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SHACK SCHOOLS FOR SHACK SETTLEMENTS: A STUDY OF DET POLICIES AND PRACTICES RELATING TO THE PROVISION OF SCHOOL FACILITIES IN SHACK SETTLEMENTS IN THE PWV AREA

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Abstract

This report examines the policies of the Department of Education and Training (DET) regarding provision of school facilities at the end of the eighties. It focuses specifically on the implications of these policies for legal freestanding shack settlements in the Pretoria–Witwatersrand–Vereeniging area. The report sets out to unravel discursive trends at the level of senior officials within the DET related to the provision of schools in shack settlements as well as the policies and practices which emanated from these discourses. These are related to broader state strategies and particularly population movement and settlement policies. The effects of these practices are assessed in terms of equity.

The study is based primarily on a series of interviews with senior DET officials and DET policy documents. Additional interviews with people from shackdweller organisations provide a supplementary view of the outcomes of DET provision practices.

The report argues that at the end of 1989 two trends predominated within the DET approach to the provision of facilities. The demographic, political and financial pressures to which the DET was subjected structured each of these trends in particular ways. At that time inconsistencies between these trends had not yet been resolved. The more established trend was derived from an inherited association of shackdwellers with illegal squatters and the 'outsiders' of the Riekert era. This trend was implicit in the formal planning procedures which had been formulated prior to 1986 based on assumptions about population movement and settlement formalised in the proposals of the Riekert Commission. These DET planning procedures which were anchored in supra-departmental legislation had not been systematically reconceptualised even though Riekert's policies had been abandoned in other spheres of state activity. This discursive current produced a rationale which denied the 'appropriacy' of mainstream facilities governed by established norms and standards for shackdwellers and effectively excluded shackdwellers from these forms of provision.

A second trend evolved particularly at regional level where officials were under pressure from groupings such as shackdweller organisations and state departments concerned with the establishment and stabilisation of legal shack settlements to provide schools. Exceptional forms of facilities were provided and managed at this level at a much lower cost than mainstream facilities. They were legitimated by a rationale of differentiation conceived within a discourse derived from Orderly Urbanisation policies and reflected the assumptions about population movement and settlement inherent in these policies.

After the end of 1989 *ad hoc* adjustments were made within national mainstream planning procedures towards the differentiation of all facilities according to the socio-economic profile of spatially defined communities. Initial indications suggest that shack settlements are being taken up, in national policy, as a separate category within this process.

An examination of government education policy statements after February 1990 suggests that shackdwellers can expect little more than the most basic forms of primary education in future. Even in the sphere of primary education a lower level of public funding will be utilised for schools in shack settlements, should current provision practices continue. This does not only

apply to facilities but also to the other forms of provision. This report argues that these trends represent the education component of current state social policy strategies intended to structure the spatial organisation of class inequality.

The report concludes that the key factor in contesting and changing these policies will be the ability of shackdweller civic and political organisations to influence policy. Even under a more sympathetic government such influence will not be guaranteed unless shackdwellers, or the poorer urban classes, voice their own interests through their own organisations or through organisations in which they take the lead. Presently shackdweller organisations predominantly take a civic rather than political form in the PWV area. While civic organisations have influenced policy in other spheres they are not well placed to contest education policies in a consistent and systematic way. It is imperative that this weakness be addressed if inequitable state education provision practices are to be challenged and changed.

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Education in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Heather J. Jacklin
August 1991

Dedication

This is for Peter, who worked the hardest,
and for Kai and Asha, who provided the work.

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Preface

This report is based on a study commissioned by the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1989. While the interviews conducted for that report still constitute the hub of this work, the substantive content of those interviews has been extensively contextualised and theorised here.

I am grateful to my supervisor, Pam Christie, for remaining supportive, flexible and demanding of rigour throughout the time it took to write this report.

I also acknowledge the financial assistance of the Institute for Research Development towards this research.

Abbreviations

BAAB	Bantu Affairs Administration Board
CCS	Central Statistical Services
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
CPS	Centre for Policy Studies, University of the Witwatersrand
DBE	Department of Bantu Education
DET	Department of Education and Training
DNE	Department of National Education
ERS	Education Renewal Strategy
IDT	Independent Development Trust
NECC	National Education Co-ordinating Committee
NEUSA	National Education Union of South Africa
OMHLE	Operation Masakane for the Homeless
SAIRR	South African Institute for Race Relations
TPA	Transvaal Provincial Administration
UF	Urban Foundation
WPU	White Paper on Urbanisation

Chapter One:

Introduction

This report examines Department of Education and Training (DET) policies regarding the provision of school facilities and the implications of such policies for legal freestanding shack settlements in the Pretoria–Witwatersrand–Vereeniging (PWV) region at the end of the eighties. The focus is on school accommodation and not on other components of the schooling process such as teachers or the curriculum. This is not to imply that buildings are the most important component nor even that they are a *sine qua non* for education. Schools can and do exist without special buildings. Nevertheless they are a necessary if not sufficient requirement for long term secure schooling processes. Facilities not only accommodate schooling, they also tend to structure it. Inadequate facilities place constraints on the kinds of learning that can happen in schools. Apart from these functional considerations inadequacies in the provision of facilities have become strongly politicised issues in the last two decades. For these reasons it is important that adequate school accommodation be provided in black townships and shack settlements before other education issues can be addressed. However, the ways in which they are provided — the intentions and interests which they symbolise — will structure the ways in which schools are received and used thus the process of provision should not be conceived of too mechanically.

The interviews on which this study is based were conducted in the months prior to De Klerk's statement of February 1990 — a statement which heralded changing strategies in the sphere of education as it did in other spheres of state activity. Thus the conditions and policies which form the subject of this report may be seen not only as the outcome of an earlier phase but also as part of the context of transition, a context which will inform and structure the transition process.

These interviews also took place only a few months after the proclamation of the first legalised shack settlements. Until then freestanding shack settlements in the DET administered area were illegal[1] and as such were rendered effectively invisible to the DET for policy and planning purposes. But vast legal urban shack settlements are currently emerging as an important sector of the metropolitan terrain. Chapter Two of this report will trace the emergence of these legal settlements following the introduction of Orderly Urbanisation policies and will consider the ways in which these policies are in themselves the state's response to resistance and claims from within civil society and the economy. These legal settlements merit separate attention insofar as the implications of state strategies and DET policies have been different for these areas than for other areas.

Chapter Three turns to DET policies between 1985 and 1990. It is argued that the main frame of formal DET policies concerning provision of facilities was premised not on the assumptions of Orderly Urbanisation policies but rather on those of an earlier cluster of population movement and settlement policies associated with the proposals of the Riekert Committee in 1979. During the early eighties DET policies were formulated in a discourse derived from the De Lange report; the actual proposals of this report were selectively adopted and interpreted by the state in ways determined by broader economic and political conditions and strategies. By 1985 these education policies had failed as clearly as had the related Riekert policies. For the remainder of the decade DET education floundered from one crisis to the next in the urban areas while little

1) Legal settlements termed 'emergency camps' had been established or allowed to exist before 1989 in terms of the 1986 amendment of the 1951 Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. These were defined as temporary, however,It was expected that they would either be removed or supplanted by formal townships.

emerged in practice from proposals for improvements in rural education. Resistance in education continued in spite of the state of emergency and funding could not support attempts to placate dissatisfaction by providing more and better facilities. But unlike Riekert's policies, which were abandoned and replaced, DET policies were not comprehensively reformulated. Instead they were left in place to fragment and give way, in patches, to isolated policy adjustments which were sometimes regional and sometimes national, sometimes formal and sometimes informal.

In this context the absence of a new conceptualisation of DET policies and of national education policies across departments begs explanation. This report argues that the ascendance of the securocrats within the government executive between 1986 and 1989 in conditions of ongoing resistance in education and economic stagnation blocked the systematic renewal of education policy which had been envisaged by Viljoen, then minister of Education and Training, as early as 1985. Viljoen had perceived education reform as being dependent on prior political change involving the incorporation of Africans into national political structures. This would create the conditions for the depoliticisation of education and the organisation of decentralised structures which cut across homeland boundaries. These changes could not be introduced so long as Viljoen's verligte lobby was sidelined within the government executive.

The specific implications of the resulting inconsistencies in DET policies for the provision of school accommodation in shack settlements in the PWV region are examined in Chapter Four. This chapter is based primarily on interviews conducted with senior DET officials at the end of 1989. The different responses at national and regional levels and between regions are drawn out. It is argued that these responses can be seen in terms of two contradictory policy-discourses related to the assumptions about population movement and settlement associated with Riekert, on the one hand, and those of Orderly Urbanisation policies, on the other. In broad terms the former approach was more predominant at head office level where officials were not directly exposed to the new claims and pressures arising from shack settlements and were closer to the more established claims from national political organisations based in formal townships. Nor had pressure yet been brought to bear on the DET from within the economy to provide schools for shack settlements, although the report on which this study is based marks an early attempt by the Urban Foundation (UF) to influence DET policy in this regard. The response at head office level amounted, in effect, to the denial of the claims of shackdwellers to conventional facilities governed by current norms and standards and provided within mainstream planning and provision procedures. Instead, management of provision was relegated to the regional level where funds were not available for this purpose. At this level, the validity of shackdweller claims was acknowledged but resource constraints were such that an approach involving a *de facto* policy of shack schools for shack settlements evolved. This approach was evident mainly in the two regions within the PWV area where free standing shack settlements were larger, more numerous and at a distance from established townships. While this approach was primarily a response to demographic, financial and political pressures in the context of head office abrogation of the problem it was also influenced by the social provision rationale of Orderly Urbanisation policies which proposed differentiation of provision according to the socio-economic profile of spatially defined communities. In the months following these interviews this rationale of differentiation became increasingly evident in DET policy. But shack settlements remained a separate category within this broader process of differentiation.

Chapter Five examines the emergence of a new government education strategy following the ascendance of the De Klerk lobby within the nationalist government in 1989. There are indications, particularly within the governments Education Renewal Strategy Discussion Document (ERS) of June 1991, that practices which allocate a lower level of public resources to schools in shack settlements than in other areas will be carried forward and knitted into the broader structural and procedural dimensions of provision discourse. In the sphere of education as in other spheres these strategies point towards the spatial organisation of class inequality. These strategies involve decentralised structures which facilitate the fragmentation of claims against the state at the local level and the shifting of large sectors of social provision, including preprimary and secondary education, out of the public sphere. If they are to be effectively contested from within shackdweller organisations, such organisations will require a strong political voice.

Method

This study began as a report commissioned by the Urban Foundation (UF) which was submitted in March 1990. This work draws freely on that report with the permission of the relevant UF official. The UF connection influenced this work in at least two ways: high ranking DET officials were willing to grant extensive interviews to a UF interviewer; and DET interviewees were no doubt influenced by the knowledge that their views would reach the UF. Consequently there was a tendency among DET interviewees to emphasise their 'messages to the private sector' in interviews. Most DET interviewees appeared to see the UK as a potential resource although one official was clearly antagonistic to the private sector at large.

Interviews with other groupings, specifically shackdweller organisations, were organised independently of the UF although interviewees were informed of the origins and purposes of the study. Generally the degree of openness of these groupings seemed to be determined primarily by the credibility of the person or organisation through whom contact was made. Many of these interviewees indicated that they saw some advantage in making their experiences and views more widely known.

The study focuses mainly on the policy discourse of senior DET officials. To this end interviews were conducted with three DET head office officials, including the Deputy Director General, as well as five regional directors and five deputy regional directors. Thirteen DET officials were formally interviewed, in all. In one regio . other officials were 'called in' to participate in the interview. The five regions selected out of a total of eight were those which intersect with the PWV region although one of the five — the Diamond Fields region — is peripheral to the PWV region. In a number of cases formal interviews were supplemented by subsequent informal communication. Interviews were conducted between November 1989 and March 1990; in 1991 interviewees at head office and in the Orange–Vaal region provided further updated information. This interviewing programme was designed to cover the line of planners regarding allocation of school facilities from deputy regional director level up to Deputy Director General level.

Interviews with DET officials were supplemented by interviews with selected shackdweller organisations in order to provide a qualitative perspective from which to reconsider DET policy. According to a UF count there were 22 freestanding shack clusters consisting of at least 90

shacks in the PWV region at the end of 1989 (Sapine *et al.*). Of these, Orange Farm and Weiler's Farm were selected to provide a case study. These were two of the biggest shack settlements in the region. Orange Farm was the first of the legalised site and service schemes in the PWV region and the only one in which a substantial number of sites had been allocated to residents by the end of 1989. According to a special census in 1990 its population had already reached 48 000 (Central Statistical Service 1991). Weiler's Farm had experienced the turbulent existence of an illegal squatter settlement for over a decade by 1987 when it won the status of a temporary emergency squatting camp. Its population had increased sharply after the repeal of the pass laws from 1 500 in 1985 to some 13 000 in 1987 (Budlender 1990). By the end of 1989 this number had diminished as a portion of the Weiler's Farm population had been persuaded to move to Orange Farm some eight kilometres away. A private school which had been established by the Weiler's Farm Residents Association was also moved to Orange Farm while a new private school was established by those who elected to stay at Weiler's Farm. This relationship between the two settlements meant that many of the issues arising from the changing conditions in shack settlements specifically regarding education were thrown into sharp relief in these communities.

Eleven teachers were interviewed at the four different schools that existed in these two settlements at the beginning of 1990. These teachers were self-selected in that they volunteered to be interviewed after meetings in which larger groups of staff were informed of the research project. In addition group interviews with parents were arranged through organisations based in Mshenguville (Masakane), Kwa Green (Committee of Seven) and Crossroads–Katlehong (the Ipumelelo Womens' Club). A teacher responsible for a crèche at Chicken Farm in Soweto was also interviewed. In all, interviews were conducted in six settlements; all the existing schools and crèches in these six settlements were included.

Theoretical Framework

A central theme in this report is the relationship between population movement and settlement policies and education policies and the state's need to harness both to broader social, economic and political strategies. Hyslop (1986) addressed this question in an article on Bantu Education in the period from 1955 to 1976. Drawing on Hindson's (1985) Differentiated Labour Power Thesis, Hyslop shows how the state's strategies were influenced by competing claims from within the electorate, resistance groupings and the economy. This process resulted in the creation of forms of labour differentiated both spatially and in terms of the skills they brought to the labour market. Influx control and Bantu Education policies contributed to this process. This report accepts the premises of Hyslop and Hindson's work and uses them to draw an historical context for this study. Policy is similarly viewed as both an object and product of struggle and an attempt to control the conditions of struggle.

This view of policy as constituted in the power relationships between the state, the economy and civil society demands that this empirical study of policy be informed by an historical analysis of the South African state. For this purpose articles by Morris (1991) and Swilling *et al.* (1989) are particularly useful in that they examine the cohesiveness of the ruling bloc within the South African state after 1985 and the consequences of this for state strategies. These analyses are supported by Urry's (1981) broader theoretical view of state policies as deriving from the state's need to secure the consent of an electorate and other groupings in civil society powerful enough

to destabilise the state while at the same time guaranteeing the conditions for economic activity. Urry's analysis also acknowledges the importance of dynamics within the state as a factor influencing policies.

The notion that policy derives from and constitutes power relationships is more fully developed within an understanding of state policies as formal and informal discourse genres. This understanding provides an analytic approach flexible enough to discern the range of practices and relationships within policy production processes which an empirical study must uncover. This approach goes beyond a view of discourse limited to the semantic dimension of language evident, for example, in Posel's (1987) analysis of state 'legitimatory discourse'. A similar approach to education policy analysis to that which is implicit in this study has been more explicitly described by Buckland (1985) and by Yeatman (1990). Offe's work (1985) which foregrounds decision making processes as opposed to policy content is used in relation to this dimension of policy discourse.

Terminology

In the mid eighties the term 'squatters' was widely used but in recent years a number of other terms have come into use to refer to people who live in shacks. Currently the terms 'homeless people' and 'shackdwellers' are used along with 'informal settlements'. This diversity reflects the ways in which competing discourses construct the status of a growing and potentially powerful sector of the population.

The terms 'squatter' and 'squatter camps' are associated with illegality and unacceptability. Interestingly these were the terms preferred by many of the interviewees for this study — both DET officials and shackdwellers — even when alternative terms were explicitly suggested. Both these groups seemed to see shack settlements as an undesirable phenomenon and rejected terms which constructed these settlements, or this form of accommodation, as acceptable. Implicit in the responses, however, were different assumptions about why such settlements are unacceptable and what constitutes an acceptable alternative. In contrast, the term 'informal settlements' is preferred within Urban Foundation discourse. This suggests a construction of shacks as acceptable and legal.

In the time since these interviews were conducted the term 'homeless' has gained prominence among shackdwellers as is evidenced in its use in the name of an umbrella civic organisation called Omhle: Operation Masakane for the Homeless. This term sheds the association with illegality while retaining the connotation of unacceptability.

In this report the term 'shackdwellers' is used except in unusual cases such as that of Oukasie where people lived illegally in formal dwellings.The choice of this terms suggests a position similar to, but less strong than, that suggested by the term 'homeless'.

Another cluster of terms which remains unavoidable so long as racial structures such as the DET exist is that associated with racial identification. In this report the distinction 'white/black' is used to refer to the historically enfranchised and unenfranchised groups while the terms 'white', 'African', 'coloured', and 'Asian' are used to refer to the groups that have been institutionally

and geographically separated by apartheid legislation.

Chapter Two

Shackdwellers:

The first section of this chapter provides an overview of the historical conditions and the policies relating to population movement and settlement that have resulted in the mushrooming of shack settlements at the periphery of urban areas in the PWV at the end of the eighties. The relationship between these policies and DET policies is central to this report. This section provides a background for a discussion in the next chapter of the inconsistencies between education and urbanisation policies and the ways in which the rationale of urbanisation policies intruded on education policies.

