Nacino-Brown et al 1982 : 4).

With regard to the curriculum that teachers were expected to present in the classrooms, Dr Verwoerd stated that in sub-standards teachers were not to teach pupils further than the three R's namely reading, writing and arithmetic which UNESCO labelled as 'tool subjects' (UNESCO 1967 : 46) through the mother-tongue medium while ignoring that 'the choice of language rests with Blacks as bearers of language'. Furthermore the learners were to be taught Religious Education, singing, Afrikaans and English (Senate Debates 1954 : 2609). The teaching of mother tongue in sub-standards was not to be over stressed because it would lead to an increasing number of unilingual schools. Unilingualism discourages absolute equality and mutual acceptance, with the result that fertile fields of misunderstanding were provided. The teaching of Afrikaans and English, was done in order to enable Black children to understand their employers later in life (Duminy 1967 : xiv) since Black education was geared to produce functional people who would be good servants (Luthuli 1985 : 56-

57; UNESCO 1967 : 28; Education League 1953 : 7).

The teaching of Religious Education was not wrong if the intentions were correct (cf 2.2.4.1; 2.2.4.1.1). Blacks were to be taught the principles of CNE from an early stage as was postulated by the NP and its supporters. It is absurd that what the NP claimed to be Christian education lacked the tenets of Christianity (Senate Debates 1971 : 3896) and because of that they forfeited the right to have called themselves Christians. They were indoctrinating children from the tender age to realise that they were different from others and to act and behave as such. This was not an effort to nurture harmonious race relations in South Africa. On the other hand singing was to be taught because it was believed that Blacks had a natural aptitude for singing (Senate Debates 1954 : 2651; Lantern nd : 17).

At this stage it is incumbent to compare Black and White education at the primary school level. Davies (1955 : 12) supported by Statutes (1967 : 614) highlights this difference by stating that in White primary schools the aim was to impart skills of reading, writing and calculation and of supplying factual information in a number of the facets of the child's environment. A face-value analysis of this curriculum indicates that education for Blacks and Whites in primary sub-standards was the same, the three Rs. However, a deeper analysis indicates that in the case of White children skills were to be imparted while in Black children it became just teaching. It is quite inconceivable that Black children would be made to acquire the necessary skills intended for their White counterparts, within three hours of learning. White children were prepared at an earlier stage to gather information and understand their environment so as to be able to comprehend the adult environment, while the opposite was true in the case of Black children (Senate Debates 1966 : 1117).

An emphasis on primary school education is referred to extensively in this study. This is done purposefully and intentionally because primary schooling as the name indicates, is the foundation of schooling which if not soundly built cannot culminate in effective secondary schooling. The priorities of the Government's Bantu education

programme was mass literacy and widespread primary education as opposed to secondary education which would enable the recipients to find their niche in all services provided by the Government (Lewis 1955 :185) who reserved a special perception of the Black child.

2.3.6 The NP's perception of the Black child

The way in which a child is viewed will not only influence educational thoughts, but will also influence the methods and procedures used in educating children (Dreyer and Duminy 1983 : 2). The implication is that if a child is regarded as an animal not a human being, animal like methods of teaching will be employed. The same goes with the view of a child in Christian terms, such a child will be treated according to Christian procedures as the creation of God in the image of God (Genesis 2 : 7; Hansard 1997 : 4588).

It is necessary to consider the different educationists' views held of a child as this will shed light on the ways in which the NP viewed Black children. Dreyer and Duminy (1983 : 2-3) purport that a child:

- is a human being, a person. Although he is born weak and unable to help himself, he has potential to become an adult one day and overcome his debilities;
- is someone who wants to come to an understanding of his world;
- is someone who learns to be human only from social contact with fellow human beings;
- who is educable by virtue of being a human being; and
- is a multi-dimensional being because it is the total person who is engaged in an education situation.

From the above description of a child, one tends to agree that a child has not requested to come into the world but he has been carried to it. Therefore, others must

acknowledge this reality and appreciate that he is a person who has to be treated with human dignity (Du Plooy and Killian 1984 :17) which is a universal and indispensable value beyond nationalism and any particularism that has a claim on the world he lives, for a decent livelihood (Hurley 1966 : 3). These descriptions and views of a child do not discriminate against children but cover all human beings.

The NP set out the following requirements for a Black child (Senate Debates 1954 : 2609):

- sub-standards namely Sub A to Standard two pupils were expected to enrol at school at the age of seven;
- learners would be promoted automatically annually except under exceptional circumstances;
- learners who failed to attend school regularly would be removed from the register; and
- learners who failed the standard twice would have to leave school to make place for the capable ones.

In principle there is nothing wrong with the enrolment of a child at seven if the same applied to all other groups. No provision was made for a six year old child ready for school as it was the case with White children. The reason was that Blacks were subjected to a thirteen year school structure (RP 75/1974 : 51; RP 93/1973 : 45) which implied that a learner spent eight years in primary school and five years in high school and standard six was repeated as a safeguard for the compatibility and comparability of standards of education. On the other hand Whites had a twelve year school structure which implied seven years in primary school and five years in high school (Hansard 1975 : 5460-5461).

The automatic promotion which was done annually is well understood and commendable if one recalls three hours set for 'supervision' of learners. As there was no real education, then automatic promotion was suitable. The reason for promotion

acknowledge this reality and appreciate that he is a person who has to be treated with human dignity (Du Plooy and Killian 1984 :17) which is a universal and indispensable value beyond nationalism and any particularism that has a claim on the world he lives, for a decent livelihood (Hurley 1966 : 3). These descriptions and views of a child do not discriminate against children but cover all human beings.

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was to encourage and keep Black children at school since a concern was registered that many learners left school before completion of primary school, when their mental development had not justified the money spent on them. It is justifiably inconceivable how money could be contrasted to the mental development because the latter needs training and depends on the other variables. If the child's attendance had been satisfactory, automatic promotion ensued (Lantern nd :1, 17; Department of Information nd : 7). This emphasizes the fact that primary education at lower standards was not taken seriously by the Department of Bantu education. The Department was only concerned about the quantity of learners registered in the schools not the quality of education that these children received and internalised. The explanation of 'promotion ... except under exceptional circumstances' is incomprehensible and was not fully explained.

It seems there was no attempt on the part of the Department of Education for Blacks to establish reasons for a child's irregular school attendance but the NP was quick to expel children. The NP had intentionally avoided compulsory education for these learners but opted for voluntary education. For the Whites compulsory education was instituted. For a child who failed twice, no corrective measures or remedial work was employed to identify causes and curb such a recurrence, they were expelled from school. This was a total disservice to children and contrary to pedagogic values and principles. According to Lantern (nd : 17) standard four was the absolute minimum standard which could be of any practical benefit to the pupil and the community. This assumption was ridiculous and a justification of the NP's hidden agenda of preparing Black children for a certain service to the State which is primarily that of a servant to the European (Davies 1955 :16) rather than considering all children of a country as representatives of its real wealth, as education is the basis of advance and progress (Education League 1953 : 5). It is also evidenced that the child was expected to clean classrooms so as to be later prepared for manual labour. This is supported by O'Connell (1991 : 1) when he purports that pupils have been cruelly abused and manipulated by Apartheid education.

2.4 CONCLUSION

Chapter two offered the background to the development of Bantu education and indicated how it was used by the NP government to achieve its ideological and political goal. In quantitative terms Bantu education had achieved the large enrollment of Black children especially in primary schools. However this growth was confined to the lower standards. The qualitative measures prove that in line with the apartheid policy the vast majority of Black children from these primary schools received a schooling that did not equip them for anything other than unskilled labour. A comparative assessment of White children indicate that schooling for White children from primary education was preparing them for an almost complete monopoly of the dominant position in society and over Black education in particular.

The inconsiderate attempt and intention of the NP to address secondary schooling in various debates is a clear indication of the State's aim to ensure that Black children should be prepared to have only the minimum primary education. The drifting of secondary schools in homelands was in line with the State's apartheid policy. The intention was to provide secondary education to a small minority of Black people, while the large majority who could not afford to go to homelands, had to enter the labour market prematurely. The limited number of secondary schools in urban areas could not accommodate the large number of learners from primary schools. Secondary schools that tried to accommodate these learners became overcrowded as a result were forced to double sessions or platoon systems wherein the teacher-pupil ratio escalated. The classroom accommodation problem was not the agenda of the State because it had been accentuated by the policy of apartheid.

To entrench inequality in education, there were separate schools in separate departments of education. The provisioning of education in these schools varied on the ground of race. The curriculum as well as unqualified and underqualified teachers were crucial variables to enhance the policy of apartheid. The tension and resentment between the Afrikaners and the English in South Africa contaminated the education

system. They differed greatly on the provisioning of education to an extent that periodically the NP referred to how the Afrikaners were ill-treated by the English, instead of addressing the crucial issue like education.

A tight web of consultations and communication between the NP, various commissions like Tomlinson and Eiselen, SABRA, Broederbond, F.A.K and some newsletters like Lantern, were woven over the years. Such a strong bond was not easy to infiltrate that is why the NP managed to manoeuvre around South African education especially Black education. For the NP the idea of one education system for all would not materialise as long as they were in power because it would imply equal provisioning of education for all. Attempts to shift their mindset on apartheid and its impact on education by the opposition parties proved null and void. To strengthen their policy, numerous Acts were passed in order to suppress any attempt to revolt against their policy, as a result previous attempts were overcome.

Against this background, it is necessary to determine the impact that the policies and practices of the NP government had on education. Therefore chapter three focuses on education resistance commencing in June 1976 till 1989.

CHAPTER 3

BLACK EDUCATION RESISTANCE : 1976 - 1989

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Education resistance in South Africa had been a long ongoing process with many facets, this study however, focuses on the resistance after the introduction of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which will further be referred to as the 'Principal Act' instituted by the National Party.

Black political parties rejected the Principal Act and resisted Bantu education. This resistance is not detailed but only highlighted against the political background of the day as education cannot be divorced from politics. The pressure caused by opposing political parties greatly contributed to eventually force the NP to review its stance on apartheid. The Churches also played a role in the struggle against apartheid policies in South Africa. The nature of 'African' education as Bantu education became known, aggravated certain attitudes among pupils which further hindered their education and contributed to increased tension and potentially disruptive conflict (Adams 1971:219). The background to the provisions made for 'African' education (cf 2.2.3; 2.2.4) bear witness to this statement. Education resistance, therefore, is better understood when expressed as : 'South Africa was reaping the harvest of years of Black education designed for oppression and servitude' (Cosser 1991:8; Hansard 1993:6143) as well as for the slavish adherence to the Government's policies, ideology and dogma (Hansard 1980: 220, 298; Hansard 1990:8970).

The causes of resistance commencing in 1976 are discussed under 3.2. The era after 1976 is important because Blacks, especially pupils, could not passively accept the repressive measures initiated by the NP to continue providing low and inferior education. Focus is then directed to 1980 school boycotts four years after the Soweto riots and later



to 1983 and 1985 school boycotts. Eventually it became clear from the periods mentioned that pressure from Blacks was escalating to force the NP government to relinquish its segregationist principle. The results of these boycotts are analysed as they will shed light on the State's approach to the demands of the broad masses of Black people in South Africa.

3.2 CAUSES OF 1976 SCHOOL BOYCOTTS

Chapter two provided the background which had shaped Bantu education, and reviewed particular features of Bantu education because it is imperative to establish what caused the final breakdown in the hearts of Black learners. This breakdown reached a climax in 1974 when Afrikaans was introduced as medium of instruction in Black schools (Mphahlele 1982:13; Essop *et al* 1992:3; Hansard 1980: 276). This implied that half of the school subjects were to be taught in Afrikaans (Cosser 1991:53; Dekker & van Schalkwyk 1995:457). The NP's action must be understood against the silent war between the Afrikaners and the English in South Africa (cf 2.2.1) which tension was also reflected in both the Senate Debates of 4 June and 11 June 1971 (Senate Debates 1971:3508, 3528, 3909, 3934). In the Senate Debates of 12 June 1973 when the Policy of the Minister, BJ Vorster, was addressed, the NP member, Senator Cronje stated that resistance among the Afrikaans-speaking people was caused by attempts of the past to anglicise them and to estrange them from their culture (Senate Debates 1973:3966). The same theme was reiterated two years later in the House of Assembly of 6 May 1975 exactly twenty six years after the NP came to power by an NP spokesperson, Mr J.H.B. Ungerer (Hansard 1975: 5496-5497).

The relevancy of the references lies in the fact that when the provision of Black education was discussed, the NP cited their bitterness about how the English treated the Afrikaners. As the NP felt that they were the guardians of Blacks, they decided to protect them against

any harm intended (cf Chapter 2). The NP's spokesperson also stated that one of the corner-stones of the NP government was the equal treatment of the rights of the two language groups (Senate Debates 1973:3959; Hansard 1975:5506). This meant that Afrikaans as well as English were to be taught on a 50/50 basis at schools as this would cause the Afrikaners to feel accepted (King & Van der Berg 1992:7).

The unequivocal deduction made is the Afrikaners' rationale for introducing Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at schools was one way of expressing their political struggle power. They were bitter about how Afrikaans was treated by the English in the past. It is just unfortunate that as the White on White 'violence' continued, the unsuspecting Blacks and Black education suffered. Therefore it is also understandable that Blacks felt bitter under the Afrikaner dominated NP government. No one explained to Blacks such Afrikaner background as rationale for introducing Afrikaans in schools. Blacks could not gain access to the Hansard that detailed such dramas nor were they represented in the Senate debates. On the other hand, the newspapers could not detail such 'violence' and bitterness as Whites were considered the masters and guardians and nothing of that nature was expected of them.

It is against this background that events leading to the 1976 Soweto riots as discussed in 3.2.1 are to be understood.

3.2.1 Events leading to 1976 Soweto riots

It is important to mention that in the House of Assembly Debates held on 5 and 6 May 1975, eleven months prior to the Soweto riots of 16 June 1976, the opposition parties still fought a losing battle against the NP's Colour Policy and the provision of Bantu education. The following arguments were levelled against the NP (Hansard 1975:5463-5502). Next to each argument, the response of the NP is reflected.

Table 1: ARGUMENTS AND RESPONSES

Arguments	Responses
<p>1. Shortage of classrooms</p>	<p>The backlog had been inherited from the United Party government.</p> <p>The Bantu Affairs Administration were to find funds from voluntary funders and other interested groups.</p> <p>There would be ways to channel funds from homelands for proper utilisation in education.</p>
<p>2. Introduction of compulsory education for Black children</p>	<p>This would aggravate the shortage of classrooms an issue which Government was not prepared to resolve.</p> <p>It had financial implications for teachers and their salaries.</p> <p>It would be gradually introduced.</p>
<p>3. Free education to be prioritised</p>	<p>It was prioritised and practised because teachers were paid and Blacks were not paying for the classrooms.</p> <p>Most textbooks were provided free from standard three onwards.</p>
<p>4. Secondary schools in urban areas</p>	<p>Secondary schools to be homeland-orientated as stipulated by the policy of the Government.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Continued)</p>

<p>5. Disparity between White and Black expenditure</p>	<p>The Opposition parties and their constituencies were not prepared to pay higher taxes. Blacks to control population increase.</p>
<p>6. Double sessions to be avoided</p>	<p>No sufficient time to discuss it. Had financial implications for the appointment and payment of teachers as well as building classrooms Had it not been for double sessions, Black children would still be wandering the streets.</p>
<p>7. Shortage of teachers</p>	<p>Would be solved pending the availability of funds</p>
<p>8. Meagre salaries of teachers</p>	<p>Depended on the availability of funds. Black teachers not to be deprived to experience difficult times in education as Afrikaners were deprived during 17s and 30s under English rule.</p>
<p>9. Medium of instruction - the choice of parents</p>	<p>To be in accordance with the constitution of South Africa which provided for two official languages, English and Afrikaans. Blacks in homelands at least had a choice but not in White areas.</p>

The NP fostered its apartheid policy irrespective of logical arguments raised by the opposition parties. Given the shortage of classrooms, 43 % of Black schools were forced to resort to double sessions in 1975 (SAIRR 1978: 328). It is quite evident that the NP was not prepared to build schools for Blacks but, instead blamed the UP for the backlog and shifted its responsibility to the volunteers and funders. Funds would also be channelled

from homelands to build schools. If the NP was prepared to build classrooms, double sessions could be avoided. The NP's cynical remark on solving the problem of double sessions in schools is noticed. They stated that there was no sufficient time to discuss it because to them this was not a matter of urgency and to them double sessions were a means and an end to remove children from streets. They were also aware that if double sessions were removed the implication would be that the State would be expected to build more classrooms, appoint and pay more teachers, the responsibility of which they were not prepared to carry. Their excuse was financial.

As for compulsory and free education, it is clear that the NP had been advised over a long period of time to introduce it for Blacks, instead the NP introduced full compulsory education for Indians and for Coloureds. The NP was reluctant to provide the same type of education for Blacks instead they used financial excuses and later resorted to promises (Flagbey 1992:6). Their explanation of free education is appalling because classrooms as well as teachers' salaries are the State's responsibility. In contrast White children received free and compulsory education (Hansard 1980:297).

The building of secondary schools in urban areas would contradict the NP's policy. Secondary schools were intended to be homeland-based, a situation which would deprive a majority of Black children, of secondary education (Schreiner 1987:3). As for the disparity between White and Black expenditure, the NP never provided a genuine reason. This was based on colour more than on reason. The NP accused the opposition parties for refusing to pay high taxes yet this was not the cause of disparity. Population explosion among Blacks could also not be causal to disparity, the latter had been planned long before these excuses were made. Their policy was White supremacy and Black inferiority (cf 2.1). This is why Black teachers received meagre salaries unlike their White counterparts. Low wages would ensure that Black teachers do not have to feel above their communities. The NP was advised by the opposition parties to leave the medium of instruction of the Black children to the parents and the representative organisations of the

parents. This suggestion was ignored by the NP.

It is in the light of the NP's responses in the House of Assembly Debates, that Black education had been used as a platform of contestation of power with the UP and especially with the English. However, the effect of the NP's language policy has to be considered.

3.2.2 The impact of language policy on Black education

After the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, a spark ignited among learners, teachers and parents. The challenge by learners confirmed:

- opposition to Bantu education in particular and apartheid in general (Christie 1990:10); and
- education became a political issue (King & Van der Berg 1992:13).

All stakeholders in education for Blacks tried to negotiate with the Department of Bantu Education on the issue, however, such negotiations failed. The result was that several schools in Soweto boycotted classes. The Government showed neither interest nor response. In order to put more pressure on the Government, a march to Orlando stadium was staged on 16 June 1976. The NP government realised that Blacks were serious and it intervened. The marchers were shot at by the police and some learners were killed. This response from the State must be understood against what Mr B.J. Vorster meant when the Policy of Bantu education was discussed in the Senate Debates of 12 June 1973 when he stated that: '... the Government would not tolerate any extra parliamentary change by violence or by implication of violence in South Africa' (Senate Debates 1973:4006).

Although some learners were killed by the Government, the aim and spirit of Blacks to fight Bantu education and apartheid was not deterred, this led to a situation of little or no education in the country. This became a difficult situation for the NP to curb, as a result

they were forced in some way to relax their repressive measures, as discussed under 3.3.

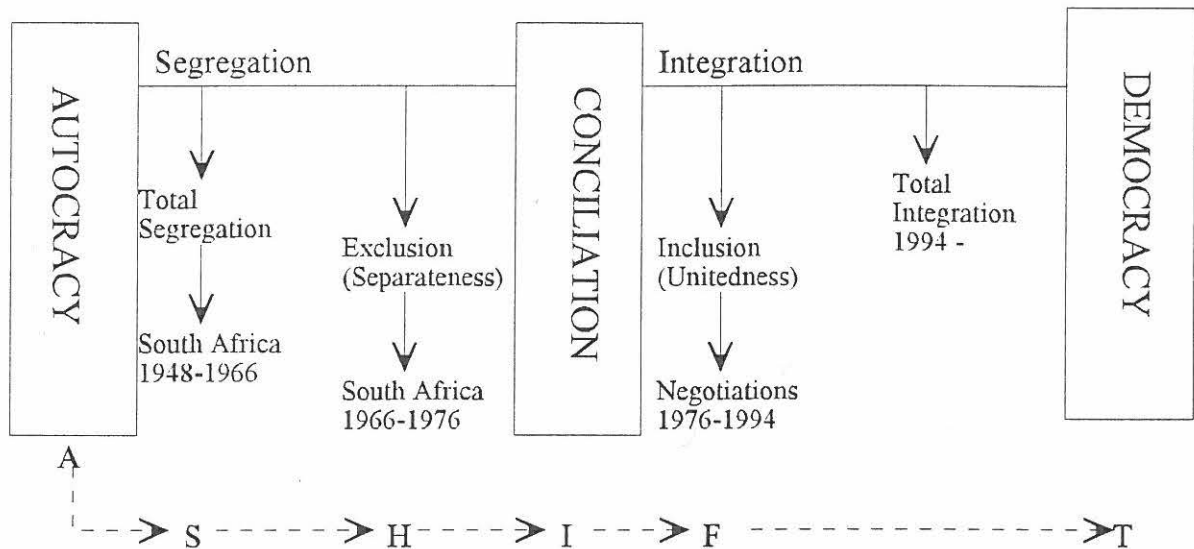
3.3 REFORM IN BLACK EDUCATION

3.3.1 Introduction

After the 1976 Soweto upheavals and the riots all over the country, the NP came to the realisation and acceptance that 1976 was a watershed year for South Africa (Senate Debates 1977:3). For the first time the Government opened its doors to Black educationists, businessmen, politicians, religious leaders and those concerned with Black education to form an Advisory Council. The function of which was to advise the central department on all matters referred to it. It could also investigate and offer advice on its own initiatives (Senate Debates 1978:1582, Department of Education and Training (DET) 1979:73). The State President, B.J. Vorster, indicated clearly in his address on 21 January 1977 Senate Debates that there had to be joint consultation on the course development was to take. Regular consultations with homeland leaders was to be made while joint Cabinet Council whose members included Coloured and Indian leaders was established (Senate Debates 1977:6). Discrimination is highlighted by the exclusion of Blacks as members of the joint Cabinet Council. Black political participation was limited only in the homelands (Tilemma 1974:31) and not in White South Africa as stipulated in the Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 augmented by the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970 and the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971 (DET 14/1/30:8, 9).

In general terms, the consultative approach undertaken by the NP government reflects a paradigm shift from total segregation to a relaxed separate development as reflected in Diagram 4.

DIAGRAM 4 : NP'S PARADIGM SHIFT : SEGREGATION - INTEGRATION



The diagram indicates South Africa's development or 'A SHIFT' from A to T clearly. The implication is that between 1948 - 1966, the Verwoerdian period, the Nationalist government believed in autocracy (A) which advocated White supremacy and Black inferiority (cf 2.2.1). To achieve this purpose they instituted a policy of total segregation (S), the realisation of which would be through the establishment of homelands for the Blacks (H). These homelands were to cater among others, for secondary education for Blacks (cf. 2.3.3; Table 1). Due to riots of 1976 the NP government was forced to a period of conciliation (I). A choice was to be made either to stick to autocracy and cause more anger or to move towards democracy to calm anger. The period of conciliation (I) was a challenging period through which the NP was to either redefine or refine its policy. The NP finally took a decision and negotiations (F) with Soweto Residents Council and African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA) (cf. 3.3.3) took place. For the first time the NP realised that Black education could not be unilaterally decided, but its success depended on the broader inclusion of interested parties. The NP's response to crisis in Black education and pressure caused by anti-Bantu education parties, was a sure sign that

if more pressure was put on the NP then they would finally move to (T) which involves total integration and democracy, characterised among others by one education system for all South Africans.

Since education, after 1976 riots, had become ungovernable and unworkable, the NP made a ruling that:

- secondary school learners were to apply in writing and give certain guarantees before being admitted;
- admission period was extended to accommodate all learners; and
- the system was not to be disrupted by people not interested in education.

If one considers that secondary school learners were to apply for readmission accompanied by assurance and on the other hand the admission period extended to accommodate all learners, one may deduce that the NP showed more flexibility. To accommodate 'all' learners, was not in Dr Verwoerd's vocabulary (cf.2.3.3). Such assurance by learners would ensure that 'the system was not to be disrupted by people who were not interested in education.' This idea emanated from the belief highlighted by the State President, in the Senate Debates of 23 January 1977 when he declared that there were elements within the Republic who believed that the attainment of meaningful political rights of all peoples was only possible by totally destroying, if need be through violence and bloodshed, the existing political, economic and social order' (Senate Debates 1977:3).

There is a clear indication that the NP believed that certain 'elements' and 'forces of subversion' were causal of Soweto riots because to the NP Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was not an effect to arouse the explosive situation all over the country. However, the NP embarked on a programme to reform Black education. The next section focuses on reform beginning in 1977 and ending in 1979. This implies that the reform

period is divided into 1977, 1978 and 1979 respectively.

3.3.2 Era of reform: 1977

Before specific reforms by the State are addressed, it is necessary to synthesize the State President, N. Diederichs's speech on 21 January 1977. His speech in general, carried hope for South Africans. He stressed that the Government's aim was to build up South Africa strongly in all spheres and to create a dispensation that would secure peace and ensure human dignity and opportunities for all South Africans irrespective of race or colour (Senate Debates 1977:11-12). It is however regrettable and inconceivable that Mr Diederichs omitted Black education and crises emanating from it. This is inconceivable because he claimed that 1976 was a watershed year for South Africa yet he did not address that as expected. He, instead, was proud to declare that 'South Africa continues to be characterised by political stability' and omitted to add 'and educational instability'.

Although the NP had previously alleged that Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was not causal to an explosive situation, its first concession was to drop it as a compulsory medium of instruction (Nasson & Samuel 1990:22; Love & Sederberg 1990:312). This was followed up by the State's official statement issued on 27 April 1977 which amended the Principal Act. The words 'Bantu' and 'Native' (Senate Debates 1977:5,7) were to be deleted wherever they occurred in all statutes (Statutes 1953:258). Additional teachers to the establishment of the school were appointed and the secondment of teachers to the service of others was approved (Government Gazette 1977:4-6).

It is apparent from these reform areas that little was done to address problems in Black education. The abolishment of compulsory usage of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction as well as appointment of teachers were not the only concerns in Black education. Bantu education was fully functional, police and army were still roaming the streets in townships and entered school premises, student organisations and learners were harassed, shortage

of schools was still critical and many teachers resigned. One of the causes of teachers' resignations was their morale had been at a low-ebb because 'Black education was caught up in a crisis of trust and credibility caused by a rejection of apartheid in general' (Hartshorne 1982:20, Nasson & Samuel 1990:22). Many pupils throughout the country boycotted classes as well as the final year examinations. School boards and committees were also intimidated and most of them resigned while the activities of those who remained were disrupted (Senate Debates 1978:1580). This clearly reflects that throughout 1977 Black education was in a state of total disarray. The State was forced to revisit its reform programme.

3.3.3 Era of reform : 1978

The 1977 school boycotts forced the NP government to embark on 'serious' negotiations. On 5 January 1978 the Soweto Residents Council held discussions with the Minister of Bantu Education, to address the education crisis in Black schooling. The African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA) followed suit on 6 January 1978. The discussions were around the disparity in salaries between White and Black teachers. This was an indication of a change of mind set from imposing to consultation (cf Diagram 4).

In the Senate Debates of 27 January 1978 the State President made an undertaking that the Government was going to uplift all South African citizens, improve their social conditions and material welfare as well as institute a political dispensation which would be fair and just to every population group, without losing sight of the realities of the South African situation (Senate Debates 1978:6). Yet he ignored that the economic, political and social future development of South Africa depended to a large extent on adequate education and adequate training for all its citizens. The reality of South African situation was apartheid.

A brief analysis of the State President's speech indicates that the Government was

prepared to address social conditions because houses were to be built for all cultural groups. The political dispensation intended was far from being just and fair to all South Africans. The State President contradicted this very fact of justice and fairness in the same debates, when he enunciated that only the Coloureds and Indians were to receive 'real rights' (Senate Debates 1978:7) which du Plessis (1978:8, 10) termed 'the basis of constitutional democracy'. The speech addressed nothing on primary education as well as secondary education of Blacks let alone the crises emanating from it. The President instead took delight in how the Police and the Defence Force quashed the actions of rioters. This was a true 'don't care' attitude shown by the State President. To reinforce this allegation, he focused on the tertiary level because the Medical University of Southern Africa (MEDUNSA) was established as the first fully-fledged university for the training of Black doctors, dentists and veterinarians. Not that MEDUNSA is not commended but there were more pressing issues in secondary education that needed urgent responses from the State.

Teachers benefited a little as incentives such as a cash bonus of R50 was paid for each approved course passed at the University of South Africa (UNISA) (Data Fact 1978:6; RP 52/1979:95). This was done to encourage teachers to improve their professional qualifications. There was also a salary increment of five per cent to stimulate Black teachers to better their qualifications and to attract those who were out of the teaching profession as a redress of low wages paid to Black teachers (cf Table 1) and as an attempted comfort to despondent teachers.

The State President also mentioned that a revised education system was to be implemented. The last fact would have been commendable if it did address the inconsistencies and inequalities of its predecessor, Bantu education. The new Minister of Education and Training, as the Minister of Bantu education resumed this new title, Mr W.A. Cruywagen was prompt in addressing the imbalances of the past education system. In the Senate Debates of 25 April 1978 when the second reading of the Bantu Education

Amendment bill was discussed, he announced that:

- provision was to be made for authorised person(s) by the Minister to manage a community school until the school board could resume its duties (cf 3.3.2);
- the Department of Bantu Education was being replaced in all statutes with the Department of Education and Training (DET)(King & Van der Berg 1992:8);
- the title of the Principal Act was to be uniformly replaced and throughout, the same was to be done with the word 'Bantu' as it appeared in many Acts administered by the Department of Plural Relations and Development;
- Black teachers who had only passed Standard six and had a three year teaching diploma, even if poorly qualified were to be fully utilised by the DET. If the system could not manage to solve the teacher shortage, then teachers from other population groups would be used;
- secondary education, a much neglected area in Black education and the subject of measure for Black people was to be provided for (RP 52/1979 :107); and
- Blacks were to be provided with an opportunity to make comments on the type of education they expect for their children (RP 52/1979 :97).

The new Minister of DET is commended for his new outlook which sought to address the past causes of resistance in education for Blacks. His remarkable announcement provided a welcome evidence of a change of outlook in Black education because secondary education had since the NP came to power in 1948, been neglected. This was realised by the New Republican Party (NRP) member, Senator C.C. Henderson when he summarily enunciated that secondary education for Black children would have to be expanded faster than it had been in the past where some efforts were made. He further stated that Mr Cruywagen's predecessors restricted the development of secondary education as they restricted the development of technical education as a matter of policy (Senate Debates 1978:1595).

It is necessary to highlight that there were two parties within the NP, those who were for change and those against change led by Senator P.J.L. Odendaal who stated that:

'... When we deal with Black education we must at the outset bear in mind that it is education for Black people, education for their children ... and it must be harmoniously integrated in the national life of those people. It must have its deepest roots in the nature, character, culture and requirements of that particular nation ... the education of the Black people and their children must be with their national association ... they had to be associated with it' (Senate Debates 1978:1588).

And he further insinuated that:

'... the main ideal of the Black people must always be to strive purposefully to provide for their own educational needs. They must be qualified and equipped for their task, in particular, they must be motivated in teaching task. They must also provide the numbers of teachers themselves' (Senate Debates 1978:1591).

Senator Odendaal's speech is equally provocative as Dr Verwoerd's, albeit a bit modernised as he referred to Dr Verwoerd's Bantu as Blacks, yet the innuendo and insinuation is strikingly the same. There is an emphasis on Blacks per se as there was stress on the Bantu in the past, not on education.

In spite of opposition from within the NP, the State addressed some of the demands made in 1977 by announcing:

- increased expenditure on Black education;
- more classrooms were to be built in urban areas;
- more money was allocated for maintaining schools in urban areas;

- on 17 May 1978, the Government issued a statement on the regulation regarding the control and management of schools (cf 3.3.2); and
- the Department of Bantu Education was officially replaced with the Department of Education and Training (DET) (Government Gazette 1978:3,7).

In the Senate Debates of 25 April 1978 it was discovered that there was an increase in the number of learners in Black schools and as a result, accommodation problems emerged although it was revealed that only fourteen percent of the Black population was in secondary schools. It was then unanimously agreed that it was the task of the DET to persuade parents and learners alike to enrol the latter in secondary schools. This form of persuasion was remote from the mind of Mr Cruywagen's predecessors. The findings of disputable gaps in Black education are remarkable and indicated a progressive way forward in redressing them rather than to waste time on fruitless discussions about how the English treated the Afrikaners.

The changing of the name of the Department of Education is an acceptance that Bantu education had dismally failed. Many amendments which Mr Cruywagen referred to as 'patch works' were done to modernise Bantu education, yet the situation finally became explosive. A thorough analysis of the Principal Act indicates that no provision was made for the training of Blacks.

3.3.4 Era of reform : 1979

The new State President, Mr B.J. Vorster's speech of 2 February 1979 was unbelievably the same as that of his predecessor, Mr N. Diederichs. They both emphasized the 'real rights' of Coloureds and Indians while Blacks would have to see to the meaningful consolidation of their areas. A new constitutional dispensation would be jointly done with Coloureds and Indians (Senate Debates 1979:10). Mr B.J. Vorster declared that:

- the interests of Black children would constantly receive attention of the Government;
- a teachers' council was to be established within 1979;
- progress would be provided for compulsory education;
- the development of further training facilities was being given priority to redress a growing demand for facilities.

It is not clear which 'interests' of Black children Mr Vorster referred to. For the teachers to have a Council signals development because their grievances would be properly addressed. As for compulsory education, prior to 1976 riots a lot of suggestions on compulsory education for Blacks (cf. Table 1) was provided in both the Senate and the House of Assembly. B.J. Vorster, then a Minister, indicated that the NP government would neither allow itself to be told and forced by whoever in making rash changes in South Africa nor be told what to do (Senate Debates 1973:4007). In the Senate debates held on 5 May 1975 (cf. Table 1) compulsory education for Black children was raised. While the NP was debating about the gradual introduction of compulsory education, the 1976 riots demonstrated the NP's slow pace to address urgent issues. Therefore it is remarkable that B.J. Vorster quickly realised that progress was needed to address the issue.

The growing demand for secondary school teachers emanated from the fact that Black teachers generally had lower teaching qualifications so that they were placed on a lower salary scale. This was one explanation for the comparatively small budget of the Department of Bantu education. The Department realised that the qualifications of teachers would have a substantial impact on the per capita expenditure if it should somehow be brought on a par with that of White teachers (Data Fact 1978:6; Informa 1980:3). This strategy was deliberately followed by the NP.

Initially Standard four was an entrance requirement to become a teacher. The entrance

was progressively raised to Standard six and later to Standard eight as more pupils reached secondary schools. Pupil enrolment in secondary schools implied that more pupils would finally reach Standard ten and as a result, they would need qualified not 'Standard eight' teachers (Informa 1980:3). It is against this background which partly were to blame for Soweto 1976 riots, that the NP's measures to redress these imbalances, should be understood:

- For the primary school teachers, a free in-service training course, to enable them to obtain a Matric or Standard ten certificate, was introduced (Data Fact 1978:6, Senate Debates 1978:1590).
- The Junior Secondary Teachers Course (J.S.T.C), a two-year course which was instituted in 1968 was later found not to cater for Standard nine and Standard ten learners and the quality of instruction was not of the required standard. Therefore in 1974 a two-year Senior Secondary Teachers' Course (SSTC) was introduced which equipped teachers to teach two school subjects up to and including Standard ten (Data Fact 1978:6-7; RP 52/1979 : 111).
- In 1976 discussions with Black universities were begun in order to institute a three-year course for senior secondary schools. The DET's initiative was accepted by these universities and in 1977 a three-year senior secondary course (SSTC) was finalised and it was introduced in 1978 (Inligtings Nuusbrieff 1980:3). The entrance requirement for the course was either Standard ten exemption or a senior certificate (Data Fact 1978:9).
- A system of grants was introduced, in January 1977, to encourage the study of school subjects at degree level with the University of South Africa (UNISA) (Data Fact 1978:6, Informa 1980:3).

Such developments brought about an improvement in the quality of teachers and teaching, as well as in the development of Black education in general. It took the NP ten years to improve the quality of teachers in Black schools that is from 1968 -1978 and twenty years,

1948-1968 to develop the professional qualifications of Black teachers. Therefore it is understandable that the number of secondary school teachers would be insufficient, a legacy which is even experienced in Black secondary schools in the new South Africa.

On 29 June 1979, the Minister of DET issued an official statement concerning the new Act, the Education and Training Act, which took effect on 1 January 1980 and which initiated a new dispensation for Black education (Behr 1988:37; Vos & Brits 1990:67).

3.3.4.1 Education and Training Act, 1979

The State realised that many amendments had been affected on the Principal Act and therefore the institution of a new Act was necessary. The Act was to determine the education policy of Blacks within the framework of certain principles (Government Gazette 1979:6). These principles were:

- education in schools was to have a Christian character but the religious conviction of parents and pupils would be respected in regard to religious instruction and religious ceremonies (Statutes 1979:2281);
- the use of mother-tongue as medium of instruction would be observed until Grade two. If there would be a need to extend this to higher grades, the wishes of the parents would be considered (Government Gazette 1979:6). Where the mother-tongue could not be used after Grade two, a choice would be made between English and Afrikaans (Statutes 1979:2281; King & Van der Berg 1992:9,15);
- compulsory and free education, including free books in all areas, would be introduced, subject to the co-operation of parents (Government Gazette 1979:6; Vos & Brits 1990:67);
- the ability, aptitude and interest of the pupil would be taken into account and appropriate guidance would be given to pupils (Statutes 1979:2281);
- the training needs of the country would be considered (Statutes 1979:2281);

- co-ordination with other education departments with regard to syllabuses, courses and examination standards would be conducted (Government Gazette 1979:6);
- recognition of the active involvement of parents and communities through parents-teachers associations (PTAs) would be given (Statutes 1979:2281, Cosser 1991:55); and
- school health services in conjunction with the Department of Health would be introduced (Statutes 1979:2281; RP 91/1984 : 6).

