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SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

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FOREWORD

During 1967 the African Studies Programme of the University of the Witwatersrand organized a series of fortnightly lunch-hour seminars on aspects of education in South Africa. The series was led by R.Tunmer and R.K.Muir of the Department of Education at the University.

Raymond Tunmer has assembled and edited the substance of these papers, and I should like to express my sincere thanks to him and Robert Muir for carrying out the project, and to the speakers who contributed to the series. I hope that the papers will be found useful. Mrs Hazel Hudson and Miss Jennifer Rouse, of the University's department of Geography & Environmental Studies, were responsible for the production of plates for the tables, and for this I am most grateful.

To someone who does not live in South Africa, the system of compartmentalization of national education may seem strange, and the classification of people into White, Coloured, African (or Bantu), and Indian, may sound illogical and unscientific, which it is. Though it was not the intention of the speakers to judge the system of education, which is but a reflection of the political and economic structure of the Republic of South Africa, many weaknesses and inconsistencies are implicit in even the barest of facts. Mr Tunmer asks, at the end of the eighth paper, what Coloured children are being educated for. After re-reading these papers, I could not help wondering what <u>all</u> South African children are being educated for. The

only common denominators in the different "sections" of South African education seem to be a lack of government spending (barely 4% of the annual budget), and a political dogma of diabolical naivety. For a country of South Africa's stage of economic development, the outlook for education is bleak, and these papers make depressing reading.

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EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

R. Tunmer

Since the time of Athens and Sparta, it has been argued that the future of any state depends very much on the amount of interest and energy that is devoted to education in the state. It is now realised that finance muct also be added to this list. Despite the fact that this realisation has a long history, there are few educationists in any country in the world who are satisfied with the amounts of interest, energy and finance which are devoted to education. South Africa is no exception.

In this series of papers, stress will be laid on education for Non-White peoples for two reasons. The first is that less is known about their problems. The second is that if South Africa is to continue to prosper, much will depend upon the products of the country's Non-White schools. The aim in this introductory paper will be to show how great this dependence is already, and how it is likely to increase in the future.

Material will be taken from a recently published report on "Education and the South African Economy", (1) as this brings together in one volume much new material.

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1. 1961 Education Panel, Second Report, Education and the South African Economy, Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1966. The author wishes to thank the Witwatersrand University Press for permission to reproduce material from this Report.

The central theme of this report can be expressed in this way: "Over the past thirty-five years the rate of economic growth in South Africa has been remarkably steady, apart from normal cyclical fluctuations, at an average of 4½ per cent per annum, after allowing for the falling purchasing power of money". (2)

If this rate of growth is to continue for the next few years up to 1980, what demands will be made on human skills? That this figure of 4½% is not an overestimate is suggested by the growth of 5½% which was predicted by the South African Government's Department of Planning for the years 1964 - 1969. (3)

It is important to remember that the techniques used by the writers of the Report were not the complex and sophisticated ones which are being used by contemporary economists. Having established the general trend for a particular area, the trend was projected forward for the next fifteen years. It is most unlikely, therefore, that the estimates for educational expansion or manpower needs will be exact. Starting with the well-documented present shortage of skills in the country, the Panel simply attempts to arrive at no more than an order of magnitude of possible future demands.

If expansion of educational provision does not come at a sufficiently rapid rate, it is unlikely that there will be a complete economic break-down in South Africa. What is likely is that there will be a growth of inefficiency and incompetence

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2. 1961 Education Panel, op.cit., p.17.
3. 1961 Education Panel, op.cit., p.17.

in our public life, and following on this, a series of panic reforms which will have to make do with inadequately trained manpower, both white and black. What the Panel asks for therefore is an increase in the amount of money spent on education, especially on education for non-white people, together with an improvement in the efficiency of training, so that they will be able to make use of the opportunities which South Africa, if it wants to maintain its economic growth, will have to give them.

As a country becomes more industrialized, the structure of the labour force undergoes considerable change. Table I shows the present structure in South Africa, and the predicted changes by 1980. It also shows similar changes which occurred in the United States in the first two decades of this century, when American Industrialization was making rapid strides. (Table I is reproduced on the following page).