Section two of this chapter surveys initial research in order to provide a profile of shackdwellers at the end of the eighties. This profile provides some basis from which to assess, first, the validity of characterisations of shackdwellers proffered by DET interviewees; second, the appropriacy, equity and possible consequences of DET policies and practices; and third, the conditions which will structure the responses of shackdwellers to DET policies and practices.

The Origins of the Townships

The movement of Africans to the urban labour markets of the Transvaal began with the discovery of gold in the nineteenth century and has continued at a varying pace throughout the twentieth century. Greater waves within this process occurred in the twenties, forties and seventies as a result of particular combinations of push and pull factors such as an increased need in the manufacturing industry for more settled labour and the deterioration of conditions in rural areas. Opposition to urbanisation came from the mining and agricultural sectors of industry which relied on migrant labour and from white working class voters who did not welcome competition for jobs and the resources of the city (Bonner 1990; Hindson 1987; Sutcliffe *et al*. 1990 and Boraine 1989). Hindson (1987) argues that the state evolved a differential labour policy (DLP) in response to these opposing interests which involved

> the preferential allocation of employment according to which local residents were favoured above migrants from the countryside. By reducing the flow of labour from white farms and bantustans to the cities, permanent urban workers were protected from competition by rural labour. This provided reproduction of differentiated forms of labour power; both a permanent urban proletariat and a temporary migrant workforce (Hindson 1987 p. 10).

The settlement of this permanent urban proletariat provided the basis for the townships which were to take shape along the Reef. In 1923 the legal conditions for the racial segregation of townships were provided by the Native (Urban Areas Act) which made provision for the establishment of 'Native Locations' by municipalities although, as Sapire argues:

> the unfolding of urban segregation in the 1920's was determined more by local labour needs, the patterns of African settlement and resistance, the politics of local authorities and by the geography of land ownership then by overall government policy (1989 p. 141).

Security of land tenure was denied to most Africans so that they were dependent for formal

housing on the always inadequate stock provided by the state. Consequently, backyard shacks and shack settlements were an ongoing feature of African townships. In the twenties and forties these settlements mushroomed irreversibly, forcing the state to create new formal townships as part of an attempt to control the movement to the cities (Bonner 1990).

After 1948 state strategies continued to have the dual effect of controlling urbanisation and stabilising a settled urban proletariat. Only in the sixties were the principles of apartheid rigorously applied in an attempt to reverse rather than merely control urbanisation. During this decade the claims of the manufacturing sector of industry were temporarily muted during an economic boom and resistance organisations had not yet recovered from Sharpeville. In these conditions the state was freer to demonstrate to an electorate that had voted for the Nationalist Party that it was serious about apartheid (Hindson 1987).

This period of strict influx control and removals to the newly created homelands produced the beginnings of a new phenomenon in that displaced populations which could not be supported by bantustan economies began to dam up behind bantustan borders at points most accessible to urban labour markets in the white designated areas. Workers living in these dense settlements related to the common area economy as commuting proletarians rather than migrants. In spite of influx control measures the sixties and more particularly the seventies saw the beginning of a new wave of squatting, particularly at points which could not be reached on a daily basis from the bantustans (Hindson 1987; Graaff 1986).

The Eighties: Contradiction and Transition

The dual effect of state labour settlement and movement control strategies constituted a contradiction at the heart of apartheid in that an urban population which had proven to be permanent and upon which the economy was increasingly dependent was not incorporated into national political structures. At the end of the seventies, the state finally had to engage with this contradiction which had led to criticism from within the economy and from within resistance groupings. An initial attempt to resolve this question involved a reform strategy based on the proposals of the Riekert Commission of 1979. Riekert's policies attempted to formalise and strengthen the distinction between homeland and common area populations and to buy off the political claims of Africans in the white designated area with improved social and material conditions. This strategy, premised on economic growth and the viability of sealing off the economies of the bantustans, failed on both these counts. Instead of increased growth the eighties brought a recession and economic decline, while the existence of a large proletarianised commuter population had integrated the economies of the bantustans and the common area irreversibly. Instead of stabilising the urban population, Riekert's policies provided a new focus for resistance (Cobbett *et al.* 1988).

Orderly Urbanisation

The failure of Riekert's policies brought the dominant faction within the state to realise that territorial segregation could no longer be sustained. In 1986 a *White Paper on Urbanisation* (WPU) formally scrapped influx control and introduced a new Orderly Urbanisation strategy which accepted the 'inevitability and desirability' of urbanisation. A regional approach to

urbanisation planning which superseded the divide between common area and homelands was adopted (Hindson 1987; Sutcliffe *et al.* 1990). After 1986 Africans from rural areas and non-independent homelands could legally seek work and residence in urban areas; those whose presence in the cities had been illegal no longer had to pretend they were not there. Africans from independent homelands were still technically excluded but this now became difficult to enforce.

Orderly Urbanisation policies brought new conditions for shackdwellers who now faced different forms of control and inequality as well as new possibilities of access to the benefits of city life. But this change was not a complete rupture. It incorporated continuities and new combinations of old policy elements. Differentiation according to cl[illegible], albeit within a broader racial stratification, had long been a dimension of state policy and it is this dimension which was developed within Orderly Urbanisation. The spatial basis for this differentiation shifted from the bantustan-common area distinction, premised ultimately on race, to differentiation between localities within a region or a city. The intention was to exacerbate class divisions by organising the urban population into class based localities; increasingly the operation of the market rather than political measures was used to effect this differentiation.

Orderly Urbanisation was also continuous with earlier policy developments in that it represented the latest attempt by the state to adjust to the *de facto* presence of Africans in urban areas by reshaping the cities to incorporate shack dwellers in ways and places more acceptable to the government. But in the eighties the nature of the shackdweller population was different in that the majority were not recent inmigrants but had emerged from the natural growth of an established population which could not be accommodated in the available formal dwellings, nor could they afford formal homes. The abolition of influx control made it possible for many people who might otherwise have remained hidden in back yards to claim the right to establish their own homes and to attend schools in the areas where they lived.

The introduction of Orderly Urbanisation policies was both a response to popular resistance and claims from within the economy as well as an attempt to reassert state control over urbanisation and to manage urbanisation on the state's terms. Budlender emphasises the efforts of those who had resisted pass laws:

> Properly understood, the abolition of the pass laws represented a major popular victory achieved after decades of struggle and at great cost and sacrifice. To portray it (as some did) as a cunning victory for the state is disparaging of those who fought the pass laws for so long, and suggests that the state is so powerful that limited but significant victories are not possible (Budlender 1990 p. 81).

Morris, on the other hand, emphasises the influence of the Urban Foundation which is arguably the voice of the most influential policy lobby within the private sector:

> This urbanisation policy was an integral part of the accumulation strategy that the Urban Foundation, under the dominance of externally orientated capital, had been touting for the past few years. It fitted neatly into the policy put forward by all fractions of capital for free market dominance in the spheres of production and reproduction. Both inwardly oriented and externally oriented capital concurred on restructuring the accumulation strategy towards government withdrawal from these spheres, agreeing on deregulation,

privatisation and 'positive' orderly urbanisation (Morris 1991).

The introduction of Orderly Urbanisation policies contradicted the logic of apartheid, in terms of which the permanent residential and political homes of Africans were in the homelands, and so created the conditions for the incorporation of Africans into national political structures. But it was to be five years before this political question would be addressed. Swilling *et al.* (1989) have explained this delay in terms of a shift of the balance of power within the state executive away from Heunis's Department of Constitutional Development and Planning towards the securocrats who eschewed the political strategy of the verligtes in favour of a programme involving repression of opposition and material upgrading. Between 1986 and 1989 this approach prevailed, bringing a measure of stability but offering no long term solution to the contradiction between economic and labour settlement strategies (Morris 1991).

One constituency which was not positively disposed towards the new urbanisation policies was the Nationalist Party's traditional electoral base who were set to lose some of the advantages given them by apartheid. As long as the securocrats continued to operate from this support base the full implications of an Orderly Urbanisation strategy could not be realised. From 1989 De Klerk set in motion the re-orientation of the Nationalist Party towards a different, ultimately deracialised support base and a closer relationship with private sector groupings. Only then could broader state strategies towards which Orderly Urbanisation was a first step be brought into place. These involved not only the political strategy of incorporating Africans into national structures but also the economic strategy emphasising the distribution of resources through the operation of the free market. In the sphere of state social policy, including education, state responsibility would be reduced to the provision of that which was basic and essential.

In the light of this analysis it is not coincidental that the first legal permanent shack settlements were established in 1989; the legislative conditions were created by the 1988 amendment to Section 6A of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951.

This amendment introduced the category of 'designated areas' which would constitute more permanent areas for informal settlement. From 1989 this legal category was to be used increasingly as a tool in the management of urbanisation (O'Regan 1990). By 1989 large numbers of people had taken advantage of the abolition of influx control and established their own homes in growing freestanding settlements which the state began to reorganise, move or legalise. Legal shack settlements, which number over ninety at the time of writing in mid 1991, symbolise a victory for shackdwellers who have won the right of access to the city but who have yet to fight the battle for greater equity in the allocation the resources of the city.

Shack Settlements in the PWV Area at the End of the Eighties

According to Urban Foundation (1990[a]) estimates there are some two and a half million shackdwellers in the PWV area and this number is likely to double in the next five years. In 1990, more than half the dwellings in the PWV area were informal (Urban Foundation 1990[a]). In 1988, 85 per cent of these were backyard shacks, 11 per cent were in township camps and only 5 per cent were in settlements outside townships (Schlemmer and Woolley 1988). The logic of Orderly Urbanisation policies suggests that this pattern is changing: large expanses of shack settlements are developing outside of gentrified middle class townships (Boraine 1988; UF 1990[a]).

The nature of the available information invites us to characterise shackdwellers in terms of categories such as race, employment, gender, spatial location, cultural practices and age. None of these dimensions of shackdweller communities has as yet been adequately researched to allow more than passing comments and questions. In relation to race, for example, the literature generally implies that to talk about shackdwellers is to talk about Africans. There are people categorised as 'Coloureds' and 'Asians' among shackdwellers but their numbers and experiences have not yet been the subject of research.

While there are considerable differences between shackdwellers and residents of established townships in respect of some of the analytic categories discussed below, the employment figures remind us that these differences must be seen in the context of current economic conditions. Earlier surveys suggest that between 43 per cent and 48 per cent of Witwatersrand shackdwellers are unemployed (Frankel 1988; Crankshaw *et al.* 1989) but the more recent CSS indicates that 52 per cent at Orange Farm and 55 per cent at Sebokeng are not economically active, and that 70 per cent of each population has no regular income. An earlier survey by Schlemmer and Woolley (1988) suggests that the income for shack homes was on average 60 to 65 per cent that of formal township homes while some 10 to 15 per cent of shack households were completely destitute; most of these were headed by women. According to the survey a greater proportion of shackdwellers were partially or informally employed and held unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Within the shackdweller population there is a higher rate of unemployment among women which is particularly evident when 'unemployed' is defined as including partial and informal employment.

This employment profile suggests that women are the most disadvantaged group. This would also have implications for child care. For unemployed women heading destitute households the availability of schools and child care, and the costs they involve, provide one of the determinants of dependence and economic survival. Schlemmer and Woolley *et al.* (1988) tell us that almost exactly half the population of shackdwellers in the PWV area are women (i.e. 49,4 per cent) while the CSS census indicates that slightly over half the Orange Farm population are women. This confirms the view that shack settlement populations are no longer migrant; shackdwellers are fully proletarianised families whose children require schooling in urban areas.

As a proletarianised population, shackdwellers in the nineties are increasingly urban in their cultural and political practices. Studies of earlier shack settlements in the forties and even in the seventies suggest that the majority of shackdwellers then still had strong rural roots (see Bonner 1990 and Cole 1987). Inherited cultural practices which had evolved in rural, tribal, patriarchal contexts continued to influence social control practices in shack settlements although these practices were soon challenged and adapted in the face of new conditions. Today only about a third of shackdwellers in the PWV are inmigrants from rural areas in terms of definitions adopted in a number of studies (UF 1990[a]; Crankshaw 1989; Schlemmer and Woolley *et al.* 1988). The remainder have emerged from the natural growth of an urban population without adequate housing or land. There are also indications that the pace of growth in urban areas eased off towards the end of the decade. Sutcliffe *et al.* (1990) support the view that the greatest inmigration occurred in the middle of the decade and that more recent changes in the urban landscape must be explained in terms of the redistribution of population within the cities rather than inmigration:

> While in 1985 average national urban growth rates of 6 per cent and 7 per cent per annum were estimated for the African population as a whole recent work suggests these rates are more likely to be between 3 per cent and 4 per cent per annum ...
>
> The conclusion we are drawn to is that what appears to be relatively limited immigration to urban areas cannot be linked to influx control. The physical growth of shack areas is rather the result of factors such as the reduced density of African areas within the metropolitan functional regions, natural increase and changing household composition (Sutcliffe *et al*. 1990 p. 99).

But even though the majority of shackdwellers currently seem to be moving across from the established townships this does not mean that shack settlement populations are no different from formal township dwellers as regards forms of political and civic organisation. Shackdwellers increasingly have a different class profile, and they face different problems and conditions to which they respond from within a tradition inherited from struggles in earlier shack settlements.

Many shackdweller organisations in the PWV region were established in response to specific threats and problems such as the need for water and refuse removal. These organisations extended their sphere of activities to include self help projects such as the establishment of schools. Thus civic rather than political forms of organisation came to predominate in shack settlements. By the end of 1989 local civic structures at settlements such as Weiler's Farm, Kwa Green and Mshenguville were still unaffiliated to national political organisations. Subsequently a regional civic umbrella body, called Omhle, has been formed. A national launch of this body is planned. Interviewees for this study from the Masakane organisations at Weiler's Farm and Mshenguville observed that they related to a tradition of resistance which originated at Crossroads in the Cape. This suggests that the common conditions faced in shack settlements have been at least as important a factor in determining forms of shackdweller organisation as have the origins of the shackdwellers themselves.

Morris (1989) argues that the different composition of shack settlement populations compared to formal township populations is also likely to have an effect on shackdweller organisation. Formal townships tend to have a larger *petit bourgeois* component than do shack settlements. In a study of a 'squatter' community at Oukasie, Morris (1989) observed that most of the leaders were unemployed males. According to Morris, the psychological and material vulnerability of this leadership put constraints on the democratic functioning of the organisation. Morris's study raises issues about organisation in under-resourced communities which are likely to be increasingly relevant as current state strategies separate people into spatially defined communities according to their level of income. Organisations which are weakened by their own lack of resources will be less able to resist state strategies and influence policies which concretise and reproduce class based inequality.

The age distribution in freestanding shack settlements as compared to other areas is particularly relevant here because of the implications for education. Urban Foundation (1990[b]) figures suggest that in all 'white metropolitan' areas the proportion of the population under the age of fifteen is significantly lower than it is in rural or homeland areas i.e. 26 per cent with 19 per cent between the ages of five and fourteen. A recent census of PWV townships by the Central

Statistics Services (CSS 1990) allows an interesting comparison between the population of Orange Farm and that of the more established neighbouring Sebokeng where only 8 per cent of the population live in shacks. This census suggests the following:

- The Orange Farm population peaks in the under 5 age group which comprises 14 per cent of the total as against 10 per cent at Sebokeng. The Sebokeng population peaks in the 15 to 19 age group. This suggest that an increasing number of schools will be needed in Orange Farm while a stable or decreasing number will be needed in Sebokeng.

- In both areas the 5 to 14 age group comprises some 23 per cent of the population.

- The Sebokeng peak in the 14 to 19 age group is followed by a drop in the 19–24 age group. This is matched by an upward curve in the 19-24 age group for Orange Farm. In context it seems worth speculating that young people in their early twenties are moving out of their parents' formal homes into shack settlements in order to establish their own homes and families. This supports the argument that there is likely to be a greater and increasing demand for schools in shack settlements.

The CCS census also provides useful comparative information regarding education levels in these neighbouring areas. In Sebokeng some 19 per cent have no education at all while 10 per cent have a matriculation or post matriculation level qualification. In Orange Farm the figures in these categories are 35 per cent and 3 per cent respectively. An earlier survey by Schlemmer and Woolley (1988) found the median education level of the PWV shackdwellers to be standard 5 which they compared to a national median of standard 6.

In the light of this profile it is beyond question that provision of education, and hence education facilities, in shack settlements should be regarded as a national priority. Freestanding shack settlements are a permanent feature of the urban landscape. In metropolitan areas more people are already living in shacks than in formal dwellings within the African sector of the population. The age distribution of shackdwellers is such that their need for schools is proportionately greater. The available education facilities in shack settlements are fewer resulting partially from the fact that these areas tend to be unproclaimed or recently proclaimed. Current levels of education among shackdwellers tend to be lower than in formal townships. The economic status of shackdwellers is such that it would be unreasonable to expect them to make a substantial contribution either to the direct costs of education such as fees or to the indirect costs such as transport. All these inequities suggest that there is a greater need for educational support in shack settlements than in other urban areas.

The subsequent chapters of this report will examine the responses of the DET to demands for school facilities in shack settlements. It will be argued that, instead of seeing the claims of shackdwellers as an integral part of a national picture and adjusting provision to all according to available resources, the DET has attempted to retain earlier standards of provision to wealthier communities while lowering standards and costs in poorer communities, specifically shack settlements. Shackdweller organisations have not been well placed to oppose these inequitable policies and practices.

Chapter Three

Trapped between Past and Future: DET Provision of Education Facilities in the Eighties.

The provision of education facilities by the DET in the PWV area must be understood in the context of developments since 1976. In this period a crisis of state legitimacy which exploded in 1976 was accompanied by a crisis of accumulation deepening in the mid eighties. The states' 'Total Strategy' response of a balance of reform and repression, aimed at regaining stability without giving way to full scale democracy and redistribution of resources, has been well documented (see for example Boraine 1989). This strategy could contain but not defeat resistance and a stalemate was reached which was finally to give way to De Klerk and Mandela's era of negotiations.These processes have played themselves out in education, as elsewhere, through strategies and alliances which have been mirrored in the DET's approach to the provision of education facilities.