At this stage it is necessary to draw a comparison between the Principal Act and The Act. Table 2 reflects this comparison.

TABLE 2 : BANTU EDUCATION ACT VERSUS EDUCATION AND TRAINING ACT

Bantu Education Act, 1953 (The Principal Act)	Education and Training Act, 1979 (The Act)
<p>1. <u>Education</u></p> <p>To adopt a Christian and a National character.</p> <p>Considered mass education (quantity) especially at primary education.</p> <p>Laid an emphasis on primary education and neglected secondary education.</p>	<p>To adopt a Christian character but that parents' and pupils' religious convictions would be respected.</p> <p>Considered quality education, the ability, aptitude and interest of the learner as well as the needs of the country would be considered.</p> <p>Primary education was important and secondary education would be considered.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Continued)</p>

<p>2. <u>Curriculum</u></p> <p>Mother-tongue instruction emphasized.</p> <p>English and Afrikaans were to be taught on 50/50 basis.</p>	<p>Mother-tongue instruction until Grade two - higher grades - parents' choice.</p> <p>A choice was to be made between English and Afrikaans.</p>
<p>3. <u>Compulsory and free education</u></p> <p>Introduced gradually for Indians and Coloureds. Blacks to pay for tuition.</p>	<p>Every child irrespective of colour or race would receive compulsory and free education - parents to be involved.</p>
<p>4. <u>Teachers</u></p> <p>Appointments, transfers and dismissals by the school boards.</p> <p>Salaries low, paid by school boards- state paid indirectly.</p> <p>Considered as commodities.</p>	<p>Appointments, transfers and dismissals by the State.</p> <p>Salaries improved, paid directly by the State.</p> <p>Considered as professionals. Code of conduct established and service conditions improved.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Continued)</p>

<p>5. <u>School buildings</u></p> <p>Schools built by volunteers and private funders sometimes by various Departments.</p> <p>Care and maintenance by learners teachers and parents.</p> <p>Building of secondary schools limited in urban areas galore in homelands.</p> <p>Overcrowding in classrooms and double sessions - State aloof.</p>	<p>The State took full responsibility to build schools.</p> <p>Care - by learners, teachers and parents.</p> <p>Maintenance - by the State.</p> <p>Building of secondary schools to be established in urban areas.</p> <p>The State's responsibility to address overcrowding in classrooms and double sessions in schools.</p>
<p>6. <u>Parent involvement</u></p> <p>Built, cared and maintained schools.</p> <p>Played a delegated role in school boards and school committees.</p> <p>Parents were never consulted on the education of their children.</p>	<p>The State took responsibility to build and maintain schools, parents and community learners and teachers to care for them.</p> <p>Recognition of progressive structures like PTAs - to take part in all activities.</p> <p>Encourage full participation and involvement of parents in the education of their children.</p>
<p>7. <u>Co-ordination with other departments</u></p> <p>No co-ordination.</p>	<p>Co-ordination with other departments in syllabuses, courses and examination standards.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Continued)</p>

<p>8. <u>School health services</u></p> <p>It was not catered for in schools.</p>	<p>Was catered for in conjunction with Department of Health.</p>
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A comparative analysis between the Principal Act and The Act shows that both emphasised the Christian character of education. However The Act was flexible in that parents' and learners' religious convictions were considered and respected. The Act stated nothing about the national character of education unlike its predecessor (cf 2.2.4.1). Parents' views were not considered in the past, this is reflected in many debates both in the Senate and the House of Assembly. The Act made provision for parents' participation in their children's education (Cosser 1991:55; Villardo 1992:18). Parents as well as learners were given an option of either one of the two languages as a redress of enforcing English and Afrikaans to be taught on 50/50 basis.

It is also remarkable that compulsory education as one of the demands cited by learners during 1976 riots, was finally provided for Blacks. The NP government intended to introduce compulsory education from Sub-Standard A to Standard two, present Grades one and four respectively. Compulsory education implied that parents had to sign an undertaking to keep their children at school. The introduction of compulsory education on a regional level was to be investigated (Data Fact 1978:4-5). After the investigations were completed, the Department aimed to introduce compulsory education on a geographic basis where all preparatory steps had been completed. The admission age was to be six years from 1981 (Informa 1980:2-3). This was a redress of the past with regard to admission age between White and Black children (cf. 2.3.6). The NP had kept its promise to 'gradually' introduce compulsory education as it had done to Coloureds and Indians.

Compulsory education further implied that learners were legally bound to attend school regularly and to do their work. For the State, compulsory education implied that the State

was legally bound to educate learners and provide all equipment necessary to facilitate such learning (Villardo 1992:18). Initially the budget of the Department of Bantu education excluded the expenditure allocated to the building of schools (Data Fact 1978:6). The responsibility of which was shunned by the State, that is why it never enforced compulsory education for Blacks. Table 3 focuses on companies, departments and individuals who were held responsible to build schools.

TABLE 3 : SCHOOL-BUILDING

SCHOOLS	RESPONSIBILITY	ROLE
Community	Local Administration Board	Finance building
State	Department of Public Works	Erect and maintain
Farm	Farm Owner	Erect and maintain
Mine	Mining company	Erect and maintain

The building of community schools was financed by the Local Administration Board. State schools were erected by the Department of Public Works, farm schools by the farm owner and the mine schools by the mining companies. Except for this arrangement, the building of schools depended on the assistance from private organisations like Urban Foundations and from the State's departments such as the Department of Community Development, Department of Plural Relations, Development and Bantu Trust (Data Fact 1978:6). As from April 1979, two years three months after June 1976 Soweto riots, the DET was granted approval by the Cabinet to budget for the erection of its own schools (Informa 1980:2 ; RP 103/1980 : 110, 112, 124, 126).

A reference to Table 1 clearly indicates that prior to 1976 riots the opposition parties advised the NP to establish secondary schools in urban areas yet the NP emphasised that the policy of the Government was that secondary schools should be homeland-based. Few secondary schools in urban areas caused secondary schools to be overcrowded as

it is evidenced today in urban Black secondary schools. It is clear that the State had been dragging its feet in introducing compulsory education because it realised what the implications were. However, through the pressure emanating from 1976 riots it revisited its stance and The Act proclaimed the new responsibility of the State to build and maintain schools for Blacks. The impact of the legacy of insufficient schools is still prevalent in the present South Africa.

The demand was not only for compulsory education but also for free education. Free education implied that a pupil was not expected to pay tuition fees and a school fund was voluntary payment. However, the school board after consultations with the pupils' parents could make contributions to the school fund compulsory in the case of secondary schools. No pupil could therefore be excluded from school as a result of not having paid school funds. Textbooks were to be supplied free of charge but these remained the property of the Department so as to be re-used by others (Data Fact 1978:4, 6). The provision of free textbooks was a programme begun in 1975 although provision was officially made in 1979 (Informa 1980:23).

By 1980 loss of textbooks retarded the programme and no further provision was made. As for stationery, set books, literature and prescribed books, no supplies were made yet the intention was to do that after the Department had completed the supply of textbooks (Informa 1980:3). The State's role to take full responsibility for educating Black children shows a paradigm shift from the initial stage where the Government shunned such responsibility. The implication would be Black parents would be relieved after having had to pay, for so many years, for the tuition of their children while the White counterparts enjoyed the State's liberal attitude towards them. The 'gradual' introduction of free education for Blacks was slow and the legacy of insufficient supply of textbooks, stationery, set books and literature is still experienced in the present system of education.

In the previous dispensation under the Principal Act, teachers were considered as

commodities not as professionals and 'an official hostility to the profession emerged' (Lodge 1984:270). Hostility increased because quasi-democratic school boards were given further extra-ordinary and dictatorial powers (Villardo 1992:9) to appoint, transfer and dismiss teachers. This was sheer frustration for teachers in Black schools. The Act responded to this daunted profession and pledged to be responsible and accountable to Black teachers. The role of school boards was minimised (Rupert 1976:66; Villardo 1992:18).

The Act recognised that like any other child a Black child has ability, aptitude and interest. This is a different view of the NP, who claimed to know what Black children wanted, their aptitude, their interest and their abilities (Janse Van Rensburg 1938:1, 43). The Act was prepared to address the erroneous perceptions of the Black child. The establishment of secondary schools for Blacks in urban areas was considered. The Act was determined to start where the Principal Act never had begun.

The inclusion of health services in schools is remarkable as this was not covered in the Principal Act. School health services were done before the NP came to power and they continued even after 1948, yet in various Senate debates the NP indicated clearly that they were not in favour of providing such a service in Black schools. That is why the Principal Act could not make provision for school health services. The co-ordination of Black education with other education departments is a clear indication that the NP still recognised and accepted the existence of different education departments based on segregationist principles which were in accordance with the policy of the Government.

The contribution of 1976 Soweto riots to the reform in Black education is summarised by Mphahlele (1982:13) as:

- the implementation of the apartheid policy was relaxed and done more tactfully rather than dogmatically;

- burning educational issues began to receive honest and urgent attention;
- for the first time there were serious talks of technical schools in urban areas to equip Black children for Science and Technology. This was a tacit acknowledgement by the NP that Black education had been too one-sided; bookish and therefore irrelevant to the contemporary technology;
- colleges of education began to emerge in urban areas;
- a commission was appointed to investigate the feasibility of establishing a Black university, Vista, near Pretoria or Johannesburg; and
- Black universities began to admit a limited number of White students with the Minister's approval and vice versa.

The Act had a future perspective of Black education therefore it is necessary to focus on what could have caused the 1980 school boycotts under a new system of education.

3.4 THE 1980 SCHOOL BOYCOTTS

In his speech on 1 February 1980 (Senate Debates 1980:10-12), the then State President declared that:

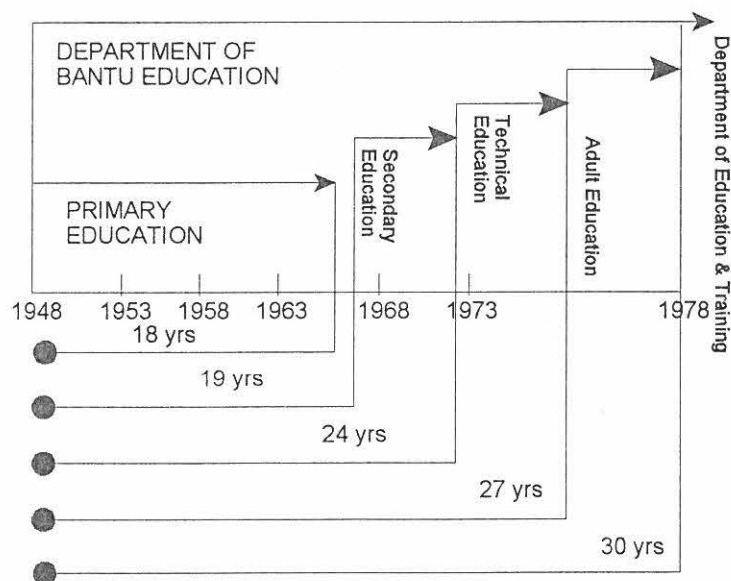
- education continued to enjoy a high priority;
- compulsory education was about to be instituted for Coloureds from fourteen year-olds to sixteen year-olds;
- the Government was doing everything in its power to extend education services for Blacks;
- provision was made for the rapidly growing number of secondary school pupils; and
- the improvement of the qualifications of Black teachers was receiving attention.

It is quite incomprehensible how the Government prioritised education matters as well as

the institution of compulsory education for Coloureds only whereas it has pledged itself through The Act that compulsory and free education would be provided for all South Africans (cf Table 2, Statutes 1979:2277; Government Gazette 1979:6). As the State claimed to be doing everything in its power to extend education services for Blacks it is inconceivable how it could have failed to provide a service, compulsory education, to Black children who were also entitled to the same form of treatment given to Coloured children. This was a true contradiction of actions and statement of the State President because he had signed The Act yet did the opposite.

The State President declared that in 1979 the primary schools enrolment comprised 83% of total enrollment while in 1980 secondary school pupils enrolment exceeded this percentage. The ironies of history are such that the NP focussed for eighteen years since it came to power on primary education which was mass education. This implies that from 1948-1966 it concentrated on primary education and from 1967 onwards it took the NP nineteen years to institute secondary education for Black children as Diagram 5 reflects.

DIAGRAM 5 : DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK EDUCATION



The inclusion of technical education twenty four years later 1948-1972, enhances the understanding on how the NP 'was doing everything in its power to extend the education services and packages to Blacks', and to attest the allegation that the NP was reluctant to address pressing education issues in Black education. Adult education has been added to the structure because it was a means through which inter alia, teachers' qualifications were improved. It took the NP twenty seven years from 1948 - 1975 to realise that adult education would help improve Black education and thirty years from 1948 - 1978 to finally accept that Bantu education had failed and what was needed was not only education but also training for Blacks.

The NP never considered the output from and the consequence of primary mass education. As for the training of teachers to improve their qualifications progress had been made (cf 3.3.4). This had been initiated by the State itself, therefore, it was logical for the State President to mention that training for teachers was receiving more attention so as to compare well with their White colleagues, the result of which would be salary parity.

The promises of the Act are remarkable and highlight the State's purpose to reform Black education. However, these reforms were based on the segregationist principle because the policy of the State was not transformed. The NP did not address the question of one education system for all the South African citizens but maintained the improvement of Bantu education. The shortage of teachers, disparity between Black and White expenditure, meagre salaries of teachers were not fully covered by the Act. The learners were quick to realise the State's slow changes and the conditions such as overcrowding, platooning and double sessions remained the same at schools. That is why in Cape Town pupils could not accept the State's slow progress any longer and classes were boycotted (Cosser 1991:56). Class boycotts spread across the country.

Pupils demanded one education system for all in order to redress all imbalances of the past Bantu education system and the slowness of DET to implement new policy. They

further demanded the democratically elected Student Representative Council (SRC) in order to undermine the authoritarian structure created through Bantu education by the NP government. As more learners became educated this led to a realisation that more trained and qualified teachers were needed to teach them (Villardo 1992:10). This was an indirect challenge to teachers which later on became more directed and included the principals who were considered as puppets of the Government.

The findings of the Cillie Commission appointed by the Government to investigate the causes of unrest in Black schools, were tabled in Parliament on 20 February 1980. The Commission attributed the cause of unrest to the refusal of pupils to attend classes, the Black community's dissatisfaction with Black education, the standard of education, the quality of teaching, the school buildings and equipment (Behr 1988:37; RP55/1980). However the State ignored these findings. Against this background, it is evident that the teaching and learning situation was not conducive to create stability and the State had to respond because the Cape Town school boycotts broke out in April 1980.

3.4.1 The State's response

It is important to focus on the debates of the Standing Committees, in the House of Assembly on 23 May 1980, a month after the Cape Town school boycotts which spread to most areas in the country started. The opposition parties debated on how to address the imbalances in Black education that seemed to be contributory to the state of affairs. The problem areas as they were identified and the NP's response in the House of Assembly debates on 23 May 1980, are outlined in Table 4.

TABLE 4 : PROBLEM AREAS AND RESPONSES

Problem areas	Responses
1. School boycotts	Black political parties, people not interested in education incite learners for their own political and personal gain.
2. Salary disparity between the Black and White teachers	Professional qualifications of Black teachers lower than that of White teachers. Black teachers to undergo re-training. Salary disparity narrowed - same salary and increment.
3. Education disparity between a Black and a White child	The standard of education of a Black child lower than that of a White child. Black education to be standardized.
4. Escalating pupil enrollment in urban secondary schools	Statistics recited to support this - no further comment
5. Disparity in the provision of secondary schools between White urban areas and the Black homelands	This is in accordance with the Constitution - self determination

(Continued)

<p>6. Technical education neglected - for Blacks</p>	<p>Process has begun - Std 5 learners orientated to technical courses by visiting technical centres/schools - bus organised.</p> <p>Japan and Dutch visitors highly impressed by technical education - it is a unique and praise worthy provision.</p>
<p>7. Education to be transformed one department and one ministry of Education</p>	<p>Not possible - Administration problem.</p> <p>Education and culture cannot be separated.</p>
<p>8. Commission of Inquiry into South African Education Policy be instituted</p>	<p>Alluded to - process has begun.</p>

The NP together with some opposition parties believed that there were external instigators who influenced learners to boycott classes. It is against this background information that the State's response to 1980 school boycotts is to be understood. As the hostility against Apartheid education heightened, the State realised that immediate action was necessary to curb a recurrence of 1976 Soweto riots where learners were killed. Therefore a number of schools were closed down and a large number of learners were detained. The State failed to identify the causes of school boycotts because they had already made a preconceived decision, instead they resorted to closing down schools.

Although the State had pledged itself, through The Act, to pay teachers' salaries, the disparity between Black teachers and the White teachers was highlighted and the NP resorted to improve teachers' qualifications. The process of retraining teachers had

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already begun (cf 3.3.4), but it was slow and the implication was that it would take a Black teacher many years to have an 'academic paper chase' in order to compare well with a White teacher. One tends to understand the Progressive Federal Party Minister, Mrs H. Suzman's frustration when she declared that 'We have lost a whole generation of Blacks who should have been basically better educated' (Hansard 1980:298). The NP indicated that the salary disparity gap was narrowing because the salary scales as well as the increment had become the same for all teachers.

It is evident from Table 1 that Black teachers earned a comparative meagre salary. In 1974 Black teachers on an average received 38% of the salary of their White contemporaries, in 1977 they earned 58%, in 1978 it was increased to 68% and in 1980 to 76%. Prior to 1974 it is clear that Black teachers earned below 38% of what White teachers earned and it took the NP three years from 1974 to 1977 to increase this percentage to 58%. Equally clear is that the increment decreased from one year to the other. Between 1974 and 1977 it was 20%, between 1977 and 1978 was 10% and between 1978 and 1980 was 8%. This attests the NP's sluggishness to equalise teachers' salaries.

The per capital expenditure on Black children would remain lower than that for White children, because it was declared a cultural issue, which meant that it was less expensive to satisfy Black children's cultural needs. This comparative lower standard of education for Black children was done by the NP to further its political ideology and objective. To support their education-culture ideology the DET Minister declared that:

'Opvoedkundiges sê dat om die beste onderwys te verskaf, dit nodig is dat daar 'n wisselwerking tussen kultuur en onderwys moet wees, want die een voed die ander ... as daar nie 'n wisselwerking tussen onderwys en kultuur is nie, kan die gemeenskap tog nie op kulturele, ekonomiese of op enige ander vlak ontwikkel nie (Hansard 1980:260).

There is a stark contrast in what the DET Minister declared in this quotation, and the Tomlison's report which was commissioned by Dr D.F. Malan in November 1950, to investigate separate development. The Report as presented in October 1954, indicated that cultural and economic equality leads to political equality and the ultimate result was complete racial assimilation leading to the creation of a new biological entity (Houghton 1956:12). For the NP political equality would mean educational equality a situation they were not prepared to accept (cf Table 4). By removing disparity in education provision between Black children and the White children showed that they, were anxious that 'a new biological entity' would be created. Prior to 1976 Soweto riots, on 5 May 1975 the same matter was debated (cf Table 1).

The escalating number of learners in secondary schools was not a problem for the NP who regarded it as progress. They went to great lengths and took turns to recite statistics about how the secondary enrolment had increased over the years, yet they did not take note of the consequent overcrowding which was supposed to force learners to attend secondary schools in homelands. Even though the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) was strong on the building of secondary schools in urban areas, their pleas fell on deaf ears. The NP seemed to be condoning riots and class boycotts because the demand for building secondary schools in urban areas by the opposition parties in the House of Assembly debates held on 5 May 1975 (cf 3.2.1; Table 1) was not heeded as was the case with The Act (cf 3.3.4.1; Table 2).

For the education to be transformed in order to abolish compartmentalized education system in South Africa it needed more effort than what the opposition parties suggested. An effort such as riots and class boycotts resulted because it had been attested that the NP responded to crises more effectively than to negotiations.

In the House of Assembly debates of 13 May 1980 the same issue was pursued again. The NP made it categorically clear that: '... this Government adopts the same standpoint

of separate schools for separate population groups and also separate educational departments' and that '... it is the unshakeable standpoint that education is an 'own' affair which is a matter for each various group' (Hansard 1983:170-171). The idea of 'own' affairs was outlined as 'the principle of own department of education for Blacks, the recognition of an own national character as far as education in South Africa is concerned' (Hansard 1983:161, 3521).

The suggestion of one department and one minister of education had been repeated by the PFP even in the debates of 23 May 1980 (cf Table 4). The DET Minister in the debates of 23 May 1980 emphasised that 'ons kan daarvan vergeet om ooit daardie punt ...'(one education system,) '... te bereik'

The 1980 boycotts served to:

- expose the depth and extent of the educational crisis in South Africa;
- underline the failure of the NP's planned education system to realise its political ideology and objective;
- heighten the political consciousness of the learners and strengthened their organisational abilities; and
- conscientise and mobilise teachers to bargain together with learners in their struggle for a fundamental changed education system and the eradication of apartheid system.

On a positive note, in August 1980 the DET Minister inter alia made the following announcement:

- in 1978 the Minister of National Education allowed Blacks to enrol in White private schools and the process went on pending the decisions of provincial departments;
- in the book year 1979/1980 five junior secondary schools, one primary, one

- hundred and eighty six additional classrooms and eleven senior secondary schools were built in Soweto;
- for 1980/1981 book year the Department was to build seventy nine new schools, forty one of which would be secondary schools for Blacks in urban areas, existing schools received one thousand seven hundred and one additional classrooms;
 - in February 1980 the Director-General for DET had informed him that between 1981 and 1983 the aim was to erect one high school, one technikon, one technical institution and four colleges in areas to be determined;
 - the Director-General informed the Minister in June 1980 that salary disparity between Black and White teachers had been narrowed to less than 18%;
 - school boards were abolished and replaced by school committees in order to involve parents in the education of their children;
 - training of teachers continued in order to improve their professional qualifications;
 - five technical secondary schools were in place. One in Pretoria, one in Soweto, one in Ciskei and two in Kwazulu;
 - Black schools would be financed the same as White schools which implied that the State, not the Black community, would build schools;
 - free education from primary to secondary school. No child would be refused admission if school fund was not paid;
 - aim of DET was to do away with double sessions; and
 - the status quo remained on the different departments of education (Inligting Nuusbrieff 1980:1-3).

In spite of these changes in 1980 the total eradication of teachers' salary disparity and one education system were not addressed. The announcement gave hope to many South Africans especially free and compulsory education, the double-session problem, the abolishment of school boards, the open door policy applied in White private schools, schools to be built by the State and the training of teachers would be prioritised. This indicated a new outlook of the NP, this announcement was headed "n Nuwe Suid Afrika'.

3.5 REFORMS IN 1981

On 23 January 1981 in his address, the State President indicated that compulsory school attendance for Black people had been introduced in certain areas as from 1 January 1981, in order to ensure equal education for all population groups. The question of compulsory education was followed up by Dr AL Boraine, PFP, in the Question and Answer Session held on 30 January 1981. He asked the DET Minister about the progress made since January 1981 in regard to the supply of free stationery for Black school children. The Minister stated that free stationery had been supplied to all Sub-Standard A pupils where compulsory education had been introduced (Hansard 1981:14). This emphasised the contradictory action by the Minister as he had announced in the Information Newsletter in August 1980 that compulsory education had been introduced in all schools (cf 3.4.1). Not all schools received free stationery let alone the schools where compulsory education was introduced, not all standards were covered by the provision. The situation was disturbing because the school boycotts of 1980 had been called off and all learners were back to school only to be discriminated against in the issuing of free stationery, the fact that could ignite further destabilisation in schools. Compulsory education was rejected because it was imposed by the State without any consultation. If education was to be compulsory it should also be free. There was a feeling among the opponents of Apartheid education that it was wrong to accept compulsory 'Bantu education' (Nasson and Samuel 1990:25).

On 16 April 1981 an official Notice was issued which entailed the regulations regarding the conditions of service for teachers, duties of principals and teachers and the conditions under which salary subsidies with regard to teaching posts at state-aided schools could be granted (Government Gazette 1981:2-28). This was an educationally sound direction followed by the DET, however, it highlights the allegations that teachers were not provided with guidelines on how to perform their duties, each teacher did what s/he thought was best for the learners. For the first time the DET had pledged itself to inform teachers and principals about their duties, a neglected area for the previous thirty three years.

On 29 May 1981 the State issued regulations regarding the admission of pupils, the control and treatment of pupils and the suspension and expulsion of pupils from or the imposition or infliction of other punishments upon pupils at State schools, community schools and State-aided schools (Government Gazette 1981:14-21). Among the gazetted new regulations, the restriction imposed on admission age could bear serious social consequences as thousands of children would be turned onto the street which would aggravate unemployment. Age restriction became a bone of contention as it was applied selectively to keep out student leadership (Nasson and Samuel 1990:26). The primary school attendance had been fixed at sixteen and for Standard ten at twenty years. The age limit according to the DET would not apply to bona fide failures. The DET Minister in response to the dropout rate in lower standards as a concern pursued in the Debates of Standing Committees on 7 May 1982, declared that in the previous education dispensation it used to be the case that a man who entered Sub-A at the age of eighteen wanted to leave school and get married at age twenty. Circumstances such as these meant that various pupils left school at an early stage. Therefore the age limit policy was both professionally and educationally sound and a professional standpoint to avoid dropouts (Hansard 1982:745).

The hostility against Apartheid education heightened, as a result the State closed down a number of schools and many learners were detained. As a direct response to the events of 1980 in schools, the State directed the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) to conduct an investigation into the education system in South Africa (cf Table 4; Donaldson 1989:15; Behr 1988:38). The premise of the research was to be based on the guiding principles for a feasible education policy in order to:

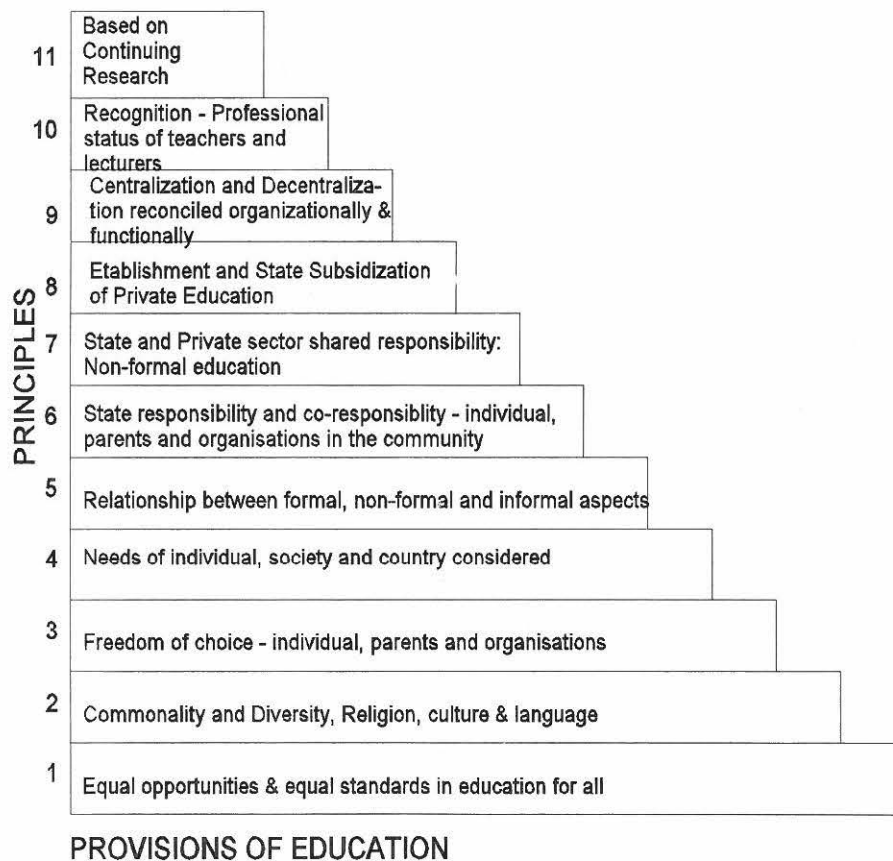
- allow for the realization of the inhabitants' potential;
- promote economic growth in the RSA; and
- improve the quality of life of all the inhabitants of the country (HSRC 1981:ix).

Before the recommendations of the HSRC are outlined, it is necessary to point out that as

the HSRC began its investigation in early 1981, the DET announced the introduction of compulsory education in certain selected areas and at the same time gazetted regulations to restrict admission in Black schools appeared.

The Commission of Inquiry was led by professor J.P. de Lange, the Rector of the Rand Afrikaans University (Behr 1984:301; Mncwabe 1993:14) and is forthwith to be referred to as the De Lange Commission. It reported to the Cabinet at the end of 1981. The institution of the De Lange Commission was an acceptance of the NP government that the education policy based on apartheid was redundant and remote to the technological advancement of the country. This realisation was best expressed by the State President in his opening speech of 23 January 1981 when he stated that ‘The period of renewal and progress which the country has entered, continues’ (Hansard 1981:6). The De Lange Commission recommended eleven principles which are outlined in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1 : ELEVEN PRINCIPLES RECOMMENDED BY DE LANGE COMMISSION



The first five principles could be characterised as principles of objectives, the next four as regulating principles, while the remaining two constitute categories of their own (HSRC 1981:138). For the purpose of this study not all eleven principles will be discussed. Principle (1) provided for equal opportunities and equal standards in education for all pupils irrespective of colour, race or sex. In reality this principle implied one education system and one ministry of education in order to provide learners with equal education and equal standards in education (Vos & Brits 1990:58). The State was to play a major role to realise this provision however, provision was also made for the co-responsibility of the individual learners, parents and organisations in the community (Principle 6). In the co-responsible role, they had to realise and accept that there would be points of commonality and those of diversity with regard to religion, culture and language (Principle 2). However, these were 'incidental differences' which did not matter but that needed to be properly managed.

Provision was made for the needs of the individual, what s/he wanted to become in life and those needs were reconciled with the needs of the society in general which implied the expectations of the society. Together those needs culminated in the needs of the country (Principle 4) because there is no logic in educating and training people who cannot meet the needs and demands of a country, therefore each individual, parent and organization should have freedom of choice to explore other avenues which the country provides (Principle 3). This further implied that everyone was free to choose any institution to attend without fear of being discriminated against. The co-responsibility of role players in education also facilitated continuity between informal education that the child spontaneously received at home, the formal education that s/he received at schools which would assist him or her to find a niche in non-formal education which provided for tertiary level (Principle 5). For the formal education to succeed a teacher as a curriculum implementor was indispensable and the provision for the recognition of his or her status as a professional (Principle 10) enhanced his or her moral in education.

The centralisation of education implied one ministry of education where all administrative

and central functions would be concentrated and managed. Without decentralising these functions the whole system of education would collapse (Principle 9). This implied that there had to be delegation to subsections of the whole department to ensure efficiency and effectiveness of education. To continually measure the efficiency and effectiveness of education demanded that continuous research had to be done (Principle 11).

This set of principles if they would have been seriously considered by NP, would have benefited South Africa. All eleven principles were passed by the NP as an Act to provide for the determination of a national policy for general education affairs (Statutes 1984:19). The Commission's report however did not have explicit treatment of the resource deficiencies of Black schools in South Africa nor did it address the challenge to the ideological content of schooling implicit in Black schools' unrest (Donaldson 1989:20-21).

3.6 REFORMS IN 1982

In February 1982 the Director-General of Education and Training, Mr GT Rousseau made the following announcements:

- The Department's longer-term programme was to upgrade the quality of education it offered bringing it closer to the ideal set of the entire country. This would be done because Black education had become a national priority as a result enough money had been allocated for the function.
- Between April 1979 and March 1982 a total of 7 595 classrooms would have been built. To the 7 595 classrooms which comprised 232 new classrooms and 8 632 classrooms at existing schools, facilities such as libraries, laboratories and centres for teacher training and technical education were to be added. For the 1981/82 financial year the Department was inviting tenders for the building project of twenty nine secondary schools, forty seven primary schools, the completion of second phases of three teacher training colleges and additions to sixty six secondary and

seventy primary schools. Therefore the provision of buildings and other facilities became first priority. In addition to two new teacher training colleges which opened in 1981, one new college would be opened in 1982. This initiative would address teacher backlog as well as classroom shortages in Black education.

- The classroom-pupil ratio was still less favourable than the teacher-pupil ratio i.e. 1:54 and 1:44 respectively. The entire backlog was planned to be eliminated by 1986 while the immediate target for 1984/1985 was to have a maximum of 1:40 in primary schools and 1:30 in secondary schools. A remarkable effort to redress overcrowding, platooning and double sessions in Black schools as well as to enhance quality teaching which would help to improve matric results.
- During 1982 all existing primary teachers courses requiring only Standard eight as entrance qualification would be abolished. Student teachers would still have a choice of either following a two-year certificate course or a three-year diploma course after matric in 1982, but after 1983 all courses would be Standard ten plus three years. The previous Primary Teachers' Certificate (PTC) would be replaced by three year Junior Primary and Senior Primary diplomas which were (JPTD) and (SPTD) respectively. In secondary school teaching student teachers would follow junior and senior secondary teachers' diplomas which were (JSTD) and (SSTD) respectively with or without degree courses. This was progress in the light of the past standard four, six and eight entrance requirement as well as an improvement in the quality of primary and secondary school teachers.
- Teacher training bursaries increased in financial year 1981/82 more than in 1980/81, as proof of the emphasis placed on teacher training (Government Gazette 1982:1-4, 23) and an initiative to attract the teaching corps as an effort to address the shortage of teachers.
- The existing number of under and unqualified teachers were encouraged to improve their qualifications through adult education, colleges and distance tuition a fulfilment of the DET promise not to dismiss this category of teachers and an attempt to improve the quality of teaching.
- Important progress had been made regarding teachers' salaries and working

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- Important progress had been made regarding teachers' salaries and working

conditions.

- A concerted effort to improve the quality of primary education was made by presenting in-service training courses on a continuous basis and providing extensive background material for teachers (Position Paper 1982:1-3). This would have been more appreciated if the same emphasis would have been placed on secondary education in view of its neglected background (Cf Diagram 5)

These developments indicated a mind shift by the NP, they were prepared for production. The NP realised where backlogs were and they intended addressing them. They had finally accepted that secondary schools needed to be built in urban areas and that learners would not be forced to attend secondary schools in homelands or face overcrowded classrooms in urban areas. They also realised that a need for technical education and adult education (cf Diagram 5) for Blacks which had been ignored for many years, was necessary. More teachers needed to be trained and re-trained. Those who were provided with lower education qualifications were to be upgraded (cf 3.3.4). These changes gave hope to the already hopeless teachers.

On 12 March 1982 a White Paper was issued which redressed free education for Whites for pre-primary, primary and secondary pupils. This implied that White parents were to buy books and stationery for their children pending the decision of the Minister (Government Gazette 1982:4). In the Debates of the Standing Committees held on 7 May 1982 there were certain concerns raised. These are tabled in Table 5 next to each concern, a response.

TABLE 5 : CONCERNS AND RESPONSES

Concern	Response
1. Disparity per capital expenditure Black pupil and White pupil	Black education is still centred lower down and White education centred higher up.
2. Under-utilised White schools	No response.
3. Free stationery for Whites not for all Blacks	No response.
4. One education system for all	Traditional backlog Financial limitations Black pupil explosion Educational system forms part of the political structure of the Government No equality in education standards between a Black child and a White child The right to retention of self determination The Government endorses eleven principles subject to particular standpoint

The response to the disparity in education between a Black child and a White child is the same as that given in Table 4. It is evident that the NP was not prepared to close the gap and treat all children the same as propounded by The Act. As for Blacks to utilise the under-utilised White schools, the NP did not want to respond to. The view that Blacks like their White counterparts should be provided with free stationery had been reiterated and this was linked to the disparity of education between these groups. For the Blacks free stationery would be issued in schools where compulsory education had been introduced, while for Whites it was provided unconditionally (Hansard 1982:667).

The NP had various reasons why it could not introduce one education system for all the inhabitants (cf Table 4). As the matter was raised again by the PFP, the NP indicated that this was a traditional backlog that they had inherited, financial constraints would not afford them to redress the imbalance overnight. They blamed the Black learners explosion (cf Table 1) as an impediment to realise equal provision of education which to them meant equal provision in different departments (RP 91/1984 : 2). They also hid behind the excuse that due to disparity in the provision of education between Black children and White children, one education system would not be feasible. Their reasons being the Black education standards had to be developed in its department to equalise that of White education. All these reasons were modified by the fact that 'the educational system forms part of the political structure', which implied that they had a right to self-determination as propounded by the NP government. The further implication was that the Government endorsed all eleven principles as recommended by the De Lange Commission subject to their political standpoint.

It is therefore vividly clear that the State did not compromise its standpoint on one education system for all South Africans. The theme of self-development could be traced back to Tomlinson Commission's report that 'on the part of the European population, there was an unshakeable resolve to maintain their right of self-determination as a national and racial entity' and further appealed that '... the European group should therefore be willing to take the necessary action and to make the necessary sacrifices to put this policy into effect' (Houghton 1956:14, 16). In the NP's unshakeable resolve to maintain the status quo, necessary actions and necessary sacrifices such as not providing equality among different departments of education, were done.