It is clear that both in the United States and in South Africa (and indeed in any country which has experienced similar kinds of economic growth), industrialization has meant a considerable increase in workers at the professional, technical, administrative, clerical and skilled industrial levels, and a reduction in the numbers of unskilled industrial workers, in those working in agriculture and domestic service, and a complete disappearance of the peasant farmer. (5)

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5. Although there are still many Africans living in Reserve-areas of South Africa, they nearly all depend heavily upon cash wages earned out of the reserves.

TABLE I

The structure of the labour force in South Africa in 1960, and as predicted for 1980, and in the United States of America in 1900 and 1920 (4)

	South Africa		U.S.A.	
	1960	1980 (projected)	1900	1920
1. Professional, technical, administrative	5.0	6.5	10.1	12.1
2. Clerical and sales	8.9	10.0	7.5	12.9
3. Industrial, skilled	12.3	19.5	23.0	30.1
4. Industrial, unskilled	24.2	21.5	12.5	11.6
5. Agriculture	28.5	23.0	37.5	26.0
6. Peasants	4.0	0	0	0
7. Domestic servants	13.2	14.0	5.4	3.3
8. Other (mainly services)	3.9	5.5	4.0	4.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unskilled (4) as % of all industrial (3 & 4)	66.3	52.5	35.2	27.8
Total "White-collar" (1 & 2)	13.9	16.5	17.6	25.0
Total industrial (3 & 4)	36.5	41.5	35.5	41.7

4. 1961 Educational Panel, op.cit., p.23. Also see Figure 5, p.22 of the Report for a diagrammatic representation of the same process over a longer period of time.

It is also clear that those parts of the labour force which have been increasing and which will continue to increase, are precisely those which demand considerable education.

It is also inevitable that the recruits to the skilled labour force will have to come in increasing numbers from the non-white population. Table II shows the growing reliance on non-white labour in the years from 1950 to 1962.

TABLE II

Numbers of people and the proportion of Non-Whites employed in various industries. (6)

Industry	1950–1951			1961–1962			
	Total employed	Non-Whites	Percentage of Non-Whites	Total employed	Non-Whites	Percentage of Non-Whites	Non-Whites increase[1]
Private manufacturing[2]	524,041	374,559	71·4	686,782	505,289	73·6	15,109
Construction	91,827	69,845	76·1	113,232	90,779	80·2	4,642
Electricity	27,360	17,569	64·2	31,034	19,982	64·3	310
Commerce	289,971[3]	151,687	52·3	346,220	186,689	53·9	5,539
S.A. Railways & Harbours	187,950	84,578	45·0	214,957	104,209	48·5	7,523
Post Office	31,066	7,112	22·9	42,681	10,404	24·4	640
Mining	503,268	447,362	88·9	632,156	564,720	89·3	2,529
TOTAL	1,655,503	1,152,712	69·6	2,067,062	1,482,072	71·7	36,292

[1] This column shows the number of Non-Whites who would have had to be replaced by Whites in 1961–2, in order to keep the proportion of Non-White employees the same as it was in 1950–1.
[2] Including the motor industry.
[3] 1952 (1950–1 figure not available).