In 1976 the spotlight was thrown on the quantitative as well as the qualitative inadequacies of DET education. An antagonistic relationship between this state department and a large sector of its clientele - teachers, students and parents - became explicit. Education was increasingly politicised and the various African education departments came to be seen as the education dimension of a broader pattern of oppression. Democratically based student, teacher and community organisations such as the NECC (National Education Crisis Committee) began to demand a say in decisions about education. Yet, although the discourse of the DET and the communication network it utilised was changing in the reform era of the '80's, little access to this network was given to democratically based groupings. The relationship between the DET and the NECC was hostile throughout the latter half of the eighties and only in early 1990 did this hostility begin to give way, at least at the highest levels, to talk of negotiations and dialogue.

The relationship between the DET and officially sanctioned bodies was also less than harmonious. By the end of 1989 officially recognised teachers' organisations such as ATASA (African Teachers Association of South Africa) had shifted towards the NECC camp and had entertained the possibility of unification with progressive teachers' organisations. Even from within the ranks of the new, controversial school governing councils in which parents' and teachers' voices were heavily diluted at the upper levels, came expressions of dissatisfaction: 'The DET is prepared to listen to us but we do not agree on priorities' was the way the secretary for the Council of Education and Training described this relationship in an interview for this study (Sebone 1989).

The relationship between the DET and the private sector evolved differently. In the late '70's the private sector also directed criticisms against the DET. But in the early eighties a more co-operative relationship was developing between state and private sector. The De Lange report proposed a partnership between the private sector and African education departments aimed at universal primary education and secondary education with a vocational/technical bias. Prior to 1984 there was a private sector call for increased skills and, later in the decade, a shortage of skills was seen to have contributed to the recession. It was thought that increased provision of these forms of education would bolster the economy and help legitimate the state. An added

advantage of this partnership for education departments was the possibility of the contribution of private sector funds to provision of non-formal and even formal education facilities.

The De Lange report bore fruits in the 1984 Education Act which stressed equal opportunity for, and equal standards of, education. The Ten Year Plan, announced in Parliament in 1986, was intended to concretise these principles. Spending on African education had been stepped up since 1978 and every year from 1978 to 1989 the annual percentage increase for the DET budget was higher than for the total state budget (SA: DET 1989[b]). An increased number of schools were built annually. The proportion of secondary to primary tuition rooms increased from 5,6 to 1 in 1983, to 4 to 1 in 1988. Each year the official figures representing the shortage of DET classrooms dropped from 6 045 rooms in 1983 to 3 278 in 1987 (SAIRR 1984 and 1988).

During this decade there were shifts in the approach to forms of education outside of mainstream provision of state schools. The state's earlier hostile attitude to privatisation and state-aided schools gave way to a more favourable stance expressed in the Private Schools Act of 1986. Threatened racial quotas for private schools were not applied and pupils attending state or state-aided schools were to be exempt from the Group Areas Act.

Following the 1986 White Paper on Orderly Urbanisation, which promised to ease the movement of Africans out of rural areas, a DET Task Group was set up to make recommendations for the improvement of farm schools. In 1988 the Education Land Laws (Education and Training) Amendment Act created the legal conditions for the establishment of state farm schools and increased the levels of subsidisation for conventional state-aided farm schools.

In the face of the potentially huge financial implications of responsibility for preschool education subsidisation of preprimary schools was withdrawn with the exception of those schools registered before 1988. Subsequently a school readiness programme called the bridging period programme has been introduced at an increasing number of primary schools. Preschool education is now designated a private concern. One Deputy Regional Director interviewed for this study reported that this bridging course was initially viewed with some skepticism:

> *It is happening at selected schools at the moment. It is developing. But most of the blacks are not impressed because they think it is a way of preventing the establishment of preschools. This is a result of a lack of communication.*

During this period the approach to provision of education was framed within a technicist discourse which had been structured by the De Lange Committee. This discourse with its emphasis on scientific, objective planning was predominant within the upper echelons of the DET. But in a period when the DET was under great political, financial and demographic pressure these forms of planning could only mask unofficial practices aimed at resolving conflicting claims including queue jumping and political interventions. A number of examples of such practices are mentioned in this report. In the eighties the talk was of equality and the needs of production. The two prongs of total strategy — material upgrading and stern security action — were clearly evident in the schools. But resistance continued and financial resources, though increased, were not adequate to remove the backlog and buy off opposition. The struggle for control of DET administered schools in urban areas, and the tendency to oppress rather than

negotiate with opposition groupings, created the conditions for a strong input to DET decision making by the security apparatuses to the point where, in the words of Hartshorne, 'decisions are being taken, not by the Education Department but by the security apparatus' (Hartshorne 1988).

DET Provision Policies, Riekert's Policies and Orderly Urbanisation

Within the context outlined above, this chapter focuses on those shifts in DET discourse, structures and policies which relate to the provision of school facilities in shack settlements. These shifts are explained in terms of the relationship of education facilities to broader state strategies and specifically to population movement and settlement policies. The report shows how education provision practices derived from the Riekert rationale of the early eighties co-existed, from 1986 (and especially from 1989), with practices derived from the rationale of Orderly Urbanisation policies. The former aimed at state provision of upgraded facilities for insiders while excluding outsiders; the latter aimed at facilities for all but differentiated the standard of provision according to the class of spatially defined communities and assumed financial contributions from users. Since 1989 the former approach has receded as the latter has become more predominant.

In the early eighties the policies of the state regarding population movement and settlement were given direction by the proposals of the Riekert Commission (see also Chapter Two). These policies conceded the failure of classic apartheid and formalised the differentiation of Africans into 'insiders' whose right of residence in the white designated areas was acknowledged, and 'outsiders' from the homelands. Insiders were not incorporated into national political structures; instead the strategy aimed to win their compliance with incorporation at local authority level and improved social and material conditions.

Significant here is the role of education in this process. The DET, which replaced the Department of Bantu Education (DBE) in 1979, set out to provide an improved quantity and quality of education for Riekert's insiders. Hyslop (1986) argues that a pattern of increased spending on education for Africans in the white designated area had begun as early as 1972. This supports the view that, in education as in other spheres, policies spawned in the Riekert era formalised an earlier *de facto* recognition of the dependence of sectors of the economy on a permanent, skilled, urban labour force. From 1979, and particularly after the Report of the De Lange Commission, a 'separate but equal' rationale was applied to the provision of education for Africans outside the homelands. This approach was given institutional form by the Department of National Education (DNE) which was created as an umbrella body across the racially constituted departments in 1983.

The 'separate but equal' rationale applied also to facilities. From 1979 the responsibility for the provision of school facilities was shifted from the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards (BAABs) to the DET. Facilities built by the DET were of a higher standard than those of the BAABs. From 1983 the provision of facilities was governed by cost norms and standards determined by the DNE (DNE 1983). This meant that cost formulas were the same for DET schools as for schools for other departments. The principle of separate but equal education was reaffirmed in the *National Policy for General Education Affairs Act of 1984* in terms of which:

> Equal opportunities for education, including equal standards of education, are to be striven after for every inhabitant of the Republic irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex (DET 1990[f]).

As in other spheres of state provision, the separate but equal approach to the provision of education assumed that outsiders would be excluded from schools so that numbers would be manageable and that finances would be sufficient to support improved and expanded provision.

The failure of Riekert's population movement and settlement policies, resulting from the inability of the state to separate the economies of homeland and non-homeland areas, to enforce influx control and to finance improved social conditions in the white designated area was mirrored in the sphere of education. Economic growth had not been sufficient to support the envisaged scale of increased provision. Migration to the cities continued, and peaked in the mid eighties, in spite of influx control (see Chapter Two) and the children of 'illegal' migrants added to the pressure on accommodation at schools. But while Riekert's policies were abandoned and replaced in the sphere of population movement and control policies after 1985, their offshoots within DET policies were retained. There was no systematic reconceptualisation of DET provision policies between 1985 and 1990. Instead, there were sporadic attempts to renew commitment to equalising provision evidenced, for example, in the 1986 announcement of a ten year plan aimed at equalising education opportunities across all race groups. The DET was trapped between its inability to step up spending sufficiently to overtake the backlog, increased student numbers and inflation and its inability to formally downgrade the standard of provision in the face of strong political pressure. This predicament of the DET must also be seen in the context of the state's political and financial inability to equalise per capita spending across racially defined regions and departments.

A policy speech made in 1985 by Viljoen, then minister of Education and Training, suggests that he expected a change in education strategy but that the preconditions for changes in education policies were the incorporation of Africans into political structures and the depoliticisation of education. This involved, as he put it:

> promoting the depoliticisation of black education by meeting the reasonable political aspirations of black people in South Africa through negotiation and by implementing the principle that every community is entitled to participate in political decision making which affects its interests and its future. The political area is not completely separate from education and progress in the field of political reform is directly related to stable progress in education reform (Viljoen 1985).

Viljoen's speech was made after the appointment of the President's Council Committee on Urbanisation but before this committee reported. The statement does not introduce new education policies; its substantive content amounts rather to a restatement of the way in which the De Lange proposals were interpreted from within the state. But embedded in the statement are signals that demographic, structural and political changes were expected and that these would have implications for education. Viljoen spoke in terms of 'regions' in preference to 'homelands' and defined the scope of his department's responsibility in relation to all Africans including those in the independent and non-independent homelands. He warned that

growth in numbers reflects a rapid change from elitist education available to a select few to education for the masses (Viljoen 1985).

Viljoen also suggested that the DET would move towards more decentralised structures. While this move did not materialise before the end of the decade it does represent another parallel between Viljoen's statement and the rationale of Orderly Urbanisation policies introduced later in the same year.

Viljoen's implication that political change was on the agenda 'in an undivided RSA' was expressed more explicitly in the WPU (para. 5.1.2). But the reform processes initiated by the verligte lobby were stalled as the influence of the securocrats increased and came to outweigh that of the verligte lobby within the government executive between 1986 and 1989 (see Swilling *et al.* 1989). During consecutive states of emergency a combination of upgrading and repression strategies were pursued (see Morris 1991 and Swilling *et al.* 1989). While these strategies did achieve a measure of stability, education was not depoliticised; it continued to constitute a front line in an unresolved battle which was not only about conditions within the DET and homeland education departments but also about political rights. These conditions did not allow the restructuring of education hinted at by Viljoen in 1985.

At the same time the introduction of Orderly Urbanisation policies and the abolition of influx control had consequences which began to undermine the DET in its approach to provision of education. The movement to the cities which appears to have peaked in the early to mid eighties (see Chapter Two) put increased pressure on space in schools. After 1985 the claims of previously 'illegal' residents on places in schools could no longer be denied. Legal status is also likely to have encouraged previously illegal residents to be more vocal in voicing their demands for access to township schools. The DET could still justify not providing schools in shack settlements; legally schools could not be built on land that had not been proclaimed for residential use by Africans. But from 1989 the proclamation of legal site and service schemes brought a new set of demands for new schools in these areas.

Shortage of DET School Accommodation

The question of the adequacy of DET school accommodation must involve a consideration of both the quantity and the quality of facilities. The quantity i.e. the shortage of space must be measured not only in relation to the number of children of school going age in the DET administered area who are not at school but also in relation to the overcrowding of facilities and the use of double sessions, the platoon system and temporary or rented accommodation to supplement accommodation.

Official figures of shortages may at times be confusing in that they exclude particular categories of students. According to Minister Stoffel van der Merwe the official DET shortfall in 1989 was 159,849 classroom places of which 60,343 were at primary school level (SAIRR 1990 p. 817). Thi figure refers only to state schools, however. It excludes farm schools where shortages are mos. dramatic. In 1988 an estimate that 36% of children in rural areas were not in school was quoted in Parliament (SAIRR 1989 p. 269); a calculation based on this percentage and the

number of students at DET farm schools in 1990 (DET 1990[a]) would suggest that this proportion represents some 270,000 students. Apart from excluding farm schools, the official shortage figure also does not take into account the platoon system, double sessions, rented accommodation and temporary accommodation (SAIRR 1990 p. 817). In 1989 the platoon system and double sessions involved 259,138 students (DET 1989[a]).

Information currently emerging such as the UF demographic projection model (UF 1990[b]) and the 1991 census results may soon provide and alternative way of estimating the number of students not at school. The table below provides a comparison between UF estimates for each of three age groups in the DET administered area and DET registrations for 1990 (DET 1989[a]).

AGE	5–6	10–14	15–19
UF estimate	1,212,276	1,081,998	1,115,516
DET registrations*	737,782	853,922	547,070
Difference	474,494	228,076	568,446

*Note: A further 78,992 DET school students were older than 19 in 1990.

This table is intended to provide perspective in the absence of a more precise analysis. It is not intended as an account of children not in school as it is not reasonable to assume that all children who are five or seventeen to nineteen years old should be at school. The table also does not take into account the relatively small number of African students registered with departments other than the DET. There would be regional variation in the pattern of the shortage: the proportion of children not in schools is likely to be highest in rural areas.

While the focus here is on mainstream schooling it should be borne in mind that the need for facilities for schooling is not restricted to the six to nineteen age group; the 'lost generation' who dropped out between 1976 and 1990 and all those adults who have had little or no formal schooling are waiting in the wings along with a new generation of preschool children who are not currently accommodated in the state system. DET adult education centres and subsidised preschools only accommodate a fraction of these.

While the above figures and comments do not bring us much closer to a precise assessment of the overcrowding and numbers not at school in the DET administered area they do suggest that the official figures are very conservative. There is clearly a need for further research in order to assess not only the shortages but also the regional specificities within the distribution of such shortages.

Shortages in the DET administered area should also be contextualised nationally. It has been estimated that there are 1,7 million between the ages of six and nineteen not in schools nationally while another 1,7 million between the ages of 19 and 29 dropped out of school in the last decade (Edusource 1991). The national picture suggests that whatever the inadequacies of DET provision students in this system tend to be better off than students in the homelands. Overcrowding is clearly worse in the six non-independent homelands than in the DET administered region as is evidenced in the ratios of pupils to classrooms in 1990 (DET 1990[a]).

DET : 2,229,295 pupils : 52,353 rooms
N.I.H's: 3,269,192 pupils : 56,415 rooms

In this and other ways the historical inequities in education have been structured regionally as well as racially.

A shortage of space is not only a quantative problem; the quality of existing facilities is also not necessarily acceptable. According to DET officials interviewed for this report schools built before 1979 by the Bantu Administration Boards were of an inferior quality compared to those subsequently built by the DET. Many of the older buildings are so run down that they need to be replaced rather than repaired while many of the newer buildings have been damaged as a result of overcrowding, political conflict and vandalism (see Appendix para. 16).

During 1989, in a context of increasing demographic, financial and political pressure, the DET was confronted with the added responsibility of the provision of schools in legalised shack settlements. At that stage there was not yet a cohesive response to this problem from within the DET but there was general resistance evident among interviewees to the establishment of schools in shack settlements conforming to the existing norms and standards of schools provided within the mainstream planning process. In the short and even medium term these conditions inevitably would result in a severe shortage of schools in shack settlements. But in the long term the strategies and practices which officials evolved in response to these conditions, the ways in which initial facilities were provided and the nature of those facilities, may be of greater significance than the shortages. These responses marked the emergence of a rationale for a completely different type and quality of facilities for shack settlements. Such differentiation raises questions about the ways in which the location, size, form and quality of facilities structure the schooling experience of students. A debate about these issues promises to be central to the question of education and equity in the future.

Reasons for the Shortages

From 1988 DET officials began to admit publicly that the system was not coping with increasing numbers. According to a report in *The Star* in April 1988

> the DET said that the removal of influx control made it necessary for it to provide accommodation for 50 000 more pupils than the expected increase in 1987 (SAIRR 1988 p. 161).

That year and in subsequent years DET statements continued to relate the shortage of space to 'the removal of influx controls' and 'unexpected influx' as in February 1991:

> [Dr Louw] said the shortages experienced this year were the result of a sudden influx of pupils from rural areas to urban areas. This also caused overcrowding which could not be solved overnight (*Cape Times* 14 February 1991).

These statements implied a simplistic analysis of the space problem. Other factors such as the need to accommodate the children of previously illegal residents were not acknowledged. There was also no recognition of the considerable consensus in the literature that some two thirds of

the increase in urban populations can be accounted for by natural population growth as opposed to inmigration and that the pace of inmigration has slowed down as new patterns of settlement developed within the city (see Chapter Two). This would suggest that the shortages of space which the DET experienced by the end of 1989 were not so much the result of an unexpected influx as of a complex web of causes. These include

- a heritage of inadequate provision and backlogs;
- inadequate funding which must be related not only to available resources but also to the inequitable distribution of funds across racially constituted education departments and across homelands and the common area;
- unrealistic standards governing provision of facilities across all non-homeland departments;
- inability to monitor population growth and changes in the patterns of demographic distribution within the city; and
- failure to adapt provision policies to new legal, political and demographic conditions related to policies in other spheres of state activity.

Increasing costs of provision also contributed to the shortage of space. Within the DET the proportion of funding available for capital costs shrank as the cost of salaries for increasing numbers of qualified teachers went up. Building costs escalated with inflation and a new cost was introduced when township development shifted into the hands of private developers and sites had to be purchased for the first time.

Government and DET Responses to Demands for Facilities

Until 1989 the government remained committed, at least at the level of rhetoric, to a programme of equalisation of educational opportunities within the DET administered area. In 1986 this commitment was reiterated in the announcement of a ten year plan to achieve equal educational opportunities. This was consistent with broader state strategies in the pre-1985 era involving the upgrading of material conditions for African 'insiders'. After 1985 it was similarly consistent with the selective upgrading of material conditions which formed part of the 'Total Strategy' approach preferred by the more conservative clique which came to dominate the government executive during the states of emergency. An alternative approach to social provision suggested within the 1986 White Paper on Urbanisation did not have any substantial impact on the official DET approach to provision of education facilities prior to 1989, but from this year onwards new policy trends were increasingly reminiscent of the White Paper approach.