3.7 REFORMS IN 1983

On 2 May 1983 the Minister of National education expressed the NP's view on one education department, that 'It is unacceptable from a managerial point of view because it

will result in an administratively unmanageable monster department' ... He further added that 'It is also unacceptable from a cultural point of view because it does not take into account the diversity of cultures' (Hansard 1983:6040, 6041).

A parallel drawn between the Minister of National Education's speech and the DET Minister's speech on the same subject, in the House of Assembly Debates of 23 May 1980 indicates a similar response (Hansard 1980:265). The counter argument provided by Dr AC Boraine, PFP, is worthwhile because it revealed the NP's conflicting role of what they theorised 'the diversity of cultures' and what they practiced, the Department of National Education (DNE) which served two diverse cultures, English and Afrikaners. In his words Dr Boraine stated that:

'English and Afrikaans speaking Whites ... fall under one department ... I do not think that anyone will suggest that the cultures of English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking White people in South Africa are the same' (Hansard 1983:155).

It took the Government a year before it could respond to the recommendations of the De Lange Commission which were tabled in 1981. On 23 November 1983 the State released a White Paper in response to the De Lange report (Hartshorne 1989:10; Behr 1984:352). It endorsed all other principles (cf Figure 1) and rejected that there should be a single Department of Education in South Africa (Vos & Brits 1990:61; Schreiner, 1987:4). This reaffirmed its 'unshakeable resolve' that each population registration group should have its own department of education. This also reaffirmed the influence that the congress of Afrikaner educationists and intellectuals had on the decision taken by the State. In their congress held in Bloemfontein from 18 to 20 March 1982 they made it clear that they were not in favour of one education system (Behr 1984:351).

It is clear from these quotations that the NP condoned differences among peoples of South Africa. It is equally senseless that one cannot have divergent cultural groups under one education system. What is clear though, is that culture was used as a mask behind apartheid ideology which fostered separate development in every sphere of life. In terms of the 1983 constitution which established general affairs and own affairs (Department of National Education (DNE) 1992:3; Behr 1984:326), education would be provided for accordingly (NEPI 1992:7, cf 1.1). The 1983 Constitution was a means to reinforce separate education departments. The own and general affairs principle in education was an extension of apartheid education in practice (Hansard 1988:3356).

One amazing and provocative step taken by the NP was to reduce the per capita expenditure on Black school education for the financial year 1983/84. The reasons provided by the NP were statistical rather than factual. This revealed the paralysis of the State's policy regarding Black schooling. The DET was unshakable when it came to equal expenditure between Whites and Blacks irrespective of status and age. Teachers and learners were treated the same and the status quo on education was retained.

3.7.1 The 1983 School Boycotts

In 1983 most learners participated in school boycotts. The causes of the revolt were related to educational issues such as:

- the age limit regulations and restrictions;
- excessive corporal punishment;
- sexual abuse of girls by male teachers;
- lack of democratic representation. Learners demanded a Student Representative Council (SRC);
- the recruitment of White teachers and principals who were considered incompetent;
- the shortage of schools;
- one education system for all; and

- the quantity and quality of teachers (Nasson & Samuel 1990:26; Love & Sederberg 1990:314).

3.8 THE BACKGROUND TO 1985 SCHOOL BOYCOTTS

The DET matric results of November 1983, evoked a considerable anger among the Black communities and the anti-apartheid organisations. The education crisis in South Africa intensified (RP 91/1984 : 4). Students linked the educational grievances to greater extent to wider community and political issues (Hansard 1991:2861; Harber 1989:188) such as the withdrawal of the South African Police (SAP) and the South African Defence Force (SADF) from the townships, the resignation of community councillors, a reduction in rents and the reinstatement of dismissed teachers (Nasson & Samuel 1990:1). Student organisations such as COSAS, Pan Africans Student Organisation (PASO) and Azanian Student Movement (AZASM), grew rapidly during this period and they mobilised to ensure the total eradication of apartheid.

In the debates of the Standing Committees, of 7 May 1984, Black education was discussed. The opposition parties tried vigorously to suggest ways of improving good race relations and the contemporary crisis in education in South Africa, however typical of the NP, these were ignored. Therefore the following table will outline the opposition parties' concern, reasons for concern and suggestions. Next to these appear the NP's response.

TABLE 6 : CONCERNS AND RESPONSE - 1983 BOYCOTTS

CONCERN	REASON	SUGGESTION	RESPONSE
1. Low wages	Teachers bitter. Resignation of qualified and experienced teachers. Teachers despair.	To create a mechanism to adjust salaries on an ongoing basis.	Salaries improved. Teachers salaries would be adjusted retrospectively to 1 Jan. 1984. Teachers in lower category-salaries would depend on the recommendation of Committee Education Structures & Research.
2. Salary disparity	Creates bitterness and restlessness	Mechanisms to be developed to eradicate this imbalance	Many causal factors, inter alia, underqualified (teachers-in-service training provided)
3. Conditions of service	Create an atmosphere of negativity among teachers	Mechanism with teacher organisations to be created to improve service	Has found expression in the National Policy for General Education Affairs Bill. Effective participation of teacher organisations in education policy is realised
4. Annual per capita expenditure - Black and the White learners	Causal to disruptions in schools. The matter had been ongoing.	A programme in cooperation with all concerned, to be developed to narrow and finally eliminate the gap.	White education - sophisticated and therefore expensive. urbanisation high flow of black learners from primary to secondary schools/

<p>5. One education system</p>	<p>Only solution to educational problems in South Africa</p>	<p>The aim and date for implementation of the programme to be announced. To adhere to the programme and measure achievement.</p> <p>The removal of all vestiges of apartheid.</p>	<p>Smaller White schools in certain districts have to be maintained at a relatively high cost.</p> <p>Rejected in principle by the Government. The undertaking is not overnight but gradual.</p>
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The concerns raised by the opposition parties had been reiterated since the NP resumed power in 1948. The NP's response varied accordingly as a proof that they did not have genuine reasons for such imbalances but apartheid. This was supported by Mr R.A.F. Swart, DP member when he declared that the NP advanced very timidly towards removing basic discrimination even in staff and salary conditions (Hansard 1980:243). Bot and Schlemmer (1986:6) contribute differential expenditure to structural inequality in the different education systems, not so much an index of discrimination. The NP was prepared to 'improve' not to equalise teachers salaries and for those who fell under lower categories, the CES and RECES would recommend salaries (Van Schalkwyk 1986:92, 96). This reluctance by the NP, contributed to the low ebb of teachers' morale and bitterness which finally culminated either in the resignation of competent teachers or collective bargaining by teachers against the education system. During several debates the NP was warned that apartheid would not withstand the onslaught of the process of reform. The choice was either to eradicate apartheid of their own volition and on their own initiative while they were in control, or else to bow to pressure and in so doing lose control over the process (Hansard 1984:378).

The issue of underqualified teachers as causal to salary disparity, was unfounded because it was created by the NP's segregation policy, realised further by the issuance of different

certification for teachers. To add to the teachers' agony, the conditions under which they worked included overcrowded classrooms. In the debates of Parliament of 10 March 1988 it was indicated that in White schools the teacher-pupil ratio was 1:18 and the classroom size was twenty four. The Minister of National Education categorically stated that there was no intention to increase the ratio to 1:27 or 1:30, in the near future (Hansard 1988:3507). This was in stark contrast to the prevailing situation in Black schools, where the classroom-pupil ratio was appalling, some learners had to be turned down because of accommodation problems. Overcrowding implied lower standard of education a fact that was used by the NP as an excuse for disparity in the provisioning of education.

The maintenance of smaller White schools was done at the expense of bigger Black schools where the conditions were inconducive to teaching and learning. This clearly justifies the view that the NP was serving the White interest only, the fact that they alluded to in the debates of the Standing Committees of 8 May 1984 when they enunciated that: 'The choice and the conviction and wishes of the White population group are and will remain a fact within the realities of the constitutional set-up in South Africa' (Hansard 1984:488).

The high flow of learners from primary schools to secondary schools was caused by the NP because for many years, they concentrated on primary education and neglected secondary education (cf Diagram 5) which they viewed as expensive yet they provided it free for White learners (Hansard 1984:427). This matter had been argued desperately in the House of Assembly and the Senate but to no avail.

One education system for all South Africans was recommended by the De Lange Report (cf Figure 1) it was also reiterated by the opposition parties in the House of Assembly and the Senate as well as learners, parents, teachers and anti-apartheid organisations. This was seen by all concerned as the only solution to educational problems in South Africa. The NP, through Mr P.J. Clase once said "n Mens moet die historiese agtergrond in aanmerking neem en besef dat hierdie verskille nie oornag uitgewis kan word nie'

(Hansard 1980:228). This is a similar response from the DNE Minister (cf Table 5) who further indicated that the single education approach was categorically rejected in principle. This again reflects his agreement with Mr Clase as he said that 'Die onderwys van elke bevolkingsgroep die volkseiekultuur moet oordra en die volksidentiteit moet bewaar. Daarvan kan ons nie loskom nie' (Hansard 1980:231).

The NP used the Constitution to their benefit not for all South Africans, not all Whites voted for a separate education system. To seek acceptance and support from non-Whites, the NP used a divide and rule 'democracy' by including the Coloureds and the Indians in the tricameral parliament. This was a fulfilment of the promises by the NP in various debates. The State President in the House of Assembly debates of 18 September 1984, indicated that these two groups had been enjoying only limited political rights therefore they were conferred with full rights while Blacks remained unfranchised. The reason for this action was given by Dr A.P. Treurnicht, a CP member in the debates of 8 May 1984 when he stated that 'it is very clear that a large section of our people feel threatened in respect of their freedom and self-determination' (Hansard 1984:467). This clearly indicates that the common ground for both the NP and the CP was self-determination which was to be maintained and protected from the majority of Blacks.

3.8.1 The 1985 School Boycotts

It is against this background that the 1985 school boycotts are to be understood. Early in 1985 there were protests, school boycotts and attendance remained poor in the Black schools as well as in Coloured schools. Since the situation was unworkable, the State President declared a State of Emergency in 36 magisterial districts on 21 July 1985 (Cosser 1991:58, Hansard 1986:8, 7054, 7072) and a few months later, in further six districts and it was to be terminated on 4 March 1986 (Bureau of Information nd:1).

The result was that the possibility of a negotiated settlement on the schooling crisis was annulled. COSAS was banned at the end of August, an action which only increased the

hostility and anger among learners. School boycotts were intensified more than before and resistance to Apartheid education increased. There was total collapse of education in most areas across the country. The State then used the same State of Emergency to force learners back into classrooms (Novicki 1991:21). That is why in mid-August seven hundred and sixty four learners at Hlengiwe High, Soweto were arrested for meeting outside the classroom (Nasson & Samuel 1990:28). By the end of September riots spread around the country. Some Coloured and Black schools were closed down. The learners adopted the slogan 'Liberation Now - Education Later' (Break Time 1990:21; Love & Sederberg 1990:315, 322) as a result of a focus on the seizure of State power (Essop et al 1992:3; Singh 1992:7). Pupils were prepared to sacrifice their schooling for broader political struggle against apartheid. There were continuous conflict between the army, learners and teachers as a result the latter were detained. To add to the confusion, many school buildings were damaged (Nasson & Samuel 1990:28).

3.8.2 Attempts to Solve Education Crisis

In October 1985, the Soweto Civic Association called a parents meeting to discuss and assist in solving the crises in education. At this meeting the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) was formed (NEUSA 1990:3). It was mandated to:

- negotiate with DET especially with regard to postponement of the end of year examinations (Essop et al 1992:69);
- build leadership structures for learners (Nasson & Samuel 1990:28); and
- improve communication between parents, teachers and learners (Christie 1985:269).

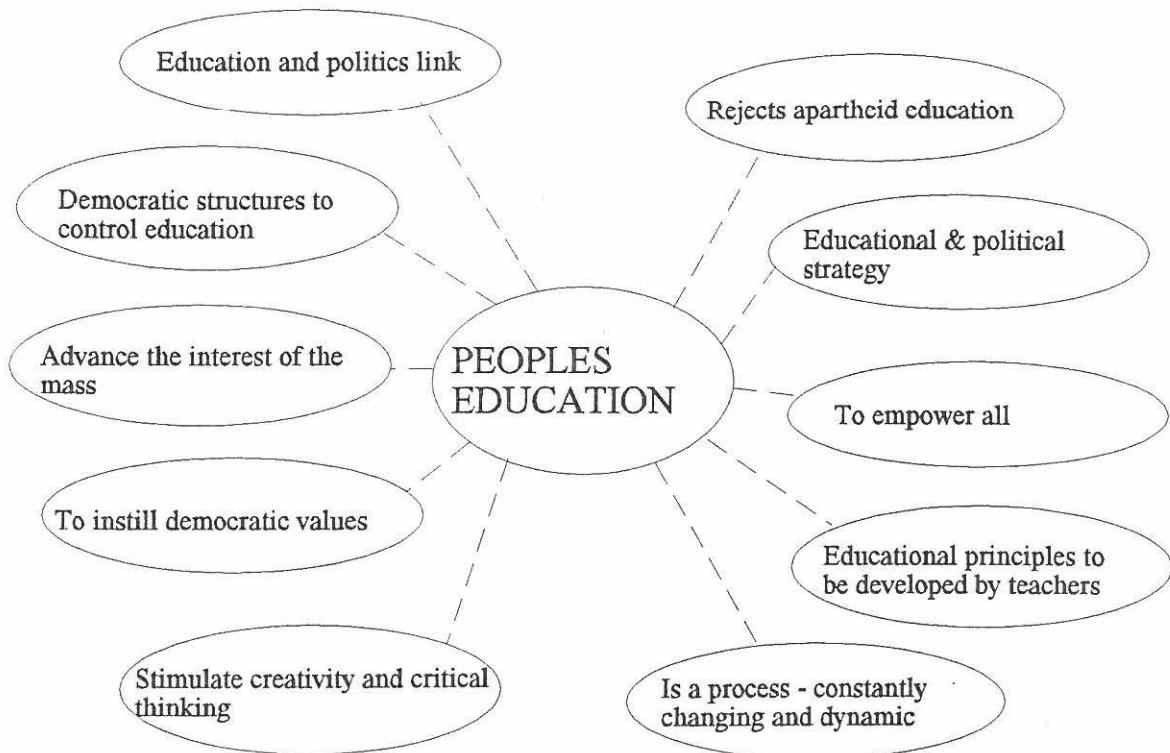
Before the SPCC Conference which was scheduled for December 1985, at the University of Witwatersrand (Wits), a delegation was sent to Harare to meet the African National Congress, ANC. They returned with a message that learners should be urged to go back to school as schools were important places where they could be organised and mobilised

to change them from within (Christie 1985:269; Zille 1987:16). This view by the ANC and SPCC was refuted by Mashabela when he indicated that this was a debasement of the function of the schools as they are places of learning (Mashabela 1991:12). This view cannot be disputed, it is a fact that schools are learning centres yet the NP used them to further their political interest. A lesson which the ANC and SPCC absorbed and imparted to learners.

The delegation was also informed that learning could not be postponed as the slogan 'Liberation now - Education Later' suggested. Instead the pupils' demand was changed to Peoples Education for Peoples Power as an attempt to return the education struggle to the schools (Gerwel 1992:12; Wolpe 1988:209; Education Policy Unit 1989:5). Peoples Education was also viewed as a challenge and an alternative to Apartheid education (Education Policy Unit 1989:5), in both structure and curricula reflected the principles of non-racialism, non-sexism and democracy (Essop *et al* 1992:3). The educational context it espoused had been shaped by the resistance politics (Mashamba 1991:5; McKay & Romm 1992:4;20).

There were core concepts around which Peoples Education was developed (CASE 1988:7). These are illustrated in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2 : PEOPLES EDUCATION CONCEPTS



It is obvious from figure two that Apartheid education was totally rejected. Education and politics were linked, therefore the struggle for an alternative system could not be separated from the struggle for a democratic South Africa. For this reason an education strategy to form the basis of a future education system, and a political strategy through which people would be mobilised and organised towards the realisation of a non-racial and non-sexist democratic South Africa, was to be developed. Since Apartheid education had unilateral control over all education, Peoples Education adopted a democratic control in which democratic Parents Teachers Associations (PTAs) as well as Parent Teachers Students Associations (PTSAs) would be formed in order to establish working alliances and mutual understanding (Mashamba 1991:9, 22). This implied that the interests of the mass in South Africa would be realised and advanced, democratic values such as co-operative work and active participation in education would be instilled as well as empowerment of all citizens to the benefit of the country by stimulating creativity and critical thinking. Peoples

Education as a dynamic and flexible process would seek the assistance of teachers in developing educational principles.

According to Essop *et al* (1992:3-4) and Le Roux (1993:180) the concept of Peoples Education lacked content and a vision of an alternative education system other than in terms of the broad principles of non-racialism, non-sexism and democracy. The reason for this was that the substantive content remained undeveloped because of State's repression. One tends to agree with this view because an analysis of the concept indicates that it was a process in which the principles needed to be developed by teachers. This was an ungrounded expectation from the teachers who were regarded as underqualified, whose standard of education was considered lower and inferior to that of White teachers by both the NP and the anti-apartheid supporters. Even if these teachers would manage to develop such, the education policy framework under which they were to function was not clear. Case (1988:6) concludes these arguments and others by declaring that Peoples Education nevertheless made a contribution to the struggle against apartheid because it recognised that education had a central role to play in the development of a democratic society.

Despite the State of Emergency, the SPCC met as scheduled. In this conference it was identified that:

- there was hostility between teachers and learners, which was a major stumbling block in the quest for Peoples Education (Meintjies 1992:49);
- an urgent unification of teacher organisations, who could identify with the education struggles of the community, was necessary; and
- the crisis in Black education was country-wide therefore the problems could only be solved on a national basis. In view of this, the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) was established.

The NECC was formed to work on the creation of a post-apartheid education system along the lines of Peoples Education. It was to be a leading structure in the education front to confront and resolve the education crisis as well as to be a powerful negotiating body (Mashamba & Narsing 1990:4) because the DET lost its authority in Black schools (Zille 1987:19). At the national conference held under the auspices of SPCC, it was resolved that the learners would go back to school on 28 January 1986 if certain demands were met by the State (Christie 1985:269, Wolpe 1988:211; Break Time 1990:22). Figure 3 outlines these demands.

FIGURE 3 : NATIONAL CONFERENCE-DEMANDS

- The State had to:
- * reschedule examination dates to a time agreed upon by learners, teachers and parents;
 - * lift the State of Emergency in all areas;
 - * withdraw the army and police from all townships;
 - * un-ban Cosas;
 - * reinstate all detained teachers;
 - * release all detained teachers and the learners;
 - * allow democratic SRCs to be established;
 - * repair damaged school buildings; and
 - * provide free supplies of books and stationery.

The SPCC further took a decision to boycott school fees, the payments of school books and all statutory school bodies. For the latter they proposed that teachers and parents should set up progressive PTAs and PTSAs. It was formally announced that an alternative to the State's education system would be Peoples Education. The State viewed this as an opposition to the Government's reform initiatives and a commitment to render South Africa ungovernable and Government institutions unworkable (Bureau of Information nd:5).

It is apparent that during 1985 there was no schooling at all in most parts of the country. Political parties as well as parents were supporting learners and teachers in their struggle against Apartheid education. This situation earlier was anticipated by Mr R.A.F. Swart in the debates of 23 May 1980 when he declared that the more one looked at the problems in Black education the more one realized that 'we are reaping the price today for the slavish adherence to Government policies, ideologies and dogma through the years'. This was further supported six years later by Mr D.J. Dalling of the PFP when he declared that:

'What is taking place is no accident. It is no plot. It is the direct consequence of 38 years of racist, incompetent, selfish and inept NP rule ... what has occurred is that the NP policy on every front, has failed dismally' (Hansard 1986:7098).

The year 1985 saw the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU), an organisation for workers which was destined to:

- play a key role in sustaining democratic forces against the vicious actions launched against them by the Government (Louw 1991:25);
- propel the Government into conceding the necessity of negotiations; and
- provide the backbone of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) formed by political organisation, which challenged the State power (Howard et al 1992:142-143).

It is clear that Black people and anti-apartheid organisations were mobilising against the State. Therefore the next section focuses on the State's response to this state of events.

3.8.3 State Response

In his opening address of 31 January 1986 the State President, as a response to 1985 school boycotts, indicated that the NP did not need pressure to walk the road to reform and

justice but would do it out of conviction because they have the capacity, the will and the faith to meet challenges. However, the dramatic reforms after the 1976 riots and 1980 school boycotts modified conviction. They were forced by circumstances to bring about reforms which Love and Sederberg (1990:301) term 'a conservative change'. Although they had capacity, the will and faith to meet challenges, they had repeatedly ignored the advice from the opposition parties. Their 'capacity' to 'meet challenges' was revealed through the use of SAP, SADF and finally the State of Emergency. The State President made it vividly clear that no Government would tolerate such violence which had often resulted in brutal murder of innocent men, women and children. This was further supported by his colleague Mr L. Wessels who also stressed that no responsible Government could permit minors to govern areas through intimidation and further stated that South Africa was tired of unrest (Hansard 1986:7065). Later on the State President issued a statement wherein he reiterated reasons for the institution of the State of Emergency, inter alia, that no responsible Government would allow the indefinite disruption of normal political and economic activities in its country by extra-parliamentary and violent actions (Bureau of Information nd:4). The PFP was opposed to the State of Emergency as instituted by the State President. To them the country would not be saved by police action or by military means but by negotiations and reconciliation (Hansard 1986:7102). The NP ignored this input from the PFP. On several occasions they had been advised to settle for negotiations not confrontation.

In the same debate the State President declared that:

- the Government was committed to equal provisioning of education for all population groups and the process of reform aimed at achieving that which was in full progress in the field of education;
- a single education system for general policy for all communities was established. The overall guidelines for the provision of education were being laid down;
- management training for principals and Heads of Departments (HODs) were to be conducted;

- a comprehensive effort to improve the academic and professional qualifications of teachers was done; and
- in 1987 measures would be taken to extend the participation of all concerned in education (Hansard 1986:9).

The commitment of the Government to equal provisioning of education for all have to be understood along the lines of 'separate' but 'equal'. Equality in the provision of education was to be implemented among separate education departments with a mediator, the Department of National Education (DNE). The view of 'separate;' but 'equal' was stressed by the State President in the debates of the Standing Committees on 7 May 1984 when he enunciated that acknowledgement of ethnic diversity formed the basis for the NP's policy (cf 3.5). The NP had attempted to crystallize the policy of separation and to produce a blueprint for a partitioned South Africa (PV 93:1/9/1/3:3) realised in compartmentalised education systems.

Equal provision of education also included per capita expenditure parity to all learners. This issue had been a rhetoric since the NP came to power. In the Question and Replies session of 1 September 1987 when the 1987/88 expenditure was discussed, it was established that disparity was still practised. The following figures were mentioned as proof of disparity:

Blacks received	R 1 555 941 000
Whites received	R 3 887 696 000
Coloureds received	R1 348 292 000
Indians received	R 540 704 000

It is obvious that Whites topped the chart of finance. In the debates of parliament on 9 May 1988 the NP stated that the Government was to implement a ten-year programme to establish equal opportunities in education. This was to be within the State financial capabilities and in view of the population growth in Black communities even after ten years

the actual parity would not have realized (Hansard 1988:3338). This is an indication that the NP was not prepared to resolve the question of disparity in education provision. The Labour Party of South Africa (LPSA) in the Parliament debates of 18 May 1990 indicated that the ten-year programme of the NP had failed. In the debates of Parliament on 4 May 1992 the DET Minister stated that an ideal situation where parity had been reached, was not yet reached.

Equal provision included free and compulsory education for all South African citizens. Such education was introduced in 1981 nevertheless in the Question and Replies session on 28 July 1987 the Minister of Education stated that compulsory education had been introduced in three hundred and seventy nine schools where the school committees had requested it (Hansard 1987:566). This is contradictory to The Act and the NP's commitment to the principle of equal provision of education for all. There was no agreement reached that compulsory education would be introduced where the school committees requested it. No discussions of this nature were held yet the NP put it as optional.

There were no obvious changes in schools except the efforts to improve the academic and professional qualifications of teachers and the training of school management. Learners and teachers were still detained, COSAS banned, classrooms overcrowded, SRCs not established, free and compulsory education optional and SAP as well as SADF still roaming the streets in the townships. The events of 1985 extended to 1986. The situation was confirmed by the State President during the Joint Sitting of the three Houses of Parliament on 12 June 1986 when he described the education crisis as 'sporadic instances of violence which had taken on such proportion that the ordinary laws of the land on the statute books were inadequate to enable the Government to ensure the security of the public and to maintain public order' (Bureau of Information nd:1). In view of this the State of Emergency as lifted on 4 March 1986 was declared again on 12 June 1986 much against the opposition parties' advice to the NP.

The State of Emergency was declared nationally because the State President indicated that he had been advised by the security experts that the entire South Africa was a target area for the ANC, UDF and other radicals who were planning a large-scale unrest, commencing with demonstrations and marches to main centres during the 16-18 June 1986 (Bureau of Information nd:5). It was strategical for the NP to declare the State of Emergency on 12 June, four days before 16 June. They were anxious that as 1986 was a tenth year commemoration of 1976 Soweto riots, the situation would get out of hand. The State of Emergency was accompanied by attempts to limit the development of Peoples Education by banning its implementation and discussion in schools. Teachers, learners and NECC leadership were detained. The repression of organisations like NECC and COSAS proved that the political domination restricted parental and learners choices and participation in education (Le Roux 1993:177; Zille 1987:17). In the Question and Replies session on 16 June 1987 it was indicated that one hundred and forty seven teachers were detained. Out of this number fourteen had been expelled from the teaching profession. Follow up questions on the same matter were posed on 28 July 1987. It was stated that some teachers had been given compulsory transfers to farm schools while temporary teachers' services were terminated (Hansard 1987:14).

The State realised that the NECC was a powerful force to be reckoned with therefore by banning it, its activities among which Peoples Education featured, would not materialise. Teachers who were supposed to impart it to learners were also detained. The very learners as recipients of Peoples Education were also detained. Therefore the situation was unproductive for the implementation of Peoples Education. The State of Emergency which was lifted on 4 March 1986 was much criticised by the opposition parties yet the State introduced the second one three months thereafter. This was the State's admission of the failure of its repressive measures and a resort to extreme measures in an attempt to maintain the balance of power (Louw 1991:25).

In August 1986 Mr N. Viljoen, the Minister of Education and Development Aid issued a paper wherein the following points were highlighted.

- the riotous situation in various schools around the country were caused by intimidation by people not interested in education;
- a call was made on parents to be involved in the education of their children. They were called to support their children to make optimum educational use of the remains of school year;
- teachers' disparity in salaries was being addressed;
- the Public Relations section of DET released the information that following on a Cabinet decision full parity in salary for all teachers of all population groups would be introduced with effect from 1 December 1986;
- a call was also made on learners to avail themselves of every opportunity for making up the lost time;
- a call was made for renewed commitment on Departmental Officials to provide the best education within the Department's means;
- operation Alpha as a solution to old problems was begun in January 1986 aimed to raise the proficiency of Standard eight and ten teachers in the classrooms. The project would be extended to include junior secondary and primary phase teachers;
- a pilot project was conducted to develop the Standard eight syllabus in 1986. The project would continue in 1987 and focus on Standard nine and ten syllabus;
- the Criterion Referenced Instruction (CRI) or competency based education directed at what teachers should be able to do unlike the traditional aim based on what teachers should know, was instituted;
- an Interactive Video System (IVIS) installed at the College of Continuing Training was developed in the USA and CANADA. The technique enabled the teacher to cover Standard eight mathematics syllabus in one week. The DET was the first education department in the world to be utilising IVIS; and
- the Human Resources company developed a Top-down or cascading teaching-learning Management and Performance Programme for line management structure. It advocated a person and task directed management strategy providing school managers with skills (DET 1986:1-4).

This announcement was following the reopening of schools on 14 July 1986. It is apparent that the State did not take any blame for the riotous situation in schools but shifted the blame on instigators. It did not focus on the causes of riots but on the effects that these riots brought. A call for both parents and learners to ensure that schooling should improve, was a reflection of the State position of being powerless. The SAP and SADF could not solve the crisis in education by forcing learners into classrooms. The NP had to review its position from confrontation to negotiations. Teachers' salary disparity was finally laid to rest according to this information newsletter. Teacher development courses were acknowledged to equip them for their profession. The demands raised by learners were partially addressed.

The introduction of IVIS is applauded but for the fact that it was to be tested in Black education leaves much to be desired. If it was the best method as described, why was it to start with Blacks not with Whites (Hansard 1988:3487)? It would have been better to introduce the best ever in the world for all South Africans. Black pupils in general, did not want the best for themselves within the parameters of separateness but recognised equal treatment within the ambits of one education system.

The newsletter did not make provision for the education of learners, in terms of parity, SRCs, free and compulsory education, the release of detained learners and teachers and the reinstatement of the teachers. The State was not seriously concerned as it claimed to be because it concentrated on management development as well as teacher development and said nothing about the recipients of such, the learners, without whom there could not be any talk of education. Overcrowded classrooms, the teacher-pupil ratio as well as school buildings as some of the demands and causes of school boycotts and riots, were not addressed. The period between 1984-1986 saw an unprecedented level of resistance to apartheid education. A significant feature of this period was the unification between pupils, teachers, parents and community organisations and their consolidated effort to end apartheid education (Le Roux 1993:179).

The issue of school buildings was raised during the Question and Replies sessions of 17 June 1987 and 1 September 1987. The NP indicated that twenty five primary classrooms and twenty eight secondary school classrooms had been erected at existing school buildings (cf Table 3). This was a positive gesture by the NP to recognise the necessity of erecting buildings. On 8 April 1988 an official statement was issued wherein the erection and maintenance of buildings of the State-aided schools was to be ensured by the State (Government Gazette 1988:7).

The opposition parties suggested to the NP that the issue of underutilized as well as unutilised White schools should be considered as the country was crying out for educational resources. In response to vacant spaces in White schools the Minister of DNE categorically stated that no one had to expect the Government to fill those gaps with pupils of colour as this would be contradictory to the principles and philosophies of the NP. Schools would not be opened to all learners, if accepted, it would just be a limited number of learners and it would depend on the institution and the department concerned (Hansard 1988:3494, 3530; Hansard 1989:845-846). The Minister clearly indicated that first preference for unutilised White school buildings would be the Department of Education and Culture (DEC) and the House of Assembly Administration under which the White department of education fell. The second preference would be the House of Representatives (HOR) and the House of Delegates (HOD) and lastly it would be DET.

In the debates of Parliament on 10 March 1988 it was discovered that the NP closed down unutilised White schools and colleges of education. Nineteen schools in the Cape Province were totally unutilised. Eight out of which were used by bodies other than education departments, ten empty primary schools were let to the Administration in the HOR and one primary school was let to the Dutch Reformed Church for use as a mission school (Hansard 1988:3494). While Black learners were overcrowded into classrooms and teachers were burdened with the number of learners in classrooms, the NP either closed down schools previously occupied by White children or leased them to any other department (Mncwabe 1993:85). The following information and statistics were gathered

from the Question and Replies session of 28 February 1989, with regard to the unutilised school buildings (Hansard 1989:172-174). This is outlined in Table 7.

TABLE 7 : UNUTILISED WHITE SCHOOLS

Education Department	No. schools unutilised	Leased schools	Remaining	Position of the remaining	Beneficiary
Cape Province	55	21 <u>11</u> HOR 32	23	20 - alienation process 2 - closed end 1988 (awaiting school councils recommendations) 1 - to be re-utilised	-
Natal	16	2	4	1 - Leasing negotiated 2 - no demand 1 - closed down (await school board)	6 - HOD 4 - HOR
Orange Free State	6	1	2 (farm schools)	No demand	1 - special school 1 - child guidance clinic 1 - OFS Prov. Admin
Transvaal	42	27	15	5 - no applications 10 - application for leasing processed	-

According to Table 7 the DET did not benefit from the distribution of unutilised White schools, yet the shortages of classrooms was eminent. In the Debates of Parliament of 14 May 1990, the LPSA and the DP indicated that there were seventy eight unutilised White schools. This was further reiterated in the debates of 18 May 1990, added to this were underutilised White schools resulting from a drop of learners caused by a low population growth (Hansard 1990:8979, 9663, 9707). The problem remained unsolved as

the debates on 15 April 1991 and 13 May 1991 indicated, wherein it was established that many White schools were closed down and the furniture remained unutilised (Hansard 1991:2882;5569) while there was an unbelievable shortage of furniture in Black schools. Inconceivably the unutilised White schools were allocated for either the training of dogs or for the South African Defence Force (SADF) for use as stores. This was established in the debates of 14 May 1991 (Hansard 1991:11467). The unaccountable full utilisation of all education resources was raised on 4 May 1992 (Hansard 1992:6045-6046). The situation only improved in 1993.

3.9 CONCLUSION

Chapter three covered the causes of education resistance in schools for Blacks. It was discovered that the apartheid policy and ideology of the National Party contributed a great deal on the provision of education in South Africa. The result of which led to school boycotts in 1976, 1980, 1983 and 1985. Although after each boycott the State reformed education for Blacks it was insufficient because reform was based within the framework of separateness principle. This finally led to a state of little schooling or no schooling at all in most Black schools. The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) which comprised of various political organisations joined hands with learners and teachers to fight Apartheid education.

The NP delayed equal provision of all education facilities for all learners irrespective of colour. The shortage of schools in Black education was one of the causes of great dissatisfaction and frustrations among Blacks and the anti-apartheid groups. Problems escalated and the State's typical slow response to address them, exacerbated matters. The result was that the matriculation results were shockingly poor, the pass rate for Blacks was 42% as compared to 96% in the White education. There were various allegations

from both the NP and the opposition parties as well as among Blacks about the causes of low pass rates. The extent of these allegations together with the demand for the release of Dr Nelson Mandela, became prominent in the beginning of 1990.

Therefore in Chapter four the main focus is on education resistance commencing from 1990 is still prevalent at the moment of study in 1998.

CHAPTER 4

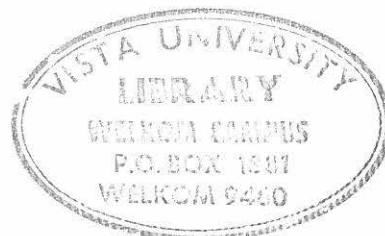
EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT 1990 - 1998

4.1 DEVELOPMENTS IN 1990

Negotiations which had begun in 1989 about the release of Dr Mandela were finally realised by the State President, F.W. de Klerk who announced this in his famous 2 February 1990 speech. Singh (1992:2) and Bredenkamp (1994:54) describes the speech as a watershed for reform in South Africa while the CP considered it as a revolutionary onslaught on the Afrikaner specifically and the White people in general. Amid these different interpretations of the President's speech, it heralded a new era in South Africa and a huge break with the past as well as prospects for a negotiated transition to a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa as have been envisaged earlier (cf Diagram 4).

The release of Dr Mandela and other political detainees, unbanning and derestriction of political organisations, the NECC members as well as the increased number of publications (Hansard 1990:10999; Lemmer 1993:55-56), are worth mentioning because the philosophy behind the repressive laws against politicians was the same as that which applied to education in South Africa.

In his back-home rally in February 1990, Dr Mandela appealed to learners to go back to school and learn (Pillay 1992:31; Meintjies 1992:68; Hansard 1991:2870). The call was followed by the NECC's launch of an Intensive Learning Campaign as a direct response to disintegration in schools and a high failure rate among 1989 matriculants. The outcome of these calls was that a significant number of learners registered for the 1990 school year which resulted in the resources available to the State being drained (NECC 1990:1; Hansard 1990:9001), the situation worsened because pupils did not return books at the end of the year with the result that most learners did not receive textbooks in 1990. The



teacher-pupil ratio as well as teacher-classroom ratio escalated and in some areas no effective teaching took place and learning was affected for over five months. Central to the teacher issue were teacher shortages and work overloads. The situation and the State's lack of response led to both learners and teachers embarking on various forms of actions.

Teachers became aware of their vulnerability in the struggle against apartheid because they had been passive and stagnant (National Teacher Unity Forum (NTUF) 1990:1). Teachers' passivity and stagnation have to be understood against the repressive laws of the Government which saw teachers dismissed, imprisoned and blacklisted. Since the Eiselen Report, the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA) and the Transvaal African Teacher Association (TATA) became aware of the implication of being passive and resisted the implementation of Bantu education through school boycotts in the fifties (Villardo 1992:7, 2; Lodge 1984:270-273). The National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA) which had been launched in 1980 and banned in 1986 had both an educational content and a political direction (Nkondo 1990:3). In 1988 other teachers organisations like Democratic Teachers' Union (DETU) and Western Cape Teachers' Union (WECTU) were banned (Villardo 1992:19). Neusa, as a teachers' union, emerged openly and defiantly in 1990 because it was committed to the liberation of all people from the oppression and exploitations they suffered under apartheid (NEUSA 1986:1). The same year the largest teachers union, an amalgamation of most teachers' organisations, facilitated by COSATU (Teacher Unity News 1989:1;cf 3.8.2), the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) was launched. One of the aims of SADTU was to eradicate Apartheid education and replace it with non-racial and democratic education (SADTU 1990:2).

The implication is that teachers collectively bargained in order to pressurise the State to relinquish its apartheid policy in education. They used a platform of the President's speech because they were afforded freedom of speech and expression. They used the

strength of a trade union COSATU, to back them up in their struggle against the State (cf 3.8.2). There was a great increase in activism and organisation among teachers the result of which were marches and sit-ins which Mashamba and Narsing (1990:5) term the energies of a long struggle against apartheid.