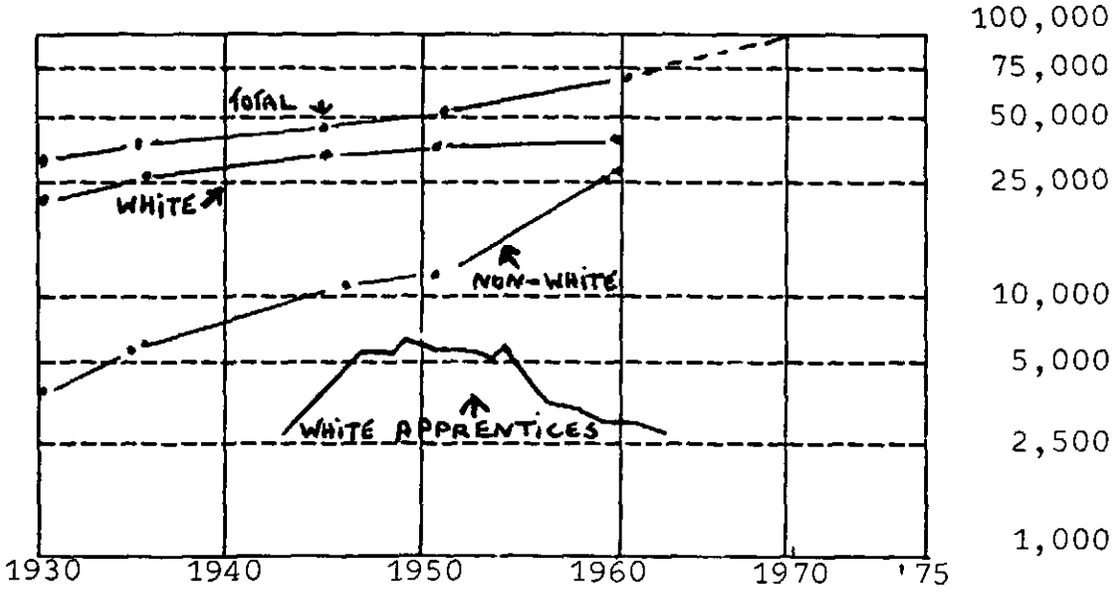
6. 1961 Education Panel, op.cit., p.28

Although many of these non-white workers were still unskilled, an increasing number is being used at the semi-skilled level, and in some cases, despite inadequate training, at the skilled level.

Figure 1 illustrates this in one sector of industry - building trades - where it can be seen that the rapid increase in the number of non-whites employed closely coincided in time with a decline in the numbers of white apprentices in these trades, and with a levelling off of the total number of whites in the industry.

FIGURE 1

Carpenters, bricklayers, plasterers and white apprentices in the building industry. (7)



7. Ibid. p.29

To what extent has the provision for education in the past been improved? Compulsory education for white children has been in existence for many years now, and South Africa simply has to ensure that there are sufficient places for the normal white population's expansion. For African children, there has been a very large increase in numbers attending school both at the primary and secondary levels. The average annual rate of growth of the primary school population between 1946 and 1960 has been 6 1/4% and in the secondary school population it is 10%. This is a spectacular increase, and is greatly to the credit of education authorities. If this rate of growth can be maintained, the Report estimates that it should be possible to introduce compulsory primary education by 1972. Table III shows however that, despite these advances, there is still a long way to go. (Table III is reproduced on the following page).

It can be seen, however, that the numbers in secondary schools were so small in 1946 that even an annual growth rate of 10% has not resulted in a very large number in secondary schools in 1960. These small numbers are caused by many factors: the costs of keeping children in school for many years, the shortage of teachers and classrooms, the failure rates in the public examination at the end of the primary school are all important factors. Because there is no compulsory education, many children start school at a very late age. Sometimes their schooling is interrupted while they wait for vacant places or earn enough money to resume their studies. The effects of late entry, failure, and erratic school attendance can be seen in Table IV.

TABLE III

ENROLMENT OF AFRICAN CHILDREN IN ALL SCHOOLS IN 1946 AND 1960

STANDARD	1946	1960
SUB-STANDARDS	325,383	665,655
STD 1	91,457	238,146
STD 2	66,416	188,668
STD 3	54,014	138,495
STD 4	38,477	97,437
STD 5	27,709	70,012
STD 6	20,585	53,833
Total Primary	624,041	1,454,036
FORM 1	-	21,468
FORM 2	9,209	14,282
FORM 3	2,497	9,755
FORM 4	604	1,741
FORM 5	315	835
Total Secondary	12,625	48,081
GRAND TOTAL	636,666	1,502,177

NOTE. An additional class was added to the secondary school course in 1955. (8)

8. This Table was adapted from 1961 Education Panel, op.cit., p.38

TABLE IV

Age distribution of African Pupils in 1960. (9)