In 1989 FW de Klerk, then minister of national Education, announced that the 10 year plan was to be abandoned. He suggested that there would be a shift to an approach which scaled down provision rather than continued efforts to upgrade spending. As he put it:

> We shall have to provide better education with fewer resources per client by means of a more efficient and leaner system of education (De Klerk quoted in SAIRR 1989/90 p. 789).

In subsequent years this approach was elaborated in various government statements and documents, two of which are discussed in the final chapter of this report. The earlier rationale of equal but racially separate education organised in terms of the regional logic of apartheid began to give way to an approach which differentiated provision according to the class character of spatially defined communities and assumed financial contributions by those receiving education. The signals of shifts in the government's approach to social provision coincided with the ascendance of De Klerk's verligte clique in government and were related to the broader economic and political strategies emerging under the banner of negotiations.

Another development arising from these political conditions was the proclamation of the first legal shack settlements from 1989. These settlements brought additional demands for schools. DET officials were required to respond to these demands from within the context of shifts in the dominant discourse regarding social provision which had not yet been translated into legislation, plans and procedures. The norms and standards which had been specified by the DNE were still in place. The official criteria for prioritising building projects were still quantative, based on pupil density and projected pupil growth (see Appendix p. 3). In terms of formal policy the DET was obligated to build expensive schools in shack settlements rather than in the townships at a time when financial resources were severely limited.

But the residents of established townships had a stronger political voice than did shackdwellers. Shackdwellers were not yet sufficiently organised to contest education provision policies and practices nor were their interests represented by other groupings who could influence the DET. Opposition organisations such as the NECC whose support base was predominantly in formal townships gave higher priority to issues arising in these townships. Some private sector organisations such as the Urban Foundation, the Private Sector Education Council, the Private Sector Initiative, the Education Foundation and the Independent Development Trust had not yet come into existence while others had not yet turned their attention to the issue of education in shack settlements. The government had not yet formulated its new strategy and only intervened from above in *ad hoc* ways. As a result, the DET response to shackdwellers was largely an internal matter at DET head office level in 1989.

In the PWV region, outside pressures and interventions were more prevalent at the regional level. Here, officials were under pressure from local shackdweller organisations and also from second tier state departments, particularly the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA), which had the task of drawing squatters to legal settlements and stabilising the settlement populations.

The demographic, financial and political conditions outlined above structured the responses of the DET to the demand for schools in shack settlements at the end of 1989, when interviews were conducted for this report. These responses became precedents in that practices developed then were fed back into national policies and, later, into the government's ERS. This loop from Departmental practices to national policy proposals will be discussed in the concluding chapter of this report.

Discursive Shifts within the DET: 1985 – 1990

As mentioned earlier, restructuring of education which Viljoen anticipated in 1985 (see page 44) did not take place before the end of the decade. In the meanwhile the mainframe of policies formulated in the Riekert era remained in place; within this frame *ad hoc* adjustments were made in response to new conditions. The inconsistencies produced by the presence of two major discursive currents related not only to policy content and implementation practices but also to the institutional structures and procedures which gave material form to policy-discourse.

The earlier discursive current was characterised by a technicist approach which had been given coherent expression in the De Lange Report. The language of this discourse with its emphasis on scientific, objective planning remained predominant within the upper echelons of the DET until the end of the decade, as will be illustrated in the discussion of interviews in the next chapter. But in a period when the DET was under political attack with inadequate resources to meet its own objectives, this form of planning could only mask unofficial practices aimed at resolving conflicting claims. The interviews conducted at regional level for this study suggest that, by the end of 1989, some officials at this level had lost faith in the prevailing approach to provision.

A technicist approach to policy making may be equated to what Offe (1985) calls instrumental rationality in his discussion of what he regards as the three main approaches to policy production. According to Offe the conditions necessary for the adoption of instrumental rationality as the organising principle of productive state activity (such as education) include 'clear cut, uncontroversial and operational goals; stability of the environment and/or short production cycle; no fiscal constraints' (Offe 1985 p. 139).

Offe's conditions, or rather, their absence in the DET policy environment in the eighties, provide at least a partial explanation of the predicament of regional DET officials caught between the scientific macroplans generated at DET head office, which promised schools without providing funds, and the clamour for resources within civil society. Under these conditions it was almost inevitable that technicist decision making processes would give way to what Offe describes as a 'decentralised process of political conflict and consensus' (Offe 1985 p. 139).

By the end of 1989 DET officials were in need of a renewed discourse which would define for them a viable role within new conditions and weave together the patchwork of practices that were emerging in response to these conditions. Such a discourse was partially developed in other spheres of state activity. The state had signalled a retreat from technicism and a move towards a consensus mode in the WPU. This was not so much a voluntary shift as an attempt to take control of changes resulting from resistance to earlier strategies. But the process of universalising this newer discourse in the sphere of education and giving it institutional form within the DET had hardly begun. After February 1990 the government set about translating this discourse into the sphere of education both in public statements such as minister Van der Merwe's policy statement of July 1990 and the ERS of June 1991 and in internal departmental activities such as a tour by minister Van der Merwe to all the regions. In the meanwhile some of the central notions within this discourse, such as the emphasis on local negotiation and conflict resolution and the spatial differentiation of provision, were affirmed for officials who had borrowed these notions in order

to deal with specific problems such as the task of providing schools in shack settlements.

A central notion within the rationale of social provision introduced in the WPU is that of community participation. This was to become increasingly important within regional, and later national, DET practices within shack settlements as well as in other communities. Community participation may facilitate the expression of community demands, depending on the way it is defined and organised. Offe points out that a major disadvantage of what he calls the consensus mode of policy production, from the point of view of the state, is that it would invite 'more demands and interests to articulate themselves than can be satisfied under fiscal and institutional constraints that the capitalist state is unable to escape' (Offe 1985 p. 140). But the approach to social provision introduced in the WPU minimises these disadvantages by defining and limiting the forms and levels of participation at the local level or, as Van der Merwe put it, 'filling in the details' *post hoc* (Van der Merwe 1990). In this approach to social provision the flip side of the coin of local participation is exclusion from national policy making. As Yeatman explains, a discourse of decentralisation and local participation does accommodate the expression of claims, but:

> claims and claimants are brokered much lower down the line and it becomes all the more difficult for their advocates to elaborate them into generalised and generally visible discursive maps and claims. When managers close to the coalface are required to manage reduced budgets, which in a climate of restructuring bring with them acutely intensified competition between claims and their advocates they can do little more than retreat into control modes of management which favour the existing distribution of discursive power and resources (Yeatman 1990 p. 172).

When 'local participation' is constructed as responsibility for costs and outcomes, claims will be imploded within the community itself without accountability being relayed to the state.

Subsequent chapters of this report will document some of the ways in which community participation has been used to effect the downgrading of facilities and other forms of DET provision in shack settlements within a broader process of differentiation of provision according to the socio-economic profile of spatially defined communities.

Some of the ways in which the rationale of Orderly Urbanisation intruded into the DET between 1989 and 1990 related to the definition of spatial boundaries, the proposed decentralisation of structures, an increasing willingness to relegate areas of provision to the private sector and grouping in civil society and the introduction of new and different forms of differentiation of education provision, especially provision of facilities. Each of these will be elaborated below.

Decentralisation

By the end of the eighties authority and control of finances were still vested in a centralised administration, giving institutional form to a discourse which defined the Department and the state as responsible and accountable. Viljoen's 1985 policy statement had expressed the intention that the Department be decentralised and this intention was reiterated in subsequent years (DET 1989[f]; DET 1990[a]). But this intention was not fulfilled in the eighties presumably because decentralisation would have had to be part of a broader restructuring and to be linked to the

orchestration of a less antagonistic relationship between the Department and its clients. The WPU notion of decentralisation is also linked to greater community participation at the local level. Attempts by the DET to establish school management councils to facilitate 'community involvement' in the latter half of the decade were effectively opposed by resistance organisations and school communities. These moves towards decentralisation and the devolution of responsibility to regional local levels were fundamental to WPU proposals regarding social provision (see WPU para's. 4.3.14; 10.1.2 and 10.2).

Regional Boundaries

While the external boundaries of the DET remained contiguous with those of the non-homeland area the regional boundaries were adjusted to coincide with those of economic regions which cut across the homelands. This development suggests that DET regions could eventually be slotted into a national configuration of regions in line with WPU proposals (WPU Section 6).

The decentralisation of structures within regions which correlate with economic regions provides initial structural conditions towards a department which may be deracialised and regionally diverse. However, this does not necessarily mean that the distribution of resources within a region would be equitable. Practices which differentiate the levels of provision for different spatially and economically defined communities and specifically for shack settlements would be facilitated by the proximity of the regional administrations to local communities, as is illustrated by developments within the regions since 1989, discussed in subsequent chapters of this report. Regional bureaucrats are able to negotiate different provision arrangements, or deals, with different communities.

Differentiation

In the early eighties the differentiation of provision was organised regionally and racially and related primarily to different forms of provision between, rather than within, departments. An exception to this was the differentiation of the level, cost and quality of provision for rural and urban DET schools effected primarily through the different forms of control of farm schools and urban state schools.

Curriculum constitutes another potential form of provision differentiation. In the early eighties the DET took up the De Lange Commission's recommendation that technical education be expanded as a policy objective (see for example Viljoen's 1985 policy statement). The motivation for this related to the perception of the needs of the economy rather than to the cost of provision of different curricular packages. In fact relatively few technical colleges (secondary level) were established (21 by 1990) and not many students enrolled for technical subjects in ordinary schools (see DET 1990). According to interviewees for this report this can be explained in terms of the higher costs of provision of technical education as well as the preferences of students. Thus, in terms of curriculum, DET education remained largely undifferentiated.

From 1989 a new set of differentiation practices emerged within the DET. This involved the differentiation of facilities, and potentially of other forms of provision, for state schools according to the socio-economic profile of spatially defined communities. Between 1989 and

1991 the norms and standards governing matters such as site sizes, site numbers and school plans were adjusted to produce three categories of facilities. In addition, provision of facilities in shack settlements were effectively if not officially deregulated. Different models of control and funding were used as an additional mechanism to effect differentiation in an approach similar to that which had applied to farm schools in the past.

This range of differentiation mechanisms provides a central focus for this report. Each of the practices mentioned here is more fully discussed below and in subsequent chapters. At this point the similarity between these practices and the approach to social provision outlined in the WPU is at issue. The WPU recommended that state provision of social services such as health should be 'appropriate' to particular socio-economic communities. State provision should be combined with selective privatisation and increased community responsibility (see WPU para. 11.4). Thus differentiation of state provision would dovetail with differentiation effected in the market place.

These developments would suggest that the state has produced a special strategy for those areas of social provision which must be guaranteed by the state and cannot therefore be relegated entirely to the free market. This strategy is aimed at articulating a range of mechanisms operating within state, private sector and civil society towards effecting the class based differentiation of provision.

Community and Private Sector Control of Schools

In the early eighties the DET was still territorial in its responses to initiatives from within the private sector and civil society to provide education for Africans in the DET administered area. The De Lange report had prepared the way for greater private sector involvement but this was initially taken up in relation to non-formal education and support for state education rather than to the relegation of control of formal schooling to the private sector or community groupings. This approach was reflected in the national policy for General Affairs Act of 1984 and in Viljoen's 1985 policy statement. The 1984 Act vested responsibility for formal education in the state while non-formal education was defined as the shared responsibility of the state and the private sector. In Viljoen's statement the role defined for parents, school committees and communities is fairly passive, involving support for state education practices and goals.

The DET approach to social provision was different from that of the 1986 WPU which supported community projects and private sector involvement in such projects (WPU para. 11.2.2). Education is specified as an example of an area suited to such projects (WPU para. 4.4.3. 19). This approach assigned greater responsibility and decision making powers to local participatory structures although the forms of responsibility relate primarily to greater financial input by communities (see WPU paras. 4.4.3.13; 4.4.3.18; 11.2.2; and 14.2.2). Thus self help projects were presented as an alternative to privatisation or commodification as part of a strategy which would reduce the cost of provision for the state.

It is worth speculating that the rationale of Orderly Urbanisation policies helped persuade the government to adopt a less hostile attitude to private schools in the Private Schools Act of 1986. Although the majority of private schools registered in subsequent years still fell under departments other than the DET, the DET itself took advantage of the legitimation of notions of

privatisation and community responsibility when it announced that it would not expand subsidies for preschools from 1988. In a reference to this in the DET 1988 annual report, the care of preschool children was declared to be the 'generally accepted' responsiblity of 'parents and the community' (p. 94).

The interviews conducted for this study reveal an almost desperate openness on the part of most DET interviewees to ways in which private sector organisations can provide financial input to state schools and an acceptance that such organisations would want to influence aspects of schooling such as curriculum in return. But by 1989 a sufficiently close relationship between the DET and the private sector had not been co-ordinated in a systematic way just as in the broader relationship between state and private sector. 'The spirit of synergy required to make a real difference (had) yet to materialise' (Steyn 1988).

Only after the end of 1989 did the De Klerk government orchestrate a sufficiently close relationship between state, business and industry to allow the relegation of large areas of education provision to the private sector as suggested in the ERS of 1991. In the same period private sector influence on state education policies and material contributions to provision began to be organised in new ways through policy centres such as that of the Urban Foundation and funding bodies such as the Independent Development Trust. The important question about these organisations in the context of this study relates to their effect on emerging DET practices involving the differentiation of education provision according to the class character of urban areas. It will be argued in the concluding chapter of this report that the forms of interaction between the DET and organisations such as the IDT that have emerged since 1989 contribute to the broader strategy of differentiation by facilitating the deregulation of certain forms of provision and the increase of costs to communities particularly in shack settlements.

In contrast with its relationship to business and industry, the relationship between the DET and oppositional political groups remained hostile throughout the eighties. By 1989 the DET was sufficiently weakened to be obliged to negotiate with organisations such as the NECC but none of the officials interviewed for this study regarded such 'talks' as particularly productive. At the same time the DET's own attempts to organise a system of school councils had not achieved credibility. But from 1989 relationships between the DET and groupings in civil society were pursued in a new way when the first community-initiated private schools in shack settlements were registered. It is in this context that the notion of community participation as defined in the WPU was first realised in the sphere of DET activity.

This report argues that different models of control and funding provide an important set of mechanisms within the broader strategy of differentiation of provision according to the class profile of spatially defined communities (see Chapter Five). Essentially the basic models — private, state-aided and state — are not new. But they are being used in new ways. These models, and the way in which they have been adapted within a new strategy of education provision in order to contribute to class based differentiation, will be discussed in Chapter Five.

The shifts in structure, policies and discourse that have been discussed in this chapter did not occur in a co-ordinated way. Instead, adjustments were made unevenly and at different levels. Some shifts, particularly in relation to forms of differentiation, were initiated at regional level

and later taken up at national level. Others, such as the shifts in relationships with the private sector, were to some extent facilitated by shifts in the relationship between the government and the private sector. At the end of 1989, when interviews were conducted for this report, there were blatant inconsistencies in the responses to the claims of shackdwellers at government level, DET head office level and DET regional level. Subsequently the government has effected a greater universalisation of the rationale of Orderly Urbanisation policies within the DET while specific practices congruent with this rationale have been drawn from the experience of the regions. This moment when policies were least coherent, i.e. the end of 1989, provides the focus for the next chapter. An examination of this period and subsequent developments reveals how shifts in policy did not involve the complete displacement of one approach by another; instead, elements of an inherited approach were combined with new elements in order to produce a different approach which, while new, is rooted in the old.

Chapter Four

Provision of School Facilities in Shack Settlements: DET Policies and Practices in 1989.

By the end of the eighties the coherence of the DET approach to the provision of facilities which had been conceived in the Riekert era was fragmenting in the face of political, demographic, financial and discursive conditions different from those which DET planners had assumed at the beginning of the decade. Shortages of facilities had become a focus of resistance. Not only was funding inadequate but the proportion of funding available for capital expenditure had decreased as costs escalated. Additional demands for facilities came from new quarters. Demands for schools in legal shack settlements were added to those for long awaited facilities in established townships. New legislation allocated higher subsidies for farm schools and created the conditions for the establishment of more state schools in rural areas. It became increasingly obvious that the DET was unable to provide the relatively high standard of facilities to which it was bound by DNE regulations and established procedures to all its clients within its budget. It also became increasingly difficult for the DET to deny or ignore the claims of the growing number of people in legal shack settlements.

This chapter reflects a moment within the shifts in DET policy and practice, a close-up view of responses to a specific issue at a particular time. The chapter is based primarily on a series of interviews with thirteen DET officials: three head office officials including the Deputy Director General, five regional directors and five deputy regional directors. The interviews were conducted between October 1989 and February 1990. The focus of the interviews was on DET provision of education facilities within the PWV area, shortages, existing or envisaged practices for coping with shortages and responses to claims from shack settlements.

The first section of the chapter outlines the actual planning procedures for the provision of facilities as described by interviewees and set down in relevant DET documents as well as unofficial DET practices which emerged in PWV shack settlements. The second section records the responses of DET interviewees to issues relating to shortages and provision for shack settlements. The third section turns to the shackdwellers themselves and records their perspective of provision of schooling as reflected in interviews for this study. The main focus is on two categories of shackdwellers: those in freestanding settlements in or near existing formal townships and those in shack settlements at a distance from established townships. A case study of Weiler's Farm and Orange Farm provided the main source relating to the latter category although interviews were also conducted in four other settlements. The perspective of shackdwellers is important in this study not because it provides new information, but because it elaborates and interprets the accounts provided by DET officials.

Provision of DET Schools: The Planning Process

In an interview at the end of 1989 Dr Dirk Meiring, Deputy Director General of the DET described the process of planning for school facilities as 'objective and scientific strictly according to need'. This may well have been the intent informing the design of the planning process but it does not follow that this was its effect, as will be illustrated below.