According to Mr M.J. Mentz in 15 April 1991 debates, the state of affairs in 1990 was caused by the unbanning of political organisations (Hansard 1991:5553) while the LPSA ascribed the marches and sit-ins to:

- a signal of Blacks' unhappiness about the inferior education they were subjected to;
- the failure of the Government to tackle the root cause of 1976 problems which could have alleviated the 1980, 1983 and 1985 school boycotts as well as the teachers' demonstrations in 1990;
- a signal of rebellion against White domination as education was still controlled by Whites;
- a defiance against the Department of Education and Culture (DEC) in the House of Assembly as they were setting up matriculation papers for Blacks;
- the lamentable quality of the departmental administration which manifested in teacher salary delays, the delay or non-arrival of textbooks and stationery, no feedback from or response to correspondence because of the long and complicated channels of communication;
- furniture and school building provisioning remained a disgrace while money was wasted on the maintenance of different departments of education; and
- lack of motivation of both learners and teachers with the result that there was a lack of orderly school environment.

The analysis of the causes of riotous atmosphere in schools had been justified in various debates since the NP came to power in 1948. The NP government had been advised on

various occasions about the impact of their Colour Policy and the injustice it brought on the recipients, Black learners, yet it ignored them.

4.1.1 State attempts to solve education problems

Various attempts, inter alia, the establishment of Council of Education and Training, rationalisation and Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) were instituted by the State to address the backlogs and crisis in Black education.

4.1.1.1 Council of Education and Training

In the discussion of 14 May 1990 the Minister of Education indicated that the Council of Education as established on 6 May 1989 was rejected by Blacks because it was not truly representative. He therefore held discussions with a variety of organisations such as NECC and National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), a White student body as well as with individual education experts. He further declared himself open to a renegotiation of the whole system of representation in order to create a system about which there could not be a dispute regarding its representativeness (Hansard 1990:8941).

According to the discussions of 18 May 1990, the philosophy behind the establishment of the Council was to bring the State and the community together as equal partners in the provision of education. The recommendations of the De Lange Report which the State had been ignoring, emphasized this partnership (cf Figure 1). The State had decided to move away from unilateral provisioning, decision-making and control of schools. The Council also had a consultative as well as an advisory role in the transitional period in the history of South Africa.

The ideal of the State and the community having a co-operative role in education is appreciated, yet the direction it took was not co-operative and consultative, but partial.

4.1.1.2 Rationalisation

The different departments of education as promulgated by the NP government, the maintenance of such departments as well as attempts to bring about equity among them caused substantial cutbacks in State expenditure (Hansard 1992:3255; Hansard 1993 : 5-6). It is for this reason that the Cabinet requested the Minister of National Education to obtain the co-operation of his colleagues regarding a co-ordinated approach towards rationalisation in education. Such rationalisation would include inter alia curriculum, school buildings and teachers.

4.1.1.2.1 Curriculum rationalisation

The restructuring of the curriculum was the signal of the State's paradigm change from its apartheid stance (cf Diagram 4). There was hope for the new educational dispensation in South Africa. To support this view in the debates of 14 May 1990 the Minister of Education stated that the previous approach to Black education, through its curriculum was to prepare Black people for only a limited role in society but that the whole approach had changed (Hansard 1990:8940). To achieve the new approach in education, the curriculum was to be relevant and affordable.

4.1.1.2.1.1 Curriculum relevancy

The new curriculum was designed to be relevant to the times (Hansard 1993:36). It was a positive contribution to education in South Africa. Previously the school curriculum was so designed that it furthered both the political and the ideological aims of the NP which were deeply rooted in segregationists principles (cf 2.2.1, 2.2.2). To further their apartheid objective the content of school subjects were functioning within the parameters of education objectives and education policy structured by the NP (cf 2.2.3, 2.2.4) as well as the promulgation of Bantu Education Act of 1953 (cf 2.2.4.1). The result of which were

1976 Soweto riots (cf 3.2.2), the 1980 and the 1983 school boycotts (cf 3.4; 3.7.1) as well as the 1985 school boycotts (cf 3.8.1) that forced the State to embark on a reform programme (cf 3.3.2, 3.3.3, 3.3.4, 3.4.1, 3.5.3.6, 3.7, 3.8.2).

After having accepted that the reforms could not ratify the chaotic situation in schools, the NP opted for curriculum relevancy to meet the demands of the county and the needs of learners (cf Figure 1). Education would therefore become vocationally and technically orientated to meet the employment needs of the county since it had been a neglected area in Black education (cf Diagram 5; Table 4).

4.1.1.2.1.2 Curriculum Affordability

Curriculum affordability implied that every learner irrespective of race had to have access to education. The further implication was that the unnecessary operating expenditure should be curtailed. It became apparent that learners and teachers of all other racial groups except Blacks were afforded bus transportation and travelling expenses respectively, to and from school subsidised by the State (Hansard 1993:8513; 8751). Some of these buses travelled half empty and were not accommodative to other racial groups. A shocking discovery was that in the report of 1991 financial year, the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly stated that R65 million had been spent on transporting White learners to school. A comparative analysis of KwaZulu Department of Education indicated that it had received R42 million to spend on education matters and to service 1,7 million children (Hansard 1992:3238-3239). The R64 million spent on transport for a particular section of learners was proof that the State maintained its inequality programme to maintain White domination and to serve White interests.

To achieve the restructuring of the curriculum process, programmes on life skills were to be developed in order to equip learners in terms of health (cf 3.3.4.1; Table 2) and family life education as well as education within multicultural setting. Transformation on

approaches to curriculum would ensure that pupils were culturally literate in respect of school population comprising of different cultural backgrounds (Hansard 1993:36) which was in accordance to the principles of the provision of education (cf Figure 1).

4.1.1.2.2 School buildings rationalisation

The rationalisation of the school buildings implied the optimal utilisation of all education facilities irrespective of colour in order to redress the shortages of classrooms in Black education (cf Table 1; Table 2) and the few secondary schools for Blacks in urban areas (cf Table 1; Table 4) as part of the apartheid policy package.

The shortage of schools emanated from the NP's apartheid policy and their political view of schools for Blacks (cf 2.3.3) and their shunning of responsibility to build schools (cf Table 3) by claiming to have an indirect control over them (cf Diagram 2). To enforce its objective, the NP closed mission schools (cf 2.3.3.1) much against the will of the masses. The aim was to have total control over the education for Blacks. There is nothing wrong for the State to have total control over education as was stipulated by the Act of 1979 (cf Table 2), what was educationally wrong, was to base the total control on segregationist principles. As for the shortage of classrooms, various debates indicated the NP's unwillingness to address it. However, through its typical crisis management approach (cf 3.3.2; 3.3.3; 3.3.4.1; 3.5-3.7; 3.8.3), the situation was somehow improved.

As the NP began to accept reality of classroom shortages and the effect of frustrations caused by the continuing imbalances, in March 1990, additional funds were made available from the special allocation announced by the State President as well as from funds which were generated by the sale of strategic reserves by the Government for the school building programmes. The State was seriously prepared to address the school backlog in Black education. The school building programmes are to be appreciated however, some of the money utilised for this purpose could have best been used for other

education needs because what needed to have been addressed were the unutilised as well as the underutilised White schools (cf Table 7; Table 5).

It is evident that the NP was not prepared to rationalise schools as this would imply opening all schools for all learners irrespective of colour. This was a risk the NP was not prepared to take because their morality for survival upheld the supremacy of the White people as well as to keep Blacks at a convenient distance (cf 2.2; 2.2.1; 2.2.2). Education from its inception and the State's involvement had been a matter of serious political contention (Ball 1986:17). The NP also realised that a redress of shortages of schools also implied one education system, a decision they shifted to the transitional phase.

4.1.1.2.3 Teacher rationalisation

The rationalisation of teachers implied better, efficient and effective utilisation of manpower, which was necessary to address the shortage of teachers in Black education (cf Table 1; 3.4.3) and to reduce oversupply as manifested in other departments of education. Therefore rationalisation was an aspect of reorganisation of education which would be based on educational considerations. The reality was that there were too many teachers in other departments that were to be disposed of thus decreasing the level of expenditure on the personnel. The benefit to be derived from this exercise would increase the level of expenditure on other educational needs such as more adequately provisioning of textbooks, furniture and schools.

The critical shortage of teachers in Black education and the implication of redressing it had been highlighted in various debates. Instead the Government resorted to double sessions and platoon systems wherein teachers were expected to teach effectively and efficiently. Teachers were for this reason unnecessarily overburdened. The reasons for the crude treatment of teachers was clearly outlined by the NP (cf 2.3.4) and to further achieve its agenda, teachers were earning comparatively meagre salaries (cf 2.3.4.1) and most were

either underqualified or unqualified. Reform was done to address the impasse (cf 3.3.2; 3.3.4) yet the shortage of teachers increased.

In the midst of all confusion, during the debates of 15 May 1990 the DET Minister indicated that he was prepared to renegotiate the existing structure of Parent Teacher Student Associations (PTSAs) and the Student Representative Councils (SRCs) (Hansard 1990:9139), as a further attempt to rectify the situation of no schooling. The State was responding to the demands made by NECC national conference (cf Figure 3). The PTSAs and SRCs were democratic structures that the Black masses introduced in order to have shared control with the State over schools (cf Figure 2) instead of the State's delegated control (cf Diagram 2).

The NP was warned in various debates by the opposition parties when it announced the rationalisation policy, but they were ignored. This resulted in a unified resistance from within the House of Parliament and from without by Black teachers and other people of colour. For this reason on 14 July 1990 most teachers irrespective of affiliation, embarked on a national strike which signalled that teachers had enough of repressive measures imposed on them by the State (NEUSA 1990:5).

4.1.1.2.4 Political rationalisation

On the political level the State of Emergency lapsed on 8 June 1990. The upliftment implied that although 2 February 1990 was considered as the beginning of freedom, in reality it began on 9 June 1990. All discriminatory laws were to be removed from the Statutes and the reservation of Separate Amenities Act repealed. The only remaining vestiges of apartheid laws were Group Areas Act and the Land Act which prescribed the necessity for separate state educational institutions (Lemmer 1993:53; Levin 1991:123), were to be repealed in 1991. In reality the State was subtly removing apartheid leaving behind at least the last two Acts which would safeguard its apartheid actions. In education

this implied that unutilised and underutilised White schools could not be occupied by Blacks because of the Group Areas Act. The State delayed the repeal of this Act for a year.

On the other side the State President indicated clearly that all discrimination would have to be repealed in order to pave way for democratic era. In his own words he stated that: '... history will demand of us to account for our willingness to rise above our own selfish particular interests, prejudices and petty politics in order to build a new future' (Hansard 1990:11006). The State President unlike his predecessors was a man of conviction in leading South Africa to a democratic state. In the late 70s Mr Cruywagen was the first to mention that secondary schooling in Black education needed thorough consideration and took the lead in the promulgation of The Act of 1979 (cf 3.3.4.1). Mr De Klerk was prepared to move all constitutional and statutory impediments on the road to a free South Africa.

Amid the developments in education and politics as actions of intent on the part of the Government, 1990 was characterised by riots and strikes. To aggravate the situation the NP introduced various models of schools namely A, B, C and D towards the end of 1990. Model C schools were the most criticised because parents received power to admit students which they would use to retain the separate development policy. According to Singh (1992:7) Model C schools effectively excluded disadvantaged Black learners and perpetuated racial segregation due to its high enrolment costs accompanied by administering admission tests and therefore limit access to schools (Le Roux 1993:18). The Conservative Party viewed these schools as the NP government's way of running away from their responsibility to provide excellent education for all. Various debates were held on the subject yet the NP remained adamant.

4.2 DEVELOPMENTS IN 1991

Before the developments in 1991 could be addressed it is necessary to analyse the State President's speech of 1 February 1991 in which he declared:

'Our country is irrevocably on the road to a new dispensation. The goal with the removal of discrimination is to give all South Africans full rights in every sphere of life ... The ending of apartheid and the repeal of these last remaining discriminatory laws will bring us to the end of the era' (Hansard 1991:1,2,13).

The State President's speech was full of hope and willed that change should manifest itself in South Africa. The last remaining laws he referred to were the Group Areas Act and the Land Act. The removal of political discrimination, where Blacks were disenfranchised, implied the removal of educational discrimination because it had been proved that politics had influenced the education system in South Africa. The end of the era that the President referred to is the Apartheid era. He had promised in 1990 (cf 4.1.1.2.4) that the last vestiges of apartheid era would be repealed in 1991, this speech was therefore a fulfilment of his promises. He was a man of integrity who practised what he preached and was also swift in the implementation of change.

The 1990 Matriculation results were appalling because the Black pass rate was 36,4% as compared to 96% of Whites, a decrease from 42% of 1989 while the Whites pass rate remained constant. The state of affairs caused Dr Mandela to take an initiative to form an Education Delegation which comprised of twenty six delegates from all political persuasions, teachers and workers unions, churches, technikons, universities, the Council of Black Education and Research, the Council for Education and Training as well as the homelands education departments. The purpose of this was to engage in direct negotiations with the State over the entire education crisis and the need for urgent transformation in education (Meintjies 1992:71; Bennell *et al* 1992:2). The aim of the Mandela Delegation is as outlined in Figure 4 (Pillay 1992:32):

FIGURE 4 : AIM OF MANDELA DELEGATION

The aim was to persuade the Government to:

Take full responsibility for resolving crises in Black education.

Remove all racist education laws and structures.

Lay the groundwork for a single education system.

Meaningfully involve Black communities in decision-making; and

Suspend unilateral restructuring of education within the apartheid framework.

To achieve these aims, the Mandela Delegation formulated demands as their negotiation package with the State which had the eight-person delegation led by the State President, Mr F.W. de Klerk. The demands were:

- the Government should address the immediate crisis in education for Blacks;
- an emergency fund to correct historical backlogs, to be created;
- access to resources in White schools;
- ending racial quotas in schools and tertiary institutions;
- timeous delivery of textbooks;
- efficient administration of the May 1991 supplementary examinations; and
- recognition of NECC, SADTU and PTSAs

An analysis of both the aim and the demands of Mandela Delegation indicate that having realised that there was a practical political transformation as indicated by the State President (cf 4.1) educational transformation also needed to be speeded up. As the 1990 school year was characterised by riots and strikes schooling was equally affected therefore

the State had to take full responsibility for resolving the crisis generally.

4.2.1 Government response to demands of Mandela Delegation

The State's response to the demands of Mandela Delegation is briefly discussed under: (i) the establishment of Joint Working Group (JWG), (ii) the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS), (iii) unutilised schools and (iv) the Curriculum Model.

4.2.1.1 Joint Working Group

The Government responded positively to the demands of the Mandela Delegation and agreed to be part of the Joint Working Group (JWG) to further discuss the short term and medium term issues raised at the meeting. The State would also consider procedures to establish a fully representative forum which would discuss a new education system. This was a direct response to the demands of the Delegation therefore it had achieved its aim: a foundation for one education system (cf Figure 4). Emanating from this successful and constructive meeting, a JWG consisting of five of Mandela Delegation and five from the State was formed.

The JWG met six times and on the second meeting of the two groups of delegates in August 1991 a report was presented. The recommendations of which would be incorporated in the Government's education planning for 1992. The Delegation's analysis of the report showed that they were less impressed by the increased spending on Black education as in the main recommendation of the report. They viewed it as a State's ignorance of a shift from Apartheid education and that the discussions around the Delegation's demands were nullified in JWG by the State (Gerwel 1992:16; Singh 1992:7). Their doubts were confirmed by the DET Minister, Mr S. De Beer in his budget speech on education package wherein he addressed the need to upgrade and reform Black education (Pillay 1992:34).

It is therefore clear that the State was playing the delaying tactics, on one hand it would consider procedures for the establishment of a fully representative forum to work on one education system in South Africa on the other hand it was encouraging the existence of different departments of education by pumping more money for example into Black education. The Mandela Delegation concluded that a broad education Patriotic Front was needed to determine the way forward. In September 1991 the NECC held a national workshop to address the Code of Conduct Campaign for learners because learners were misbehaving and did not take education seriously. The culture of learning was deteriorating. In October 1991, the first meeting of the Patriotic Front took place in order to speed up the process of engaging the State in ongoing negotiations on the immediate crises and to be the watchdogs of the Government. The whole process would be underpinned by the full backing of organisations on the ground which would be mobilised through campaigns around immediate demands.

It is apparent that the Education Forum would be much stronger than the Mandela Delegation because it had the support of most organisations, irrespective of affiliation, including trade unions such as COSATU. Should the State not respond to the demands of the Patriotic Front then it would be the State against the masses. Essop *et al* (1992:4) attributes the failure of JWG to its unbinding powers, and its deliberations were confidential and hidden from the public arena. Singh (1992:7) concluded that the Government delegation had a transient stance because it was not interested in democratic governance of the schools specifically and education in general.

4.2.1.2 Education Renewal Strategy

While the JWG was performing its functions, the State published the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) document in June 1991 (Bennel *et al* 1992:1; Department of National Education 1991:1) much against the aim of Mandela Delegation on how restructuring of education should be done (cf Figure 4). The ERS was compiled by more than 200

education experts from all racial groups and education departments (Hansard 1992:3243; Department of National Education 1992:5;20). In the debates of 4 June 1991 the NP stressed that all people including Blacks were invited to make submissions on ERS yet they chose not to do so (Hansard 1991:11456; Mncwabe 1993:164). However on 19 June 1991 debates, the LPSA argued that there were no consultations, the ERS was an initiative of the Government and the chairpersons of all subcommittees involved in the investigation had been Whites only (Hansard 1991:13343). It is beyond doubt that the ERS as initiated by the State was intended for the best interest of the country and the education system. There was nothing wrong with such an initiative but consultations were unsatisfactory. Blacks soon realised that they were excluded from the development of ERS therefore they rejected it.

The aims of the ERS were among others:

- to bring liaison between formal education and career training;
- secondary schooling to be selective on the basis of the needs of South Africa;
- great emphasis on technical and career oriented tuition in formal education to stimulate the economy;
- making greater use of distance teaching as the medium for providing education;
- greater managerial autonomy for school committees on a local level to decide the language and cultural ethos as well as religious character of the school; and
- to find managerial solutions in short and medium term for some of the most pressing problems in education (Hansard 1991:15-16; Lemmer 1993:60-61).

The aims of the ERS indicate the good intention and the underlying aim of the NP with the education system in South Africa. It was prepared to apply in the short term and the medium term solutions to the problems in the Black education department. Secondary schooling which had been neglected and improved later on was to be selective and the technical education that also had been neglected would receive attention. Formal

education had to be linked with career education in the informal sector. This initiative to redress the imbalances of the past is acknowledged, however, it would have been most welcomed if it was all inclusive. Therefore the NP's unilateral decision retarded progress for the implementation process regarding the historical backlogs. The ERS did not discuss how children could be given "better deal, decent buildings, enough desk space and books, places to work and to play. It also revealed that apartheid strategies of the State still remained in place" (Mncwabe 1993:168-169, 179).

4.2.1.3 Unutilised White schools

The question of unutilised schools had been raised in several debates therefore the State identified such schools country wide and twelve schools with a total of 38 classrooms were officially transferred to the DET in the course of 1991 (Hansard 1992:6052; cf Table 7). The State's response was also directed to Mandela Delegation's demands on access to resources in White schools (cf Figure 4).

4.2.1.4 Curriculum Model

The State added more frustrations and anger among Black people when it released a Curriculum Model (CM) for Education in South Africa, through the Committee of Heads of Education Departments (CHED) in November 1991 as a discussion document. The CHED was established in terms of Act 76 of 1954 and included in the National Education Act of 1967 (Behr 1984:63). The responsibility for policy formulation on curriculum rested with four bodies the CHED, the Committee of Heads of Education (CHE), the Committee of Pre-tertiary Academic Policy (CPAP) and the South African Council of Education (SACE) (Bennell et al 1992:2).

The CM was a linchpin legislation of separate but equal schooling and did not provide for greater access to education and as a result failed to address popular demands for one education system (Bennell et al 1992:13, 16). There was lack of access because real powers lay with the four White provincial arms of the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly.

Both the ERS (cf 3.7.1.2) and the CM ascertained that both the 1967 and the 1987 Education Acts were still in force (Benell et al 1992:13). The CP referred to these two models as education destruction strategies as they were the State's desperate attempts to delay and alleviate the inevitable decline in standard of education (Hansard 1992:3234). There were different views with regard to both ERS and CM and the result was that the masses of Blacks rejected them as both were unilaterally structured and established by the State. The old paternalistic approach of the State could easily be detected in these models for the State seemed to know best what curriculum suited the Black people.

There is a clear indication that 1991 was the year of turmoil and drama. It was characterised by the State's unilateral restructuring of education on one hand and the negotiations, conferences and deterioration of moral standards among learners, as well as lack of culture of teaching and learning on the other hand. It is therefore conceivable why 1991 matric results deteriorated. In response the DET released a press statement at the end of 1991 in which it blamed the low results on lack of teachers' responsibility and learners' unreasonable expectations. The LPSA challenged the NPs perception and attributed the low results to the frustrations caused by Black education with its double sessions, platoon system, overcrowded classrooms, the fact that Black education was an inferior education system, the resulting rejection and despising of apartheid based education system by the vast majority of Blacks and the poor prospects of obtaining employment even with a matric certificate (Hansard 1992:6064-6065).

The State's partial assessment of the causes of low matric results is detected in its failure

to mention its role in an attempt to resolve the recurrence of the state of affairs. The statement did not mention practical and rhetorical issues such as the lack of both physical and human resources which were endemic to Black education. The State shifted the blame and addressed the symptom more than the problem.

4.3 DEVELOPMENTS IN 1992

The beginning of 1992 experienced more educational problems as there seemed to be no schooling. For this reason, Dr Mandela unequivocally made a back-to-school call. On the 6-8 March 1992 the historic national education conference as a continuation of the Patriotic Front Forum (cf. 4.2.1.1) in education took place at Broederstroom. In the conference six areas which included mainly the Mandela Delegation demands (cf. Figure 4), were identified. It was also decided that the JWG had to be replaced by the Education Forum composed of the Government and organisations of the education Patriotic Front.

On the other hand, in the debates of parliament of 31 March 1992, rationalisation was a prominent matter. The reasons for rationalisation as well as procedures to be followed, were outlined. The Government had to implement substantial cutbacks in the State expenditure and the allocation for the 1992/1993 financial year had been reduced. The announcement had a terrible impact on education as the State would have to provide the necessities based on fiscal considerations.

On 30 April the DET published an official document which addressed the language policy that was to be formulated in consultation with parents (Government Gazette 1992:4-5). The State had begun to implement The Act of 1979, the recommendations of De Lange Commission (Figure 1) and further realised the damage that was caused by their language policy when Afrikaans was made the medium of instruction. The NP made a mind shift from unilateral action and included parents in the formulation of language policy. The

move however is questionable because the NP had established Model C schools where parents were conferred more powers. Such powers together with the determination of language policy faced a risk of being misused to the detriment of equal access to all schools.

In the debates of 4 May 1992 it was highlighted that violence has escalated in schools to such an extent that principals and teachers were assaulted and sometimes their personal property, like cars, were burnt. On the other hand, SADTU was threatening with a strike should the State fail to recognise it. Schooling was greatly affected. Another official publication followed on 6 May 1992 which dealt with open schools (Government Gazette 1992:4). The announcement had been long awaited therefore it was a positive gesture from the State to address the question of access to all schools and the end of racial quotas in schools. Open schools would have had great impact on the shortages of classroom accommodation, teacher-pupil ratio and teacher-classroom ratio had it been introduced at the beginning of the year. The late announcement meant that the implementation process would be affected in 1993.

The State continued with redressing the imbalances because on 1 July it announced that the travelling allowance of White as well as Coloured and Indian teachers was terminated. However, the DNE Minister indicated that there would be exceptions where the services of such teachers were desperately needed, such allowances would continue to be paid (Hansard 1993:8513-8514). From September 1992 all candidates irrespective of the examination body were issued common matriculation certificates by the South African Certification Council (SACC) (Hansard 1993:8539-8540).

Although 1992 was a difficult year for education there were developments such as the language policy formulation with consultation with parents, foundation for schools to open for all races was laid, partial termination of teachers travelling allowances and common matriculation certificates.

4.4 DEVELOPMENTS IN 1993

The developments by the State in 1993 will be discussed under:

- the rationalisation from own affairs to general affairs;
- restructuring of the education department;
- rationalisation of teachers;
- teacher-pupil ratio; and
- under-utilised White schools and facilities.

4.4.1 Rationalisation from own affairs to general affairs

In his 29 January 1993 Speech, the State President stated that the year 1992 had been a difficult and tumultuous one. Towards the end of the year there were talks of a crisis of confidence, therefore the Government had accepted that the expensive, fragmented, duplicated and racially based own affairs management system of the constitution had to be transformed by means of rationalisation to an efficient, cost effective and non-discriminatory decentralised system (Lemmer 1993:58). Therefore the own affairs would be gradually phased out. As of 1 April 1993 its functions of Agriculture, Health and Local government were transferred to a general department (Hansard 1993:1, 5-8).

It took the NP forty two years to realise and accept that to run four different departments for Whites, Coloureds, Blacks and Indians was expensive. Although the State President's speech of 1 February 1991 had clearly outlined the repeal of the vestiges of discriminatory laws which marked the end of the apartheid era (cf 3.9), discrimination as evidenced by various own affair departments was feasible. It took the NP two years from the President's speech to implement general affairs which were viable to the State's continuous budget cut especially in the 1992/1993 financial year.

4.4.2 Restructuring of education

The State President announced in his 29 January 1993 speech, the establishment of the education co-ordinating mechanisms in terms of which a Department of Education co-ordination was to be created. The task of which was to pave the way for restructuring of the education department while the different departments would be rapidly phased out (Hansard 1993:6-7). In various debates and demands from Blacks one education department had been viewed as the best solution to the Black education problems (cf Table 4, Table 5). The denouncement of different education departments also marked the State's implementation of the recommendations of the De Lange Report (cf Figure 1).

In the interpellation session of 31 March 1993 it was indicated that there were per capita difference on the expenditure of the various provincial departments. It meant that:

Transvaal Education Department (TED) received R4 305 million;
Cape Education Department (CED) received R4 360 million;
Natal Education Department (NED) received R4 180 million; and
Orange Free State Education Department (OFSED) received R4 636 million.

The elimination of these differences were shelved for the transition stage when a new education dispensation would be established (Hansard 1993:961).

In education there was no provision of a date for educational rationalisation. It is understandable from the transfer of other tasks which excluded education, to general affairs that the NP's status quo on education remained. Its apartheid policy in education was such that the disparity even existed among the provincial departments of education. In order to keep its voters in tact, the elimination of the inequalities in education and the creation of a new education department, would be the task of the transitional government.

4.4.3 Rationalisation of teachers

The rationalisation of teachers was in response to the Cabinet directive for a 5% cut back in State expenditure. The first preference would be given to the educators who were at retirement age and those who opted for early retirement. Early retirement as a rationalisation measure evoked a lot of debate because teachers were led away by attractive packages. Through this measure many teachers opted for early retirement (Hansard 1993:8740), which was viewed as a great loss of the best teachers who had acquired rich teaching experience over the years, in the teaching profession. The unanswered questions were, why did these teachers want to quit? How could a good employer loose so many good teachers?

The debates of 18 May 1993, saw retrenchment of teachers as an illogical treatment of education profession and lack of commitment on the part of the Government which showed a gross insensitivity to the country's demands for more teachers. The hiring of more teachers would decrease the teacher-pupil ratio as well as the teacher-classroom ratio, however, rationalisation was viewed as a process that threatened to increase the ratios (Hansard 1993:8713).

The implementation of rationalisation implied that 3 200 teaching posts would be abolished (Hansard 1993:6129), the measure viewed to be morally indefensible in view of teacher shortages eminent in Black education and the possibility of new teachers not absorbed in the system. This was bound to force teachers to participate in protest actions in opposition to the one-sided rationalisation of teachers by the State. The teachers' entrance to these actions would make school tuition part of the political struggle and no effective tuition would take place.

It was established that teachers who had opted for packages had been reappointed either in temporary or permanent posts. This meant that they received a pension and a full

wage. To this the Minister of National Education indicated that if such teachers were needed by schools, they would be fully utilised (Hansard 1993:8861). The Minister's response was vague seeing that the very teachers were allowed packages by them. The State could have assessed the needs in education and could have avoided the illogical spending of State funds which were reported lacking.

Due to the Cabinet's budget cut, rationalisation of teachers seemed inevitable. The success of the process depended on the department's consultative approach to avoid rejection which would culminate in the strike actions. The consultative approach would have guided the procedure to be followed to implement a rationalisation rather than the departments' unilateral rationalisation. These procedures would also give guidelines on whose responsibility would the process be afforded and when would it be completed. The basis on which rationalisation was formulated was the budget cut as well as teachers in excess. The latter would have been transferred to the Black education to eliminate the backlog of teacher shortages. However it is apparent that the State could not do this as it was approaching the new dispensation in politics therefore it had to guard against the loss of its White voters. The early retirement package could have been avoided while the retirement age was unavoidable.

4.4.4 Teacher-pupil ratio

In his speech of 29 January 1993, the State President stressed that problem areas were still experienced and these needed to be addressed. The fiscal position of the country was such that attention had to be given to unacceptably low teacher-pupil ratio in White schools (Hansard 1993:8530). This was a bold statement by the State President and an indication of attitude change from the previous stance on White education privileges. In the debates of 9 March 1993 it was declared that the teacher-pupil ratio for all education was to be 1:35 in primary schools and 1:32 in high schools within the framework of the financial plan which was developed within the context of a restructured education system

(Hansard 1993:407).

It was not clear how this balance would be maintained seeing that the department's restructuring of school buildings (cf 3.6.1.2.2) worked against the State's lack of effective response to unutilised White schools (cf Table 7). The State's announcement of open schools contradicted the establishment of inter alia Model C schools. Further contradiction was realised through the attractive early retirement packages offered to teachers. These teachers would have been kept within the system while equity in teacher-pupil ratio proceeded. The aims and intentions of the NP were clear however, the implementation was slow and lacked direction.

4.4.5 Underutilised White schools and facilities

The State President was prepared to face reality and address the rhetorical issue of underutilised White schools. To reach the full utilisation of schools in South Africa, all schools were declared open on 6 May 1992, yet parents were given powers to regulate admission in Model C schools, a catalyst to effective open schools. On 17 May 1993 the NP stressed that the organisation of education en route to unification was essential and indeed inevitable. The benefit to be derived from it would be economising on personnel which would allow for an increase in the level of expenditure on other educational needs such as more adequate provisioning of furniture and equipment in schools as well as more schools (Hansard 1953:8503). The NP was responding to the accusation of early retirement packages as a process to decrease personnel. There is nothing wrong in decreasing the numbers of teachers if they were in excess in the country, however, it becomes inconceivable when the decrease disregards the shortages.

In the debates of 18 May 1993 it was stated that in the House of Assembly Department of Education there were 213 784 empty desks in schools (Hansard 1993:8713). The findings indicate clearly that White schools had adequate furniture which instead of being

distributed to the needy Black Department of Education it was locked in empty classrooms. The State diverted its focus on other issues because on 2 July 1993 a Government Notice which dealt with regulations with regard to the general conditions of service for educators as an improvement of The Act of 1979, was issued (Government Gazette 1993:1-40). In the case of teachers the amendment of the Act was applauded.

In September the interim Constitution which provided for, inter alia, equal citizenship to all South Africans and included provisions for education, was published (Government Gazette 1993:1-40). The interim Constitution was a total new approach to politics and the education system in South Africa (cf Diagram 4). The State President's speeches became a reality, his strong determination to lead the NP government in a democratic South Africa was evident. On 20 October 1993 an Education Labour Relations Act (ELRA) was published to provide for the regulation of labour relations in education, including collective bargaining, the establishment of an Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC), the registration of certain organisations in the teaching profession, their admission to the said Council, the prevention and settlement of disputes and to provide for matters connected with it (Government Gazette 1993:2). The passing of ELRA was a huge step forward because the Department of Education would be able to settle matters of concern together with the teaching fraternity in the ELRC in order to avoid strikes and mass actions which harm the teaching and learning programmes at school. The recognition and registration of certain teacher organisations such as SADTU became reality (cf 3.10). Previously the recognised teaching organisations were not necessarily registered and fact was that the broad White teacher organisation was the one who normally was engaged in negotiations with the State.

On 27 October 1993 in an official publication, the State President assented to the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council with a view to promoting the preparation for and transition to a democratic order in South Africa (Government Gazette 1993:2). The dramatic changes brought about by the State President during his presidency commencing

in September 1989 after the retirement of Mr P.W. Botha, proves his integrity and consistency in keeping with his speeches. He was able to transform the political arena from own to general affairs, in brief he repealed all discriminatory laws in South Africa that governed inter alia politics and the education system. He managed to implement within three to four years of his presidency what the previous NP State Presidents failed to implement.

4.5 DEVELOPMENTS IN 1994

4.5.1 Constitution of South Africa

The State realised that there was no other option to address the complex problems in education in South Africa, but to amend its constitution which was previously based on separatist ideology. For this reason, on 28 January 1994 the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa as introduced in 1993 was published for general information (Government Gazette 1994:4-130). On 5 April 1994 a departmental circular on the operative effect of the Constitution as of 27 April 1994, was released (DET 1994:1-3). Among others, it entailed the following:

4.5.1.1 Language

South Africa was to recognise eleven languages as official (Government Gazette 1994:4) which was a reconciliatory redress of the past imbalances where only English and Afrikaans were the official languages. Language in education implied that learners would receive tuition in the language of their choice where this was reasonably practicable.

4.5.1.2 Franchise

Every South African was entitled to enjoy all rights, benefits and privileges which included the right to vote. The entitlement of which were all citizens of or over the age of eighteen years (Government Gazette 1994: 8, 12). The implication of the political redress had a promising future for education where all learners irrespective of colour would enjoy all benefits of having the same equal education previously shelved for Whites by the Constitution. The Coloureds and Indians benefited from the previous Constitution as franchise was later extended to them (Hansard 1994 : 1912). The implication of which was that the trilateral system decided not only on the political order of the country maintained through various laws (cf Diagram 5) but also on the provision of all education including that of Blacks.

4.5.1.3 Religion

The Constitution provided for freedom of religion (Government Gazette 1994:10). Every citizen would be allowed to choose a religion of his own unlike before where education was based on Christian-National values ignoring other religions (cf 2.2.4.1).

4.5.1.4 Education

All South Africans were given a right to basic education and to equal access in education institutions (Government Gazette 1994:16, 18), thereby redressing unequal provisioning of education among learners, a practice that had been fostered in the past.

The Constitution of South Africa amid some critiques, was welcomed. The eminent result of which SADTU committed itself to a peaceful disruptions free teaching and learning in 1994. However, the Union indicated that it could not guarantee that its members would not disrupt Black education. The ambiguous statement was declared at an Institute for Multi-Party Democracy debate titled 'Black Matriculation results - a disaster (City Press 1994:8). The understanding behind the statement is that there were problems encountered

in Black education such as poor working conditions as well as the delay of teachers' salaries emanating from their having participated in a strike action in 1993 (Sunday Times 1994:2). To further add to Black education problems, after the Deputy Director General (DDG), Dirk Scholtz had announced that 9,5 million books at a loss of R95 million, had been purchased for 1994 (Puisano 1994:2), and the DET's undertaking to deliver stationery and textbooks on 28 January 1994 in its book provisioning session (DET 1994:5), no deliveries were made. The result of which was SADTU's ambiguous statement and anxiety among teachers, parents and learners.

4.5.2 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

The RDP initiative was viewed as an integrated coherent socio-economic policy framework which sought to mobilize South Africans and the country's resources towards the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future (ANC 1994:1; Government Gazette 1994:10). It had been drawn up by an ANC led alliance in consultation with other key mass organisations, a wide range of Non-Government Organisations (NGOs), the research organisations as well as the Ministry of Education (Hansard 1995: 1562; 3010). Since segregation in education had left deep scars of inequality and economic inefficiency, an all-round effort was needed to harness education. The practicality of such effort was realised through RDP.

The future perspectives of RDP in regard to education were:

- Education and training should provide equal opportunities to all irrespective of colour or sex, with a view to provide life long learning not restricted to schools but also in homes and the workplace. Emphasis on affirmative action would unlock capabilities and creativity suppressed by racism and sexism.
- The empowerment of the national human resource through developmental strategies based on the principles of democracy, non-racism, non-sexism, equity and redress to avoid the pitfalls of the past. Such strategies would be extended to

the society in order to encourage them to play an active role in education through the formations of the democratic structures such as the School Governing Bodies (SGBs) and the SRCs. The aim of which was to revive the destroyed culture of learning which resulted in a virtual breakdown of schooling.

- The education bureaucracy was to be reorganised at a national and provincial level through the establishment of one ministry of education.
- Compulsory and free education was to be phased in as soon as possible commencing from pre-school, reception year to Grade nine.
- School-buildings were to be addressed vastly by improving the full use of existing facilities by the start of 1995, as well as by embarking on a school building programme. For the care and protection of the schools, the school communities needed to be empowered to take full responsibility.
- The curriculum marked by racism, sexism, authoritarianism and outmoded teaching practice was to be transformed. The realisation of transformation would need the establishment of institutes for curriculum development at national and provincial level. Since Black education in particular suffered severe deficits in the areas of Science, Maths, Technology, Arts and Culture, the development of the curriculum would therefore have to pay special attention to these areas. Education from Grade ten to Grade twelve was to be redesigned and incorporated into an integrated post-compulsory phase of learning co-ordinated at national level, and resulting in a Further Education Certificate (FEC) which would integrate it with training and therefore replace matric.
- For the teachers, a transparent, participatory and equitable process was to be established in order to review salaries and conditions of service and to promote their professional development within the National Qualification Framework (NQF). The NQF was intended to be a mechanism for achieving a fundamental restructuring of the education system. The South African Qualification Authority (SAQA) was responsible for developing NQF which would be brought into existence through legislation (ANC 1994:22-23).