Age group	A Number in school population	B Percentage of pupils in column A still in primary school
13	137,265	99.7
14	113,271	98.2
15	83,607	92.7
16	54,839	83.2
17	33,085	68.3
18	18,656	55.8
19 and over	16,293	35.8

It can be seen from this Table that more than two-thirds of 17-year-olds, and over half the 18-year-olds, who are in school have not yet reached the secondary stage. This brings problems in teaching, in discipline, and in presenting material to very wide age-ranges in every class. It also means that these children would have great financial difficulty in completing their full school course, for they would reach Form V in their mid-twenties. The keenness of these young people (in that they are voluntarily studying at the primary school level in their late teens) suggests that the country might be losing valuable material which could benefit from secondary training.

9. 1961 Education Panel, op.cit., p.40

There is no doubt that one cause of failure rates in public examinations is the very large pupil-teacher ratio in African schools. Table V shows these rates for different population groups over a number of years.

TABLE V

Gross pupil-teacher ratios. (10)

	White	Coloured and Indian	Bantu
1936	23	38	44
1946	24	38	45
1951	25	30	46
1956	23	34	49
1963	23	31	58

NOTE: The figures reflect the ratio of the total number of pupils in all public schools to the total number of teachers. Allowing for the various types of special classes, and special function of particular teachers, and the question of double sessions in African schools, the actual average size of a class may differ widely from the figures shown for the number of pupils per teacher.

Because there is an acute shortage of money for education for Africans, expansion of provision has had to come about at the cost of vastly increased class sizes. The shortage of money

10. 1961 Education Panel, op.cit., p.57

is also reflected in the salaries paid to African teachers. Table VI compares teachers' salaries with average wages at unskilled, skilled and administrative and clerical levels in Johannesburg in 1963.

TABLE VI

African teachers' salaries compared with wages paid in Johannesburg at various occupational levels. (11)

	Johannesburg African - 1963 average annual wages		
	Unskilled labour R428	Administrative/ clerical labour R625	Skilled labour R786
	Time taken by African teachers to reach these average wages		
1. Teachers in lower primary classes with-			
(a) Lower primary teachers' certificate(men & woman)	7 years finishes on R492(scale= 8 years)*	-	-
(b) Higher primary teachers' certificate(men & woman)	5 years	10 years- finishes on R648(scale= 10 years)*	-
2. Teachers with secondary academic qualifications and-			
(a) Lower primary teachers' certificate(men)	3 years	8 years	11 years- finishes on R936(scale= 14 years)*
(b) Higher primary teachers' certificate(men)	-	6 years	9 years- finishes on R1,032(scale = 14 years)*
3. Teachers with matriculation and a professional certificate(men)	-	3 years	6 years- finishes on R1,440(scale = 18 years)*

* Scale: number of years to reach maximum salary.

11. Ibid. p.77

As the country makes greater use of trained Africans, the chances of their finding jobs, (which are not so demanding as teaching large classes in poor conditions), in other sectors of the economy increase every year. The salary scales in 1963 acted as a strong disincentive to continue in teaching. Although there has been an improvement in scales since this date, the average rates in other jobs have also risen.

No solution to the present problems in African education can be found until more money is available. Table VII shows the expenditure on education in 1960, and the Panel's recommendations for 1980.

TABLE VII

Expenditure on education in 1960 and recommended expenditure in 1980. (12)

	1960		1980(1)	
	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita
	R		R	
Whites-primary and secondary(2)	78,470,000	114.1	160,000,000	180
Coloureds and Indians-primary and secondary(2)	32,208,000	74.5	153,000,000	150
African-primary and secondary(3)	20,277,000	13.5	337,000,000(4)	84
Vocational training and special schools (3)	14,723,000	n/a	95,000,000	n/a
Universities	14,191,000	326	130,000,000	650
	160,456,000		875,000,000	

1. All figures for 1980 are based on 1960 prices.
2. Up to 1964 White, Coloured, and Indian education were all governed by the Provincial Administration and separate expenditure figures were not published. The breakdown between Whites and Coloureds and Indians has been estimated.
3. Such expenditure as there was on African vocational training in 1960 (which was small) is included in the figure for African school education and breakdowns are not available. The figure for "vocational training" for 1980 is, however, intended to cover all races.
4. The figure for African school education for 1980 includes a figure of R30,000,000 for school feeding and subsistence allowances.