A series of national plans were developed within the DET from the early eighties for the provision of 'physical facilities': plans for schools, technical colleges, teacher training colleges, farm schools and special education (see Appendix: DET Physical Planning). Of these, the national plan for provision of state schools was regarded as the most sophisticated. This planning process was developed during the early 80's and implemented from 1986.

The planning process for school facilities consisted of an annual macro and micro information gathering procedure linked to a 4 year projection cycle. On a macro level, statistics were collected reflecting projected national population growth. On a micro level information was collected regarding local needs and population growth for schools, townships and the region. There were two categories of sources regarding population growth: information regarding growth of existing townships, and information regarding new township development.

DET interviewees mentioned a number of bodies consulted during the planning process. At head office (macro planning) level these included the Central Statistical Service, homeland governments, Regional Services Councils, the Department of Constitutional Development, the Department of Development Aid, the Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs, the police, the army, and the National Council for Education and Training. The planning process was also informed by discussions with representatives of the private sector, particularly the mining houses.

At regional level there was some variation in the consultation and information gathering process. Most commonly, information was drawn from local authorities and the schools themselves regarding township growth and from the TPA for new township developments. In the Johannesburg region a private company, Jomet, was consulted for statistical information. In the Orange–Vaal region the Assistant Director in charge of planning believed that the government had a long term township development plan for the region to which neither he nor his sources had access, and which was being revealed piecemeal for political reasons. He scanned the Government Gazette for notification of new township developments. In the Diamond Fields region the police and the army did at times report movement of people to the DET. While Joint Management Committees (JMC's) and the new 'task groups' were active in all regions, interviewees agreed that these were not particularly useful for planning purposes. New standing committees incorporating provincial and parastatal bodies such as ESCOM and the Development Bank were expected to be more useful. The JMC's, which were dominated by security personnel, had tended to respond to crisis in an ad hoc way while the new task groups were led by employer bodies who were more oriented to long term planning for economic stability. All township development plans had to be presented to the DET for allocation and approval of sites for schools before they were finalised.

Once the statistical information had been gathered and the needs expressed at existing schools taken into account the annual regional plan was drawn up. A region could apply for new schools in terms of a formula which allocated a primary or secondary school for a given number of residential sites. Extra information such as the pressure on schools from students not living near the school was also taken into account. Schools listed on the annual regional plan were prioritised within the region according to how many students were in need of accommodation

and how long a particular community had been waiting. Regional plans were considered by a national priorities committee at head office. Here, a national priority list was drawn up which, in due course, was presented to the minister for his approval. This list was revised annually.

The DET approach to the planning of school facilities assumed stable, predictable, population growth and movement. It gave preference to communities that had been waiting a long time, or to new township developments that went through a long, orderly planning process. The minimum delay from the date of approval for the building of a school to the opening of the school was three years — longer was more usual. According to the Deputy Regional Director of the Highveld region, some schools that were placed on the priority list in 1986 (the first year in which the national plan came into operation) had still not been built over three years later.

At both national and regional level planning procedures could not accommodate demographic, financial and political conditions different from those which had been assumed in their design. The Deputy Head Education Specialist acknowledged this in an interview for this study at the end of 1989:

> This model of ours works in a closed environment. If you have outside input then this thing becomes unstable e.g. if you have an area next to a self governing state and you predicted certain growth then you get this influx from outside, then the whole thing is out. We try to pick this up through our discussions with the regions.

At regional levels established procedures did not always provide adequate information; town councils did not generally have the legitimacy and infrastrucuture to provide reliable statistics about legal and illegal shackdwellers. Statistics based on enrolment at existing schools did not reflect the numbers of children outside of the system. Some regional officials did develop alternative strategies for estimating population and student numbers but in the two regions where shack settlements were most predominant, methods of estimating numbers were not considered adequate.

Regional officials were aware that limited finance would only allow the building of a small number of schools in each region, regardless of the demand. Consequently, officials in two regions drew a distinction between the numbers of schools they 'could' request and the numbers they 'did' request. Thus predictions about supply determined the reported level of needs rather than vice versa.

Norms and Standards for DET School Facilities

In the early eighties norms and standards for the white designated area were determined within a discourse characterised by an attempt to deliver equal but separate education across race groups. From 1983 schools built by the DET had to conform to space and cost norms specified for all education departments in the non-homeland area by the DNE (DNE 1983). By the end of 1989 these norms still applied, officially, but they were being undermined by discursive shifts at government level. These shifts were signalled, for example, in statements accompanying the abandonment of the ten year plan indicating that provision would be 'scaled down'. These signals influenced responses from within the DET to the crisis of provision which the Department faced, as became evident in the next two years. By the end of 1989 designs for more cost

effective buildings had been commissioned within the DET. (Interview with Deputy Director General.)

At that time, i.e. late 1989, the issue of the material quality of facilities was the subject of some debate within the Department. Interviewees for this report raised the following issues regarding this matter:

1. Interviewees believed that the Department should guard against the accusation that it was providing second rate schools particularly in the context of political opposition to the DET.

2 When asked specifically about shack settlements, however, most interviewees said that it was not practical to build 'normal' schools in these areas. They argued that brick buildings would 'look out of place' in shack settlements and that they would be vandalised or stripped in order to provide building material. The Regional Director for the Highveld region quoted a minute from a meeting of regional directors at the DET head office:

> *The meeting agrees with the principle that cheaper schools should be established in shack settlements and that a curriculum more suited to people in such circumstances should be considered.* (Translated from Afrikaans.)

An official DET document reiterates both these points:

> 1. At one stage the Department was accused of providing inferior buildings; it was evidence of the so-called 'inferior education system.' We must guard against having a similar situation again.
> 2. It should also be remembered that the school must be acceptable to the community it serves. It is possible to lower the standards in an area where squatting takes place, but it would be unwise to use the same standard of building in an area developed for a higher income group (see Appendix: DET *Physical Planning*).

These views suggest that DET responsibility for provision of facilities in shack settlements was already defined differently, in DET discourse, from the responsibility in established townships.

In early 1990 differentiation was introduced within the formal procedures for mainstream provision of schools in established townships. This was evidenced in a change in the formula which determined the allocation of new schools per number of sites (DET February 1990). The new formula is specified below:

Site size	No. of sites per primary school	No of sites per secondary school
smaller than 250 m^2	500	1500
250 m^2 – 400 m^2	550	1 375
400 m^2 +	650	1 300

Note: In this formula site size refers to the average size of residential sites in an area within a township.

According to the Deputy Director of the Orange–Vaal region, the older formula had allowed one primary school per 450 sites and one secondary school per three primary schools. The earlier version allocated more primary schools in all areas and more secondary schools in areas with small or medium size sites than does the new formula. The new formula assumes that more primary schools must be accommodated where sites are smaller, and that fewer secondary schools will be needed where sites are smaller.

The 1989 categories of school distribution were linked to the differentiation of the design and materials of the actual buildings. Three different designs at three different cost levels were introduced. These were designated A, B, and C where design A was of a similar standard to that of earlier schools governed by uniform norms and standards. This three pronged approach to differentiation has subsequently also emerged in the ERS in relation to other areas of provision such as equipment (DNE, 1991[b] pp. 65 and 31).

But the introduction of these forms of differentiation did not solve the problem of determining appropriate forms and levels of provision for shack settlements. In DET documents, and more clearly in the practices of DET officials, shack settlements were still seen as a separate category. In the document specifying site sizes the revised norms specify a special arrangement for shack settlements:

> In respect of the formal resettlement of squatters the Department may consider reducing the size of school sites on condition that schools are grouped together (DET 1990[b]).

This arrangement hinges on the proviso that schools would have a common sportsground. Apart from this reference, the new formula's did not refer specifically to shack settlements. However, in more recent communication (in 1991) DET interviewees indicated that none of the formula categories applied to shack settlements. Instead, a completely separate formula was being considered for shack settlements. The number of sites per primary school would 'probably be higher' than 650.

Schools Outside the DET State School System

In practice the schools that were established in legal shack settlements, specifically Orange Farm, between 1989 and 1991, were not provided within the increasingly differentiated formal mainstream provision process; they were private schools and state schools in unconventional facilities provided in unconventional ways. During this period DET officials, particularly in the Orange-Vaal region, began to see the advantages of registering private shack schools which would previously have been seen as illegal and undesirable in that they did not meet DET criteria for registration. This shift in attitude was influenced by financial and political conditions such as the pressure on the DET to provide facilities which it could not afford in areas that did not constitute political priorities and by a shift in the dominant government discourse towards the favouring of privatisation; user payment for social facilities and community participation in social provision. Apart from private schools, DET officials in the Orange-Vaal region also turned their attention to state-aided schools and the possibilities which this model of financing and control offered in shack settlements. As these two models of financing – particularly private schools – have become increasingly important in shack settlements their place within the broader

context of DET provision is briefly considered here, along with two other strategies for providing and accommodating education: donated facilities and providing secondary education through the adult education system.

Private Schools

Private schools are frequently viewed as the terrain of relatively privileged students and a small proportion of subsidised recruits to the wealthier classes. But an increasing number of private schools are also appearing in shack settlements.

Private schools are legally obliged to register with an education department. By 1990 there were 385 such schools in South Africa, excluding the TBVC states, of which 61 were registered with the DET (DNE[a] 1991). But in 1990 the numbers of DET registered private schools seemed set to increase rapidly; while there were only 15 DET registered secondary schools in 1990, a further 11 schools applied for registration during that year (DET 1991[a] p. 68). The registration of private schools in shack settlements no doubt helps to account for this increase.

Subsidisation of private schools is normally set at 0, 15 or 45 per cent of running costs. The level is determined by criteria some of which relate to the quality of the facilities of the school; schools with better facilities receive a higher subsidy.

During 1989 DET officials in the Orange Vaal region in which Orange farm is located, began to view more positively the option of registering schools even though they did not qualify for a subsidy in terms of the DET criteria. There was not yet a clear view of the future relationship between such schools and the DET. The Regional Director of the Orange Vaal Region suggested in an interview that these schools would ultimately be 'taken over' by the DET but in the light of current DET policy trends it would appear that his prediction is unlikely to be fulfilled. The DET Annual Report of 1990 suggests that there are advantages, for the DET, deriving from the private status of schools.

> A particularly positive aspect of private schooling is that parents are deeply involved in the schools partly because they make a significant financial contribution to the education and training of their children. Consequently, school attendance is high, a more disciplined atmosphere prevails and a high standard of education can be maintained.
>
> The Department will support private education as far as is possible within general policy as this is more cost effective for the state, on the one hand, while giving parents and communities a greater share in their children's education, on the other (DET 1990[a] p. 68).

There is still a distinction in the minds of some DET officials between traditional well-resourced private schools and under-resourced community initiated private schools such as the ones established at Orange Farm. As one interviewee put it: 'They are not proper private schools'. Nevertheless, the advantages to the DET of the existence of the Orange Farm private schools in relieving the pressure for facilities motivated the DET to subsidise these schools as from 1990. Because these subsidies were not based on the usual criteria, they were regarded as exceptions, and as 'temporary' (DET, 1990[a] p. 54). Additional special grants were also given to these schools. This support enabled these schools to pay their staff an average salary of R400 per

month in 1991.

From the point of view of private schools in shack settlements, the motivation to apply for registration does not relate only to subsidies; registration is a precondition for the allocation of a site to a school in a proclaimed residential area.

From the point of view of the DET, the private school model clearly has considerable scope for low cost provision. Not only does the DET have to pay less towards the school but the existence of such a school in a particular area justifies a lower priority rating to the whole area when the allocation of further facilities is considered. Exceptional subsidies and grants to private schools, particularly in high profile areas such as Orange Farm, is of double benefit to the DET in that this can be constructed as a positive response to local initiative while at the same time relieving the DET of the much higher costs of mainstream provision.

This study documents the emergence of the use of private schools as substitutes for state provision in Orange Farm in 1989. Subsequent informal communication with DET officials suggests that this has become common DET practice in shack settlements as far afield as Cape Town.

State-Aided Schools

There are a variety of categories of state-aided schools within the DET of which farm schools represent the largest category. In 1991 farm schools accommodated about 22 per cent of all DET students and 28 per cent of all DET primary school pupils. State-aided schools also include other categories such as mine schools and schools for the handicapped initiated by welfare organizations. These schools are collectively referred to as 'other state-aided schools' in DET annual reports. In 1990 there were 142 such schools registered with the DET of which 116 were primary schools and a further 20 went only to standard seven. They accommodated 30 543 students, representing roughly 1,5 per cent of all DET students (SA: DET 1990[n]).

The conditions applying to state-aided schools vary according to the category. Generally they receive higher subsidies than do private schools. Unlike private schools, they do usually receive subsidies for capital expenditure. The ground on which they are built generally belongs to the school 'owner' such as a farmer.

Thus far state-aided schools have not been significant as a form of provision for shack settlements though some farm schools near shack settlements, particularly in peri-urban areas, have tended to absorb students from shack settlements. In general, this form of provision is more relevant in terms of future prospects than current developments in shack settlements and as such it is discussed further in the next chapter of this report. However, it is worth noting here that DET officials interviewed for this study showed great enthusiasm for the expansion of the provision of state-aided schools of the type represented by mine schools. An interviewee in the Orange-Vaal region argued that such schools required less administrative and financial input from the Department than did state schools. At the same time the Department would retain considerable control by virtue of the fact that it would pay teachers' salaries and determine the curriculum.

The two most common types of state-aided schools, i.e. farm schools and mine schools, both represent an initiative on the part of an employer or employer organisation which is prepared to contribute to the financing and administration of a school in a place where the DET would not normally provide a state school.

Donated Facilities

Another way of pressurising the DET to provide a school at a particular location involves the offer of a one-off donation towards facilities or the donation of a site. In Orange Farm the facilities for the only secondary state school built by mid 1991 were donated by a local business. In the light of emerging DET policies of prioritising primary schools it is arguable that this school would not have been established had these facilities not been donated. In other areas, facilities have been provided by the Independent Development Trust, an organisation which administers money provided for social and welfare projects by both the state and private sector organisations. Developers of new townships have at times offered to donate sites to the DET according to DET interviewees. Such offers place officials in a predicament in that the savings on sites are attractive but the locations selected would not otherwise be considered a priority.

Adult Education

Adult education is not an alternative form of provision in the same sense as private schools and state-aided schools but it is relevant here in that some DET officials interviewed saw it as a partial alternative to, or substitute for, secondary schooling in shack settlements. The Director of the Johannesburg region reported that the success rate of matriculants in the adult education system within this region was higher than in the formal schooling system. He also considered the non-formal skills training associated with adult education to be more appropriate to shack-dwellers than academic education. Adult education also offers advantages in that there is a well established principle of co-operation between the state and the private sector: the 1984 Education Act stipulates that informal and non-formal adult education is the shared responsibility of state education departments and the private sector. This implies that the private sector could carry at least part of the costs. (The view of adult education as a partial substitute for secondary education did not emerge in interviews with officials in regions other than Johannesburg.)

A National DET Perspective at the end of 1989

At head office level, informal settlements were not defined as a national planning issue but rather as a regional, crisis, interim issue. The Deputy Director General made this clear in an interview for this study:

> *Because of a backlog of classrooms and a lack of money, every cent spent must be justified, so at this stage, from a national planning point of view, squatter camps are a very low priority, and they are handled at a local level by regional directors in a crisis way ... There is no money in reserve for crises.*
>
> *New middle class townships are absorbing a huge amount of money. They are proclaimed by government. We usually get reasonably early warning about them and we can*

incorporate them. Then there are schools erected by mining companies — we have reasonable warning of them and we can incorporate them.

Education planning is not crisis planning. Squatter camps are normally crisis arrangements. One cannot adjust a very sophisticated planning system to this type of up and downing during a year.

In spite of what I said about scientific, demographic planning, there is something like moral obligations as well, and we have major moral obligations towards settled communities who have been deprived for a long time. If enough money was available, if the private sector built enough schools, then we could ... We hope that the private sector could make a major contribution to both teachers' salaries as well as temporary structures in squatter camps.

These views did not mean that legal shack settlements could not appear on the lists of areas where schools were needed within the formal planning process. But they did mean that the rationale informing the prioritisation of areas for the provision of schools tended to give lesser value to the claims of shackdwellers so that in effect these areas did not reach the front of the queue for mainstream schools, i.e. schools provided within established procedures governed by specified norms and standards. There was an implicit view that the poverty, insecurity and class location of shackdwellers gave them a lesser right to schooling as compared to people in formal townships.

Meanwhile, within certain regions in the PWV area the principle of the provision of a lesser quality of facilities in shack settlements was already established by the end of 1989, as will be seen below. But the relationship between mainstream provision managed at head office level and provision for shack settlements relegated to regional level had not yet been co-ordinated. It is argued here that the separation of provision for shack settlements from mainstream provision was rooted in earlier discourses which constructed shackdwellers as illegal and temporary and associated them with the outsiders of the Riekert era. While legal conditions relating to shackdwellers had changed, the values of key DET officials had not changed. When resources could not be stretched to provide for all, shackdwellers were not only placed at the end of the queue for schools; they were placed in a separate queue where different rules applied. The definition of the provision of schools in shack settlements as a local, crisis matter affirmed the national planning process while marginalising shack settlements as exceptional cases. Subsequently, when responsibility for the provision of schools in shack settlements was taken up more formally at head office level this dichotomy was retained.

But it was not only the unwillingness to let go of earlier procedures and values that motivated head office officials to turn their back on the demands of shackdwellers. As was discussed in Chapter Three, financial constraints forced officials to choose between the claims of what Meiring called 'new middle class townships' and those of shackdwellers, and the former had a stronger political voice. Furthermore, the procedures which favoured established townships were embedded in a web of laws and regulations which anchored the DET to earlier practices. In the absence of a clean sweep, a systematic reconceptualisation of policies and reconstruction of the laws, structures and procedures which gave them material form, the piecemeal adaptation of such policies was an unwieldy and slow task. The relegation of the problem of provisi r

shack settlements to the regional level enabled DET officials to continue to follow established procedures at the national level while abandoning such procedures at the regional level.