An analysis of the RDP perspectives highlights that the past education system was not only racist but also sexist therefore affirmative action would be more viable to correct the imbalance. The reorganisation of the bureaucratic control and management of education would ensure democratic and participatory one education system for all South Africans wherein all schools would be fully utilised. The school building programme would eliminate the platoon system as well as double sessions in Black education. The review of the curriculum would provide equal and standardised education culminating in the issuance of same certificates.

The policy framework for Education and Training as outlined by the RDP was set within the ANC's perspective. This had been highlighted in the Draft for discussion purposes only published by the ANC's Education Department Desk in January 1994 (ANC 1994:5, 100). The impact that the RDP document had on South Africans was demonstrated by SADTU which encouraged its members to vote for the ANC (SADTU 1994:1-4). In April 1994 the DET questioned SADTU's involvement in politics which were viewed to be brought into schools (Puisano 1994:5). SADTU argued its involvement in view of no practical changes in Black schools and the DET's reluctance to address the question of teachers' salaries deducted during their strike action (The Citizen 1994:5). The democratic elections in South Africa were held in April 1994 and the transitional Government of National Unity (GNU) led by the ANC was established.

4.5.3 Educators Employment Act

On 2 September 1994, the Educators Employment Act which addressed appointment, transfer secondment, discharge, resignation of as well as terms of conditions of employment for educators, was passed (Government Gazette 1994:1-40; Statutes 1994:681-706). The past dispensation was characterised by teachers who did not know their conditions of employment because these were not stipulated. The GNU also opened discussions around teachers' salaries.

4.5.4 Draft White Paper on Education and Training

On 23 September 1994 the Minister of Education published a draft White Paper on Education and Training for public comment. The results of discussions and written submissions were expected by the end of October 1994 after which the document would be revised and submitted to the Cabinet for approval then the policy would be published. The focus of the Draft was primarily on the broad vision for education and training in the RDP, the transition to the new national and provincial systems as well as directions for the school systems in 1995 (Government Gazette 1994:4,7). Table 8 outlines the challenges faced by GNU as indicated in the Draft.

TABLE 8 : CHALLENGES VERSUS POLICY FRAMEWORK

<u>Challenges</u>	<u>Policy Framework</u>
<p>1. <u>Organisation of education</u> Complex hierarchy of separate racial and ethnic departments and services.</p>	Education a basic human right based on lifelong learning.
<p>2. <u>Funding</u> Characterised by the disparity in physical facilities, professional services and human resources.</p>	State's resources to be deployed according to the principle of equity.
<p>3. <u>Access</u> Rationed on a racial and ethnic basis. Compulsory and free education for White children.</p>	<p>Access to education and training opportunities.</p> <p>Access and equity to be coupled with improvement on the quality of education.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Continued)</p>

<p>4. <u>School governance</u> Top-down, authoritarian and subjected to paternalistic departmental control.</p>	<p>Legitimate, democratic and representative governance bodies to be established. Fair opportunities for advancement in education services.</p>
<p>5. <u>Management and control</u> Male dominated. Women had been discriminated against in terms of service conditions and promotion practices.</p>	<p>Affirmative action policy essential.</p>
<p>6. <u>Curriculum, textbooks and teacher education</u> Manipulated for ideological purposes. Instruments of propaganda and indoctrination. Official policies on teaching methods encouraged memorization and discouraged critical thinking.</p>	<p>Curriculum to promote democratic values enshrined in the Constitution. Curriculum and teaching methods to encourage independent and critical thought.</p>
<p>7. <u>Academic learning versus vocational learning</u> Higher status given to academic learning rather than vocational learning, resulted in huge inequalities in skills and competencies in the nation's labour force.</p>	<p>The expansion of education and training to meet the test of sustainability. Development needs to be planned.</p>

It is apparent from Table 8 that the GNU was prepared to address the inherited education problems. They knew that there were challenges facing them which they were prepared to address. The week of 12 October 1994 the Select Committee in the National Assembly held public hearings on the Draft at the Union Buildings in Pretoria to give a preview of the general lines of thinking of national education organisations (Hansard 1994:2108). In response to the Draft, the NP argued that it was full of political rhetoric and did not adequately address the child and the involvement of the parents as a result it lacked educational principles (Hansard 1994:2131-2132). SADTU welcomed the subject of teacher development yet argued that the Draft provided vague and little information about the implementation strategies to achieve the development of teachers. The Union also declared that private schools were not to receive higher subsidies than equivalent schools. However, the Union viewed the Draft as a clear indication of the Government's transparent approach to education (SADTU 1994 : 5-6).

4.5.5 Preparations for 1995

In the debates of Parliament on 19 October 1994, the establishment of provincial departments of education, the status of Model C schools, funding for 1995, curriculum as well as free and compulsory education were discussed.

4.5.5.1 Provincial departments of education

There would be nine provincial education departments in South Africa after January 1995. Therefore the urgent appointment of provincial Heads of Education was necessary to facilitate the process of transformation. The Minister of Education in each province was a political Head of Education.

4.5.5.2 Model C schools

Given that Model C schools were legal in terms of the interim Constitution of South Africa the Minister of Education declared that all apartheid based schools were going to be subjected to significant review and to be examined within the broad national context essential for the rationalisation of education. In view of this Model C schools as inherited from the past dispensation were to be democratised (Hansard 1994:2170; 2181) in order to be accessible to all learners.

4.5.5.3 Funding

For the 1995/1996 financial year funding would be based on the principle of equity. Travelling allowances as well as transport subsidies for other groups except Blacks would be withdrawn. The Director General, Prof. Chabani Mangayi announced that funds were to be equitably distributed to give all pupils equal learning opportunities (The Citizen 1994:10). Committees were appointed to investigate the practical and financial implications of implementing one education system.

4.5.5.4 Curriculum

The GNU announced that a very high premium would be placed on curriculum development in 1995, in order to provide all learners with the same curriculum based on life long learning.

4.5.5.5 Free education

Based on funds allocated for 1994/1995 financial year there was no possibility for totally free general education. However in keeping with the Government's commitment to ten years free education, free education would be gradually introduced commencing after January 1995 as promised by the National Minister of Education, Prof. S. Bhengu. Free

education would not apply to all Grades but from pre-school to Grade nine because of severe financial conditions faced by the Department of Education. Therefore schools were advised to charge school fees which would not be used as a criterion for admission (Hansard 1994:2110). In view of fiscal considerations, the Department of Education offered retrenchment packages to staff fifty years and older (Sowetan 1994:2).

4.5.5.6 Classroom shortages

In the interpellations of 19 October 1994 classroom shortages were questioned and the Cabinet approved the building programme of 12000 classrooms to alleviate the problem. Additional plans for 1995 were made with a view to arrange temporary venues for schools, an investigation was to be conducted to establish redundant buildings which could be cost effectively converted into school buildings, the platoon and the double shift school system would be used as a temporary arrangement (Hansard 1994:274).

4.5.6 Shortcomings in 1994

It is clear that 1994 was the year of transformation and reconstruction of the education system in South Africa. Yet there were no practical changes evident in schools as highlighted by the following extract:

'We thought that with the new government in power, our school would have been in a better condition by now. The education ministry is doing nothing to address our plight. The authorities are busy talking while nothing is being done to improve our school. This talking must stop now' (Sowetan 1994:4).

Although the tone of the quotation sounds egocentric, it highlights the frustrations felt by learners as negotiations continued. Learners expected drastic changes from the GNU as they had long awaited practical developments in schools. The result was that learners at Moqhaka Secondary School in Sebokeng, Vereeniging marched to DET offices where they

staged a sit-in to protest against the conditions at the school. The action contaminated other areas and marches were the order of the day. The GNU had outlined their action plan to address impeding issues yet avoided to address the unutilised and underutilised White schools and those leased to private companies (Hansard 1994:2147; cf Table 7). If the Government would have been serious in addressing the fact that there were schools irrespective of locality, to accommodate all learners, the plight of many learners concerning accommodation would have been alleviated. Instead the Government resorted to utilising more money to build more classrooms, set aside R30 million rands for use of necessary equipment (Puisano 1994:2). The large amount of money would have been used for other projects in education such as provisioning of free textbooks and stationery. As for the lack of teaching posts, the Deputy Director General indicated that 3728 new posts had been created. The step is acknowledged for there had been an outcry of shortage of teachers in the previous dispensation especially with regard to Black education.

History was repeating itself, on the one hand the Government claimed that there were no financial means to carry the transformation banner as a result offered teachers packages to save cost on teacher salaries yet, on the other hand, embarked on the programme of building schools while there were underutilised and unutilised schools and was creating new posts. Logically such a step by GNU becomes contradictory to the saving of money for better utilisation. History proved that the packages offered to teachers did not work but caused more tension between teachers and the departments of education but just like the NP government, the GNU also showed signs of a slow implementation process, which becomes faster if triggered by riots, marches and sit-ins.

4.5.7 Achievements in 1994

1. The Constitution of South Africa of 1993 was implemented in 1994 as an interim constitution.
2. Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of ANC was acknowledged

and utilised by the Government of National Unity (GNU).

3. Educators Employment Act was passed.
4. Draft White Paper on Education and Training was published for public comment.
5. Preliminary plan of action for 1995 was made.
 - 5.1 Provincial departments of education to be established
 - 5.2 Model C schools to be addressed
 - 5.3 Funding
 - 5.4 Curriculum
 - 5.5 Free Education
 - 5.6 Classroom shortages

It is apparent that the Ministry of Education was busy with the reorganisation, restructuring and redirection of the education system in South Africa. All these happened between April 28 and 31 December 1994. The NP accused the ANC led government that there was no progress in 1994, and that the delay of such process was caused by the Ministry which seemed to be lackeyed by SADTU, the Minister of Education refuted this accusation (Hansard 1995:1557). What the Ministry acknowledged was that it had been able to address what it had promised inter alia, free education and he indicated that the process of transformation had been initiated.

4.6 DEVELOPMENTS IN 1995

The opening of the 1995 school year witnessed children from an informal settlement in Cato Crest occupying the Carrington Heights Junior Primary school which had been standing empty since early 1994, after it had merged with Glenmore Higher Primary. Negotiations between the Department of Education and the parents of the school had failed (Sowetan 1995:2). The learners' illegal occupation of the school is a clear indication that due to the slow implementation by the GNU, learners found their own solution. Such action could have been alleviated if the full utilisation of all schools in South Africa would

have featured in the GNU's priority list and the programme of action. On the positive side in KwaZulu Natal most predominantly White schools opened their doors to all learners of colour (Sowetan 1995:2). In Welkom and Odendaalsrus districts, many Afrikaans medium Model C schools followed suit. There were no reported cases of racial bias or denial of enrolment in the Goldfields area (Goldfields Tribune 1995:2).

Due to a limited number of Black learners admitted at the ex-White schools, the teacher-pupil ratio in White schools was 1:25 which was much lower than was the case in Black schools where the ratio was 1:50. The situation remained unchanged and as a result COSAS threatened those White schools which were not open for all races. In township schools due to a large number of learner enrolment, there was an escalating shortage of books, furniture and classrooms (Sunday Times 1995 : 4). In view of this, pupils from all Cape Peninsula black township schools, marched to Premier Henus Kriel's office in Cape Town to demand stationery and furniture, overcrowding and shortage of teachers to be addressed as well as the resignation of Martha Olchers, the Minister of Education as she was viewed to have failed to address the crisis in Black schools (The Citizen 1995:3).

As registration began in other areas, Jabavu Primary, at Rockville in Soweto a principal was demoted by the PTA after allegations of embezzling school funds and for not taking disciplinary measures against teachers who were always late for school. Only two teachers reported to school while the other nineteen pledged solidarity with the principal. Meetings called by parents intended to bring teachers back to school, failed. Parents accused teachers of lacking interest in their children because teachers' children attended private schools (Sowetan 1995:3). In one school the principal was pressurised by White parents to force a Black teacher to resign (Sunday Times 1995:3). This indicates that the strife between parents and teachers and among teachers had not improved. Teachers were not prepared to negotiate settlement between themselves and the parents. The code of conduct for teachers was needed to bring back the culture of teaching in schools. On the other hand, the PTAs needed training on how to manage conflict and settle disputes rather than demoting principals.

The National African Professional Teachers Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA) walked out of the meeting with the Department of Education as the salary matter became unresolved. The Deputy Minister, Mr Reinier Schoeman refuted the rumour that 6000 teachers older than fifty or who have completed more than thirty years service would be offered early retirement packages (Sowetan 1995:3). SADTU and NAPTOSA threatened a strike action because they demanded 18,4 percent salary increase while the Government offered 1,4 % increase (Sowetan 1995:6). These events indicate that everybody was doing as they pleased. Learners were illegally occupying buildings, marching, and embarking on sit-ins. Parents were demoting principals, principals were embezzling school funds, teachers were staying away from schools, COSAS was threatening White schools and NAPTOSA walked out of the meeting. While all these dramas took place, the learners were deprived of an opportunity to learn. The situation was as in the previous dispensation during the NP rule yet democratic elections were conducted on 27 April 1994 which saw the establishment of the democratic GNU. Teachers were alleged to be inciting pupils to expel the principal who had reprimanded them for ignoring pupils and classrooms by holding their meetings (Express 1995:2). The culture of teaching was low, even with the new government in charge.

Amid all these dramas, in January 1995 the Free State Minister of Education, Mr Sakkie Belot released a circular to all former Departments of Education advising that all existing teaching posts to be filled immediately in order for teaching to run smoothly. Posts would be filled temporarily until properly functioning school governance was in place. Permanent appointments would be finalised after recommendations by the democratic elected governing bodies, were made to the MEC (Goldfields Tribune 1995:2). During his visit to Brebner High School in the Free State in February 1995 Professor Sibusiso Bhengu, indicated that the congestion found in Black schools had to be solved by enrolling them in White schools some of which had many empty classrooms. Model C schools had a right of existence, however, not in isolation and therefore needed to be reviewed to accommodate the disadvantaged. A committee was established for this purpose and to further design new models (Goldfields Tribune 1995:5).

The Cabinet approved the White Paper on Education and Training in February 1995 (Hansard 1995:1546). The White Paper underscored the improvement in the quality, equity, productivity and efficiency of education in line with RDP (cf 4.5.2) and it won broad support unlike the draft document released in September 1994 (cf 4.5.4). In principle the Government intended to open schools for all, yet the White Paper declared that institutions were not obliged to admit every pupil who applied to enter as long as their admission policies were equal and non-discriminatory. This seemed to shift the responsibility for admission away from the State back to institutions (Sowetan 1995:16). An analysis of Professor Sibusiso Bhengu's speech at Brebner High School on Model C schools had a stark contrast to the White Paper principle. It is apparent that access to all schools was difficult to solve.

The year 1995 commenced with education resistance from learners, teachers and parents. The system of education had not changed for there were still different departments of education as well as different models of schools.

4.6.1 Rationalisation of education departments

In the Government Notice published on 15 March 1995 it was declared that the ethically based departments of education were officially dissolved together with the various departments within them. The Department of National Education which had been responsible for education policy including norms and standards, information and budget, had been absorbed into the new national Department of Education. The functions of the Education Co-ordination Service whose mandate was to make technical preparations for provincialization of education services were taken over by the new Department which was redesigned in consultation with the Public Service Commission (Government Gazette 1995:51).

In the previous dispensation there had been thirty three National Departments and nine Provincial Administrations and the Public Service Commission. The powers of which had

been granted to provinces to integrate administration of the former Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) states and self-governing territories (SGT), in the new dispensation. The positive achievement of GNU was realised, although in the official report of 24 November 1995 the process of rationalisation was declared to be still on course to meet the Government target date of completion (Government Gazette 1995:21).

The creation of a New Department of Education was within the Ministry of Public Service and Administration known as the Office of the Minister of the Public Service and Administration (OMPASA) in terms of the Public Service Act of 1994. The purpose of which was to provide infra structural support for the Minister and to play a crucial role in helping to drive and co-ordinate the transformation process (Government Gazette 1995:21). It is apparent that the rationalisation of education departments was not an easy task.

4.6.2 Provincialisation of education

The provincialisation of education was mandated to the special task team comprising of senior officials and relinquishing departments and nominees of the organised teaching profession while the technical preparations were performed by the Education Co-ordination Services (Hansard 1995:1549; Government Gazette 1995:51). Head offices as well as regional offices of previous departments of education were disestablished and they would be operating within provinces (Government Gazette 1995:2; 52).

Provincial departments of education received formal existence in January 1995 although this was officially pronounced in March, and they became financially accountable on 1 April 1995. In the debates of 8 June 1995 it was established that the pace at which the provincial departments had been instituted and staffed had been slow (Hansard 1995:1549).

4.6.3 Rationalisation of education posts

In October 1995, the Cabinet directed that the number of staff in the public service should be reduced (Department of Public Service and Administration 1996:10/12/96). On 13 November 1995, regulations with regard to the rationalisation of education posts were published in order to provide for interim measures relating to the staffing of educational institutions with a view to reaching equity in the provision of education personnel between educational institutions within each category as well as to reach inter-provincial equity in the provisioning of educator personnel (Government Gazette 1995:2). The process to be followed to achieve these objectives was to:

- rationalise posts in each category of educational institutions;
- implement a revised post provisioning scale at an educational institution which would determine educators in excess of the establishment. The process would be done in consultation with ELRC;
- establish principles for dealing with the serving educators and the staffing of the rationalised educational institutions; and
- develop measures and procedures which would apply in respect of educators who are in excess of approved establishment (Government Gazette 1995:2-6).

4.6.4 Staffing

Affirmative action principles were being applied in making appointments and promotions in the new department in accordance with the policy of the Public Service Commission for the rationalisation of the public service and the improvement of representivity (Government Gazette 1995:52). The occupation of posts was by White males in the previous dispensation this now was the case with Black males. There was a lack of representivity in respect of gender. That is why on 25 August a Committee of Commission on Gender Equality (CCGE) was established and on 30 August debates it was agreed that the CCGE was to report at least once a year to Parliament (Hansard 1995:280, 3729). In the White

paper published on 24 November 1995 the public was informed that representativeness had increased in the appointments of education managers. Eleven thousand posts were advertised and a million applications were received, the result was a delay in filling of posts. The restructuring of senior management echelon was nearing completion and had witnessed the appointment of more Black people and women than before, although senior ranks, continued to be disproportionately occupied by White males (Government Gazette 1995:5).

To the NP the affirmative action appointments were shortsighted and ill considered because an irreplaceable source of knowledge and experience from the education management cadres was being discarded (Sowetan 1995:3). They argued that forty two out of forty seven experienced educationalists in top ranks in the previous dispensation were ignored and were entirely shunted out of the new education dispensation (Hansard 1995:1557). The same concerns about appointments was raised by various organisations and individuals for different reasons (Goldfields Tribune 1995:2; Sunday Times 1996:23) and as a result a Commission of Inquiry was launched to investigate the validity of appointments. The report was published and somehow negated the views of opposition parties and individuals (Mphahlele Report 1995). The matter was closed, but the impact that it had was among others, the delay of transformation and its implementation on the Transformation of the Public Service.

4.6.5 Education Legislation

Relations between the State and educators in the previous education dispensation became strongly adversarial with disputes mediated by force rather than negotiations. Educators were denied the opportunities, through various laws (cf Diagram 5), to improve their conditions of service through collective bargaining. The education system was more concerned with the application of rules and procedures than with the development of a culture ethos of service, efficiency and productivity. There was a lack of accountability and transparency in the process. Democratic practices were totally disregarded. In view of

this the professional status and work ethos were hampered and deteriorated (Government Gazette 1995:17-19).

It is against this background of the past that on 15 March 1995 the Minister of Education intended to introduce legislation for education for the efficient management of the new system and the declaration of the new policy. Among others, legislation would deal with the establishment of co-ordinating bodies such as the new Council of Education Minister (CEM), the new Head of Departments Committee (HEDCOM), the new statutory consultative bodies such as organised teaching profession and all stake holders, the curriculum policy, the establishment of NQF and educator personnel (Government Gazette 1995:54). The CEM and HEDCOM were restructured to represent all citizens. HEDCOM was referred to as Committee of Heads of Departments (CHED).

4.6.6 The White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service

The education legislation was also aimed at transforming the whole public service. The process was developed and a draft White Paper on Transformation of the Public Service was issued in May 1995 for public comments. The consultative process included public hearings and the insights and recommendations from debates were taken into consideration in drafting the final document. The Portfolio Committee supported and facilitated the consultative process around the draft White paper. On 24 November 1995, the final document was published for public information. The aim of the document was to establish a policy framework to guide the introduction and implementation of new policies and legislation aimed at transforming the South African Public Service. The public service was the executive arm of the Government. To fulfil this role effectively, the service would need to be transformed into a coherent, representative, competent and democratic instrument for implementing Government policies and meeting the needs of all South Africans (Government Gazette 1995:11).

The White Paper attributed the delays in formalising new staffing structures in the

provincial departments and administration to:

- fear of change and worriedness about the future as these have a serious and negative impact on the morale in service delivery;
- resistance to change motivated by ideological opposition to the change process itself led to deliberate efforts to sabotage the process;
- lack of clear and well communicated vision of change because of insufficient attention given to it;
- lack of co-ordination for transformation process to succeed. Therefore there was a need for collaboration within the departments;
- lack of skills and capacity to implement change and manage education effectively and efficiently. Whereas the discriminatory effect of apartheid education were realised and genuine representativeness achieved, there was a need to develop effective and efficient management training programmes;
- persistence of a rule-bound culture therefore a greater devolution of management and decision-making throughout the service within clearly defined lines of accountability would be ensured;
- lack of clearly defined roles and responsibilities charged with driving the transformation. The scope for flexibility and innovation was needed; and
- the financial constraints because the GNU inherited a situation of education budget devoted to salaries, wages and benefits of Public service with only 9% expenditure devoted to project-based development. Therefore there was a need for financial restraints.

4.6.7 Education Policy Bill

The week of 1 June 1995 a draft of a new National Education Policy Bill was workshopped with provincial representatives and on 8 June 1995 debates it was declared that it was in further intensive development (Hansard 1995:1546). On 2 August 1995, four opposition parties walked out of the Education Committee in parliament when the Education Policy

Bill was tabled (Senate Debates 1995:2999). They alleged that the ANC refused to hold public hearings on the Bill and that there were no proper consultations on it with education stakeholders while the ANC wanted the Bill to be enacted and public hearings thereafter. The same concern of no consultation was raised by the National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa, NAPTOSA (Senate Debates 1995:3005 - 3006). The Committee Chairman Mr Blade Nzimande alleged that the four parties cared little about Black education (The Citizen 1995:3).

There was a lack of transparency and consistency on the part of the ANC because it had been the normal and accepted practice that a draft would be gazetted and public hearings held before the final draft would be adopted. This was a delay in the transformation of education, even the reason that 'the Bill is subject to amendments but the Minister had to be empowered first, to set standards for the transformation of education', was illogical. It is incomprehensible how a Minister of Education could set standards on disapproved principles, unless that meant a much disliked concept of unilateral decision which characterised the previous system. In the Senate Debates of 15 September 1995, it was apparent that the opposition parties were against the non-consultative approach adopted by the ANC. However, Senator TCG Mashamba justified their action by claiming that the Bill came from a long process of historical public hearings and consultations. He further indicated that COSAS, SADTU, COSATU and the South African Student Congress (SASCO) were impatient with the slow progress of implementing the legal framework for education (Senate Debates 1995:3010). The Minister of National Education, Professor Bhengu concluded by saying that the ANC would hold public hearings and consider amendments in early January 1996 after the finalisation by the Constitutional Court. In the same debates the Bill was adopted for the second time.

The White Paper on Transformation of the Public Service of 1995 acknowledged that there was a popular impatience at the pace of change. Transition to democratic governance in South Africa unleashed a rapid rise in popular expectations about the ability of the GNU to deliver its promises of social and economic development through education, particularly

those contained in the RDP. In some quarters there had been scepticism (Government Gazette 1995:19). Such evaluation and introspection to the implementation if pursued, would ensure rapid changes and allay fears of what the new system entailed.

4.6.8 The National Qualifications Forum

In view of the absence of effective management information systems to promote the sharing and efficient monitoring and revision of public sector programmes, there were few reliable statistics on the staffing and composition of the public service. There was low productivity in terms of the ability to deliver services that meet the needs of the people. There was a disproportionate number of teachers involved in essentially duplicative education departments whereas serious under staffing occurred at the level of essential service provision. Pay levels of managers predominantly White, remained relatively high while those of the lower echelons predominantly Black, were still disproportionately low. All these contributed to low morale and low productivity (Government Gazette 1995:19). The reason for Black teachers' low salaries was attributed to low qualifications.

On 1 June 1995 a draft NQF Bill was gazetted in partnership with the Minister of Labour. The Bill provided for the establishment of South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) which was a major milestone in a bid to open access, raise quality and achieve an integrated approach to education and training (Hansard 1995:1546; cf 4.5.2). The NP argued that the NQF was based on ideas of broader labour movements and not on educational principles.

4.6.9 South African Council of Educators

The South African Council of Educators was a new term derived from the South African Council of Education (Donaldson 1989:22) as used in the old dispensation but both are abbreviated the same (SACE) yet the representiveness was unidentical. The new SACE comprised of fifteen members from each SADTU, NAPTOSA and Education Officials

(SADTU 1996:3). In the debates of 8 June 1995, the Minister of Education was accused of having deviated from two agreements in the Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC) namely:

- the meeting to establish the new SACE which was to replace the Federal Teachers Council (FTC) should have been held on 21 April 1995; and
- A final model to be put in effect for the ELRC on 1 May 1995.

The establishment of SACE was an urgent matter. It is a registration body which would develop a code of conduct for teachers, compile a central register for all educators and plan disciplinary guidelines and mechanisms (SACE 1995:1-14). The NP alleged that the delay to implement SACE was caused by SADTU as SACE would restrict its disruptive actions (Hansard 1995:1558).

4.6.10 School Organization, Governance and Funding

Due to centralised control and top-down management, democratic practices in school organization were discouraged. Little or no incentive for creativity and responsiveness to the needs of the citizens reigned during the previous era (Government Gazette 1995:19). According to Senator G. Mashamba it was a crime and an offence if parents were found teaching their children at home on a blackboard (Hansard 1995:1553). The role of parents in the education of their children were non-existent. The lack of parental involvement in education was somehow contributory to the ungovernability and the lack of discipline in schools. The ANC spokesperson attributed lack of discipline to oppression, they claimed that learners had to resist education because they were oppressed (Hansard 1995:1554).

It is apparent therefore that school organisation and governance needed co-operative effort to be transformed. For this reason, as a new policy initiative, the Review Committee on School Organisation, Governance and Funding was given vigorous attention (Hansard 1995:1546). The members of the review committee and their chairperson, Professor Peter

Hunter were appointed in March 1995. The brief of the Committee was to recommend to the Minister of Education, a proposed national framework of school organization and ownership, norms and standards on school governance and funding. The purpose of which in the view of the Committee, was likely to command the widest possible public support, accord with the requirements of the Constitution, improve the quality and effectiveness of schools and be financially sustainable from public funds (Government Gazette 1996:5). They were also to recommend in detail how a unified non-racial school system could be brought about on the basis of the guiding principles set out in the first White Paper (Government Gazette 1996:3). It took the Committee five months to complete their work which was reported on back on 31 August 1995 after which it was prepared and published in November 1995 as a draft White paper for public response. On the other hand the RDP Presidential led Projects on the culture of learning was launched. The school construction programme was begun. The drive for curriculum transformation was to be commenced.

4.6.11 Successes in 1995

There were some developments in 1995:

- the White Paper on Education and Training;
- the White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service;
- Committee of Commission on Gender Equality, established;
- Education and Training Policy;
- primary school nutrition programme to enhance the culture of learning;
- Education Policy Act;
- National Qualification Framework Bill which provided for the establishment of South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA);
- the institution of the Review Committee on School Organization, Governance and Funding;
- free education commenced on January 1995 - to be gradually implemented;

- utilisation of Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC) in Central Chamber of the Public Service Bargaining Council as to minimise labour instability;
- acknowledgement of strikes and disputes and appreciation of co-operation between management and teacher unions;
- process of establishing one education system for all had begun and was near completion at the end of 1995;
- the launch of new SACE an organization mooted to enhance the profession; and
- the launch of the RDP Presidential Lead Projects on the culture of learning.

4.6.12 Shortcomings in 1995

Amid these developments, issues such as overcrowding, platoon system and double sessions, shortage of classrooms were not fully addressed. One spokesperson in the debates of Parliament reasoned that 'the problems that we have inherited are still very much with us. Therefore the achievement of the Ministry should be seen in that context (Hansard 1995:1554). However the question of open schools specifically Model C schools would have alleviated and eliminated the problem of overcrowding, platoon system and double sessions as had been planned in 1994 (cf 4.5.5.2) and as presented by Professor Bhengu (cf 4.6). This demanded prioritization of more pressing issues in education such as equity in teacher-pupil ratio and on the provision of education for all learners. One could not talk of one education ministry while there were exclusive island schools, Model Cs in the system. The culture of teaching and learning was still low. Implementation of change at school was slow. Teachers' salaries were not resolved, there was no or late delivery of text books and stationery, shortage of teachers and the shortage of classrooms. The GNU had accepted that there was lack of co-ordination and collaboration within the departments to enhance the transformation process, lack of skills and capacity to implement change and manage education effectively and efficiently (Table 8).

4.7 DEVELOPMENTS IN 1996

The shortcomings in the education system were not systematically addressed by the GNU.

4.7.1 Educators and appointments

On 9 January 1996 the Department of Education released a Human Resource Circular (HRC) with regard to permanent posts. Only advertised posts in the vacancy list would be filled permanently (HRC 2, 1996; HRC 8, 1996). The procedure of filling the educators' permanent posts were outlined (HRC 3, 1996). There had been educators who had served the various education departments for many years yet had remained temporary. The procedure to be followed to appoint a temporary teacher into permanent capacity was outlined. All educators who on 30 April 1996 had completed two years or longer service and were still in the service of the Department would be considered for permanency. A new Form III was to be completed for the purpose and the permanent appointment submissions were extended to the 31 August 1996 (HRC 11, 1996).

4.7.2 Policy on School Organisation, Governance and Funding

The new policy document on Organization, Governance and Funding of schools (cf 4.5.4; 4.6.10) was approved by the Cabinet in February 1996 and published on 14 February 1996 as a second White Paper on education. The policy addressed school provisioning, per capita expenditure and Model C schools. These are discussed briefly under sections 4.7.2.1, 4.7.2.2 and 4.7.2.3 below.

4.7.2.1 School provisioning

The huge disparities among South African schools in both structure and governance had to be adequately uniform and coherent. The new structure of the school system had to deal with the inheritance of inequality and had to ensure an equitable, efficient,

qualitatively sound and financially sustainable system for all its learners. It was therefore necessary to overcome the divisions and injustices which have characterised school provisioning throughout South African history (Government Gazette 1996:10).

4.7.2.2 Per capita expenditure

The former racially and ethically organised Departments of Education embodied substantial inequalities in per capita spending. These included:

- the distribution of teachers qualifications;
- inappropriate linking of salary levels to qualifications;
- learner-teacher ratio; and
- inequitable distributions of education facilities and learning resources.

The disparities resulted in both the unequal access to education as well as unequal learning outcomes. In the Review Committee Report also known as Hunter's Report it was stated clearly that the spending disparities reflected the racial hierarchy of the previous dispensation (Government Gazette 1996:29; Senate Debates 1996 : 179).

4.7.2.3 Model C schools

These schools were introduced under the 'own affairs' dispensation of the previous Government in terms of the Education Affairs Act, in the House of Assembly, Act 70 of 1988. As a result these schools had to be reviewed in the new system, however, many Model C schools had successfully implemented non-racial admissions policies (Government Gazette 1996:43-44). There still were a few schools which did not want to enrol learners of colour. To achieve this, they used school language entrance tests as a criterion for admission. The Constitutional court outlawed such practices and ruled that language competency test to determine admission was not legal. Any communal culture, language or religion with racism as a foundation, had no constitutional claim to the

establishment of separate educational institutions (Sunday Times 1996:4).

4.7.3 School Education Act of 1996

The School Education Act was published in the Provincial Gazette of the Free State on 9 February 1996 for general information. Although passed in February it was deemed to have come into operation on 1 January 1996. The objective was, inter alia:

- to co-ordinate education policy by uniform norms and minimum standards which will apply generally throughout the province;
- to affect the full and active participation in education of various interest groups in particular educators, parents, workers, employers, learners and the broader community,
- to enhance the dignity, stature and status of educators in education centres while developing an effective culture of teaching, professional commitment and learning,
- to place emphasis on school facilities as basis for community learning,
- to affect a system of educational provision and support which serves the needs and the interests of all the people of the Province (Provincial Gazette 1996:11).

The realisation of this objective would be achieved through:

4.7.3.1 School Governing Bodies

The purpose of school governing bodies was to promote the participation of the people in the Province, and specifically parents community. In the governance of State schools, governing bodies were to be established in every school. Parents' role in the education of their children would be stimulated (Provincial Gazette 1996:19, 21, 23; cf 3.13.6, 3.14.2).

4.7.3.2 Compulsory school attendance

The compulsory school years were determined from seven years to fifteen years. The preschool years were excluded although the RDP's future perspective included them (Provincial Gazette 1996:35; cf 4.5.2).

4.7.3.3 Language policy

Language policy is a Government document planned, prepared, adopted and enacted in the constitution by parliament to be used by the whole country. The objective of which is to enable the usage of all official languages of the country without discrimination (Mokone 1998:1). The language policy became the prerogative of School Governing Body (SGB) in consultation with the Head of Education and subject to the approval by the MEC (Provincial Gazette 1996:37).

4.7.3.4 Corporal punishment

According to the School Education Act, no corporal punishment was to be administered by any State or private school (Provincial Gazette 1996:39). Corrective measures should be applied to discipline learners.

4.7.3.5 Education Laws

Many laws which governed the education departments in the previous dispensation were repealed (Provincial Gazette 1996:39; Government Gazette 1996:40) as reflected in Table 9.

TABLE 9 : EDUCATION LAWS - REPEALED

Number and year	Short title of Law	Extent of Repeal
Act 47 of 1963	Coloured persons Education Act, 1963	The whole
Act 61 of 1965	Indian Education Act, 1965	The whole
Act 2 of 1979	Bophuthatswana national Education Act, 1979	The whole
Act 90 of 1979	Education and Training Act, 1979	The whole
Act 104 of 1986	Private Schools Act (House of Assembly), 1986	The whole
Act 7 of 1987	Qwaqwa Education Act, 1987	The whole
Act 70 of 1988	Education affairs Act (House of Assembly), 1988	The whole (except in so far as it relates to State-aided schools)

4.7.4 South African School Bill

After the second White Paper on Organisation, Governance and Funding of Schools was published on 14 February 1996, the draft bill was gazetted on 24 April 1996 for public comment.

The School Bill proposed:

- the establishment of national, uniform norms and standards for pupils, and for school organization, governance and funding;
- in future two categories of schools namely public (former State and State-aided) and independent (former private schools) to be established;
- guarantees the right of learners between six and fifteen years to attend school;
- the deprivation of the SGBs the right to decide who should be admitted to schools;
- corporal punishment to be banned; and
- the prefect system to be replaced by the democratically elected SRC (SADTU 1996 : 1; Sunday Times 1996 : 4).

The NP raised the objection that the draft School Bill down-graded the powers of the SGBs making them functionaries rather than decisive role players, it enhances the State intervention in school governance and minimised the role of SGBs. It also stated that it would challenge the constitutional validity of the role of the SGBs and table its objection before the Portfolio Committee. The ANC felt that the NP was employing delaying tactics in order to preserve the racist character in education in South Africa. It stressed that the Bill was better than the Bantu Education Act. The DP supported the Bill as it believed it was an important instrument in the transformation of schools. The Freedom Front (FF) and the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) opposed it for different reasons such as corporal punishment and mother tongue instruction were not being secured and the right to be taught at home was not protected.

4.7.5 School Governing Bodies functions

The proposed alterations to the rights, powers and functions of the public School Governing Bodies (SGBs) were published on 26 April 1996 for the information and comments from the SGBs management councils or similar authorities. The comments were to reach the Department of education not later than 31 May 1996. The aim of the publication was to give a formal notice to all public SGBs about the intention of the National Government to alter their rights, powers and functions by means of an Act of

Parliament, the draft South African School Bill of 1996 (cf 4.7.4). It was also to inform the SGB of the new system of school organisation, governance and funding which the GNU contemplated enacting the South African School Bill (Government Gazette 1996:1-2).

Amid the opposition parties' objections to the Bill it was published on 15 November 1996 and was to be known as the South African School Act (SASA) of 1996. In addition to what the Bill propounded, the code of conduct of learners was stipulated, their admission, suspension and expulsion from public schools. Freedom of religion addressed the previous enforced CNE (cf 2.2.4.1.1). Funding of public schools addressed the inequalities of the past. The appointment, transfers and promotion of teachers were a redress of nepotism as practised in the past, including the powers that the management councils had over teachers (cf Diagram 3). The Educators Employment Act of 1994 was amended (Government Gazette 1996:9, 14, 16, 24, 26, 28, 44-46; cf 4.5.3).