12. 1961 Education Panel, op.cit., p.121, 122.

The present shortage of money is the key problem in all aspects of South African education, and is seriously affecting the efficiency of institutions, from the largest white Universities to the smallest lower primary African school.

One question should be raised when talking about a rapid expansion of education provision: are there enough able pupils who can benefit from secondary schooling? With our present knowledge, it is not possible to say whether there are fundamental differences in inherited ability between white and non-white pupils. Some observed differences can be attributed to poor environment. Despite this more limited environment, some children can obviously benefit from secondary and university training. But are there sufficient numbers of these at the moment who can make up the numbers in the Panel's estimates presented in Table VIII? (Table VIII is reproduced on the following page).

The Panel is confident that given the money and the teachers, a sufficient number of intelligent pupils will be found. "During the period up to 1980 intelligence will present no problem in the Non-White secondary schools, for even in 1980 only about 25 percent of the children will reach secondary school and only about 15 percent will reach standard 10. It should be possible, therefore, for all these children to be of markedly superior intelligence". (15)

It should already be clear that this Report has concentrated on one function of education only - that of providing skilled

15. Ibid., p.48

TABLE VIII

The predicted composition of the labour force in 1980 compared with 1960. (13)

	1960		1980	
	White	Non-White	White	Non-White
Professional, technical and administrative	189,459	76,332	350,000	250,000
Clerical and sales	379,398	97,234	500,000	430,000
Industrial, skilled and semi-skilled	376,861	325,408	700,000	1,100,000
Industrial, unskilled	—	1,379,498	—	2,000,000
Agricultural	115,765	1,731,534	50,000	2,050,000
Domestic service	—	755,765	—	1,300,000
Services	58,087	156,463	100,000	410,000

These figures suggest that something like 20% of the labour force will be white, and some 80% will be non-white. To meet these demands, schooling provision will have to be expanded to the figures presented in Table IX.

TABLE IX

Enrolments at various levels in secondary schools in 1960, and projections to 1980. (14)

	White			Non-White			Total		
	1960	1980	Average annual growth	1960	1980	Average annual growth	1960	1980	Average annual growth
			%			%			%
Std. 8	41,237	70,000	2½	15,726	130,000	11	56,963	200,000	6½
Std. 10	17,270	40,000	4½	2,607	80,000	22	19,877	120,000	9¼
Std. 7–10	150,463	224,000	2	71,655	535,000	13	222,128	759,000	6½

13. 1961 Education Panel, op.cit., p.31
14. Ibid., p.47

manpower to run a modern society. Education must also concern itself with the spiritual development of children. The Panel was aware of this limitation, but they have provided readers with one form of justification for an increased expenditure on education, and the detailed investigations by the Panel have made it clear why, in later papers in this collection, so much emphasis has been given to Non-White education in South Africa.

CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION

J. Chr. Coetzee

Two important occurrences at the beginning of the nineteenth century played a decisive role in the development of education at the Cape of Good Hope. The first event was the changed philosophical outlook caused by the French Revolution in Europe as a whole and, more immediately, in the old mother country of the Dutch colonists at the Cape. The revolutionary ideals of the equality, freedom and brotherhood of all men were brought to the Cape when the Dutch Batavian Republic appointed J.A. de Mist, a son of the Revolution, as Commissioner-General at the Cape. According to J.E.G. De Montmorency in his STATE INTERVENTION IN ENGLISH EDUCATION (p. 149), he was one of the soundest educationalists of either the 18th or 19th century. By his Ordinance of 1805, he introduced a new system in education: the secular school - a school established by and under State control, a school not belonging to or controlled by any religious body. The education of the Dutch East India Company was in fact a system of Reformed state schools. The old Dutch colonists strongly condemned the change-over to a state system. In the Netherlands the same change took place, and a similar reaction by the orthodox Reformed Church came into being. In the course of educational development in Holland a struggle developed against the neutral school system and a movement for Christian National Education took shape, which resulted in a struggle of 80 years for the freedom of the school system from state control.