The construction of provision for shack settlements as a regional responsibility did not go entirely unchallenged within the Department. During the period under discussion the Director of the Orange–Vaal region reported that, while all regional directors met regularly to discuss matters of common interest, the issue of informal settlements had not been raised at these meetings because it was not perceived to be of relevance to all regions. The Director of the Highveld region insisted, however, that he and his assistant had been trying to put the matter of informal settlements on the national agenda. Other interviewees commented that the Highveld region did seem to have a problem, implying that Highveld protests related to a regional, and not a national problem.

The specific effects of the head office perspective varied from region to region, depending on the demographic profile and political pressures in the region in question and on the approach of the officials involved.

At the end of 1989 the responses of DET head office officials to shack settlements suggested that they had not yet engaged with the full implications of changing demographic and political conditions. Subsequently this position has inevitably changed as the permanence and scale of shack settlements has been more widely perceived and pressure for facilities has been brought to bear from various constituencies including shackdweller organisations, private sector groupings and other state departments with an interest in the stability of such settlements. Broader political developments in the De Klerk era have also expanded the reach of a discourse legitimating new forms of provision which are no longer governed by earlier norms and standards.

Regional Perspectives

As explained in Chapter Three, the DET regions have been replanned as part of a process of rationalisation and decentralisation. The new regional boundaries are intended to coincide with those of economic development regions to facilitate exchange of information and interaction with other state departments.

The five regions relevant to this study are discussed below. The Diamond Fields region (Western Transvaal and Northern Cape economic development regions) is included as it had already been established at the time of interviewing. There is presently one Highveld (Eastern Transvaal) region though a subdivision of this area into two regions is planned. The other regions in which interviews were are Northern Transvaal, Orange–Vaal and Johannesburg.

The discussion of each region is based primarily on interviews with the Director and Deputy Director (Planning) with the exception of the Diamond Fields region where only the Regional Director was interviewed. In the Orange–Vaal and Highveld regions other officials were invited to participate in interviews. The questions asked in each interview focused on the adequacy or shortage of facilities and on strategies used or envisaged to cope with the shortages particularly in shack settlements.

Regional DET officials saw themselves as being under great pressure both in relation to the general issue of a shortage of funding and facilities and, in some regions, in relation to the specific issue of the provision of schools in shack settlements. In general, the number of schools that can be built annually is so low compared to the need that the planning process is rendered almost meaningless. Interviewees for this study freely acknowledged that what they called 'political' decisions regarding the placing of schools was not uncommon as various interest groups tried to elbow their way to the front of the queue. These included schools which were built in particular places to encourage communities to move to areas that were to be incorporated into homelands, or schools built in the electoral districts of powerful politicians or in trouble spots as part of a process of placatory upgrading. In the late eighties burgeoning township development brought new pressure from developers who wanted schools placed in particular localities in order to draw home buyers.

In regions where legal shack settlements had been established there was added pressure, not only from the communities themselves but also from officials from other state departments such as the Transvaal Provincial Administration whose task it was to draw people to these settlements. But as no funds were allocated from head office for schools in shack settlements, regional officials developed a range of strategies such as the construction of a state primary school from second hand corrugated iron sheets, the use of road construction huts as classrooms, the registration of community shack schools as private schools and collaboration in the establishment of such community schools. These private community schools initially received no support or subsidy precisely because they did not have sufficient resources of their own to meet DET criteria for subsidies. The only state school established in the shack settlements referred to in this study by early 1990 was dramatically under-staffed and under-resourced. While some of these schools were viable others, specifically those initiated by the DET, initially seemed to serve little function other than that of bait to draw people to shack settlements.

Naturally the responses to shack settlements were different at each regional office, depending on particular conditions and on the interpretation of these conditions by the officials involved. The Highveld and Orange–Vaal regions were the most alike in that officials in both had to deal with large legal shack settlements which could not be incorporated into the normal planning process. The Orange–Vaal Director refused to become involved and left the matter entirely in the hands of an energetic deputy. The response of this Director was distinct from that of all other DET interviewees in that he expressed aggression towards the private sector whom he considered to be responsible for the development of shack settlements. In the remaining three regions shack settlements tended to be seen as an extension of formal townships which required no special attention in planning for the provision of school facilities. Instead, shack settlements were seen as an added pressure on existing facilities and, in some cases, as communities with particular social problems. In these regions no legal shack settlements had yet been established at a distance from existing townships. The differences are more fully elaborated in the discussions of each region, below

The Johannesburg Region

The Johannesburg DET region is comprised of Soweto and Alexandra. In these townships,

informal housing takes two forms: backyard shacks and freestanding settlements adjacent to, or enclosed by, the township. The Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) figures indicate that there were some 46 000 backyard shacks in Soweto and a further 9 500 shacks in freestanding settlements in 1989. In Alexandra, the equivalent CPS figures were 14 500 backyard shacks and 278 freestanding settlement shacks. This suggests a total for the region of some 71 000 shacks. Larger numbers have been rounded off to the nearest 500 (CPS 1989).

The fact that all shackdwellers lived in or adjacent to Soweto or Alexandra in this region meant that their demand for schooling took the form of added pressure on existing facilities rather than a need for new and separate facilities. There was a debate in the press in 1989 as to the degree of overcrowding in Soweto schools (see for example, *The Star*, 7 March 1990). This debate is documented in an EPU (Wits) publication (Narsing 1989). The authors suggest that there were a range of pressures on the DET which influenced Departmental staff to subordinate teaching and learning to the political need for favourable quantitative indices such as improved teacher pupil ratios and that a range of strategies were used to artificially limit the number of students in schools. Whether or not the EPU conclusions are accurate, it was clear in interviews for this research that the Director and his Deputy were at pains to underplay the shortage of school buildings and the shortage of funds to provide such buildings. They regarded primary school accommodation in Soweto as adequate. In some cases, they said, empty primary school rooms were used by nearby high schools.

High school accommodation was not considered adequate but officials did not perceive this to be as much a problem of funding and facilities as one of destruction and vandalism. While R6 million was allotted to provision of secondary education facilities in 1989, R3,5 million had to be spent on repairs rather than on additional schools. The greatest losses were incurred at technical secondary schools. The Deputy Director believed that toilets were a deliberate target for politically motivated vandalism because of the effect of damaged toilets on student morale.

Interviewees did not consider this problem of destruction of facilities to be as great in Alexandra. They acknowledged that accommodation in Alexandra was inadequate. Again, however, the main problem was not perceived to be one of funding but rather of lack of space for sites. Sites set aside for schools were occupied by shackdwellers. The Deputy Director cited an example of an old school which needed rebuilding but could not be emptied: when students were moved out to new premises the old premises immediately filled up again. Community halls and church facilities were being used. At high school level, officials said, there was a need for space for at least 600 students over and above the existing emergency accommodation.

Generally, in discussing the implications of informal settlements for the DET, both interviewees in this region emphasised the 'social effects' such as crime and vandalism. Shackdwellers were perceived as temporary, transitional and unstable. 'I see this as a drifting, insecure population', said the regional Director. Students living in these conditions come to school

> *when they feel like it ... There is not a crisis in education in Soweto; there is a socio-economic crisis which avenges itself on the education system.*

Solutions proposed by interviewees placed the emphasis on social and economic reform

including job creation and housing. The education dimension of this, it was suggested, would be the provision of survival skills training for adults. This would not only be provided by the state public system but also by the private sector. However, it was felt that the DET should change the emphasis of its adult education courses from academic to skills training. These comments suggest that even in this region where existing facilities were accessible to shackdwellers differentiated forms of facilities for shackdwellers were envisaged.

In the Johannesburg region use of the platoon system to alleviate the shortage was avoided as far as possible. This system was considered less workable at secondary school level than at primary level. But secondary schools were supplemented by satellites i.e. outside buildings (such as empty primary school rooms) were used to accommodate standard 6's. Finishing schools involving the accommodation of returning failed matriculants in adult education centres or 'half empty' primary schools in the afternoons were also used. Many students had been displaced into the Adult Education courses which were 'outperforming the mainstream system at matriculation level both in terms of numbers and results' according to the Deputy Director. School buildings accommodated adult education classes in the evenings.

According to official figures there was a shortage of 91 secondary tuition rooms and a surplus of 391 primary tuition rooms in the Johannesburg region. In spite of the surplus of primary school accommodation, new primary schools were planned in newly developed areas (Yssel 1990).

The Orange–Vaal Region

The Orange–Vaal region stretches south of Soweto, well into the Orange Free State. Within the PWV area, this region incorporates Vanderbijlpark, Sasolburg and Vereeniging.

According to CPS figures, there were some 28 000 back yard shacks in PWV townships in this region as well as a further 4 500 shacks in freestanding settlements outside of townships in 1989 (CPS 1989). Numbers have been rounded off to the nearest 500. The huge expanse of new township development around Evaton, incorporating Orange Farm, lies within this area as does Weiler's Farm.

At the end of 1989 Orange Farm had already been proclaimed a legal site and service scheme. People were being moved to Orange Farm from places such as Weiler's Farm and Mshenguville (Soweto). The actual and potential increase in population numbers due to the development of new town ips in addition to the growth of existing townships had placed DET schools in the region under great pressure. The Regional Director and his Deputies viewed these developments in different ways. The former saw informal settlement areas such as Orange Farm as an abnormal development for which 'the private sector is responsible'. The private sector should, he believed, solve the problem of providing education in Orange Farm.

His Deputies, and specifically the Deputy Director responsible for planning, agreed that schools which were already on the national plan were a priority. Nevertheless, the Deputy Director had shown considerable ingenuity in his efforts to obtain schools for Orange Farm. A disused and dismantled corrugated iron House of Delegates school structure had been purchased from a

building contractor and put up as a DET school at Orange Farm. The registration of a private, community school had been 'rushed through'. And a third school, which was not yet registered, had been established by what appeared to be a TPA appointed residents' committee, apparently with some unofficial co-operation from the DET.

The Deputy Director acknowledged that these schools were being 'used as bait, by the TPA' to draw people to Orange Farm. Nevertheless, he saw it as his task to put up schools by whatever means possible. Others, he said, believed that there should be 'no bricks for Orange Farm' but he put up cheap schools because funds were not available for schools that were not on the National Plan priority list.

Within the constraints of finance and of the rationale informing the DET national plan the Deputy Director's unconventional measures could only lead to the establishment of a small number of schools. Furthermore, as will be discussed below, schools that were established as 'bait' did not necessarily function effectively as the exceptional procedures did not necessarily extend to the provision of teachers, equipment, books and support services.

None of the three DET interviewees in this region felt that they had 'their fingers on the pulse' of long term township developments. They agreed that they were swamped by needs that could not be met. They felt that communication with other departments was inadequate but improving. A DET representative had recently been invited to attend Regional Services Council meetings which they hoped would help. There was considerable dissatisfaction concerning communication with developers who gave no clear idea as to exactly when and at what pace houses would be put up.

The Deputy Director (Planning) expressed a wish to see many more state-aided schools. A number of factories and mines had already established such schools in this region; this was seen as a workable alternative model for the provision of schools.

According to this Deputy Director there were about forty schools on the priority list for the region in 1989 although he 'could add a further hundred or more'. In other words he saw a need for over 140 new schools but he did not believe that more than 40 could be built in the next five years. The official DET list of shortages indicates that 528 primary and 789 secondary tuition rooms were needed for this region. However, Orange Farm needs were not yet included in these figures as 'the influx there has been too recent' according to a DET Head Office Director (Yssel 1990).

The Northern Transvaal

The Northern Transvaal region extends north and west of Pretoria to include Brits, Krugersdorp, Randfontein, Westonaria and Roodepoort. In 1989 CPS figures indicated that there were some 27 500 back yard shacks in Northern Transvaal townships as well as a further 140 000 individuals living in shacks scattered across the farm and plot areas of the north. As most of the western portion of the PWV area also falls under this DET region the numbers of shacks in the west should also be considered here. CPS figures indicate that there were at least 18 500 backyard shacks as well as 9 000 shacks in free standing settlements, in the west (CPS 1989).

Numbers have been rounded off to the nearest 500.

The Regional Director and his Deputy (Planning) reported that, while there was a shortage of school accommodation in the region, this was a general problem that did not relate specifically to shackdwellers and informal settlements. Only in certain areas — Bekkersdal, Khutsong, Brits and Fochville — did they see informal settlements as a separate issue. In these areas, the numbers in farm schools were high. Brits provided a particularly difficult problem in that the only secondary school was located at Oukasie. This school could not be extended until a political settlement was reached concerning the future of Oukasie.

Interviewees perceived Soshanguve and Atteridgeville to be fast growing towns where the development was planned and controlled. 'There are back yard squatters' said the Director 'but they are going out as the township is being developed ... In Soshanguve we don't have squatters, we only have urban development'. In Atteridgeville, primary school numbers were thought to have reached a plateau and the Director believed that primary school education in the township was 'close to universal'.

In this region interviewees placed particular emphasis on the need to 'get people more interested' in career, technical and vocational education and on the need for co-operation between the DET and the private sector towards this end. The Regional Director suggested that private sector employees could be co-opted onto school management councils 'to make a direct input from surrounding industries'. He added:

> *Knowing how the private sector see their needs could help us in curriculation, to decide for that particular area ... We must share the expense, for example, of training motor mechanics.*

Interviewees in this region did not expect that the 1990 budget would allow for the building of more than one school. In 1989 the platoon system was only operating in the Khutsong area but it was expected that this system would be extended. According to official shortage figures for this region 157 primary tuition rooms and 366 secondary tuition rooms were required in 1989 (Yssel 1990).

The Highveld Region

The Highveld region extends eastward from Kempton Park, Germiston, Alberton and Heidelberg, all the way to White River. Of the PWV areas, it also includes Cullinan, Bronkhorstspruit, Delmas, Springs, Benoni, Boksburg, and Nigel. The subdivision of this region is planned.

According to CPS figures (1989), there were some 65 000 shacks in the eastern PWV area, incorporating 55 500 back yard shacks in the townships, 1 140 shacks in free standing settlements outside of townships and 8 600 shacks in the free standing settlements within townships in 1989. (Larger numbers have been rounded off to the nearest 500.)

The Regional Director and his Deputy for this region were vociferous in their protests about the sidelining of planning for informal settlements by head office as the following extracts from the

interview show:

Director:

> *We must indicate to you the procedure of National Plans utilised in this Department which does not provide for this type of thing (informal settlements). If you utilise money or funds for a school in a squatter area you will have to substitute and remove another school from the priority list. This is altogether unacceptable ...*

Deputy Director:

> *In the National Plan we have priorities. We can change the priorities every year. But there is nothing here which goes for squatter areas. As a matter of fact the problem is that in places like Thokoza, Daveyton, Katlehong, you plan for the normal residents. And for those people who are squatting, because they are not registered as such, you hardly have anything because there are those who have just put up shacks without going to anybody to say: 'I am in this yard ...'*
>
> *If there is any planning for schooling in such an area it is ad hoc and that must be done, not by the planners like me, but by the Chief Director at Head Office. He must work in other channels.*

Director:

> *What's more, we are lagging behind with the planning, the normal situation there. So what we are actually saying is that a complete extra plan is warranted for these areas.*

The actual operation of the planning process in this area was clearly not always 'objective and scientific':

Director:

> *These areas (informal settlements) are so much in the limelight that allegations, memo's, petitions are being submitted to the Minister and we cannot cope with providing for these situations. While others have been informed that they are on the National Plan, they are patiently waiting for schools to be erected. Now somebody comes from these areas, submits a petition to the Minister, goes to the press, and then pressure is put on the region to make facilities available. When you try to do that you have to sacrifice a school building elsewhere ... and that is not the right thing to do because all communities are under pressure for extra facilities.*

The view expressed by the Orange Vaal Director that informal settlements was not on the DET national agenda was not shared by these interviewees; they were determined to call attention to this matter at head office themselves.

The attitude expressed towards shackdwellers, on the one hand, and township developers, on the other, was cynical:

In Duduza, shacks are nearly bigger than people's houses ... In Tsakane, people are only squatting because that is the quickest way to get a house.

Developers were seen to be unclear in their communication as to how many houses would be built and at what pace. They also engaged in various strategies involving schools in order to draw buyers to their developments. Interviewees reported cases of school sites offered to the DET free of charge by developers on condition building of the school commenced immediately. These sites would be located in areas where people were not yet living and away from inhabited areas where schools were already needed. Such offers were made to ministers at Cabinet level.

The TPA also put pressure on the Department to build schools:

For example at Greylingstad they have to move the people to a place that is quite far from schools and they can't move the people until there are schools. So they asked us to come and look, to see what we can do. If we can get temporary structures, we will put them there ... At Rethabiseng, near Ekangala, the TPA chaps said there are structures that are used for the road workers, which could be transported to that place if we could provide a few teachers.

The backlog in this region was described as 'very serious. We are drowning' and, as in other areas, the private sector was believed to provide the only way out. It was suggested that developers should get together to provide schools. There could be negotiations regarding curricula suited to the needs of the workforce 'bearing in mind that technical education is very expensive.' Regional meetings between the DET and industrialists had already been initiated 'at a very high level, even by the State President'.

Interviewees believed that private sector support had in the past been inhibited by procedures which had to be followed in order to obtain Treasury approval for projects. They had suggested 'at head office' that donations for primary facilities should qualify for tax rebates and that there should be simplified procedures for obtaining support from the private sector.

According to the official shortages list, 446 primary and 738 secondary tuition rooms were needed in this region in 1989 (Yssel 1990).

The Diamond Fields Region

This region begins on the western periphery of the PWV area and extends all the way to Namibia in the west and down to the south west of Kimberley. About two thirds of the 720 odd schools in this region are farm schools. CPS figures giving numbers of shackdwellers did not apply to this region.

According to the Regional Director there were a number of site and service schemes in this region which were near existing townships and schools. There was a considerable backlog of facilities and increasing use was being made of the platoon system.