4.7.6 Redeployment of teachers

The Education Minister, Professor S. Bhengu announced that the 1:35 ratio in secondary schools and the 1:40 in primary schools would be implemented on 1 July 1996. Teachers had to be redistributed because the teachers' audit in 1995 showed that in some provinces there was a shortage of teachers while in others there were teachers in excess. However redeployment was to be done in as human a way as possible (Senate Debates 1996 : 180). The Northern Province never encountered problems with the redeployment of teachers because the MEC of education personally approached teachers to inform them about the pros and cons of redeployment. To alleviate the oversupply of teachers' twenty two teacher training colleges were reduced to seven while the other fifteen were used as community colleges, finishing schools and vocational training centres for out-of-school youth (SADTU 1996:18).

On 12 August 1996 the Department of Education published a Notice with regard to the rightsizing of educator numbers. The process was necessary in order to effect equity in

funding in education between provincial departments of education and within the provinces. Equity was to be phased in within five years from 1 April 1995 (Government Gazette 1996:1-40).

To manage the process of attaining equity, excess teachers in education departments would have to be redeployed. The voluntary severance package would be offered to create room for the absorption of educators in excess. The VSP would be available subject to the availability of sufficient response elicited (HRC 24, 1996). In November 1996 the DOE circulated a notice from the Department of Public Service and Administration with regard to the restriction on the reappointment of former officials who opted for the VSP (DOE 1996 : 3/3/13/P).

4.7.7 Grading of educational institutions

The norms for the grading of schools as negotiated in the ELRC were to be effected from 1 July 1996. Schools would be graded annually on the basis of the March statistics. If the number of the pupils on the roll of two consecutive years rise to above or drop to below the maximum or minimum number for the grading of the institution, the institution would be upgraded or downgraded accordingly. The principal of the upgraded school qualified for the post, would be subjected to the recommendation of the SGB and the District manager, while the authority to promote was vested in the Head of the Department of Education (HRC 21, 1996).

4.7.8 Salary grading system

In view of the revised salary grading system, the number of post level of CS educators had been rationalised from the existing eight to only six post levels with effect from 1 July 1996 (cf Table 10).

TABLE 10 : SALARY - PREVIOUS LEVELS VERSUS REVISED LEVELS

Previous levels	Revised levels
1	1
2	2
3 & 4	3
5 & 6	4
7	5
8	6

The rationalisation of post levels and the revised salary grading system was a redress of inequities in teachers salaries of the previous dispensation, caused by different training and certification of teachers (cf 2.3.4.1; 3.3.4).

4.7.9 Achievements in 1996

- The Department of Education corrected the irregularity of teachers who had been temporary for many years. Necessary procedures to be followed in filling either temporary or permanent posts were reflected in the Human Resources Circulars.
- The policy on School Organization, Governance and Funding was published.
- The School Education Act of 1996 was passed and published in the Provincial Gazette of the Free State.
- The South African School Act was published.
- The proposed amendments to the functions of the SGBs were published for comment and later published in the South African School Act.
- Redeployment of teachers to attain equity, was instituted.
- Schools were graded and the procedure to be followed in the grading of school was provided through Human Resource Circulars.
- Post levels for teachers were rationalised.

4.7.10 Shortcoming in 1996

There was no clear illustration on how equity, coherence and uniformity among schools were to be achieved. Model C schools still maintained partial autonomy while unutilised as well as underutilised schools remained unattended in spite of desperate shortage of classrooms in township schools, and despite the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr T. S. Belot's school building programme announced in his 13 May 1996 Budget speech.

4.8 DEVELOPMENTS IN 1997

Before the Department of Education could embark on certain projects intended for January 1997, teacher organisations SADTU and NAPTOSA opposed the VSP given to teachers (cf 4.4.2.3). According to NAPTOSA the system of VSP lacked ways of checking the profile of teachers who were opting for packages as a result the Department of Education lost desperately needed teachers with valuable skills. SADTU stated that the Department went ahead with VSP in an arrogant and unilateral fashion such that there was no longer rightsizing of educators but downsizing even in provinces like the Northern Cape and the Northern Province that desperately needed more staff (Sowetan 1997:3).

The Department's response was that VSP was introduced to assist the process of redeployment of teachers (Hansard 1997:1364; 268-269). As a direct response on 6 February 1997 the Department released a Human Resource Circular (HRC) which indicated that the School Rightsizing Committees (SRCs) were to be formed in each school to facilitate the process. The circular also stated that in the Free State Province the process progressed satisfactorily. From 1 July 1996 until 6 February 1997, 9222 VSPs had been approved and seventy two rightsizing committees had been constituted (Department of Education (DOE) 1997:1). Posts vacated through VSPs were to be frozen. Schools which still needed posts were to request for the unfreezing of posts which would then be filled by temporary teachers until the posts were advertised and recommendations

for permanency would have been approved by the newly elected SGBs. Vacant posts would also be filled by redeploying teachers from schools in excess, such transfers would be sanctioned by the already established Provincial Redeployment Agency (PRA) (HRC 7, 1997).

As a guideline to the provision of VSP, on 22 April 1997, the Human Resource Directorate of the Department released a circular to ensure effective management of the process in order to ensure maximum utilisation of available staff. Post level one teachers were to receive packages only if the school was declared them in excess. There was to be no reappointment of educators who had opted for the packages (DOE 1997:1-4). In order to address the issue of financial constraints, the DOE applied strict measures such as to decrease over-spending of approximately R330 million in 1997 by terminating the services of temporary teachers, who were employed after 1 July 1996 at schools in excess, at the end of 1997 (DOE 1997:1).

The National Assembly debates by the Minister of Education declared that all provinces were in the first phase of the rightsizing process. Each province was expected to release gazettes advertising vacant posts, receive applications and process them. After which candidates would be appointed at schools. Each province was to either downsize, right size or upsize according to its management plan. Inter-Provincial and Provincial Task Teams (PTT) were established to co-ordinate activities of the process and deal with administrative matters while the PTTs would assist the provincial DOEs to facilitate and hasten redeployment of teachers (Hansard 1997:1505-1506). Redeployment was not the only issue that caused unrest among teachers.

In the Goldfields area, SADTU embarked on a sit-in at the Welkom District Office demanding textbooks and stationery that were not delivered despite the DOE's promise that books would be delivered to schools not later than 6 February 1997 (Goldfields Tribune 1997:4). The Free State DOE acknowledged the late delivery in the 1997 Annual Report as causal to school disruptions (DOE 1998:41, 63). The Odendaalsrus District

encountered similar classroom disruptions.

The education resistance prompted the Free State Provincial Government to approve the establishment of an Internal Audit Unit (IAU) as well as a task team comprising of senior officials from Treasury and the office of the Director General. The task team was to advise on the investigation of the circumstances surrounding the invitation and the subsequent awarding of tenders to supply and deliver textbooks and stationery to schools in the province. The Free State Premier, Dr Ivy Matsepe-Cassaburi set up a commission of inquiry which had to investigate the Provincial loss of R21 million in the tendering of textbooks and stationery (Goldfields Tribune 1997:2). The findings of which led to the suspension of among others the Head of Education in November 1997 (DOE 1997:1).

The Minister of Education in the Free State, Mr M. Dukwana attributed the shortage of textbooks to the learners who did not return them to school at the end of the previous year. Therefore he charged teachers with the duty of maintaining strict control to ensure that learners return books. He suggested that learners who failed to comply should not receive reports at the end of the year (Goldfields Tribune 1997:4). COSAS launched a campaign in which learners would go out in search of stolen textbooks and stationery (Goldfields Tribune 1997:3). In some areas these were confiscated while in other areas like Hennenman at Bahale Secondary School learners who were involved in theft were handed over to the police. The learners' parents were informed about their children's offences.

Many township schools were overcrowded and as a result the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), Thabong Branch intervened and requested the District Office to intervene. They alleged that \pm 150 learners were without accommodation (SANCO 1997:1). Schools were somehow coerced to register those learners and the overcrowding in classrooms exacerbated. This forced the District Office to introduce the platooning system and double sessions in some schools.

There were various forms of education resistance in the country at large. On 9 February

1997 teachers at Tlhomelang High School in the Northern Cape went on strike demanding the resignation of the principal. The DOE was accused of reluctance to solve the problem which commenced in September 1996. Various meetings with parents were held to resolve the matter. As the 'struggle' continued, learners remained unattended (Diamond Fields Advertiser 1997:3). In Gauteng Province teachers were banished from their classrooms since August 1996 by parents who accused them of crime ranging from raping pupils, drunkenness and coming to school armed. After teachers had appeared before the District Director, six parents and two teachers from unions, it was agreed that teachers would resume their duties on 20 January 1997 (Sunday Times 1997:2). NAPTOSA alleged that the salary negotiations with the DOE reached a deadlock however the DOE refuted this and teachers received a 5% increase on their salaries.

Between mid April and May 1997 SADTU Odendaalsrus branch held meetings during school hours. The bone of contention was the proportional representation with regard to educators and the parents in the SGBs. They alleged that the principals were going to manipulate parents (Goldfields Tribune 1997:4). Learners on the other hand were showing a pervasive culture of indiscipline at school (Hansard 1997:4820). They were not wearing school uniforms, were not punctual at school and were not interested in school books (Goldfields Tribune 1997:2). The acting Head of Education, Mr Ndumiso Nkonka, released a circular wherein he declared that the culture of teaching and learning required that school days were to be used to the maximum. The habit of late arrival and early leaving at schools were to be discouraged. The 'all teachers and all learners' components of the culture of teaching and learning programme were to take education seriously (DOE 1997:1-2). His statement was in accordance with the Education Charter Project released in February 1997, which identified causes of resistance in education as late coming, truancy by both teachers and learners, lack of or absence of professional commitment (DOE 1997:4).

The Government was urged to make every effort to create a register of incidents of violence at schools in order to determine problem areas and to take steps immediately to

guarantee the safety of learners and teachers in schools. This measure was effectively taken by the DOE in the Free State as it was also discovered that learners carried lethal weapons to school. Teachers, learners and the community were conscientised to condemn violence in schools (Hansard 1997:4821). As for indiscipline culture, in the National Council of Provinces on 29 August there were different views on corporal punishment as a measure to stop the ensuing culture (Hansard 1997:1373-1391).

The Free State DOE acknowledged these disturbances in education, however, indicated that they were comparatively lower than what was experienced the previous years (DOE 1998:41). The Education Charter document tabulated the problems as inherited from the previous dispensation but lacked strategies on how to solve such problems to bring about stability in education. It categorically inter alia identified the lack of culture of debate and dialogue as causal to tension and outbreaks of violence in schools which impacted badly on the process of teaching and learning (DOE 1997:6). To enhance better communication the DOE instructed schools to establish the democratic recognized Representative Council of Learners (RCLs). However the DOE did not provide schools with clear guidelines on the role that the RCLs were to play and the code of conduct that would govern their functioning. This is one of the reasons why in most schools especially the ex-Model C schools the prefect system still functioned concurrently with the RCLs, and steps were not taken to stop them. The RCLs replaced the previous SRCs which although it represented learners, had been used as a broader term which seemed systemically unjustifiable in South African context to refer to secondary school learners as students.

The beginning of 1997 witnessed various disturbances in schools, which in some areas re-emerged late in the year. Teachers chased away principals, parents did the same to teachers, learners defied the authority of teachers and principals. Violence that emanated in schools, highlighted the plight of resistance faced in 'Black' education even after the democratic 1994 elections. While all these disturbances took place no effective tuition took place in schools a signal that history was repeating itself. Teachers were still dissatisfied over salaries and the provision of the VSP. The DOE was very slow in

addressing pertinent issues until learners or teachers embarked either on strike or sit-ins. Unlike its predecessors circulars guided the actions to be taken against anyone who did not abide by the rule, but the practical action was never taken.

4.8.1 School-building Programme

Despite the education resistance in schools, the DOE embarked on school-building projects. At Hennenman, in Welkom District, a secondary school, Kheleng was handed over by the Free State Minister of Education, Mr M. Dukwana. The learners, teachers and parents were applauded for having had patience when accommodated for a long time in the dilapidated hostel which belonged to Premier Milling company (Goldfields Tribune 1997:6). Despite a huge backlog of classrooms especially in the disadvantaged communities, in Thaba Nchu and Qwaqwa, Free State and the ex-TBVC states and the homelands respectively, renovations were done and only sixteen additional classrooms were built. Thirty six new schools were to be completed in 1997 while the actual need was one hundred and twenty nine schools. Gencor adopted ten schools in the Goldfields for upgrading and Eskom supplied one hundred and fifty schools all over the Free State with electricity (DOE 1998:34-35).

A list of unutilised and underutilised schools was compiled to relieve the problem of classroom accommodation. Vacant classrooms were identified in the Odendaalsrus District as well as in Welkom district. In Odendaalsrus District three new schools were built because schools were faced with overcrowding. Some of the causes of over crowding were identified as the high failure rate, the escalating cost of school-buildings and the migratory pattern from the farming community to the urban areas. Due to the DOE's slow approach to build schools, in Allanridge, Odendaalsrus District there were class disruptions and the community, learners, teachers and parents demanded the building of schools. Despite these disruptions, the DOE reported that more than 400 new schools were added and hundreds of schools renovated all over the country. However the DOE acknowledged that there was a shortage of 57499 classrooms (Hansard 1997:4588, 4594-4595).

4.8.2 School Register of needs survey

The increasing shortage of classrooms as well as the classroom disruptions emanating from it, prompted the DOE to address the problem. The DOE mandated the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) and the Institute of the University of the Orange Free State (UOFS) to locate and map every educational institution in the country, to survey the physical facilities and conditions of buildings and to establish their global position (Hansard 1997:4580).

In August 1997, Professor Bhengu released a report on school register of needs. It was viewed by most opposition parties in the National Assembly debates of 4 September 1997 as:

- a comprehensive data base of every public school in the country, its exact geographic position, the extent of its physical facilities and the conditions of the school-buildings;
- an informative document because it had detailed information about schools and clearly showed where the most needs were, which would assist in reprioritising as well as the provisioning of the necessary resources;
- an awareness to all South Africans on how appalling the education resources were in most parts of the country;
- an indication of how much was to be achieved in order to improve the quality of teaching and learning;
- providing basic information on which the country's RDP in education could be based, making it possible to administer education or build an administrative infrastructure; and
- a fulfilment of a commitment of Professor Bhengu in his first White Paper on education in which he spoke of the need to conduct an audit of available facilities in the various communities (Hansard 1997:4574; 4583-4585;4588; 4595).

The Freedom Front (FF) accused the ANC for the backlog of classrooms. They cited the ANC's strategy of liberation now and then education as well as the burning down of schools by learners between September 1984 and October 1989. Within a period of five years, 1799 schools were completely destroyed or so badly damaged that they could no longer be used (Hansard 1997:4581).

4.8.3 Protected and unprotected industrial action

Following the educational resistance and disruptions of classes that were witnessed throughout 1997, on 8 December the DOE released a circular on protected and unprotected industrial action. The aim was to curb future similar incidents by the teachers. The employer, the DOE had recourse to the principle of no work, no pay while acknowledging the employees', educators' rights to engage in strikes (Majatladi 1997: 3; 40-43). Acts of misconduct were to be severely punished (HRC 39, 1997).

4.8.4 Change in school designation

On 12 March 1997 Prof. Bhengu approved a change in school phase designation by replacing the four phase designation of Junior Primary, Senior Primary, Junior Secondary and Senior Secondary with a new one comprising three bands namely General Education and Training (GET), Further Education and Training (FET) and Higher Education and Training (HET)(DOE 1998:3) with a further requirement of the General Education and Training Band into a foundation Phase (Grade 1-3), Intermediate Phase (Grade 4-6) and a Senior Phase (Grade 7-9). In future the Reception year would be known as (Grade R) rather than Grade O. A change in school level designation namely Grades instead of Standards was effected in 1997 (DOE 1997:1-3). Table 11 outlines the above.

TABLE 11 : OLD AND NEW SCHOOL LEVEL DESIGNATION

Old Phase designation	New Phase designation	Old level designation	New level designation	New Band designation
- Junior Primary Phase	- Foundation Phase	- Sub A Sub B Std 1	Grade R Grade 1 Grade 2 Grade 3	General Education and Training Band (GET band)
Senior Primary Phase	Intermediate Phase	Std 2 Std 3 Std 4	Grade 4 Grade 5 Grade 6	
Junior Secondary Phase	Senior Phase	Std 5 Std 6 Std 7	Grade 7 Grade 8 Grade 9	
Senior Secondary Phase	-	Std 8 Std 9 Std 10	Grade 10 Grade 11 Grade 12	Further Education and Training Band (FET band)

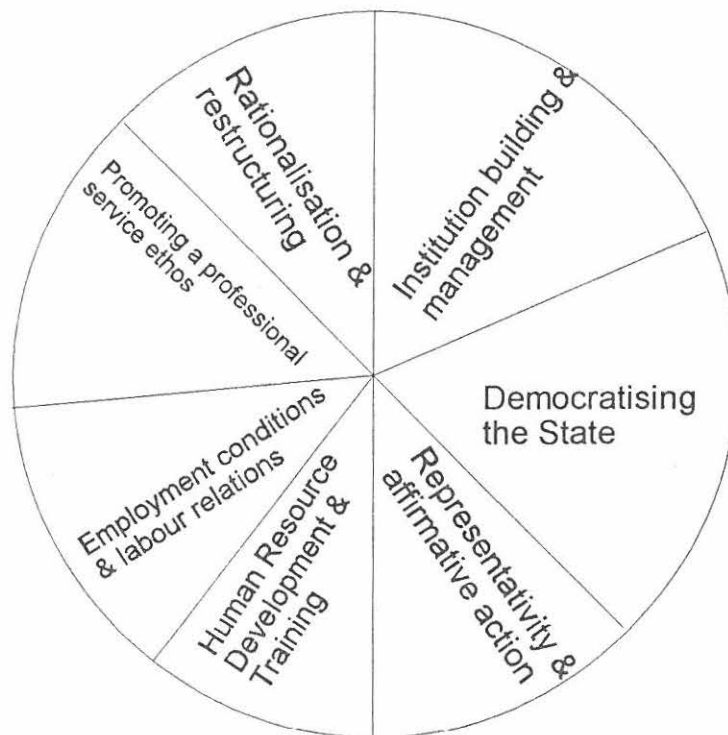
4.8.5 White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery

The White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery was also referred to as Batho Pele White paper as published by the Department of Public Service and Administration on 1 October 1997. The purpose was to provide a policy framework and a practical implementation strategy for the transformation of Public Service Delivery. Batho Pele means 'People First' and implied improving service delivery, accessibility, speedy response to correspondence, letters and telephone calls, the treatment of all citizens with courtesy, respect and dignity, providing more and better information, increasing openness and transparency, remedying mistakes and failures of the past as well as getting the best possible value for money (Government Gazette 1997:3, 5, 7, 20-21).

In education the implication was that there would be a need assessment followed by

implementation. Improved service delivery could not be implemented by issuing circulars, it was not to be about rules and prescription because it was not an administrative activity but a dynamic process out of which a completely new relationship was developed between the public service in this case educators and managers, learners, parents and the community. To implement a service delivery programme successfully, managers required new management tools, accountability of service, resources to obtain value for money, the assignment of managers to schools and make follow ups, delegation of managerial responsibility and authority to the lowest possible level of transparency about results achieved and resources consumed (Government Gazette 1997:11). The Batho Pele programme consisted of key transformation priorities as reflected in Diagram 6.

DIAGRAM 6 : BATHO-PELE TRANSFORMATION PRIORITIES



To bring about equity in education as well as to correct the past imbalances in education provisioning, the education system as well as the culture of teaching were to be overhauled and to be restructured. The culture of teaching would be developed through the

development and re-training of teachers, principals, district as well as provincial managers. The skills acquired from such programme would promote professional service ethos which seemed to be low as indicated by teachers' strike actions which impacted heavily on the learning children. The DOE had to develop the employment conditions with teacher organisations in line with Education Labour Relations Act (ELRA), in order to ensure that teachers did their expected-paid-for duties. The terms and conditions of employment of educators which outlined the relative education qualification value as attached to an education qualification or academic years, and the impact that these had on salary improvement of teachers were published in the Government Gazette on 11 November 1997 (Government Gazette 1997:9).

Equity would be realised through equal representativity in post provisioning, rationalisation of teachers and by applying affirmative action principles. These would assist in democratising the whole State wherein every citizen would be treated fairly and equally. Therefore the Batho Pele programme searched for new approaches of doing things in education seeing that not much had been realised at schools where learners, teachers and parents had been involved in some other forms of resistance.

To foster the implementation of Batho Pele programme, a General Notice was issued on 31 December 1997. The purpose of which was to provide a policy framework that would enable the development of human resource management practices which supported an effective and efficient Public Service geared for economic and social transformation. A number of human resource practices that existed that needed to be revised and in certain instances be renegotiated with representatives of organised teaching profession, were determined (Government Gazette 1997:1, 9, 16).

4.8.6 Achievements in 1997

- The DOE embarked on vigorous school-building programmes and renovations of schools.

- The school register of needs survey was developed to inform the DOE on the prioritisation of needs.
- A change in school designation.
- The formulation of policy which covered the protected and unprotected school action.
- The DOE's intention to address lack of and late or non-delivery of textbooks and stationery.
- White Paper on Transformation of Public Service Delivery was published - to improve the delivery of education resources - Batho Pele programme.

4.8.7 Failures in 1997

- lack of strategies to curb resistance by learners - audits of cases of violence were compiled, but no action taken, as a result there was no stability in education;
- underutilised and unutilised schools were not addressed however an audit was taken;
- unplanned VSP was provided to teachers but resulted in a loss of most needed teachers;
- tight control and monitoring strategies for accountability on service deliveries either at Head Office or in schools - R21 million on tendering of textbooks & stationery - led to shortage of textbooks;
- RCLs instituted without clear definitions of what their role would be;
- long and complicated procedures followed in building schools until triggered by action from learners, teachers and parents - schools built by force not through planning;
- late compilation and publication of a report on school register of needs survey indicate the DOE slow approach in more pressing educational issues.

4.9 DEVELOPMENTS IN 1998

The beginning of 1998 witnessed the State's financial cutbacks on all departments. For the Department of Education which impacted heavily on provisioning. On 14 January 1998 the Department of Education (DOE) released a Human Resources Circular which announced that due to financial constraints, there were to be savings on personnel expenditure. No appointments of educators were to be affected without prior approval of the Head of Education. The services of all educators appointed after 1 July 1996 at schools in excess were to be terminated on 30 March 1998. Posts at both the Head Office and the District Offices in the Free State were to be frozen. Task Teams were to be established at District level to assist schools regarding the impact of non-renewal of temporary teacher positions. At school level, the Rightsizing Committees (SRCs) would be in charge of this function (HRC 1, 1998:1-4).

The shortage of teachers in schools was experienced in Welkom district. In the Welkom district Report to the MEC for Education on 18 August 1998 it was indicated that requests for substitute and submissions for unfreezing of posts took too long to be processed a month or months without a response from Head Office in Bloemfontein. Many learners were left unattended for months because there were not enough teachers. The situation was more prominent in township secondary schools (DOE 1998:2). The situation was rectified and teachers appointed only after the MEC for Education, Mr Papi Kganare and the acting Head for Education had visited one of such schools, Lebogang Secondary School in Thabong. This was a sign of crises management, because necessary forms, requests and reports had been forwarded to the Head office and there was no response. There was a lack of proper and efficient service delivery from the Department. The rationalisation of teachers as intended earlier did not materialise as expected therefore the DOE issued the Regulations Gazette which would provide guidance on how the process should take place (Government Gazette 1998:1,3-5).

Further implication of financial constraints were that new schoolbuildings were not to be

built. The beginning of 1998 evidenced the result of non-building of schools. The state of affairs was confirmed by the Physical Planner, an official responsible for buildings in the Welkom District Office, in his report as found in the Report of the District of 18 August 1998. The situation in primary schools was such that:

Lehahwe primary had 2260 pupils and 24 classrooms, the result was the pupil-classroom ration was 1:94

Setshabelo: 1800 pupils, 28 classrooms and a pupil classroom ratio of 1:65

Lemotso: 1271 pupils, 16 classrooms and pupil-classroom ratio of 1:79.

In view of this he suggested that three new primary schools were needed in Thabong. In Hennenman, Mabeoana Primary school was platooning with Kweetsa, however, the situation has since been rectified since it presently occupies the Premier Milling Company hostels which were previously occupied by Kheleng Secondary School.

In Virginia, Dieketseng Primary which had 618 learners platooned with Boase Primary School that had 1405 learners in 25 classrooms, and a pupil-classroom ratio of 1:56. Boitekong Primary which had 1448 learners in 29 classrooms with a pupil-classroom ratio of 1:50 platooned with Phahamisanang Primary School. The Physical Planner suggested that in the whole of Welkom district, there was a need of eight primary schools, one secondary school and renovations to existing schools (DOE 1998:np). It is therefore apparent that there was a huge backlog of classrooms in Welkom district. The practical situation of pupil-classroom ratio in schools contradicts the preliminary statistics released by the Welkom District which indicates 1:44 which is comparatively low. The average 1:44 overshadows the desperate need of schools in Welkom District because at a glance the situation seems normal while the opposite reflects the real situation. The shortage of classrooms was cited by the Principals Forum in their letter dated 14 September 1998 to the District Manager in Welkom, as one of the reasons of inability to write common examinations (Principals' Forum 1998:1). The South African Teachers' Union (SATU) also referred to platooning-system in township schools as one of their reasons of not writing

common papers (SAOU 1998:5). Between July and August 1998 classes at Nyakallong near Allanridge in Odendaalsrus district, were suspended for a few weeks in an attempt to pressurise the DOE into speeding up the process of erecting two new schools, L.A. Wesi and S.A. Mokgothu primary schools (Vista 1998 : 6).

In other reports submitted by the School Management Developers (SMDs) it was clear that there were no effective teaching and learning especially between August and October where learners took a new turn of demands. They demanded R15 000 for their farewell functions. Classroom disruptions took place in , Thotagauta, Lebogang, Letsete and Nanabolela secondary schools just to name a few. In some cases classroom windows were smashed, teachers, SGBs and principals were held hostage by learners (DOE 1998:n.p). Parents and teachers were adamant that R15 000 be given to learners for their function and in some cases learners unequivocally stated that they were going to buy liquor with it. It is apparent that learners were becoming disrespectful to the authority of both teachers and SGBs. A similar incident of alcohol usage among learners was experienced at Gimnasium an ex-Model C school before the Matric farewell could take place. The principal insisted that the school would not accommodate such learners (Vista 1998:1). In a letter written to the District Office on 17 September 1998 it was reported that at Lenakeng Technical High school, learners demanded R15 000 for farewell function. The refusal of the staff and the parents caused learners to intimidate the principal and his staff to an extent that the principal could not come to school. Seven teachers were reported absent. A follow up letter was written on 18 September 1998 which indicated that because of the continuing boycott of classes and absence of some teachers the school could not write trial examinations in preparation for the November/December examinations (Ngake 1998:1-3). There undoubtedly is no discipline in schools.

This was followed up by the DOE's release of a code of conduct for learners on 13 August 1998 which provided guidelines for the consideration of the SGBs in adopting the code of conduct for learners to ensure that there was order and discipline in schools (Government Gazette 1998:1-2). The learners' behaviour and attitude in schools and the role expected

of them in education was clearly outlined in the Notice. Therefore schools would become more of learning centres rather than reformatory centres. On 3 March 1998 guidelines were provided for the SGBs stating minimum requirements for drawing up their Constitution as well as on how to compile an annual budget (DOE 1998:3/3/98). The South African Schools Act (SASA) as well as First Step documents was given to each SGB (Potgieter 1997:np; Interim Unit on Education Management Development 1997:np).

On 28 July 1998 an agreement in the ELRC was reached, between the Department and teacher unions. The aim was to facilitate the professional and personal development of educators in order to improve the quality of teaching practice and education management (HRC 51, 1998:2-3). During the fourth national Conference of SADTU 6-8 September 1998, the newly elected President, Mr Willy Madisha stressed that there were some teachers who by virtue of being members of SADTU, thought that they could do what they wanted. He unequivocally stressed that SADTU would not carry such teachers. Some teachers were dishonest in their duties, this was also realised and stressed by the Deputy President, Mr Thabo Mbeki (SADTU 1998:5-6). Therefore the campaign would help revive the teachers' conscience to teach learners.

On the 17 September 1998 the Provincial Government released a draft policy on the disruptions of schooling. Inputs on the draft were expected before the 23 September 1998. Educators who were suspected to be involved in leading disruptions in schools, would be charged with misconduct. The issue of productivity and discipline of educators would be dealt with by SACE and through the engagement of teacher employee organisations. According to the Provincial Government it was unacceptable that of two schools in the same area, with the same kind of resources, one achieves 80% matriculation pass rate while the other floats between 10% and 20% (DOE 1998:10/9/98a). The DOE released a new Employment of Educators Act, on 4 November 1998 which repealed the Educators' Employment Act of 1994 (HRC 58, 1998). In view of this background the DOE was more determined to address the education resistance eminent in township secondary schools. The service part of the COLTS campaign implied that the DOE had to play its role through

its managers especially at district level as well as at provincial level to provide the necessary education resources to enhance teaching and learning in schools.

4.9.1 Reconstruction of the Culture of Learning, Teaching and Service

The top and broad management meetings of the Free State DOE took place to design the action plan on the Culture of Learning, Teaching and Service (COLTS), after the publication of the Education Charter Project in March 1998 (DOE 1998:1-20). The action plan was to become an official departmental policy and had to be implemented at school, districts and provincial level. The aim was to see schools and all levels of the education system functioning optimally. On 30 March 1998 until 1 April 1998 a Provincial conference, attended by education stakeholders and departmental officials, was held in Bloemfontein. All were workshopped on the COLTS programme and the Conference formulated a Colts campaign motto “Re a soma dikolong’ meaning ‘We are working in schools’ (DOE 1998:1-20).

On 11 April 1997 the Education Institute of the DOE, outlined the six components needed to re-establish COLTS in schools. These were:

- basic resource package which implied that the DOE had to see that basic resources like furniture, textbooks, stationery and equipment were allocated to schools;
- all learners and all teachers component. Both teachers and learners were to work together to achieve the life-long learning of the learners. Each one had to do what was expected;
- each school was to elect the SGBs whose functions would be to assist school management in ensuring that teaching and learning took place. Therefore the DOE made an undertaking to have SGBs trained which would begin in 1999. At the moment, information booklets written in different languages are being issued for each schools’ governing body;

- Education Charter component implied that all stakeholders in education would come together to ensure effective efficient and sustainable education system for all South Africans;
- no crime in schools component meant that all types of weapons would not be allowed at school. The South African School Act outlined the component clearly; and
- the introduction of curriculum development. From the beginning of 1998 the new curriculum had been introduced only in Grade one. The inclusion of all Grades would be done gradually (Education Institute 1997:1-2).

In the Welkom district the COLTS was launched and different schools participated in cultural activities (DOE 1998:1). The schools in Phomolong, Hennenman, followed suit by launching COLTS in 1998. It was apparent that schools were also prepared to resolve the education resistance eminent in schools especially in secondary schools. A follow up on COLTS programmes in the districts was made by the MEC for Education on 16 July 1998 in a meeting attended by District Managers (DMs), School Management Developers (SMDs), Teacher Development and Appraisal (TDAs) Officials and the Learning Facilitators Administrative Co-ordinators (LFACs). The objective was to develop a programme to monitor the implementation of COLTS action plan in order to realise the provincial target of a least 60% matric pass rate. The revision of COLTS action plan deadlines was made and delegates were expected to make proposals that would enhance and consolidate the COLTS programme (DOE 1998:1).

The campaign intended to bring back the deteriorating culture of learning in schools. In various schools in the Welkom district, there was no effective teaching and learning. Either teachers and/or learners went home early, came to school late, teachers not signing the attendance register and not filling out leave forms. Mamello Secondary School in Virginia was discovered to be the culprit by the MEC, the acting Head of Education and departmental officials of the Welkom district. In a report submitted by the Teacher Development and Appraisal (TDA) Officer there was still little progress at school. No

effective teaching and learning took place (DOE 1998:n.p).

4.9.2 Stationery and Textbooks

Stationery and textbooks were not delivered at schools as expected. The Welkom district Office attributed this, inter alia, to schools which did not submit book requisition forms in time and to the understaffed provisioning section in the district. The Report to the Minister of the Executive Council (MEC) of Education suggested that preparations for orders of textbooks and stationery must be started in January each year and not in May/June (DOE 1998:2). It is apparent that the solution to fiscal restraints by freezing posts at Head Office and District Offices caused unnecessary delays in distributing books to schools. This could have been avoided in all respects and was not in line with the idea of transformation of public service delivery, as well as the COLTS campaign which propagated the component of all teachers teach and all learners learn, as announced by the Education Institute on 11 April 1997 and by the acting Head of Education, Mr. Ndumiso Nkonka. However on 16 April 1998 Mr N. Nkonka released a circular which dealt with the standard form for the issuing of school books to learners and the acknowledgement by parents. The aim was to exercise control over books. The measure emanated from the concern that the DOE was annually supplying learners in the Free State schools with textbooks which were either lost or not returned for re-use by other learners (DOE 1998:1-4).

On 14 September 1998 in a meeting attended by DOE officials, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and the Welfare officials reports were to be forwarded on the progress of the packaging process and to address certain concerns from their side. Eleven out of twelve districts had received requisitions of 'top-up' worn out books and for the expected over enrolment in 1999. The twelfth district Kroonstad, was to receive the books before the end of 1998. All packing was completed in all districts and in the meeting of 17 September 1998 between officials of DOE, Welfare and Tender board the advertising of a Distribution tender and the conditions of the quotations for the distribution of the stationery and textbooks were discussed, the closing date was to be 5 October 1998 (DOE

1998:103). On the Progress Report on textbooks and stationery released on 18 September 1998, it was stated that 90% of deliveries had been completed in all Welfare warehouses in the Free State Province.

For the curriculum, the national Director General, Dr NC Manganyi released a circular with regard to the phasing in of the new curriculum in Grade two instead of Grade seven as had been intended. The change and postponement of phasing in Grade seven in 1999 followed the evaluation of developmental reports on curriculum and advice of the Heads of Provincial DOE (DOE:14/3/91).

4.9.3 Establishment of Transformation Co-ordinating Unit

On the basis of the background given it is apparent that the DOE needed ways to ensure that service delivery was implemented. On 31 July 1998 the broad management meeting discussed the establishment of the Transformation Units (TUs) in the Department, and resolved that the Head Office and the District Offices established such units. At the district level the TUs were to compose of departmental officials and the representatives from teacher organisations. The objective of creating the TUs was specifically to add impetus to the transformation process in the Department, which was delayed and admittedly was caused by the Department's concentration on settling labour issues. The ANC through Dr Blade Nzimande declared that transformation was severely constrained by lack of funds to address severe backlogs in education (SADTU1998:1).

The formation of the TCU was a follow-up on the White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service in 1995. The functions of the TUs was among others to support the Department's efforts to transform by feeding in fresh ideas for improvements, identifying areas where existing systems are a stumbling block to better services and monitoring the results of the Department's service delivery programme. According to the acting Head of Education, Mr NSL Nkonka the priorities of the DOE were to rationalise and restructure education, to ensure that affirmative action as well as representativeness is applied to

create a customer-focussed as well as a customer-friendly environment for all education clients and to develop the human resource to equip them with skills that would produce service delivery (DOE 1998:1).

4.9.4 The White Paper on Affirmative Action in the Public Service

The White Paper was a product of consultation with national Department of Education, provincial departments of education, provincial administration, organised labour of the central bargaining chamber of the Public Service, non-governmental organisations, disability organisations and experts in the field of affirmative action. Public hearings were also held by the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee of the Public Service and Administration on the third Draft of the White Paper. It was published on 23 April 1998 by the Department of Public Service and Administration. The aim was to:

- provide a policy framework that sets out the requirements and steps that national departments and provincial administration should take to develop and implement their affirmative action programmes;
- sketch the accountability, monitoring and reporting responsibilities of various role players within affirmative action programmes; and
- be a testimony of the Government's commitment to the transformation of the Public Service into an institution whose employment practices were underpinned by equity (Government Gazette 1998: 1, 5, 8).

The White Paper on Affirmative Action has to be understood against the principles of the Batho Pele document (cf Diagram 7).

4.9.5 School funding

On 12 October 1998 the National Ministry of Education released a General Notice with regard to national norms for school funding in terms of South African School Act (SASA).

The publication was released after consultation with the standing committee on Finance of the HEDCOM. The Standing Committee included representatives of the DOE and Provincial Education Departments (PEDs), the Departments of Finance, the State expenditure, the national educator organisations and the key stakeholders. The document set out the national norms or minimum standards for funding in terms of SASA and deals with the procedure to be adopted by PEDs in determining resource allocation to their schools. The norms would become the national policy in April 1999 (Government Gazette 1998:5-6). The SGBs were to charge school fees which would be agreed to by all parents. However no child would be exempted from registering because of parents' failure to pay school fee. Parents who wished to be exempted from payment of school fees would fill forms as a regulation measure and submit it to the SGB for approval (Government Gazette 1998:1).

4.9.6 Admission policy

On 19 October 1998 the DOE released a General Notice on the admission policy as well as the age requirements for admission to an ordinary public school. The admission policy was to be within the framework of SASA and the Constitution of South Africa. No admission tests were to be administered, no unfair discrimination, admission forms acknowledged by parents to be filled and learners to be immunised as part of the free primary health care programme. Transfer forms were to be completed by the principal on the transfer card. After completion either to hand them to parents or forward them to the principal of the receiving school. Principals were to keep the admission registers for all learners in the school (Government Gazette 1998:2-4).

The statistical age norm per Grade was to be the Grade number plus six, which means: Grade 1 + 6 = age 7, Grade 9 + 6 = age 15, Grade 12 + 6 = age 18. This implies that if a learner turns seven the following year she or he will be admitted otherwise no learner less than seven years was to be admitted at school (Government Gazette 1998:4). To ensure and monitor the implementation of this policy in Welkom District principals were to sign an

affidavit of enrolment of learners and the Department's officials were to do head count of learners. The implementation of these procedures were to commence in January 1999.