The second event was the occupation of the Cape by the British in 1806, by which the Dutch colonists were placed under a new rule, which was confirmed in 1814 by the Congress of Vienna. The Dutch colonists found themselves permanently transferred to English dominion, without their own consent being either asked for or obtained. They naturally resented this transfer. Quite understandable was the policy of the new government: the anglicisation of the Dutch-speaking colonists.

The British government attempted to achieve this by giving immediate attention to the Dutch Church and the Reformed state school. The Dutch Church, as the deciding factor in the life of the Dutch colonists, had to be anglicised, and British ministers of religion were imported, whose Anglican view did not coincide with the Calvinistic view of the Dutch ministers of Reformed conviction. The Reformed state school, as the only known form of educational organisation, also had to be anglicised, and for this purpose English teachers were brought out to the Cape. The new school system became in fact a state system, neutral, liberal and English in spirit and direction. The anglicisation and the neutralisation attacked the two fundamental principles of the Dutch colonists: their own national and reformed principles in education.

Reaction against the British policy in Church and school gradually took a definite form. After 1865, a movement arose in the Cape among the Dutch-Afrikaner colonists, which was labelled in accordance with the struggle in the old mother country as a movement for Christian National Education. This movement was marked by a struggle for the Christian and national character of schools.

These two principles - Christianity and nationalism - were theoretically considered as being one single principle: Christian-national. When the Rev. S. J. du Toit, a leader of this movement in the Cape, was appointed Superintendent of Education in the Transvaal, the movement spread to the Transvaal as well, and reached its peak period between 1882 - 1899.

After the Treaty of Vereeniging in 1903, when the two Dutch Republics lost their independence and became British Colonies, history repeated itself: The Transvaal and the Orange Free State were to be anglicised, and again the schools were the main target and instrument. A state system, English and neutral in character, was introduced. Reaction set in, and an Afrikaner Christian National school system arose and flourished until 1907, when Representative Government was introduced into the two Republics and a new Education Act came into force in the Transvaal (1907) in the Orange Free State (1908), which removed the main arguments of many Afrikaners against the state school system. Among orthodox Afrikaners, however, the struggle against the neutral school continued and the struggle for C.N.E. was kept alive.

In 1948, the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies (the F.A.K.) published after many years of study and strife a most important pamphlet on CHRISTELIK-NASIONALE ONDERWYSBELEID (Christian-national Educational Policy), formulated by its Institute for a C.N.E., on whose Committee sat men representing the Dutch Churches, the teaching profession, Afrikaans universities, and Afrikaans cultural leaders. This Policy expressed the views of the orthodox Afrikaners on the education of their children.

But the pamphlet was attacked by both English and Afrikaans-speaking people, who held quite different views on educational matters. I shall now undertake a brief exposition of the theory and practice of this C.N.E. Policy.

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION

Three basic principles underlie the C.N.E. Policy: religious, national and philosophical. These three principles are discussed separately but they form a unity, a three-in-one or a one-in-three. This should serve as a clear and relevant starting point for our theoretical discussion and critical examination of the Policy, which was developed by Dutch Reformed Afrikaners for the education of Dutch Reformed children (not for the education of other groups) and designed to serve as an example for people of other persuasions, who are by this policy invited to develop for their own groups comparable educational policies. We shall now briefly describe each of the three basic principles in so far as they underlie the C.N.E. Policy of the F.A.K. as I personally see the position.

We may be brief concerning the religious principle. We accept that people differ fundamentally in religious matters. And yet we class people in two main groups: Christians and non-Christians, and we do this for the simple reason that we are Christians. Among Christians we find similar differences of opinion. We distinguish between Roman Catholics and Protestants, and we do this for the simple reason that we are Protestants. Among Protestants we recognise three great groups: The Anglicans, the Lutherans and the Calvinists. Again we do this for the simple reason that we are Calvinists.