This Director, like his colleague in the Highveld region, did not see the planning process as ensuring objectivity and neutrality:

> Usually you find that a crisis is formed in the bigger towns and the newspapers come around and so on, so you tend to attend to this problem and say the others can wait.

The Regional Director was enthusiastic about co-operation with the private sector which, he suggested, should put in a lot of money to build schools. They could then be repayed over a period of time. The nature of the schools, whether technical or academic, could be negotiated, although it should be taken into account that building and running costs were higher for technical schools than for other schools. It was also necessary, he said, to consult parents through governing councils as to whether their children should attend technical or academic schools or 'we might find ourselves with a school that is not used'.

This interviewee expressed strong feelings about the NECC which he believed created crises instead of solving them.

There were 'about ten' schools on the National Plan priority list for this region, though it would be 'possible to put 70 on the list'. According to the official list of shortages 102 primary and 268 secondary tuition rooms were needed in this region.

Regions: Summary

The views of regional officials regarding provision of schools in shack settlements can be categorised in three groups:

i) In the Northern Transvaal and Diamond Field regions shack settlements were not yet perceived as presenting a significant or separate constituency. Instead they were seen as a part of the broader constituency of students.

ii) In the Johannesburg region shackdwellers were also seen as part of the broader constituency of students in that they brought added pressure to bear on existing facilities. But shackdwellers were also seen to have a different socio-economic character which caused them to interact differently, in negative ways, with the school system particularly in Soweto. This characterisation of shackdwellers was linked to the view that a different type of education would be appropriate to the needs of shackdwellers particularly at secondary level.

iii) In the Highveld and Orange Vaal regions shackdwellers, particularly those in settlements at a distance from established townships, were seen as a separate constituency with urgent needs which could not be met within the constraints of the planning process for the provision of schools. This led to the provision of makeshift primary school facilities and encouragement of the registration of private schools established from within under-resourced communities.

Access to Education: A shack settlement perspective

Interviews were conducted with representatives of organisations in free standing informal settlements namely Orange Farm, Weiler's Farm, Mshenguville, Chicken Farm, KwaGreen and Crossroads (Katlehong). Weiler's Farm and Orange Farm constituted a case study where interviews were conducted with teachers at the four existing schools of which three were private

schools.

The problems experienced regarding access to education facilities varied depending on the location of the settlement in relation to existing facilities. Thus people living in Weiler's Farm and Orange Farm experienced different problems from those living in Mshenguville, KwaGreen or Crossroads (Katlehong). The perspective was also influenced by a perception of alternatives: residents of Mshenguville and Crossroads were hesitant to criticise existing conditions as these were preferable to the alternatives offered at Orange Farm and Rietfontein.

Common to all interviewees, though, was a concern about the lack of preschool educare facilities as well as anxiety about the cost of school education which served to exclude many of their children from schools. In most of the settlements visited — Weiler's Farm, Orange Farm, Mshenguville, Chicken Farm, Klipfontein and KwaGreen — attempts had been made by residents to establish their own creches. Crossroads was an exception to this, according to interviewees. The stories of the Weiler's Farm creche and school and, less clearly, the Chicken Farm creche illustrated the ways in which control of such a resource became part of local political struggles. It is of interest to compare these developments with those in Crossroads, Cape Town, where organisation around control of community schools also became an early focus of local politics.

Residents of free standing settlements near established townships did have access to the few privately run creches in the townships but these normally charged fees of R30 or more per month. Such creches were not necessarily formal establishments where the safety and welfare of children were assured. Most often working parents resorted to shared child minding arrangements or children were sent 'home'. All interviewees perceived the need for affordable preschool care to be a high priority.

Access to primary and secondary education for families living in shack settlements in or near established townships presented a range of problems. Theoretically, these students had the same access to schools as did students living in formal housing. In practice, however, it emerged from interviewees that students from shack settlements were often disadvantaged in their hunt for a place in the classrooms by the following factors:

- Schools' admission policies gave preferential treatment to students who had the requisite papers (birth certificate, immunisation certificate) at primary level and to students coming from feeder schools at secondary level. Poorer children, whose families tended to move more frequently, were less likely to qualify.

- The problem of access to schooling was exacerbated by the fact that schools were categorised according to language and ethnicity. The nearest school was not always of the 'appropriate' language and ethnicity grouping (DET officials in the Johannesburg region reported that this was a complicating factor with informal settlements which tended to be more ethnically mixed than established areas). Parents did not indicate what their preferences were as regards sending their children to ethnically categorised schools. They focused, rather, on the practical difficulties which this categorisation created for them.

- A number of parents, specifically residents committee members at KwaGreen and a Women's

Group at Crossroads, described the way students 'hunted' for places in schools, starting at nearby schools, then moving further afield. If no place was found, students would be sent 'home' to school even though this was not the preferred solution.

- Crossroads parents felt that sending children home was becoming increasingly expensive as parents had to send money for food, clothes and fees. Parents also had less control when problems arose e.g. when children were kept home from school to run errands.

- There were a range of costs involved in attending school — school fees, uniforms, contributions to funds, school lunches. Students were not necessarily excluded from attending school if they did not pay, but they were more visible and alienated. Parents at Crossroads reported that they were expected to contribute an extra R10 per child for the salary of an extra teacher. Children who had not paid school fees, or who were kept home from school between the end of the exam period and the end of term in order to save lunch money, had all failed.

- Many parents believed that teachers and other children were prejudiced against children living in informal settlements. While DET personnel reported that informal settlement parents were less likely to attend school meetings, the parents expressed the view that they did not expect to be taken seriously by school staff who regarded them as transitory.

- The social, political and economic conditions in which students were living were often not conducive to study. Students were subjected to discomfort, noise and, in some areas, the constant insecurity of threatened removal. They were exposed at close range to the consequences of poverty, unemployment and repression. In Mshenguville, parents reported that, while some of their teenage children were involved in criminal activities, others had formed a youth 'home guard' which fought criminals as well as the Sofasonke 'enemy'. (Parents claimed that Sofasonke Councillors were harassing Mshenguville residents in order to persuade them to go to Orange Farm.) At Mshenguville, also, a number of parents reported that teenagers who had been good students elsewhere began to fail soon after moving into Mshenguville. They suggested that students were exposed to different and greater pressures when living in freestanding settlements as opposed to backyard shacks.

Residents of informal settlements situated at a distance from established townships — whether legal settlements (such as Orange Farm and Rietfontein) or 'illegal' (such as Weiler's Farm) were at a much greater disadvantage as regards access to schooling.

'Illegal' or 'transit' areas such as Weiler's Farm were, for planning purposes, invisible to the DET. Even private community schools were unlikely to be registered if located in such areas.

At the end of 1989 the Regional Deputy Director believed that an area like Orange Farm was unlikely to receive more than one conventional school in the next three to five years. In such areas where education facilities were totally inadequate a pattern involving the mushrooming of private and community schools was emerging. Winterveld, which falls outside the geographic region relevant to this study, provided an early illustration of this as did Crossroads in Cape Town. Orange Farm appeared to be conforming to this pattern. While there was much that was commendable in such schools, they were unlikely to find adequate human and material resources unless they became integrated into the mainstream system in the long run. Already, such schools were regarded by many students as 'second best' or 'not real' schools.

At Orange Farm a DET (state) primary school was established in 1989 (the corrugated iron school referred to above). By early February 1990, there were 15 teachers and 1 400 students at the school. Although both students and teachers had been at the school for about three weeks of the year normal teaching had not yet commenced. According to interviewees, staff were waiting for more teachers to arrive before they felt able to begin teaching. In the meanwhile they were simply keeping the students busy and under control. Teachers reported that there were no textbooks. There was also no electricity and no sewage removal. Classes varied in size from 68 to 200.

The teachers who were interviewed had not applied to teach at this particular school and would not have chosen to do so. Others, they said, looked down on them because they worked in a 'farm school'. None of them lived at Orange Farm. These teachers did not identify with the community from which their students were drawn. According to the teachers, the children behaved as if they were 'from the bundu'. Most of them had sores. They seemed to fight and mock each other more than other children and it was necessary to teach them 'morals and behaviour' as well as academic work.

On the day that I visited the DET school, I also visited a private, DET registered school at Orange Farm and an unregistered private school at Weiler's Farm. These schools had been established by residents' committees. The contrast between the apathy and alienation at the DET school and the sense of mission and purpose prevalent at the private schools was striking. This difference may well be accounted for, at least partially, by the different perceptions the teachers had at each school of their work and of the students. At the private schools, teachers and students believed that, at least to some extent, they owned and controlled the schools. They also identified with students as part of a common community. None of this applied at the DET school. But ultimately the viability of community initiated schools depends on their resources. Any analysis which ignores this fact betrays the commitment of those who established these schools.

This is not to suggest that the private schools at Orange Farm and Weiler's Farm did not have problems. The local politics of the informal settlements had played themselves out through these schools and their histories included clashes, strikes and splits illustrating the consequences of having to cope with 'material conditions in which dependency fosters political fragmentation' (Mabin 1989). Competing groups organised themselves through competing schools. Such groups related differently to broader political networks and outside resources.

At the beginning of 1990 a second private school was established at Orange Farm. This school provided an interesting example of the way in which a range of interest groups could interrelate in the establishment of a school. According to teachers, the school was established by a committee which described itself as 'community based'. Teachers were appointed in January 1990 (without any form of contract) on the understanding that money would be raised, in due course, for their salaries. By March, teachers were complaining that they had still received no salaries while 'the committee' was putting pressure on them to raise R10 per student per month for school running expenses. The teachers did not know exactly who the committee represented although TPA officials acted as spokespeople for the committee. There was some evidence of DET co-operation in the setting up of the school; the nearby DET school premises had been

offered as a venue where students could be registered. There was an expectation among teachers that the school would be taken over by the DET. Unlike the other private school at Orange Farm, this school was administered according to DET principles. This school accepted students from both Orange Farm and nearby Sebokeng. Conflict between Orange Farm students and students from Sebokeng had claimed the lives of five students within the first three months of the school's existence. In early March, the enrollment at this school from sub A to standard 10 was 4 400 with 58 teachers. Accommodation consisted of disused stables and a large, vacant house.

It would appear from these reports that the school was established by a TPA appointed committee with the co-operation of regional DET officials as yet another 'bait' school, regardless of the fact that no finances were available for such a school.

These developments at Orange Farm suggest that DET practices regarding provision of facilities in shack settlements involved not only DET initiatives but also DET responses to local initiatives and even apparent DET support for a TPA attempt to act as a catalyst in a project represented as community initiative. They reflect a recognition by the DET of the potential of the private school model for provision of education at a minimal cost to the state. The examples of an under-resourced 'exceptional' state school and under-resourced community projects provided by the early Orange Farm experience foreground the implications of each in terms of equity and autonomy for the community involved. These issues are taken up in the conclusion to this report.

Post Script: Orange Farm — Eighteen Months Later

In mid 1991 DET head office officials were on the verge of producing what they termed a policy for squatters which would formalise an approach to the provision of education in shack settlements. They also claimed that the needs of shackdwellers at Orange Farm had been addressed in that the number of schools at Orange Farm had increased to eight: 4 private schools, 3 primary state schools and 1 secondary state school. Subsidies and special grants had been given to the private schools. At this time the population of Orange Farm was estimated to be over 48 000 (Central Statistical Service 1991).

These developments were significant in that the provision of schools in shack settlements were acknowledged to be an issue of national importance requiring co-ordinated and urgent attention. But they did not mean that conditions and DET practices at Orange Farm or at other legal settlements had yet changed substantially. Nor did they mean that shack settlements had been taken up within the mainstream provision processes.

Asked to comment on the new schools at Orange Farm, a DET official in the Orange–Vaal region agreed that these schools existed but none of them were as yet accommodated in conventional DET facilities. Instead, schools were platooning in the older corrugated iron structures and in the facilities provided for the secondary school by a private sector donor. Sites and money had been earmarked for two new schools but building had not yet commenced. While over 10 000 students had been accommodated in 1991, over 6 000 students in Orange Farm had been 'turned away'. Other shack settlements were worse off, he said, adding wryly:

> *Based on progress in the last six years, Poortjie should receive its first school in 113*

years time. Rietfontein is also not likely to receive any schools in the foreseeable future.

This interviewee envisaged greater community participation in determining the standard of state school facilities. Communities would for example be offered a fixed amount of money and asked whether it should be used to build one, two or three schools, he predicted.

The Orange–Vaal official hoped that, when facilities were built in Orange Farm, they would conform to 'Plan C' i.e. the least expensive of the three mainstream designs. But, as will be argued in the next chapter (and as was acknowledged by the official), this is optimistic; initial indications suggest that national policy regarding provision for shack settlements will designate these a separate category where a lesser standard of facilities will be provided. And in the light of the Orange Farm experience thus far it would be surprising if a lower standard in the provision of facilities is not accompanied by a lower standard in other areas of provision.

Eighteen months after the interviews for this study had been conducted, the right of shack settlements to the provision of education facilities was acknowledged at head office level, but in shack settlements there were no visible material improvements. Instead, the practices which effected a lower standard of provision for these areas had been further elaborated.

Chapter Five

Conclusion : Education Prospects for Shackdwellers in the Nineties.

This report has examined the emergence of DET policies and practices which structure the differentiated provision of school facilities according to the socio-economic profile of spatially defined communities and more specifically the manifestations of these processes in shack settlements in the PWV area. In this chapter a retrospective summary of the analysis will lead into a consideration of the ways in which DET differentiation policies and practices have been taken up in broader state education discourse. As this report has been written at a time when the demise of the DET (in its present form) is imminent, the long term significance of DET policies and practices must be assessed in terms of the potential for continuity between the old structures and the new.

It has been argued in this report that there was a disjuncture between the policies of different state institutions, and specifically between the formal policies and procedures of the DET and the population movement and settlement policies of the state, between 1986 and 1989. Not only were DET policies not adjusted to accommodate the effects of new urbanisation policies; DET structures and policies also continued to be based on assumptions the invalidity of which had informed the abandonment of Riekert's population movement and settlement policies in 1986.

At a time when the DET was under great political, financial and demographic pressure the disjuncture between the logic of DET policies and that of Orderly Urbanisation policies impeded the ability of officials to respond to changing demographic conditions thus contributing to the crisis which this Department was experiencing. Most relevant here was the unpreparedness of the Department to respond in a co-ordinated way to the demands from within legal shack settlements for schools.

From 1989 a re-aligned power grouping within the government moved to resolve the inconsistencies across the policies of different branches of the state as well as the deadlock between the state and its opponents by promulgating a new set of political and economic strategies. In broad terms these strategies carried the logic of Orderly Urbanisation into other spheres of state activity. Morris (1991) argues that this government initiative involves

> a political strategy that resolves the national question with the maximum accommodation to demands for majority rule but with the minimum accommodation to demands for major restructuring of the economic and social fabric of the society. The thrust of this strategy would be to establish hegemonic consent by politically appealing to the material interests of those classes amongst the black population who are to become the greatest beneficiaries of a '50 per cent solution'. Those on the other side of the divide would be symbolically accommodated but their material needs would not be systematically catered for.
>
> This strategy is designed to exacerbate class differentiation amongst blacks and to polarise the upper strata away from the mass of employed workers ... as well as the unemployed and marginalised. It is essentially still a 'two nations' strategy but where race is no longer the basis of differentiation.

This is related to an economic strategy which

> focuses on the issues of growth rather than redistribution.It specifically eschews state intervention to redistribute social and economic resources on a non-economic basis and puts its reliance instead solely on the operation of the free market.

Signals that education policies were also being reconceptualised began to emerge from the government from as early as 1989 when De Klerk, then Minister of National Education, announced the abandonment of the Ten Year Plan for the equalisation of educational opportunities in favour of the scaling down of educational provision to a more affordable level. The ERS document records that, at the end of 1989, the Cabinet requested

> that the Minister of National Education obtain the co-operation of his education colleagues regarding a co-ordinated approach towards rationalisation in education (p. 7).

In mid 1990 Stoffel van der Merwe, then Minister of Education and Training, used the first suitable public opportunity following the parliamentary session marked by De Klerk's 2 February announcements to deliver an education policy statement (Van der Merwe, July 1990). This statement initiated the process of elaborating a new state discourse of education provision within the DET. In this statement, Van der Merwe invited increased 'community participation' in education provision while defining such participation in ways which curtailed its scope and level to responsibility for costs and outcomes within local institutions. As Van der Merwe put it, local communities would 'fill in the details' after 'politicians' had addressed the national issues. The policy content proposed by Van der Merwe (namely the prioritisation of primary and technical education) was reminiscent of the 1981 De Lange Report proposals but this time these priorities were related to the needs of local communities, as defined by Van der Merwe, rather than to national manpower needs.It will be argued below that this emphasis on 'community participation and responsibility', as defined within an emerging government education discourse and present DET practices, constitutes one strand within a broader provision strategy aimed at the differentiation of education resourcing according to the class profile of spatially defined communities.

At a different level, new provision practices had been evolving on the ground within the DET in response not only to political, demographic and financial pressures but also to shifting discursive conditions. This report has documented particular DET provision practices involving the allocation of a substantially lower level of DET resources for school facilities in shack settlements in the PWV area from 1989. Initially these practices were mainly forms of crisis management at the regional level. They included the effective deregulation of state provision, the registration of under-resourced private schools that did not conform to DET criteria for subsidies and the encouragement of private involvement in the provision of facilities. While these practices (particularly the first) did not conform to formal DET provision policies they were implicitly sanctioned by an emerging government discourse favouring consumer payment for social services and the differentiation of standards of social provision according to the level of payment.