4.9.7 Rationalisation of educators

Since 1996 the rationalisation of teachers was a matter of contestation between teacher unions and the Department of Education. On 17 April 1998 regulations relating to the provisioning of educators' posts within the provinces as well as the regulations to provide for interim measure according to which rationalisation in education could be completed were released (Government Gazette 1998:1-3). The implication was that the teachers whose services the DOE intended to terminate as from 14 January 1998, could not be processed (HRC 1, 1998). On 17 June 1998 agreement was reached between SADTU and the DOE (DOE Circular 3/7/98) and later with SAOU on the redeployment of educators. The agreement between SADTU and the DOE was a breakthrough since SADTU withdrew the notice of its intention to embark on strike action.

The services of temporary teachers who were employed after 1 July 1996 would be terminated at the end of 1998 while those employed before the date would be appointed permanently (HRC 17, 1998) as amendment of HRC 11, 1996, and be redeployable. This change caused the DOE to review the Educators Employment Act of 1994 which was finally repealed by the Employment of Educators Act of 1998 (HRC 58, 1998). The rationalisation of educators was to commence in January 1999.

To speed up the rationalisation process, the Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC) published a circular on the resolutions reached with regard to the procedure of rationalisation and redeployment in the provisioning of educators' posts, the transfer of serving educators in terms of redeployment process as well as the advertising and filling of educators' posts (ELRC 1998:1-2). The DOE released a circular on post provisioning, rationalisation and redeployment of teachers on 4 December 1998 (HRC 39, 1998).

4.9.8 Achievements in 1998

- Reconstruction of the Culture of Learning, Teaching and Service (COLTS). To effect this workshops, rallies and launches were held throughout the Free State province.
- Finalisation of the redeployment process for 1999 - Teacher organisations signed a contract with the Department of Education.
- Establishment of Transformation Co-ordinating Unit (TCU) in the Province as well as Transformation Units in the district offices - to check on the implementation of policies and transformation in the service.
- The White Paper on Affirmative action in the Public Service as one of the principles of Batho Pele documents to ensure equity in education was published.
- School funding policy - the role and the limitations of the SGBs in school funding and the role and the rights of parents in school funding were outlined.
- Admission Policy - to be within the framework of the Constitution of South Africa and admission age in Grade one to be seven years.
- Management Training to enhance COLTS and to build the managers' capacity through CSAEMP were initiated.
- Draft policy was released by the Provincial Government on the disruptions in schools.

4.9.9 Shortcomings in 1998

- The slow response of the DOE on pressing matters such as the finalisation of the redeployment process with teachers' organisation.
- The problems inherited from the previous system seem to be acceptable rather than disposable for example classroom shortages, while the underutilised White schools remain.
- Late or no delivery of textbooks.

4.10 CONCLUSION

Chapter four covered the causes of education resistance from 1990 - 1998. Although the struggle took years, finally in 1990 after the release of Mr Mandela learners thought there would be drastic overnight changes. The anxiety led to more education resistance as learners occupied buildings illegally, parents blaming teachers and vice versa and principals were chased away by parents. The situation remained the same till the democratic elections of 1994.

There were great expectations after the elections yet there were few changes at school level since various departments were to merge to form a single department of education. The new system became fully functional in 1996 when rationalisation of education departments and provincialisation were completed. The new system inherited problems such as lack of buildings, shortage of teachers and unequal provisioning of education from the previous education dispensation. Although an attempt had been made to address these problems, they still exist. This indicate clearly that the new system of education did not only inherit problems from the previous system but also mistakes. The result of which is that there are still no eminent changes at school level.

Therefore Chapter four attempts to discover the causes of existing problems and to establish whether the present education policy addresses these problems. Chapter five deals with collection and analysis of data.

CHAPTER 5

COLLECTION, REPORTING AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The background to education resistance was discussed in Chapter two in which process the NP's political ideas and ideological objectives were also discussed (cf 2.2.1; 2.2.2). The impact that these ideals and objectives had on education and the education policy (cf 2.2.3; 2.2.4) in South Africa in general and Black education in particular was highlighted. To facilitate reading and enhance comprehension, focus was diverted to Black schools, the teacher, curriculum and learners as viewed by the NP government (cf 2.3.3; 2.3.4; 2.3.5; 2.3.6).

The period covered commenced in 1948 and culminated in 1976 before the Soweto riots. This period enables the researcher to examine and analyse the NP's provision of Black education in comparison to that of other groups with special attention to Whites. The overall conclusion drawn is that Bantu education as Black education was called, was not economically viable because it did not provide for the needs of the country but was used as an instrument to further the political objectives of the NP. The needs of the learners were also not catered for and as a result, the Black community and anti-apartheid supporters rejected it in 1976.

Chapter three provided the background and events leading to education resistance as well as the State's response to the education crisis. The period of analysis commenced in 1976 and culminated in 1994 before the democratic elections in April 1994. The aim was to provide a concise review of protests that took place in education (cf 1.3.1) with special reference to secondary schools. It was concluded that Bantu education as an index to a compartmentalised education system, contributed to the riotous education situation and



further advanced the education resistance and the crisis in Black schools. Although the Department of Bantu education was reformed to the Department of Education and Training, followed by a number of reforms and improvements in education (cf 3.3; 3.5 - 3.7; 4.1.1.1), it is concluded that the DET was a mere modification of Bantu education because the principle of 'separate but equal' was still maintained and the extent of backlogs were still experienced. The NP government was reluctant to address eminent pressing issues in education and advanced a non-compromise stance on separate education system. This implies that the NP was not prepared to completely transform education in South Africa.

After the democratic elections of 1994, the Government of National Unity (GNU) instituted the much sought after one education system in South Africa, yet education resistance continued till the present era, 1998. The continuing education resistance in the Free State prompted the researcher to examine the present Department of Education to establish reasons for ongoing protests in post-apartheid education in schools (cf 1.3.3). The study of the period 1994-1998 revealed that, although the legacy of Bantu education and the DET still remain, the present Department of Education attempts to address some of the education problems. However it is concluded that the present Department of Education did not only inherit the problems of the previous education system but also its mistakes which contribute to the continuing education resistance.

The reliability of research methodology to validate these conclusions was sought. Relevant primary sources were consulted to provide background to the Black education and the present education discussions. Various sources on the subject were consulted to provide comparative analysis and verify the validity of the literature study. Written reports and correspondence to DOE were used to gather more information on the present education system. To further validate findings of literature and to complement the study, interviews were conducted.

5.2 COLLECTION OF DATA

Interviews are appropriate for the study because it becomes possible to measure the views of many people to a limited set of questions thus facilitating comparisons between people (Patton 1990:14, 104). The views of the respondents on the causes of the past education resistance were evaluated against the causes of the present education resistance in secondary schools in a post-apartheid era.

Interviews reveal what the respondents feel about the situation in which they find themselves (Ferron 1985:20) and their perception of the education system in the era as compared to the new education system. Interviews were considered as necessary research instruments for this research because of their uniqueness in that data is collected through direct verbal interaction between individuals (Borg 1967:221). Such interaction assisted the researcher to:

- obtain more information by prompting and repeating questions for clarity where necessary;
- allow the subjects time, although this was monitored, to think and express their views without anxiety of being heard by others; and
- create a relaxed atmosphere wherein reasons for the research are clarified thus limiting suspicions about the research.

Both random and systematic sampling were done to obtain a representative sample of the population. Systematic sampling was used to select a representative number of educators, principals, Departmental officials and private sector managers to be involved in the study (Gay 1981:104), the names of whom were listed on separate lists and then the Kth element of each list was chosen with K being four. This means that the sampling interval (K) was determined and applied to the lists. The first member was randomly selected from the first Kth member of the list and then every Kth members was selected for the sample of

educators, principals, Departmental officials and the private sector managers (Bailey 1987:88-89). Systematic sampling is considered important in this study because it is more practical and simpler than random sampling (Borg & Gall 1989:224). But to avoid biased ordering, both forms of sampling are necessary, with a random start. Lists were made of systematically selected participants.

Schools were selected randomly. The list of names of secondary schools in the Goldfields were written on a piece of paper, this was cut so that each piece had the name of school on it. These pieces were then put in a hat which was shaken and the first three drawn out were regarded as selected. This procedure was repeated using systematically selected lists of Departmental officials, retired educators and principals, the educators and principals in-service as well as private sector managers. The inclusion of the private sector manager was purposely done and was seen as crucial. The aim was to have external observers who would have objective views of the present situation where education resistance in Black secondary schools is a daily occurrence. The objective was also to establish how success was achieved in the private sector management which would assist the researcher to suggest ways that would assist the DOE in their efforts to establish sound management. Effective management would further enhance the stabilisation of the present education resistance in secondary schools. The inclusion of the private sector was also done because of the vested interest that the private sector has in the products of education, the learners.

Access to the systematically selected population was gained through appointments made either telephonically or verbally. It was easy to move from one area to the other in the Goldfields as they were easily accessible and convenient to the researcher as she lives and works in the Goldfields. Some interviews were either conducted in the evening or during weekends at the respondents' residence. No interviews were conducted during school working hours.

5.2.1 Conducting the interview

Questionnaires for interviews were prepared (see attached Annexure A, B and C respectively). One questionnaire was specifically compiled for the Head of Education, Mr Ndumiso Nkonka, while the second questionnaire was prepared for the office based officials of the Department of Education in the Free State such as the Director for School Management Development, School Management Developers (SMDs), Physical Planners, Learning Facilitators, principals and for educators. The third questionnaire was prepared for private sector managers.

Questions were structured in such a way that the expected responses to these questions reveal whether transformation is taking place at school level and to evaluate the impact that the education budget has on the provisioning of education packages such as building of schools, to reveal transparency and democracy of the present system on service delivery, the delivery of textbooks and stationery, as well as on the reporting strategies. These questions also reveal the type of control exercised by DOE. Which control is assessed against the role that teacher organisations play in education.

Before the tape recorder would be used, the researcher explained why it was necessary to use it. At first some respondents especially those in the service of DOE did not feel at ease with the method because:

- as the researcher is a Departmental official, educators and principals thought that recorded cassettes would be later used against them.
- Departmental officials were anxious about the cassettes and did not want to be seen as being against the system.

The researcher allayed the respondents fear by assuring anonymity and confidentiality. The out-of-service educators, principals, Departmental officials as well as the private

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sector managers did not feel threatened by the tape recorder method for the obvious reason that they were not in service of the DOE.

5.3 DATA REPORTING

The reporting of responses follows under section 5.3.1 and 5.3.2

5.3.1 Questionnaire A : Head of Education

Question 1 was asked to establish the reason for the inequality in funding schools within the single Department of Education because non-funding of ex-Model C schools impacts heavily on control the Department has over these schools. The Head of Education in the Free State indicated that:

- one of the aims of the Department of Education is to bring about equity in funding of schools. Due to the historical backlog and deprivation in the ex-DET schools, the priority was based on improving and developing these schools;
- the Department is at present faced with a financial crisis and the budget cut on education makes it impossible to fund all schools. As a result the DOE made transitional arrangements with the ex-Model C schools with regard to funding. He indicated that the DOE is aware of the disadvantage this has for the DOE. However, he stated, that as soon as there are enough funds all schools would be funded equally.

Question 2 was asked because the granting of VSP to educators exacerbates teacher shortages rather than solve it. The question was also aimed at uncovering reasons for the granting of VSP and to determine whether the Department provides any control system to monitor the offering of packages to educators. The Head of Education stated that in view

of the Department's financial crisis as well as more money spent on teachers' salaries, the educational packages offered at schools are no longer affordable. The Department is under the obligation to reduce its personnel expenditure in order to rechannel the money to non-personnel needs. He confirmed that due to lack of control and monitoring, the process did not go well as intended because the best teachers were lost by the Department while some were re-employed because of the scarcity of teachers in those specific subjects. The Department was, however, investigating cases of re-employing teachers who had received VSP.

Question 3 intended to obtain more information on the Department's redeployment of teachers. The question was also asked in view of the present critical shortage of teachers in Black schools. The Head of Education indicated that the aim of redeployment process was to ensure equity in teacher provisioning in all schools. All teachers were to be fully utilised so that money spent on teachers' salaries would be reduced and saved. Due to negotiations with the teacher organisations on this matter the redeployment could not be speedily facilitated, however renegotiations are opened to finalise the redeployment process.

Question 4 was asked against the historical background of many years of underqualified secondary school teachers in Black education, as this had among others contributed to education resistance in the previous dispensation. The Head of Education indicated that:

- the underqualified secondary school teachers was one of the problems inherited by the Department from the previous system;
- teachers are given an opportunity and are encouraged to improve their professional qualifications and the process is monitored because study leave is granted specifically to such teachers;
- through the employment of Teacher Development and Appraisal (TDA) officers teachers are developed in a continuous process. Teachers would be appraised as

- a developmental strategy as well as to improve their methods of teaching;
- the Department, through the Learning Facilitators, previously the Subject Advisors, assists teachers in subject development through subject committees formed in schools.

Question 5 was asked because it had been established that free and compulsory education for all had been one of the demands during the past education resistance and that the demand was still not met. The aim was to further establish whether the Department intends to institute free and compulsory education for all in future. The Head of Education responded as follows:

- the financial constraints do not allow the Department to pursue with totally free education and schools were for this reason advised to charge school fees in consultation with the parents by the School Governing Body;
- compulsory education although not yet fully implemented, supports the attempts to reinstitute the culture of learning and teaching in schools. The COLTS campaign was therefore launched to address this culture of non-education because the previous system dehumanised the learners and teachers. The Head of Education was adamant that full compulsory education could not be maintained by the Department because of financial constraints.

Question 6 was asked to establish how the Department intends to solve the shortage of classrooms because there had been criticism against the DOE for being slow in addressing this issue. The Head of Education indicated that the:

- DOE is aware of criticism and accepts it because it is the responsibility of the Department to ensure that basic resources are made available;
- the school building backlog was a historical issue and as such cannot be addressed within five years. According to the needs analysis in the Free State there is a

shortage of 120 schools. Presently more than sixty schools implement a platoon system;

- building schools are expensive. Contrasted to this there are budgetary problems in the Department because 97,3% of the budget is spent on personnel expenditure while 2,7% is spent on non-personnel issues. Therefore the DOE was obliged to reduce expenditure on teaching personnel in an attempt to fund building of schools;
- there is a move to engage the private sector in the building of schools. The aim of the DOE in the interim is to rent such schools over a number of years with a view of taking possession of them permanently. This would alleviate double sessions and the platoon system;
- another option would be to engage the Independent Development Trust (IDT) in the building of schools;
- negotiations around the shortening of the tender procedures and specifications are still under consideration. The Government procedures to build a school takes two to three years;
- influence of the influx of learners in secondary schools from farm schools as well as urbanisation causes problems for the DOE because the schools cannot accommodate the fast growing learner population;
- the lack of financial resources makes it impossible for the DOE to embark on building programmes, because the education budget as approved by the Cabinet does not cater for the most needed basic resources in schools. However, the Head of Education indicated that the commitment and responsibility of the Department and the Government to education is critical, and given time the situation will improve;
- an audit of all unutilised and underutilised school buildings is being done after which full utilisation of such schools will be affected.

Question 7 was aimed at establishing whether the education policy of the Department which purports non-sexism, is implemented. The Head of Education argued:

- it is the intention of the DOE to bring about equity in education with regard to affirmative action. He pointed out that there already are women in top management positions in the DOE. The Department intends to have more women appointed;
- Gender Units have been established to report on gender equity matters;
- added to Gender Units are Transformation Units established to facilitate transformation which includes gender matters.

Question 8 was aimed at establishing whether the DOE has developed some reporting strategy by which all stake holders, especially parents and learners, are informed about progress and development in education. It was also asked to establish whether the DOE intends to improve implementation of programmes strategies. The Head of Education indicated that:

- to address this, the SGBs had been established in order to have parent involvement and participation in the education of their children;
- the formation of RCLs was also an attempt to involve learners in their education;
- the Department is also depending on its officials like principals and SMDs to inform the parents and learners about developments.

Question 9 was aimed at establishing reasons for the continued education resistance, the role of teacher organisations in education and to assess the DOE's intention to curb the recurrence of resistance in education. The Head responded that:

- teachers have developed the culture of ungovernability, instability and undermining of the authority as it was practised in the previous dispensation. These teachers are opportunists who do not accept change and cling to the old way of doing things. He stressed that the teachers' struggle need to be rechanneled in developing classroom innovation. They have to support the DOE and be disciplined and committed in their work and to participate in extra-mural activities to assist in the

total development of the child. By the end of 1998 the job description of teachers, HODs and principals will be finalised;

- there are some teachers who join the resistance movement to hide their laziness. However the establishment of SACE ensures that teachers who do not uphold certain professional ethics are deregistered by the Council which is composed of teachers as members. The code of conduct for teachers is established by the Council. On the other hand an appraisal instrument facilitated by the Teacher Development Appraisal (TDA) Officer will ensure that teacher attitudes are positively developed;
- parents' involvement to assist the DOE to stabilise resistance in education is ensured through the institution of SGBs. The assistance of the University of the Free State was engaged in developing the manual for training the SGBs. School Management Developers, were also trained to train SGBs;
- the code of conduct for learners is to be completed before the end of 1998 to assist schools in applying disciplinary measures to learners because of the abolishment of corporal punishment. The establishment and functions of RCLs are enshrined in SASA. Learners are to discipline other learners and are expected to develop self-discipline. The DOE is obliged to design leadership programmes to assist learners to understand the role they play in their own education. This was the reason why Youth Development Officials were appointed;
- the South African Constitution as well as the Labour Relations Act indicate that teachers have a right to strike. However, the strike actions are to be within the legal parameters of the DOE who prefers marches to take place after school in order not to interfere with the education of learners.

5.3.2 Questionnaire B : Department Officials, principals and educators

Question 1 : The unequal funding of schools:

- most of the respondents, 97%, indicated that the ex-Model C schools had been advantaged in the previous dispensation and are now self-sufficient to such an extent that they do not necessarily need funds from the Department. Black schools need to be upgraded instead;
- the ex-model-C schools have the necessary resources and even more than necessary since some schools have three halls while the rest each have at least one hall, a privilege not experienced at Black schools;
- the high school fees paid by parents in these schools are exorbitant, therefore they can survive through the transitional stage. The DOE is in reality funding them because the salaries of teachers are paid by the DOE;
- ex-Model C schools have more financial resources than ex-DET schools which means that the Black schools have to be uplifted to meet the same standards. Equal funding at present would be out of the question since it would imply more disparity;
- there were those who reasoned that Black schools are not sufficiently funded. Schools are sometimes forced to rely on the financial assistance of the parents, which is not forthcoming.

The minority respondents had different opinions on school funding. They indicated that the DOE should fund all schools equally because:

- all schools belong to the same DOE;
- exclusion from funding makes those schools feel isolated from other schools and not supported by the DOE to whom they are obligated;
- in the short to medium term this may cause these schools not to co-operate, for example currently learners are being turned away from ex-Model C schools if they

- do not pay school fees. Refusing learners is one way of forcing their parents to pay the school fee without which they cannot survive. According to the SMDs the major complaint of the ex-Model C schools is that service charges are not paid;
- the ex-Model C schools approach the DOE with suspicions such that they will defy its authority and continue with their previous traditions and policies such as the application of entrance tests as a criteria for learners to be admitted at their schools;
 - the inequality of funding does not concur with the stipulations of democracy.

Question 2 :Voluntary Severance Packages

The respondents indicated that the intentions of the DOE to grant VSP were noble and understandable initially. Lack of monitoring, lack of control, the haphazard way in which it was granted resulted in the system losing its best, committed and skillful people. The granting of VSP to teachers was not the right move from the start. They claimed that:

- although the reason was downsizing numbers of teachers to establish equality in the distribution of teachers, redeployment of teachers who had been declared redundant and in excess in their schools, should have taken place first then VSP should have followed. The target group ought to have been old teachers not young energetic teachers;
- it also became difficult for the Rightsizing Committee to refuse to release a teacher who taught rare subjects because constitutionally such a teacher has democratic rights to leave the system if he so wishes to. Unfortunately there were no clear guidelines on what was to be done, everything was vague and valuable people were lost by the DOE;
- the granting of packages to teachers added to the shortage of teachers since the post of a person who had opted for VSP became automatically frozen. The procedure and process to request the unfreezing of this post is long and

complicated;

- the lack of control and direction of the DOE resulted in these teachers being re-employed after having opted for VSP.

Question 3 : Redeployment of teachers

All respondents understood the reason for redeployment of teachers to maintain equity in the provisioning of the teaching personnel. There would also be equal distribution of educators and the needy schools where there is a striking shortage of teachers. Redeployment would further economise expenditure because both temporary and permanent teachers would not have to be remunerated.

Question 4 : Underqualified teachers in secondary schools

This situation had been inherited from the past and underqualified teachers' service should not be terminated. Unqualified teachers need to be motivated to improve their qualifications because some of them are afraid to teach higher grades. In some instances underqualified teachers at secondary schools are better teachers than the qualified ones, only 2% of the respondents were bitter about the situation because they asserted that the high failure rate is also attributed to the lower qualifications and the different methods of teaching that the underqualified teachers implement. They stressed that such teachers are best suited for teaching in primary schools and that it is time for the DOE to take the matter seriously if it intends to produce better matric results.

Question 5 : Building of schools

Most of the respondents, 98%, blamed the DOE for the slow progress in building schools. They indicated that:

- the DOE is following the DET's programme of building schools instead of

- developing its own programme to facilitate the building process;
- the platooning in schools has increased in the new dispensation because the DOE's building programme does not correlate with the increase of the learner population. The Department cannot expect secondary schools which platoon, to perform well;
 - the DOE is dragging its feet to address overcrowded Black schools which is caused by the influx of learners from rural areas to township schools. There are no strategies developed to administer the learner distribution among schools..

The Physical Planners of the Department of Education, officials responsible for the building of schools confirmed that schools are built at a slow pace and the existing needs are not addressed. They also stressed that the DOE has inherited the historical backlog of shortage of classrooms and therefore it was not easy for the Department to deliver because building schools is costly. Due to the financial constraints the DOE cannot build schools. However, there were options to address the shortage. One was that the MEC suggested to involve private companies to build schools which would be rented by the Department with the view of purchasing them later on. This was viewed as an interim measure to alleviate double sessions and the platooning system. The Cabinet did not approve the MEC's recommendation. The priority list which indicates where needs exist, has been drawn up but the process has stopped. The politicians' irresponsible speeches in which they promise the community schools put a strain on the functioning of the Physical Planners who are often confronted with allegations of non-delivery.

They, also indicated that the priority lay in the building of primary schools, which could also be converted into intermediate schools to cater for Grades eight to ten. This according to them, would alleviate the pressure of large enrolments in secondary schools and the platooning, overcrowded classrooms as well as double sessions would be solved. Enrollment in primary schools is diminishing, such schools may later be converted to secondary schools. Developing areas in the township need to have schools to avoid

learners travelling long distances.

The remaining 2% of respondents did not accept that the DOE is dragging its feet. They stressed that the DOE had been busy with the restructuring of education and the drawing up of education policy inclusive of all citizens. It had attempted to address the lack of schools and priority needs are attended to first. However, all the respondents indicated that schools built in the new dispensation are inferior. One respondent termed Black schools as 'shelters' for education. The reason which was forwarded was that comparatively all ex-White schools are like 'hotels' rather than schools.

Question 6 : Underutilised White schools

According to the Physical Planners negotiations with the ex-Model C schools had been conducted, and schools were advised to become parallel medium schools in order to accommodate more learners. They, however, indicated that the non-funding of those schools by the DOE had caused these schools to charge high school fees the result of which were that many learners did not have access to these schools. The financial problems faced by some parents due to unemployment as well as those who are employed impact heavily on the registration of these children at ex-Model C schools.

All respondents stressed that children based in the proximity of the school should be admitted into their nearest ex-Model C schools. They agreed that ex-Model C schools need to be fully utilised and that the Department seems to be reluctant to address the matter. They also attributed the attitude of ex-Model C schools of charging high fees to the DOE's slow finalisation of funding these schools. They blamed the DOE's lack of proper administration to finalise non-funding as well as full utilisation of ex-Model C schools. They, however, indicated that the field workers such as SMDs should identify under utilised schools for effective management processes.

Question 7 : Reporting strategies

Most of the respondents 99% indicated that there are too many documents produced and distributed by the DOE. These unfortunately are not cascaded down to learners and parents. They expressed that the content of the documents emphasises information that involve the employer and the employee. Teachers on the other hand are ignorant and just sign the documents without reading them. Principals do not have time at their disposal to go through all these documents because of administrative duties. Respondents also indicated that they understand that the DOE attempts to communicate the plans intended for implementation, however, this is retarded by many documents that are regularly sent to schools. Although the DOE is also making use of the media to communicate the information to the masses, this is summarised information. The same is sometimes done with the RCLs and the SGBs, but the information is limited. The DOE does not have reporting mechanisms in place for conveying information and there is still a lack of transparency.

Question 8 : Service Delivery - stationery and textbooks

All the respondents agreed that the DOE attempts to deliver service to schools but cited the following:

- politicians often make statements such as stationery and textbooks would be timeously delivered at schools without considering the practicality of logistical problems. Such statements raises the expectations of the learners, parents and teachers which if not delivered as promised, is attributed to the incompetency of the officials of the department and gives rise to strike actions;
- forty percent of primary school educators and principals indicated that the stationery and textbooks were delivered on time. The opposite view was expressed by the secondary school educators and principals. They stressed that the delivery

- of stationery was managed better in 1998;
- the number of textbooks delivered is still a problem because learners are still sharing books. This was cited by the secondary school principals who also indicated that requisitions had been placed yet there was no response from the DOE. They only learned through the media of the excuses such as the DOE's problems with the tenders and publishers. This is often not directly communicated to them. There are promises of delivery of textbooks which are not fulfilled. The respondents feel that the DOE is employing a defence mechanism for non-delivery and shifts the blame to publishers and tenders. The delivery does not meet the expectations of the learning community;
 - the officials of the Department at the District level indicated that there is not an alarming shortage of textbooks. The problem is that schools have a lot of worn-out as well as redundant books. On the other hand the introduction of the new syllabi implies new books. The publishers and tenders are viewed as slowing down the process of delivery which in turn is attributed to the ineffectiveness of principals and the Department officials. These problems are not communicated to learners, teachers and parents who in turn blame the DOE for non-delivery.
 - There was also a common view that all schools should be provided with free stationery and textbooks as promised by the DOE and the politicians. On the other hand schools should exercise strict control and monitoring procedures over the stationery and textbooks.

Question 9 : Causes of present education resistance in schools

The respondents indicated that although education resistance is not as rife as it had been in the past there is still resistance and there are various reasons for dissatisfaction. These are:

i) Shortage of teachers

The respondents expressed that the Department does not adequately address the issue of shortage of teachers especially in Black schools, instead the DOE resorts to ill-planned granting of VSP and retirement packages to teachers. Educators were bitter that they are overloaded with work and thus are unable to perform as expected. Fifty percent of educators indicated that if this matter is not well addressed by the DOE in the future, education resistance will continue.

Hundred percent of educators indicated that the anxiety caused for temporary teachers had resulted in permanent teachers supporting them. The intention of the DOE to terminate temporary teachers' services was halted. One of the officials of the Department indicated that the Department was contributing towards education resistance because teachers are treated insensitively.

ii) All respondents (100%) cited resistance to change as one of the causes of resistance in schools. They qualified this view by stating that:

- teachers have lost direction because even their leadership in teacher organisations is confused. Leaders are only interested in positions and promotional posts and as a result cause disturbance to be recognised;
- learners and teachers in Black schools still have a culture of being unruly and defiant to the authority and they use methods of the past to solve their problems instead of utilising the recognised structures such as RCLs and teacher unions;
- many teachers are not committed to their work and expect remuneration for any extra duties that they perform. The agreement had been reached in the Education Chamber between the DOE and the teacher representatives that persons in acting posts would not be remunerated. This is ignored and results in teachers more concerned with their own interests than with

teaching duties. Teachers are more concerned with their conditions of service and salary, and in the process they even influence innocent learners to support them.

- iii) The respondents also indicated that teachers feel threatened by change. On the other side feel bitter and betrayed by the present authorities in the DOE who come from their ranks. Expectations were high but most of the people who aspired for high posts were disappointed.
- iv) Forty of the respondents (80%) stressed that the Department was too lenient and democratic to a point where no decisions are taken where teachers and schools are concerned and on the other hand the management by the DOE is top-down. They suggested that the DOE has to reach a balance between top-down management and bottom-up management. Finally the DOE has to emerge as an employer and take final decisions. Ten of the respondents (20%) expressed their bitterness in that the DOE implements top-down management, the example cited were the formation of structures such as SGB and the RCL, in which the parent and learner components were not fully consulted but are expected to accept the policy within which they are to function. They also stressed that both RCLs and SGBs do not know what their duties are.
- v) Fifty respondents (100%) stressed that there are a number of learners and teachers who lack discipline and are lazy to perform what is expected of them. They get rid of their frustrations by creating chaos in schools which finally leads to marches and strike actions. Irresponsible principals also contribute to resistance in education and squabbles among teachers undermine team work.

5.3.3 Questionnaire C : Private sector managers

Question 1 : Causes of the present education resistance in schools.

The private sector managers forwarded the following as causes of resistance in education.

- The two respondents (100%) declared that the Department of Education has just changed names but strategies are the same and the status quo remains. Educators are said to be complaining about conditions of service, facilities and under staffing which were typical in the previous system.
- The building of schools is long overdue since there are more shacks than schools. On the other hand, money that could have been used effectively inter alia to build schools have been squandered and no action is taken to retrieve the money. This according to the respondents is tantamount to corruption and a signal of placing incompetent managers in control to manage the education system.
- Imbalances are not addressed and change is very slow. This causes anxiety and frustration in teachers and learners. The town schools on the other hand still enjoy privileges such as half empty classrooms while the opposite is true in township schools. There are high school fees charged in these schools. There is no change, the status quo remains. Teachers and learners are disappointed and having realised how the DOE treats the schools they could easily embark on old methods of doing things.
- Some teachers are still using learners as instruments to achieve their own interests. Learners at the same time want to be recognised and as a result fall prey and cause education disturbance or join teachers to march for books and stationery.
- The lack of communication and listening skills from both the DOE and teachers is also contributing to education resistance. The DOE and teachers seem to be in competition rather than in communication. No definite decisions are taken and it is not clear who is in charge. The DOE seems to be more democratic and wishes

to please everyone. Democracy should have bounds.

- The DOE's planning is questionable because temporary teachers were employed only to be retrenched later on. This according to the respondents, is bad planning.

5.4 DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis of data follows under sections 5.4.1 - 5.4.9.

5.4.1 Funding

The majority of respondents agree with the Head of Education that unequal funding of all schools was necessary to upgrade the Black schools since ex-Model C schools are self-sufficient. However, the Head of Education indicated that the DOE is aware that the ex-Model C schools use non-funding approach of DOE as a means not to access learners to education. From the HOD responses it is clear that they desire answers to the following questions :

- For how long will schools operate differently within one system of education and the same policy ?
- What measuring instrument will be used to determine that Black schools are sufficiently upgraded, and how long will the comparison be kept up?
- Does it mean that in the meantime:
 - ex-Model C schools contradictory to SASA continue to deregister learners who fail to pay school funds?
 - Black secondary schools have to operate on high classroom-learner

ratio, pupil teacher ratio, while ex-Model C schools determine their ratio because of a comparatively low number of learners that register in them?

Awareness of ex-Model C schools for manipulating DOE's non-funding as stated by the HODs does not imply consent, rather it displays a laissez-faire attitude of the DOE in dealing with rationalisation of all schools. The HODs also indicated that equal funding for all schools will be implemented when funds are available. It is indisputable that education cannot be managed on indefinite terms but through objectives realised within certain time frames. The minority of respondents stressed the need to equal funding of the schools as a sign of ownership, accountability, responsibility and democracy by the DOE.

5.4.2 Voluntary Severance Package

All respondents including the Head of Education agree that VSP and early retirement packages offered to teachers was haphazard and lacked monitoring. The shortage of teachers was increased as a result and on top of this teachers who had opted for VSP were re-employed. This indicates that there was poor co-ordination within the DOE, lack of control, as well as lack of sense of direction and objectives.

5.4.3 Redeployment of teachers

All respondents emphasized the need to redeploy teachers in order to achieve the rationalisation of teachers which would culminate in addressing the shortage of teachers. The renegotiations on redeployment of teachers as envisaged by the HOD imply that the process was questioned and retarded by the teacher formation. According to respondents redeployment would have been better if it preceded

VSP, which would have assisted the DOE to rationalise teaching posts and save on personnel expenditure.

5.4.4 Underqualified teachers in secondary schools

All respondents cited the underqualified teachers in secondary schools as the inherited backlog. Yet there seems to be a communication breakdown on how to redress the imbalance. The Head cited the appointment of TDAs, study grants opportuned for underqualified teachers and the role of LFs as initiatives to address the backlog, yet the other respondents have different perspectives. It is strikingly inconceivable how the officials of the same department do not have the same response to educational problems.

5.4.5 Free and compulsory education

The question was posed purposely for the Head of Education in order to reconcile his response on equal funding for all schools. It is clear from his response that the DOE faces serious financial constraints. It is therefore not clear when the situation will be rectified. Some initiatives like COLTS are developed by the DOE 'to humanise teachers and learners', to be accountable and responsible.

The same question was posed differently to other respondents as 'service delivery'. Their responses indicate that although the DOE attempts to deliver service to schools it usually is late. Secondary school learners still share textbooks and requisitions are not responded to by the DOE. The District Officials however disputed the shortage of textbooks by indicating that it is not alarming therefore, they accepted indirectly that there was a shortage. Lack of communication, monitoring and control on packages of free education, inter alia, free stationery and textbooks are indicated.

5.4.6 Shortage of Classrooms

The shortage of classrooms undoubtedly is a historical backlog, however, in the HODs responses there is no mention of what role the Physical Planners are to play. This discrepancy is also reflected from the planners' responses. They indicate problems created for them by politicians' speeches and at the same time suggest avenues to solve the backlog. There seem to be a communication ceiling and lack of co-ordination within the department. The intention of the DOE to involve the private sector to assist in the building of schools is an acceptance that they alone cannot solve education problems and proof that the DOE has failed to develop and follow its own school building programme. The shortage of classrooms remain unfinished business and emphasizes the allegation that the DOE is slow in addressing the backlog, added to this is the political rhetoric in Cabinet on education vote. Education seems to be held at ransom by the politicians.

5.4.7 Underutilised White schools

The respondents indicate that no funding of ex-Model C schools had caused inaccessibility for learners. The DOE seem reluctant to address the matter. The HODs responses indicate that audits of all underutilised and unutilised school buildings is being done. After which full utilisation of such schools will be affected. It is not clear how many audits the DOE requires to convince them that rationalisation of schools will help solve the classroom shortage.

5.4.8 Reporting Strategies

The respondents indicated that the DOE attempts to communicate with the learning community yet this is retarded by too much documentation dispatched. The Head indicated that the DOE depends on the SGBs, RCLs and Department Officials

to inform their constituencies about the developments in education. Yet respondents argue that this is summarized information. It is apparent that there are no mechanisms in place to inform the public and the learning community about developments and shortcomings in education.

5.4.9 Causes of the present education resistance in schools

Respondents agree that the DOE is contributory to education resistance because it:

- is too lenient and too democratic in its management which the private sector respondents attribute to incompetency of managers that run education as well as to the DOE's competition approach with the teacher formations rather than communication;
- fails to address the imbalances in education such as shortage of teachers which the professionals attribute to unplanned VSP and early retirement packages offered to teachers. It is surprising that the professionals did not mention the conditions of service, facilities overcrowding in classrooms attributed, inter alia, by underutilised ex-Model C schools, as quoted by the private sector. In specific questions related to the above they stressed their concern and dissatisfaction and indicated that these are causal to education resistance;
- the dismissal of temporary teachers was viewed by the professionals as the insensitive treatment of teachers while the private sector indicated that it was due to the DOE's lack of planning. The synthesis of the HODs responses indicates that the DOE shifts and shuns its responsibility and accountability in the cause of resistance. His response totally distances and disassociates

the DOE from education resistance. There is no mention to DOE's contribution yet his responses alluded to non-funding of all schools, no free and compulsory education for all, slow progress in building schools, unplanned VSP and early retirement packages given to teachers and the deadlock on redeployment of teachers which are causal to education resistance. It is therefore clear that the DOE uses defence mechanisms instead of redress mechanisms to alleviate recurrence of education resistance.

Generally responses to the causes of resistance prove that the problems are complex and interrelated. However, it is clear that the professionals and the private sector managers realise this complexity while the DOE attributes resistance in education mainly to teachers who they allege are instigating learners to support their strike actions.

5.5 CONCLUSION

In Chapter five the researcher collected information on the background to education resistance. The present education system was also interrogated in order to understand the ongoing education resistance in Black secondary schools and to suggest approaches that will curb the recurrence of such. The information was collected by means of interviews. In randomly selected schools interviews were conducted with systematically and randomly selected participants in the Goldfields area.

Interviews were conducted with randomly selected out-of-service educators, principals, Departmental officials and private sector managers. The schools in the Goldfields are however not representative of all secondary schools in the Department of Education. The same is the case with the private sector. The data collected was analysed and it indicated

that the present system of education is attempting to address the historical backlogs however, this has not met with the expectations of parents, learners, teachers and principals.

Equally clear was that even some office-based education department officials are dissatisfied about the transformation process and the direction that the process takes. The slow progress of the DOE to attend to the causes of education resistance and the inefficiency to curb the recurrence of resistance in schools, has been cited by all respondents. Therefore chapter six contains the conclusions derived at from both literature and the interviews.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 ORIENTATION

Chapter six includes a brief overview of the study and reports on the literature study and the interviews employed to complement the study. Synthesis of the two results and certain recommendations are offered. Suggestions concerning further research are also included.

6.2 OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

The research problem of this study is to establish reasons for the continued resistance in Black secondary schools in post-apartheid education system. Teachers and learners are still participating in marches so that there is no culture of teaching and learning in some Black secondary schools (cf 1.3.3).

To arrive at answers to the problem an investigation was undertaken with the aim of reviewing reasons for the education resistance in former Black education to establish reasons why resistance occurred before 1994 (1.3.1) against the present resistance in schools and whether the present education policy addresses said problems (cf 1.3.4).

An attempt was made to highlight the background to education resistance in Black schools during the apartheid era commencing from 1948 when the NP government came to power until 1976 before the Soweto riots. The NP's political ideas as well as ideological objectives emphasized apartheid which was to be strengthened and protected by numerous laws. To ensure that their political ideas and ideological objectives were implemented, the NP propounded a segregationist-based education objective enforced through education policy. The Eiselen Commission was instituted to advise the Government on Black education and based on the recommendations of

the Report the Bantu Education Act was passed and Bantu education supported by Christian National Education (CNE) was introduced. Bantu education characterised by mass education in primary schools with little emphasis on secondary schools, a shortage of teachers and classrooms, unqualified and underqualified teachers who received meagre salaries, no free and compulsory education, little or no emphasis on technical and adult education, unequal provisioning of education as well as compartmentalised education administration was discussed in Chapter two.

A literature review on education resistance in Black secondary schools commencing from 1976 Soweto riots until the present era, 1998 was provided. Causes and events leading to 1976, 1980, 1983 and 1985 school boycotts were discussed. The NP government's response to the education crisis and its reform process, the NECC's role in resolving the crises, were indicated. Positive and negative aspects of transformation in education from 1994 until 1998 were also highlighted in Chapter four.

The qualitative research of the study was discussed and a questionnaire was designed for the interviews which served as measuring instruments to validate literature review and in order to realise the intended aims of the study. The literature study was complemented by the historical method of research.

The qualitative data collected was presented and analysed in Chapter five.

6.3 FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

This section focuses on the findings of both the literature study and interviews.

6.3.1 Findings derived from literature study

When the GNU took over the control of education in 1994, it was faced with many problems inherited from the past education system. These were the compartmentalised and differentiated departments of education, unequal provisioning of education,

autocratic control of education and inequality of gender. The present system of education thus inherited a legacy of past mistakes which impact heavily on education in Black schools. The current democratic education system was able to outline the challenges facing education and the policy framework within which these challenges would be solved. The literature study reveals that the shortcomings of the previous autocratic and departmentalised education system are currently repeated in the democratic and single education system. Transformation did not correct all previous mistakes such as the lack of implementation and evaluation programmes as well as inefficient reporting strategies or communication.

6.3.1.1 Compartmentalised and differentiated departments of education.

When the GNU took over control in 1994, education in South Africa was based on segregationist principles of the NP characterised by different departments of education for Whites, Coloureds, Indians and Blacks. Black education was further compartmentalised by TBVC states and homeland-based education. It was therefore not an easy task for the GNU to merge all the departments of education into a single education system for all South Africans.

Since there were four provinces namely Orange Free State, Transvaal, Natal and Cape, with numerous different departments of education and the TBVC states as well as the homelands, the new Government faced a challenge of abolishing the homelands and the TBVC states in order to incorporate them in South Africa. As a result provinces were added and South Africa now comprises of nine provinces (cf 4.5.5.1) each with its education department which functions within the framework of the national policy of the DOE. This task was envisaged to be finalised in 1995 however, it was acknowledged by the end of November 1995 that the process was still in progress (cf 4.6.1). Despite the shortcoming, in January 1995 provinces had already begun to function while monetary powers were handed over to provinces as of 1 April 1995 (cf 4.6.2).

Against this background the restructuring and provincialisation of education had an impact on the expected immediate deliveries of education packages such as school building programmes. At school level there were no practical improvements and as a result anxiety was building up among learners, teachers and parents, the result of which were strike actions, marches and illegal occupation of unutilized White school buildings. New appointments to manage provincial departments of education also delayed and retarded progress in service delivery in the Free State. There were disputes raised on appointments such that a Commission of Inquiry was instituted to investigate the validity of appointments (cf 4.6.4).

6.3.1.2 Provisioning of education

Attention is given to the following aspects of provisioning of education : funding, free and compulsory education, shortage of teachers, teachers' qualifications vis-a-vis salaries, shortage of classrooms and curriculum changes.

(i) Funding

The previous dispensation did not only provide separate funding for learners of different races in different Departments of Education, but the different provinces were also unequally funded. The new dispensation declared that after one education system had been established, funding would be based on the principle of equity (cf 4.6.10) To achieve this goal, the Review Committee on School Organisation, Governance and Funding was established (cf 4.6.10). The committee's recommendations led to the acceptance of the new policy by the Cabinet in 1996 (cf 4.7.2) and was included in the South African School Bill (cf 4.7.3). However, the ex-Model C schools were excluded from the provisions and transitional arrangements were indicated in the Bill. For this purpose the status quo still remains in 1998. The delay of the finalisation of the inclusion of ex-model C schools in funding, partly disembowels the DOE to exercise full control of these schools. The implication is that although on paper there is reference to equality, the reality is unequal because different textbooks are used in these schools

and different internal examinations set, the result of which is inability to maintain the same standard of education for all learners. This contributes to the perception that ex-Model C schools are still subsidised by the DOE as in the previous dispensation which was causal to education resistance.

(ii) Free and compulsory education

Through literature study it was established that until 1982 White learners had been receiving free and compulsory education which was gradually introduced for the Coloureds and Indians. Mass actions and school boycotts forced the DET to introduce it in Black schools as well, but the process was retarded by the delivery of stationery and textbooks which was either late or not done at all. Compulsory education was introduced only in areas where necessary preparations were made and where school committees had requested it. In the past demands for free and compulsory education had been causal to education resistance in Black schools.

The present education system had intended to provide free education after 1994, for all learners from pre-school grade to grade nine in accordance with RDP perspectives. However, due to fiscal constraints in 1994/95 financial year, there was no possibility for totally free general education. In view of this, schools were advised to charge school fees (cf. 4.5.5.5; 4.9.5). The South African School Act (SASA) included transitional arrangements for the provisioning of free education for ex-model C schools. Such arrangements imply partial control over ex-model C schools and impact strongly on the equity process.

Since the inception of the present DOE, the practice of either later or no delivery of stationery and textbooks had been repeated annually and culminated in a Free State scandal of R21 million which was allegedly paid to tenders. As a result the education of learners had been held at ransom by withholding the education packages undisputably pivotal to the culture of efficient and effective teaching and learning, the results of this state of affairs were the yearly deterioration of matriculation results as

had been experienced in the past education system. The lack of service delivery from the DOE resulted in marches and strike actions by learners and teachers typical of the past dispensation.

Added to the ineffective service delivery, was the inherited tendency of automatically promoting learners from one standard to the next which was an important issue of the previous dispensation wherein education was equated to supervision. Promotions were influenced by mass education in primary schooling. This resulted in lack of proper and sound educational foundation in learners therefore the matric results could not be improved.

The same malpractice is committed by the new DOE for different reasons. Learners are not allowed to repeat the same phase twice and the age of learners has to be considered in promotions. This practice is not educationally sound and has a great impact on the standard of education as well as the matriculation results because the wrong criteria are used for promotion of learners and the classroom manager's contribution is disregarded. The promotion requirements as stipulated by the DOE, disregard the knowledge that teachers as classroom managers and curriculum implementors have about the learners, yet when learners fail, teachers are counted first among the causal factors while the disservice of the DOE is disregarded.

The mention of matriculation results is relevant to the study because of the impact it has on school administration. The high failure rate implies that schools are expected to re-accommodate learners which results in high teacher-learner ratio, classroom-learner ratio, platooning systems and double sessions which were tendencies of the past. The schools are unable to accommodate all failures and this results in conflict between learners and teachers which culminates in education resistance by learners. In most cases, township schools begin late in the year with tuition due to delays in re-registration of failures. The DOE does not provide clear guidelines on how schools must address this problem and schools use their own discretion which is tantamount to a laissez-faire approach instilled by the DOE and is incompatible with one education

system characterised by commonality and equality.

Compulsory education is not yet implemented in all schools. The reasons for the delay of the implementation of compulsory education are not communicated by the DOE. Despite this shortcoming the compulsory school going age has been stipulated.

(iii) Shortage of teachers.

The shortage of teachers was characteristic of the previous system of education. Instead of addressing the problem, teachers were lured out of the profession through early retirement and voluntary severance packages. In 1990 and in 1993 the various departments of education attempted to provide VSP to teachers but the intervention of teachers, through either threats or strike actions, halted the process although it had already been implemented in some areas. Despite the warnings, suggestions of other parties as well as teacher organisations, non-collaboration of packages which were viewed as retrenchments, were offered to teachers. The result was that the best and experienced teachers left the system. The previous dispensation justified its action as an attempt to maintain financial restraint in education, but teachers who had been offered VSP were re-employed because there were insufficient teachers for rare subjects. This reflects the maladministration of the past education system as well as the lack of planning the management of VSP.

At present, in spite of negative influences on teaching, the DOE continues to give teachers early retirement packages as well as VSP contrary to the advice reflected in the parliamentary debates. The results are the same as during the previous dispensation. The packages impact heavily on the shortage of teachers which causes education resistance in Black secondary schools because learners are sometimes left unattended for months. The mistake of re-employing teachers who had opted for VSP is repeated. This clearly indicates that the DOE ignores past mistakes and that planning is inadequate. The DOE does not provide a backup system to fill vacancies created by teachers who had opted for packages. Instead there are long complicated

channels of communication which result in the late filling of vacant teaching and promotional posts at schools. This reflects on the poor quality of departmental administration which impacts heavily on the culture of teaching and learning as well as on the discipline of learners.

To address equity and to maintain fiscal restraint, the DOE instituted the process of redeployment which was to be facilitated by the School Rightsizing Committees (SRCs) which were democratically elected. The teachers' intervention through threats of stike action in the process caused a delay in redeployment of teachers who experience insecurity of employment. In some instances learners are left for months without teachers which results in marches to demand teachers.

(iv) Teachers' qualifications vis-a-vis salaries.

The previous education dispensation was characterised by underpaid and unqualified teachers in Black education. Upgrading requirements of teachers' qualifications resulted in a shortage of qualified secondary school teachers especially with regard to Science subjects. Primary school teachers are underqualified to teach in secondary schools but were employed by the previous education system. This action among others caused education resistance by the learners who demanded qualified secondary school teachers. Although there were some reforms and improvements in the training of secondary school teachers it was inadequate. The present DOE has inherited this imbalance yet provides no clear guidelines to address the void in secondary education. This is one of the reasons why the matric results will take time to improve since many teachers are not fully trained and not equipped to teach secondary school subjects.

Salaries prompted strike action from teachers in the previous dispensation a legacy which penetrated the new system of education. To address the imbalance and the strike actions emanating from it, the NQF rationalised the teachers' post levels (cf Table 10), the Education Legislation was passed (cf 4.7.3), the new SACE established (cf 4.6.9) as well as the Educators' Employment Act of 1994 (cf 4.5.3) which is presently

replaced by the Employment of Educators Act of 1998. The DOE took three years to release a circular on protected and unprotected industrial action, to curb the recurrence of teachers' strike actions. However the inefficiency to implement strategies and inability to take decisions causes the DOE to succumb to teachers' demands. The inconsistency and lack of firmness in the implementation of policy matters make a mockery of the DOE as an employer. The DOE seems reluctant to address pressing issues in education and rely strongly on the opinions and demands of teachers' organisations which is an indication of performance through coercion as well as crisis management.

Consultations with teachers organisations is to be recommended in a democratic dispensation, yet the role of the DOE has to be clearly defined because if teachers organisations demands and opinions are challenged they threaten a strike as a strategy of compliance. Deadlocks in negotiations between the teacher organisations and the DOE, hinders smooth running of schools and the culture of teaching and learning is being disturbed.

(v) Shortage of classrooms

Initially the State shunned its responsibility to build schools in Black education to alleviate the problem of platooning systems and double sessions. Due to pressure caused by mass actions by learners, teachers and parents the Act of 1979 was passed and bound the State to take full responsibility for building schools for Blacks. There were many attempts made by the previous dispensation to address the classroom backlog which seemed to escalate every year. The gap was too broad to close and due to political rhetoric that ensued in education debates the process was retarded. There was also a lack of co-operation, co-ordination, strategies and agreement on how to speed up the school building process. On the other hand unutilised and underutilised White schools remained protected by the NP government. Classroom shortages was a factor in education resistance in the past education dispensation.

The legacy of classroom shortages as well as the inefficiency to fully rationalise and utilise schools within the DOE, remains. The political rhetoric during education vote, as revealed by literature, seems to take precedence while lack of co-ordination within various state departments to assist in the school building programmes is eminent in the DOE. The education resistance that emanated from the backlog of classroom accommodation in the past is still witnessed by the present DOE. Attempts had been made by the DOE to address the backlog, but the cutback in education expenditure as decided by politicians contributes to inadequate further developments in building schools.

(vi) Curriculum

The previous education dispensation emphasised academic learning more than vocational learning with the result that the economy of the country could not benefit from the products of education. The curriculum for Black schools was based on segregationist principles and the needs of the learners were not catered for. Due to education resistance that emanated from inter alia, the demand for curriculum change, the previous system introduced Competency Based Education (CBE) in order to address the needs of the country but it was based on race and departmentalisation. Literature reveals that the philosophy behind CBE was supporting the apartheid ideology of the NP.

The new education system transformed CBE and refers to it as Outcomes Based Education (OBE). Although there had been concerns about the curriculum as inherited from the past and the need to transform it, it was only in 1998 that the new curriculum (OBE) was implemented. The gradual introduction of OBE is such that in 1998 it commenced in Grade one with a view to include Grade two in 1999. The legacy of delay in implementation is exhibited even by the new DOE. The result of which is a perception that there are no critical changes and the curriculum is the same as in the previous dispensation. Such views are contributory to education resistance in schools.

6.3.1.3 Control of education

Previously the control of education was top-down and subjected to paternalistic political control of the NP. The management of the system was also male dominated while females were considered suitable to teach primary school learners and promotional posts were reserved primarily for men. The top-down control of education was challenged by learners, teachers and parents who demanded the democratic control of education. Arising from these demands and the reluctance of the previous system to address the demands, was the education resistance which culminated in the 1994 democratic elections with further implications for democratic control in education.

To correct this imbalance the new system established School Governing Bodies (SGBs) whose function among others was to assist in the governance of schools in order to ensure the smooth running of education. School Management Developers (SMDs) previously the School Inspectors, were trained in order to train the SGBs but the process was delayed and postponed until 1999. Documentation and the training manuals for SGBs were submitted late in 1998. The legacy of delaying implementation is reflected, and on the other hand the functioning of SGBs is delayed. The result is the existence of SGBs who do not clearly understand their functions. Their assistance in education to curb some learners' as well as some teachers' lack of discipline is essential. It is quite irrational for the DOE to establish the democratically elected SGBs without providing guidelines and delaying training.

To ensure discipline and to develop a learning culture among learners as well as to enhance the democratic control of schools, the RCLs that replaced the previous SRCs which according to the South African terminology, did not satisfy learners at school, were instituted. Although this has been a remarkable transformation, the RCLs were without clear guidelines on how to perform their duties which is tantamount to their non-existence. The lack of clarity on the functions of RCLs justifies the continued existence of the prefect system in ex-model C schools which functions along side with the RCLs. The DOE seems to accept the state of affairs because no measures were thus far taken

to curb the existence of the prefect system. On the other hand, the lack of discipline among learners especially in Black schools is attributed, inter alia, to the lack of guidelines for the functions of the RCLs. As a result the culture of learning is deeply affected in Black schools and contributes to the education resistance in post-apartheid education.

6.3.1.4 Gender equality

The previous education system was characterised by sexism irrespective of colour. Women were disregarded for promotion posts, were employed in temporary capacity and were expected to teach at primary level only because it was declared that it was their 'natural' position to care for small children. The education system was therefore male dominated. To address gender inequalities, the GNU adopted the Beijing platform of action which saw the establishment of the Commission on Gender Equity (CGE) culminating in the passing of Gender Equity Act in 1994. Each province has a gender focal person (GFP), at the provincial level, whose role is to institute gender units at the district level headed by the district gender focal person. To foster transformation in education among others, gender equality Transformation Units at district level were established by the province of the Free State.

Although the status and role of women is recognised by the DOE, there is still inequality. Few women occupy senior positions in the DOE and the control of education is still paternalistic and lacks tenets of democracy. There is equally no clear link between the role of GFP and the DOE and what impact such role will have in education. The same goes for Transformation Units. The institution of these units is commendable but the lack of guidelines and functioning indicates an illogical planning of the DOE. Democracy is not fully realised and practised and as a result female teachers become demotivated and they have to study further to improve their qualifications because of little prospect of promotions. Unnecessary conflict between teachers is created and there seems to be little change on balancing gender matters. Demotivated teachers will most probably be less productive than motivated teachers

and in the long term this may contribute to education resistance if not adequately addressed.

6.3.1.5 Evaluation programme

Had the previous education system thoroughly investigated and genuinely responded to the causes of riots and strike actions and had they not reverted to defence mechanisms of blaming others, strike actions that followed in 1980, 1983, 1985 and 1990 could have been alleviated. Typical of the previous system were promises that were somehow not fulfilled. Newsletters which informed the public about the intentions of the DET were distributed yet some of these promises such as free and compulsory education, remained on paper.

Similar mistakes are made by the present DOE. The same paper-work strategy is followed. Many documents such as the White Paper on Transformation of Public Service, the Batho Pele document, the RDP document and many others are released for public consumption but no evaluation is done to establish which areas mentioned in these documents have not been covered and an action plan drawn up to complete the tasks. The inadequacy and inefficiency to complete the tasks causes anxiety which culminate in education resistance because the delivery of service is inadequate.

During the previous dispensation there were numerous Commissions of Inquiry inter alia, De Lange Commission, Tomlinson Commission and Eiselen Commission. The Government only considered implementing recommendations which aligned with their policy and ignored the rest. Educational research by university students were also rejected. The knowledge accumulated from the research could have assisted in the development of education. The findings and recommendations from such theses and dissertations would have highlighted the upper echelons in education on necessary improvements to guarantee the success of the system. The DOE is concerned about the numbers of studies not in the content thereof. Such ignorance leads to expectations not adequately attended to. The inefficiency and incompetency to

interpret and implement findings of reports result in anxiety and laissez faire attitude so that the culture of learning and teaching deteriorates.

6.3.1.6 Reporting strategies

Democracy is complemented by transparency, accountability and responsibility. The DOE, like its predecessors concentrates on the development, of the rationalisation of education departments, provincialisation of education and establishing new education laws but these are not communicated to the learning community. The result of which are strike actions because there are no practical changes visible at school level. Both the old and the new systems lack the reporting strategies on successes and shortcomings and on action taken to enhance success. Informed people are never resistant because they are knowledgeable.

Transparency which was lacking in the previous dispensation is still prevalent in the new dispensation. Most learners, teachers and parents do not know and understand what is taking place in higher echelons of education. Like in the previous system, Ministers of education are unceremoniously changed and no transparency exists. Political games are played while education suffers the consequence because each Minister comes with ideas and before these can be implemented he is removed again. In the Free State Province within four years, three Ministers have led the education department. Reasons for this change were not provided there was no transparency which is a legacy of the past. This tendency of political rhetoric and cliches is contributory to education resistance in schools.

6.3.2 Findings derived from interviews

Interviews were employed in the study to validate the literature review and to determine the respondents' views on changes brought about in education policy and implementation after 1994 (cf 1.3.2) and to establish whether the present education policy effectively addresses past and present problems (cf 1.3.4). To realise these

aims questions on provisioning of education were posed. Aspects such as funding, free and compulsory education, shortage of teachers, shortage of classrooms and curriculum were considered. The intention was firstly to assess whether the DOE evaluates its programmes and implementation process and secondly to establish the DOEs reporting strategies to ensure that parents, teachers and learners are conversant with the developments in education.

(i) Funding

The interviews reveal that there is still no equity in funding all schools in the Free State. This is attributed to the previous dispensation but it was stated that equal funding could not take place immediately. The reason forwarded was that equity in funding ex-Model C schools would practically imply that they have more advantage over the disadvantaged schools. However, the respondents made it clear that unequal funding prevents the DOE to exercise total control over all schools, schools not subsidised charge exorbitant fees which contribute to the inaccessibility to all learners. Therefore the respondents strongly stressed that the DOE has to hasten the process of upgrading the deprived schools in order to have all schools funded equally.

It is clear that the DOE does not have the necessary funds available to ensure equal funding to all schools. The Head of Education agreed that some ex-Model C schools are using the non-funding agreement to their own benefit but he stressed that as soon as funds are made available schools will be equally funded.

(ii) Free and compulsory education

The interviews reveal that total free education is not applied to schools. An indication was also made that there was no equality in the provision of free education for all learners. It is concluded that although this had been one of the demands in the previous dispensation, it is still not fully addressed as could be expected.

Parents still have to pay for the tuition of their children. This is not wrong if the school fee is affordable in all schools. The ex-Model C schools charge high fees which make schooling inaccessible to all learners. Therefore schooling in Model C schools is not free at all but is unaffordable and inaccessible. The exorbitant fees charged by ex-Model C schools assist in buying textbooks and stationery for learners as these are not supplied by the DOE, while the opposite is true in the case of township schools. The disparity is also indicated in the provisioning of education in the new dispensation. Children who were regarded as being deprived because of the colour of their skin are now double-deprived because many of them attend these ex-Model C schools.

In ex-DET schools stationery and textbooks are provided, however, the delivery is always late. This implies that the mistake of the previous dispensation of late deliveries is also witnessed in the new dispensation. In secondary schools learners are still sharing textbooks and the DOE seem not to address the matter effectively and efficiently. The Head of Education alluded to the late delivery of stationery but indicated that plans were made for early delivery late in 1998 or early 1999. For the delivery of textbooks tenders have been provided and necessary preparations are made for 1999.

On compulsory education the interviews revealed that in township schools it is not practised at all. Compulsory education is not congruent to compulsory school attendance. For school attendance respondents commended the DOE for the initiative of making education compulsory for all learners. COLTS campaigns and programmes, the establishment of RCLs and SGBs in schools to assist in school management were cited but respondents feel strongly that compulsory education for all learners will enhance the success of these initiatives. The Head of Education had also mentioned these initiatives and indicated that financial constraints make it impossible for the DOE to implement compulsory education. Therefore the process of free and compulsory education is not yet completed.

(iii) Shortage of teachers

Although the redeployment of teachers was initially intended to distribute teachers equally, the process was retarded by insufficient planning, lack of control and monitoring to ensure the success of redeployment. This was revealed by all interviews including that with the Head of Education who, however, indicated that progress is being made because negotiations are going to be reopened with teacher organisations on redeployment and he was positive that finalisation of the process would be reached. The interviews also highlighted the slow pace of the DOE as well as its indecisiveness to conclude discussions with the teachers unions on redeployment.

The granting of early retirement and VSP to teachers in view of the shortage of teachers exacerbated matters. The DOE did not have evaluation programmes and mechanisms in place to monitor the process with the result that the best teachers were lost to the profession. The result was that even the teachers teaching rare subjects were granted VSP which meant that learners were left without teachers. The SGBs were tempted to rehire and pay these teachers out of the school fund. The DOE also re-employed these teachers according to the Head of Education who indicated that investigations were going on and that the DOE intends to improve on this.

(iv) Teacher qualifications vis-a-vis salaries

Added to the shortage of teachers, interviews revealed that in secondary schools there are still underqualified teachers and the DOE accepts the status quo. There are no programmes set to improve such teachers' qualifications to improve their standard of teaching because most have primary school certificates and diplomas. These teachers are paid the same as the teacher with secondary school qualifications, because they completed three years studies after matriculation. The interviews revealed that teachers are salary-centred at the expense of innocent learners.

(v) Shortage of classrooms

All respondents stressed that although the DOE was faced with provincialisation of education, to merge all education departments into a single Department of Education, and had attempted to address the issue of classroom shortages, there is eminent slow progress visible. There is a need to improve the situation in township schools where the platooning system, double sessions as well as overcrowded classrooms are witnessed.

Through the information provided by the Physical Planners, it is clear that there is a lack of co-ordination within the various departments within the education system. This tendency is such that the Physical Planners are sometimes frustrated because of lack of consultation, communication and co-ordination. Schools are sometimes built without them being informed.

Politicians' speeches are considered irresponsible by respondents, these according to them, create unnecessary anxiety, tension and raises unaccountable expectations for parents and learners. Politicians promote their own interests and disregard the feasibility of their utterances. When proposals are forwarded to the Cabinet to alleviate the shortage of classrooms, these options are not approved. Therefore education is really a political issue and education packages are held at ransom by politicians.

The researcher's follow up question on the shortage of classrooms in view of the underutilised ex-Model C schools reveal that equal funding of these schools is the solution to their being fully utilised. The Head of Education indicated that an audit for all underutilised schools is being compiled yet it was not clear how many audits the DOE needs in order to address the underutilisation of ex-Model C schools, because literature reveals that in 1997 an audit was taken. This indicates that the implementation programme is inefficient.

(vi) Curriculum

Respondents revealed that there is a need to change the school curriculum yet emphasized that the slow implementation of change as well as a lack of reporting strategies to inform the public as well as educators and department officials about the progress of the curriculum development, causes unnecessary anxiety. The new curriculum was implemented in 1998 three years after the establishment of the new system of education. The Learning Facilitators attribute the slow implementation of OBE as an aspect of Curriculum 2005, to the research undertaken to determine its viability in South Africa. This explanation would be acceptable if the learning community was informed about the retarding research process.

(vii) Control of education

The interviews reveal that the DOE has attempted to place the control of education in the hands of democratic structures such as the RCLs and the SGBs at school. The inadequate planning of the DOE led to the dysfunctioning of these structures. The DOE was slow in providing the guidelines on the duties of these structures which caused confusion among the prefect systems in ex-Model C schools and the new RCLs.

Few women occupy high positions within the DOE. The establishment of TCUs and Gender Units is tantamount to non-existence. The status quo remains even in the present education dispensation according to dissatisfied respondents.

(viii) Evaluation programmes and reporting strategies

It is evident from the interviews that the DOE does not have a mechanism in place for self-evaluation in order to improve on service delivery. Documentation characterises the DOE, yet there is inadequate evaluation programmes to assess whether the contents of documents are needed. Parents and learners experience a lack of

transparency and accountability from the DOE because they do not receive the documents. Teachers, principals and department officials do not read through the numerous yet important documents, because they usually do not have time to do it.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

It is four years after 1994, a single Department of Education is functioning and provinces received partial control and their budgets. The Free State Department of Education could consider some recommendations to improve functioning and to provide teaching and learning.

In this study an attempt was made to determine the causes of education resistance in Black schools in the post-apartheid era in South Africa in the light of which the following recommendations are made that could facilitate provision of education :

6.4.1 Recommendations concerning funding of schools

- The transitional arrangements between the DOE and the ex-Model C schools over funding among others, should be sincerely and urgently addressed to enable the DOE to have full control of these schools. The partial control over the ex-Model C schools impedes the DOE's attempts to rationalise furniture and buildings which could be accessible to needy schools and learners.
- Discussions around the education budget need to be opened and submissions from educators and educationists should be sought to address some of the expected education packages which seem to be retarded by the fiscal constraints.

6.4.2 Recommendations concerning free and compulsory education

- The timeous delivery of textbooks to schools need to be addressed. Intensive discussions with the tender board should be timeously opened and an undertaking from the tender board should be signed so that it should be held accountable if it fails to deliver and necessary disciplinary actions should be taken.
- Compulsory education should be revisited and implemented in all schools to capture the learner's interest and attitude in education. All stakeholders, the State through the Department of Education officials, parents and learners should play their role in education.
- Learners need continuous and monitored development programmes to equip them with leadership and self-management skills in order to alleviate the present unfocused sense and perception of education as well as the problem of unmeasurable expectations and demands. Their anti-education attitude and behaviour should be investigated the findings of which would be used to direct the action plan for effective, constructive and educative development programmes.
- Teachers need vigorous and aggressive development programmes which may be through educational conferences. Such conferences are viewed necessary in order to involve teachers in problem solving strategies as well as in contributing to the developmental and transformation plan of the education system in a democratic dispensation. For further intensive developmental skills the previous practice of in-service training programmes for teachers should be revisited. The educational conferences as well as in-service training programmes are perceived as instrumental to avoid adversarial disputes mediated either by threat of strike actions or marches rather than negotiations.

- Parents need strategies to encourage them to be part of the learning development of their children. The DOE needs to compile and distribute the information newsletter to parents through SMDs.
- The DOE needs to develop a strategy on how to address the apparently unachievable inherited backlogs in education. Implementation programmes need to be carefully planned, guidelines are to be provided, time frames are to be set, progress is to be checked and the process is to be evaluated.
- Debates on education should be grounded within educational philosophy and educational principles framework rather than on rhetoric of historical past imbalances and oppression. The Cabinet should reconsider education as a national asset and focus should be directed on improvements, solutions, developments, transformation and progress in education. Intensive evaluation measures to the progress of processes in education should be debated. Complementary to this, the yearly nominations of Ministers of Education should be reconsidered and the education developmental programmes should be embarked upon to equip them for their roles.

6.4.3 Recommendations concerning teacher shortages

- The shortage of teachers should be honestly and intensively addressed and the slow as well as long procedures of filling vacant teaching posts should be speeded up.
- The redeployment process needs to be implemented and laborious discussions without functions should be avoided. The VSP given to teachers should be intensively investigated and analysed since it has failed to address and has intensified the shortage of teachers. The tendency of repeating past mistakes among others indiscriminate packages need to be corrected.

6.4.4 Recommendations concerning teachers' qualifications and salaries

- The focus of teacher training should be on the secondary education and programmes for teachers in service at secondary schools should be developed in order to equip them with teaching skills and new teaching methods. Colleges of education should limit the primary teachers' diploma because there are more qualified primary school teachers than secondary school teachers. Concurrently special attention should be given to the training of secondary school teachers in subjects such as Maths, Science and Technical Drawing in order to meet the technological demands of the country.
- Intensive and sincere negotiations should be opened to address teacher salaries. The State should seriously entertain this historical argument to avoid unnecessary and future strike actions by teachers.
- Crisis management of education problems should be avoided instead the goal-directed management techniques should be employed for the success of the present DOE. Accompanying the techniques should be clearly defined lines of accountability and responsibility within the DOE.

6.4.5 Recommendations regarding shortage of classrooms

- More school building programmes and strategies should be sought to address the backlog of classroom shortages. The 1997 audit of unutilised classrooms as well as underutilised school buildings should be revisited and implementation of full utilisation of these schools should be thoughtfully and sincerely undertaken.
- Prioritisation of needs and more pressing issues in education should be addressed. The compartmentalisation of departments within the DOE should be complemented by vigorous co-ordination and critical monitoring to ensure

effective and efficient service delivery.

- More and intensive focus should be directed at transformation at school level. Practical changes should be eminent in schools to alleviate the cliché of apartheid instead of focussing on solutions.

6.4.6 Recommendations regarding the curriculum

The legacy of delay in implementing programmes such as the OBE, should be investigated and solved. The gradual implementation of OBE in other grades should be accompanied by intensive continuous in-service training for teachers, early supply of teaching and learning material and monitoring by learning facilitators previous subject advisors.

6.4.7 Recommendations regarding the control of education

- Thorough planning before the establishment of transformation packages inter alia, RCLs, Gender units and SGBs is critical, so that a full package of their functions should be provided. Their existence and role in education need to be redefined.
- The democratic and consultative approach of the DOE to the teacher organisations should be within the framework of developing the education system. Therefore the roles of various teacher organisations in education should be redefined and refined.

6.4.8 Gender Equality

- The equity programme should be implemented and 'less talk' be the norm. Competent and deserving women irrespective of colour should be affirmed in senior positions in the Department of Education. Policies and not promises

need to be implemented. The paternalistic education control should be intensively investigated and honestly addressed if transformation and affirmative action are sincerely intended by the DOE.

6.4.9 Recommendations regarding evaluation

- A qualitative shift in departmental administration needs to take place and emphasis should firmly be on service delivery. Continuous evaluation and development of service delivery is critical. Training courses for the administration corps should be seriously considered, monitored, controlled and evaluated to ensure efficient and effective service delivery. Long and complicated channels of communication need to be assessed and minimised.
- Educational research findings and recommendations need to be consulted, assessed and be fully utilised. The ideas emanating from these theses and dissertations may assist the DOE in achieving its goals.
- Circularisation and documentation become ineffective if implementation is not realised. Many documents had been released and the content therein remains unchecked to determine areas which have been addressed and which still need to be addressed. The analysis and synthesis of the content of these documents will guide the implementation programme and progress. Special attention should be paid to implementation strategies.

6.4.10 Recommendations regarding reporting

- Reporting strategies should be implemented in order to inform the stakeholders in education about the progress in education.

6.5 FUTURE RESEARCH AREAS

Research within, the following problem areas will greatly benefit education in the Free State:

- Qualitative research - what are the causes of the lack of commitment in teachers?
- Comparative research - why are private sector organisations managed successfully and school organisations not?
- The Department should initiate research on the strategic planning method within the Department and schools.
- Research to establish the role that excursions which the respondents termed 'the going-out programmes' should be initiated.
- The future role of teacher organisations in the education system of South Africa should be established.
- The role of women in the new education dispensation should be researched.
- The vision curriculum development planners have for OBE in South Africa urgently needs to be established and divulged to teachers, learners and parents.
- Educational relevant objectives to economic needs of South Africa have to be determined.
- Democratic control of schools needs to be further researched.

- The effect of education resistance in the education system from 1994 - 1998.
- An analysis of the present education system needs to be done.

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ANNEXURE A

QUESTIONNAIRE A: FOR THE HEAD OF EDUCATION

1. Ex-model C schools are according to the South African School Act excluded from funding. If these schools are not funded the Department cannot claim total control. How do you deal with this problem?
2. Granting VSP during the previous years before the present education system was established, was heavily criticised but that route is still being followed currently. How do you justify that route is still being followed currently. How do you justify the practice in a system where there is an existing shortage of teachers? And (b) how do you explain the reappointment of teachers who took VSP?
3. Which problems does the Department of Education hope to solve through redeployment of teachers?
4. Is it true that many teachers in Black education are underqualified to this day? and (b) Are there systems and strategies in place to address this issue?
5. When and how do you think free and compulsory education for all will materialize?
6. The authorities are blamed for dragging feet in addressing important matters such as building of schools. Does the Department have any options or solutions for the critical shortage of classrooms more specifically in Black areas? And (b) Is there any strategy being developed to occupy under utilised buildings?
7. The top management in education is traditionally male. Can any change to the status quo be expected?

8. The previous education dispensation was blamed for following a paper strategy because the recommendations of numerous committees investigating resistance in schools were not implemented. Do the present education system aim to improve on this and what is being done concerning the Batho Pele document, The White Paper on Transformation of Public Service as well as the Public Service Delivery and the RDP documents? And (b) Are pupils and parents being informed about new regulations, laws and developments in education? Is it true that many teachers in Black secondary schools are underqualified even to this day? Are there systems and strategies in place to address this issue?

9. Traditionally education resistance was reflected through strike actions by both learners and teachers. The same practice is followed by learners and teachers today. Why do you think strike actions and marches are done in the present democratic education system? And (b) What is the Department doing?

ANNEXURE B

QUESTIONNAIRE B: FOR DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS, PRINCIPALS AND EDUCATORS

Section A

1. Ex-model C schools are according to the South African Act excluded from funding. If these schools are not funded the Department cannot claim total control over them. What is your opinion on this matter?
2. Granting VSP during the previous education system was heavily criticised but that route is still being followed currently. What is your opinion in view of the present shortage of teachers?
3. Which problems do you think the Department hope to solve through redeployment of teachers?
4. Is it true that many teachers in Black schools are underqualified to this day? and (b) What is your opinion on this matter?
5. The Department of Education is blamed for dragging feet in addressing important matters such as the building of schools. Do you agree, please substantiate.
6. The previous education dispensation was blamed for following a paper strategy because the recommendations of numerous committees investigating resistance in schools were not implemented. The present system has released Batho Pele document, the White Paper on Transformation of Public Service as well as the Public Service Delivery and new regulations, laws and developments in

education?

7. Does the Department address the problem of late delivery textbooks and stationery? Please explain.
8. Traditionally education resistance was reflected through strike actions by both learners and teachers. The same practice is followed by learners and teachers today. Why do you think strike actions and marches are done in the present democratic education system?

Section B : For the Physical Planners only

Question 6 on Section A is asked differently and is accompanied by follow up questions.

1. The Department of Education is blamed for dragging feet in addressing the historical backlog of shortage of schools. Will you please comment on that?
2. Does the Department have any options or solutions for the critical shortage of classrooms more specifically in the Black areas? Please explain.
3. Is there any strategy being developed to occupy under utilised buildings in ex-model C schools? Substantiate.

ANNEXURE C

QUESTIONNAIRE C : FOR THE PRIVATE SECTOR MANAGERS

1. Traditionally education resistance was reflected through strike actions by both learners and teachers. The same practice is followed by learners and teachers today. Why do you think strike actions and marches are done in the present democratic education system?