At the national DET planning level the needs of shackdwellers in the PWV area were officially

acknowledged but not practically catered for within mainstream provision processes; these processes were still governed by the 1983 DNE norms and standards which had been intended to facilitate the equalisation of provision across all race groups within the common area. During 1990 the systematic differentiation of school facilities according to the socio-economic profile of spatially defined communities was taken up in formal national DET planning procedures for mainstream provision in established townships although the DNE norms were not yet officially abandoned. The implications of differentiated provision for shack settlements were still not systematically addressed at this stage; these areas continued to constitute a separate category for which provision procedures and standards were not yet defined. Instead of including shack settlements in existing provision categories the DET,in its 1990 Annual Report,announced its intention of formulating a separate policy for 'squatter areas'. (The term 'squatter' is misleading as legal residence was still a precondition for any form of DET provision; the Report was in fact referring to legal shack settlements.)

The relevant extract from the DET Annual Report suggests that, at national level, the DET was at last moving beyond a rhetorical acknowledgement of the claims of shackdwellers, which masked actual neglect of these areas, to a practical planning exercise.The extract also confirms that the DET envisaged completely different forms of provision for shack settlements:

> One of the greatest challenges facing the Department is the provision of education in squatter areas. The fact that these informal settlements of people appear literally overnight, means that the provision of education in these areas has to be dealt with by means of extraordinary planning procedures. Furthermore, it is clear that the Department cannot depend on the traditional model for the provision of education in these areas. It is unrealistic to expect that pupils who sometimes live in very poor conditions, should fit into the conventional general-formative education programme.
>
> In order to provide an education to these areas which will suit the learning needs of people in squatter communities, it is a matter of priority for the Department to formulate a policy early in 1991 for the satisfactory provision of educational needs in such areas (DET 1990[a]).

The DET's 'squatter policy' was not yet finalised when this research report was completed in mid 1991 and there is a possibility that it will not have been completed by the time the DET is officially dismantled. But this is unlikely to mean that the practices which differentiate the quantity and quality of educational provision in ways which disadvantage shack settlements will disappear.Instead it will be argued here that these forms of differentiation are already embedded in education provision discourses, procedures and structures outside the DET and specifically in the government's Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) which was announced in June 1991. This is not intended to imply that there is a clear, cohesive plan for differentiation of state education provision; instead, it is suggested that particular practices have been selected and transported into ERS policy proposals because they were compatible with broader discursive trends emerging from a dominant group within the present government.

The continuities between DET practices in shack settlements and related proposals within the ERS will be mapped below. The ERS is of course not a blueprint for education provision in a future South Africa nor will its designers necessarily be the most influential amongst future

policy makers. But the education policies and practices of the present government and state departments constitute a continuing attempt to structure the education terrain in ways which will influence future choices; in so far as the ERS is part of this process, it must be seen as an important factor influencing future education provision options.

The ERS was produced within the DNE by a number of working groups in which were represented the various education departments, tertiary education institutions, teachers' organisations and private sector organisations. Its stated objective was to produce 'short and medium term management strategies' but it also clearly constitutes a set of proposals which the government can call to hand at the negotiating table. Within the ERS Discussion Document can be traced a number of proposals which bear strong resembl. es to the differentiation practices which have emerged within the DET since 1989. The general notion of categorising learners according to their socio-economic profile is introduced in this document not as a proposal but as an organising principle thus differentiation is assumed rather than proposed (see Table 1 on p. 31 and Table 2 on p. 65). In Table 1 the term 'appropriate' is used to link the use of more sophisticated technology to more advantaged groups. As in various DET documents (see Appendix), it is implied that differentiation is a common sense principle rather than a strategy selected in order to serve particular interests.

The proposed differentiation of forms of provision in terms of the 'social and economic environment' is more explicit in a recommendation relating to provision of school facilities (see Recommendation 23.5). This recommendation proposes the general scaling down of space and cost norms and then singles out shack settlements for a substantial further reduction of 40 per cent in the cost allocation per square metre.

The discussion so far has focused on practices and proposed policies which aim overtly at the differentiation of education provision according to the socio-economic profile, or class, of spatially defined urban communities. Less transparent, but certainly no less important, are practices which result in differentiation because of the particular ways in which they are selected and combined within the broader approach to provision in particular contexts. Some implications of ERS proposals regarding the introduction of a range of 'models for providing school education' (p. 74) involving different levels of 'community responsibility and autonomy' (pp. 75–77) become evident when they are considered in relation to the ways in which the existing range of DET models and existing forms of community participation have been utilised in the context of shack settlements, specifically Orange Farm. In Orange Farm, communities established private schools primarily because they had no alternative and not because this was the model of their choice. Once these schools were registered by the DET, head office officials considered the department relieved of the responsibility of providing state schools for the students thus accommodated. The existence of these private schools and the responses of DET officials had the effect of limiting the choice of shackdwellers to a form of provision which drew minimal levels of state resources, if any.

Another model to consider is the state-aided school.Strategically placed DET interviewees were enthusiastic about the use of this model in shack settlements although no state aided schools had yet been established in any of the settlements visited for this study. The implications of the use of this model would depend very much on the form in which it is introduced but it is worth

remembering that the system of state-aided farm schools has produced large numbers of severely under-resourced schools where accountability to students and their communities is subject to the will of an employer.

Private and state-aided models will inevitably become increasingly important at the secondary level if the state prioritises universal primary education in the ways suggested in the ERS document (p. 78). In terms of this approach, the state would concentrate its resources at the primary level and the initiative and funds for secondary education will increasingly have to come from non-state sources. Judging by the responses of DET officials asked about DET building plans for 1991, there is already a tendency not to build secondary schools in shack settlements except where facilities are donated or in 'exceptional circumstances'. Unlike most other urban areas, shack settlements will inherit few if any state secondary schools from a previous policy era. At secondary school level shackdwellers may well find their choices limited to under-resourced private schools and state-aided schools controlled by the future employers of the students.

At primary level state schools must ultimately come to constitute the predominant form of provision even in shack settlements if the objective of providing universal primary education is seriously pursued. But the same model of provision across different communities will not necessarily result in a similar quality of provision, or similar financial allocations, as has already been evidenced within the DET. It is argued here that the school management councils in the form proposed in the ERS (p. 75) could function in ways which contribute to the structuring of differentiated provision. The ERS document lists nine examples of 'decision making and executive functions' that would devolve to school councils of which seven involve the supplementation of state funding by the school community (Recommendation 19.1). If their responsibilities are defined in this way school management councils could in effect become mechanisms for the partial commodification of state schools. As such, they could contribute to class based differentiation of provision in at least four ways: First, this report has argued that the state contribution to costs of facilities would be differentiated according to the socio-economic profile of the area. School management councils may legitimate this process if they agree to spread given quantities of resources as thinly as possible. Second, as poorer communities would have fewer resources with which to supplement costs partial commodification would inevitably disadvantage them in relation to less impoverished communities. Third, certain costs incurred in the establishment of new schools would devolve to the communities involved (see ERS Recommendation 19.1). Since shack settlements would inherit fewer facilities than would more established areas shackdwellers would have to contribute more to the establishment of new schools. Fourth, if shack settlements tend to have a higher population growth rate than do established townships, as is suggested by a comparison of Orange Farm and Sebokeng, this would also mean that proportionally more new schools would be required in shack settlements at greater costs to these communities.

The different models discussed above structure the relationships, functions and responsibilities of communities, private sector organisations and the state within the provision process. In addition it has become increasingly common since 1989 for non-state organisations to contribute to the capital costs of state schools. The ERS proposes that school buildings not 'funded by means of state allocations' should not be subject to DNE space and cost norms (Recommenda-

tion 23.2). This means that the form, size and quality of a donated building would depend on the interplay of interests of the parties involved in a particular project. In a context where the shortage of facilities is great and the dominant provision discourse legitimates the differentiation of facilities according to the socio-economic profile of spatially defined communities it is likely that donated school facilities will tend to be as cheap as possible. In the short term inexpensive donated schools will help to alleviate the shortage but in the long term these provision practices may well become entrenched and reinforce the principle of differentiated provision.

Current practices relating to the donation of school facilities confirm that such facilities tend to be less expensive than state funded buildings. This is evident, for example in the practices of the Independent Development Trust, an organisation established to disburse state and private sector funds made available for social investment. According to a document outlining the approach of this organisation to the provision of primary schools, private 'agencies':

> would be able to build physical plant at a considerable saving to that which might be obtained by state tender — the estimates which (the IDT has) been shown put the saving somewhere between 33 per cent and 50 per cent (IDT 1991 p. 3).

In the same document it is proposed that communities should contribute about 20 per cent to the cost of donated facilities; this is given as one of the advantages of private sector involvement in the provision of school facilities. Thus not only are less expensive schools provided in poorer areas and shack settlements (where the IDT tends to operate) but these communities are expected to pay for their own schools. Donated facilities (and donated sites) also bring other problems in that it is difficult to incorporate *ad hoc* offers into national planning procedures. While the IDT may be in a position to ensure that donated facilities or sites are located in the areas of greatest need, and that the DET follows through by accepting responsiblity for running costs, other donors may not always do so.

The point of this discussion is not that any of the practices mentioned, namely community participation in provision, private sector contributions and the adaptation of standards of provision to an affordable level, are inherently undesirable. Rather, it is argued that these practices are being combined and directed in ways which add up to the systematic disadvantaging of poorer communities.

While this report has focused on only one dimension of education provision, namely school facilities, it has also suggested that the approach to the provision of facilities stems from a broader education provision discourse. This implies that the unequal distribution of facilities is likely to be mirrored in other spheres of provision such as teacher numbers and curriculum options. Not only will decisions about these things be made from within the same discourse as decisions about buildings but they will also be influenced by the quantity, quality and forms of available facilities. Current government strategies are not only about the differentiation of buildings but also about the differentiation of learning and of the kinds of lives for which schools prepare students.

Contesting Current Government Strategies

It has been argued that the discourse that informs an emerging government education strategy and DET national policies in the De Klerk era structures the differentiation of provision of school facilities according to the socio-economic profile of spatially defined communities. Within this discourse the low level of state provision in poorer areas is defined as a function of limited resources on the assumption that redistribution through social provision is a trickle down effect of economic growth rather a catalyst for such growth. Within recent DET and DNE discourse differentiation of provision according to class is presented as a common sense principle. The government's ERS proposes to give material form to this discourse in new institutional structures, procedures, practices and relationships. Those who oppose these policies and practices will have to contest the dominant discourse in all these dimensions and also challenge the assumptions on which the strategy is premised.

A more equitable approach would arguably involve the allocation of a similar level of resources to all areas based on a nationally affordable level; exceptions to this should be aimed at addressing historical inequities. But contesting inequitable policies must go beyond the assertion of moral principles. Proposals for change which isolate the issue of the provision of facilities or focus purely on policy content would not deflect the broader structuring of inequity. Policies are the outcomes of processes based on interests. No blueprint or technical plan can protect the interests of those who do not have a strong political voice. The only way to ensure that policy change serves the interests of the urban poor is by strengthening the influence of those classes within the actual processes of policy making at both the local and national level and by ensuring the accountability of the state to democratic processes. This would generally involve keeping responsibility for provision of education within the public sphere.

This analysis suggests that the strength of civic and political organisations in shack settlements will be a key factor determining whether the differentiation practices which structure the allocation of lower levels of state resources to shack settlements will be effectively contested. As was discussed in Chapter Two, a tradition of civic rather than political organisation has evolved in shack settlements. These organisations have tended to be local and unaligned to national political movements. In 1990 a politically unaligned umbrella body for shack settlement civics was established within the PWV area. In the sphere of education, specifically within PWV shack settlements, problems have been addressed by civics rather than by organisations such as the NECC.

Civics typically represent spatially defined communities in response to specific issues. They attempt to influence state policies and practices without entering the political arena at the national level. Civics in shack settlements may well be able to mobilise grassroots support for specific local or even national education campaigns and to influence policies in this way. But they are unlikely to be able to systematically contest state education discourse in an ongoing way and to elaborate an alternative policy-discourse from outside national political forums. Their strength is local and they can win important concessions at this level. But government education strategy is pointing towards decentralised structures which would act as a buffer, pre-empting the generalisation of concessions, as precedents, to other areas and protecting the local status quo. At the same time important areas of education policy such as curriculum and the distribution

of resources are likely to remain centralised and inaccessible to local challenge.

Presently, civic organisations in shack settlements within the PWV communicate directly with DET officials at the local level. For contact at national level the NECC is drawn in to represent the civic umbrella body (Informal discussion with Omhle official: May 1991). This tactic compensates to some extent for the civics' lack of a national political voice but a vicarious voice cannot carry the full impact of the demands of a group which constitutes an urban majority.

Shackdwellers need a national (i.e. not local) political voice but they also need to be able to speak as a class. The threat of inequitable education provision is being directed against them not as a race nor as citizens but as a class, as the urban poor. This threat can only be effectively countered from within organisations in which shackdwellers identify and organise themselves as a class.

At present neither civics nor the ANC–NECC provide an adequate vehicle through which shackdwellers can contest educational inequity. There are a number of ways to deal with this problem. The relationship between the civics and the NECC could become more structurally integrated or civics could elaborate their political functions at the local and national levels. Whatever route is taken, shackdwellers must find a strong voice in which to address educational inequity if they are not to find themselves subjected to second class education yet again.

It is possible that, in the future, shackdwellers will have to deal with a government more sympathetic to their circumstances and needs, more willing to address historical inequity. Even then, policy making will continue to be about the resolution of conflicting interests, particularly when it relates to resource allocation. Then, as now, shackdwellers cannot afford to be a passive constituency or a topic on the agenda of others.

Appendix

Department of Education and Training

18 August 1989

Physical Planning

Introduction

1. Physical Planning entails the planning for the provisioning of physical educational facilities in the areas under the jurisdiction of the Department (including the South African Development Trust Areas).

2. Macroplans exist for the following fields of education:

- Public primary schools
- Public secondary schools
- Public combined schools
- Schools for special education
- Technical colleges
- Colleges of education

3. Macroplans are being developed for the provisioning of physical facilities in rural areas and sports facilities in townships.

4. Macroplanning is imperative for the following reasons:

- Limited resources (funds) available
- A very high pupil growth
- Historical backlogs
- Differentiated pattern of needs (developing areas, population distribution, etc.)
- Migration of people, e.g. urbanisation

5. The Department is striving towards limiting the number of pupils to a maximum of 40 per primary instruction room and 35 pupils per secondary instruction room by the year 1997.

6. Macroplans for the provision of public schools, for example, consist of a detailed demographic analysis of more than 360 townships and other residential areas. The data are gathered early each year by the regional offices of the Department, indicating, amongst others, the following:

- Housing and new developing areas
- Population numbers and anticipated growth
- Pupil numbers and anticipated growth
- Permanent facilities available (number of instruction rooms)
- Number of pupils per instruction room
- Percentage of pupil population at school

7. The data mentioned are used to make projections of the needs for physical facilities in each

township for the following four years.

8. The actual enrolment figures and the official projections of the Department, based on cohort studies, are used to verify the projections for the total number of pupils in the townships.

9. The projected needs are expressed in terms of the number of primary and secondary instruction rooms required in each township over the next four years.

Priorities

10. The macroplans for physical facilities incorporate the setting of priorities for all building projects. Priorities are determined by the regional offices with the assistance of the Directorate: Physical Planning. The present pupil densities and projected pupil growth in the townships are used as guidelines for determining priorities.

Problems and constraints in the provisioning of a sufficient number of instruction rooms

11. The most serious problem the Department has to cope with is to provide sufficient numbers of schools to accommodate the growing pupil population. Added to this it has to eliminate backlogs in existing townships and provide schools int he number of new townships and extensions to existing townships.

12. From 1987 to 1988 the growth rate for pupils in public primary schools was 5,5 per cent and 15,79 per cent in the secondary public schools. More than 55 000 additional primary pupils and 59 000 secondary school pupils had to be accommodated in the schools in the are under the jurisdiction of this Department. If these needs are expressed in terms of additional schools required, the Department needs 58 primary schools and 43 secondary schools for these pupils. At an average cost of R2,4 million per primary school building and R4,8 million per secondary school building, the capital investments required for school buildings to cope with the growth in pupils amounts to more than R343 million.

13. In the financial year 1 April 1988 to 31 March 1989 the Department was notified by the Provincial Authorities of the approval of 36 new townships and extensions to townships with a total of more than 37 000 residential sites. Expressed in terms of additional schools required these new townships would need a minimum of 74 primary schools and 30 secondary schools to provide education for the inhabitants of the new townships. The estimated cost of providing these school buildings is more than R320 million.

Alternative plans considered to provide educational facilities

14. The Department is pursuing various avenues to meet the increasing demands for educational facilities.

More cost effective buildings

15. The Department took steps in this direction by appointing four different consultant teams to

investigate and plan more *cost effective* primary schools. This project has now reached the stage where the four newly designed schools are in the process of being erected. The tender prices were approximately 20 per cent to 25 per cent lower than the cost of the primary schools built according to the existing standard plan.

16. The lowering of building standards can only be considered up to a point where further lowering may, in the long term, result in abnormal maintenance costs. The schools built in some areas by the former development boards are good examples of lower-standard buildings which now cost the Department more to maintain and upgrade to an acceptable standard.

17. It should also be remembered that the school must also be acceptable to the community it serves. It is possible to lower the standards in an area where squatting takes place, but it would be unwise to use the same standard of building in an area developed for a higher income group.

18. At one stage the Department was accused of providing inferior buildings; it was evidence of the so-called 'inferior education system'. We must guard against having a similar situation again.

Loan finance

19. This is still being investigated, but the indications are that the Treasury is hesitant, because these loans would commit the Government over a long period (20 or 30 years). The matter is at this stage receiving the attention of the Minister of Education and Development Aid and the Minister of Finance.

Mobile prefabs

20. These are acceptable only where urgent provision must be made for accommodation on a temporary basis. These instruction rooms are not cheaper. The advantage of these structures is that it is possible to erect them in a very short time. The cost of moving them to the next site after they had served their purpose, must also be taken into account.

21. These structures do not solve the problem of providing permanent instruction rooms; in any case prefabs should not be used to wipe out the backlog.

22. Another disadvantage of these structures is that they are very vulnerable in an unrest situation.

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