The religious basis of the C.N.E. Policy then is the Reformed Calvinistic religion. As Christians we believe and confess the existence of a Triune God, Creator, Ruler and Provider of all existing things and beings: matter, plant, animal, human being. We believe and confess that this God (the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit) has revealed Himself in His Word through Jesus Christ and the workings of the Holy Spirit. We believe and confess that God created man in His own image and likeness (male and female created He them), and blessed them and said unto them: be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. God said that man should be fruitful and multiply, and thereby that man shall produce his kind, that he shall have children, young, helpless, requiring help, immature, growing, dependent. From this follows that man shall bring up and rear his offspring in the knowledge, love and service of God, the Father of mankind; that he shall educate his children and prepare them for this earthly and for heavenly life, that he shall furnish the young man of God unto all good works, so that he shall and may be perfect. As Christians we believe and confess the fall of man into sin and his redemption through Jesus Christ, our Saviour, in whom lies our destination - some being saved, others being rejected. As Calvinist Christians, we believe and confess the fact of eternal election and rejection, the so-called doctrine of predestination; and we believe and confess the self-sufficiency and the Absolute Sovereignty of God the Creator - God is our Absolute Sovereign but also our Heavenly Father; He is Creator, Ruler and Provider, and He is our Saviour and Redeemer. This then is in brief the religious view of the Calvinists.

But as Calvinists we know and accept fully the fact that other Christians are differently minded, and we respect their point of view as we expect them to respect ours. And our policy is meant for Calvinist-Christian minded people.

The second basic principle on which our policy stands is the national principle. We accept that people differ fundamentally in national matters. We accept without any argument the fact of the existence of different, separate races, nations, peoples, languages, countries. We believe and confess that God created one man and one woman, and that He told them to be fruitful and to multiply and to replenish the earth. But we also believe and confess that men in their history should have their own countries and languages, their own histories and cultures, their own races and nationalities. We believe and confess that no country, language, race and nation is better before God than any other country, language, race and nation: and yet we accept the existence of separate countries, languages, nations and races. And so we believe and confess that we as Afrikaners have our own country and language, our own nation and race. We believe and confess God's will in the matter of all national existence: God willed that we Afrikaner Calvinists should live in South Africa, should speak Afrikaans as our language, should be a separate nation and should be of European extraction. We believe and confess that it is our calling to remain and develop our Afrikanerdom, to live in South Africa, to speak Afrikaans and to keep our European racial entity. And to this end we educate our children and inculcate in them their history, their character, their culture, their descent, but never in a chauvinistic sense:

All men of God are equal, free and our brothers, but yet each group of men puts value on its own nation, race, language and country. He who cannot and dare not say to himself "This is my own, my native land, people, language", is a dead soul. It is for us and our children only that we have developed a Christian-national educational policy. It is not intended and will not be prescribed for any other section of our multi-national and multi-racial South Africa - white, black, coloured, English - Afrikaans - or Bantu-speaking.

There is finally the third, very important basic principle underlying our C.N.E. Policy. We shall designate this principle the philosophical or theoretical principle. In matters educational we have to do with four agencies which have an interest and/or a right in the education of the child: they are the home, the church, the state and the school. The question now for examination is: what are the functions of each of these agencies and what should be the true relation between them in educational matters? Our answer must be based on our Calvinistic theoretical thought. We believe and confess that the child is the child of the home and that it is the interest, duty and right of the parents to educate, to bring up and rear the children given to them by God, their Father and Creator. They are responsible for their total secular and religious education. This responsibility demands from parents that they shall educate their children themselves, or see to it that they receive the necessary education. But the parents remain in every way responsible: they must decide on the foundation, aim and spirit of their children's education at home and everywhere else.

We believe that the church as the community of believers (adults and children) has a special interest, duty and right in the education of those children who are members of the church.

The church must in the first instance preserve, defend and preach the Word of God to adults and children united in the community of believers. The church must confine its action to the education of its particular membership: outside this limit it holds no right, although it has an interest in religious affairs all along the line. Within its walls, the church must train and educate its youthful members for full adult membership. Outside its walls, it still has an interest and a duty as regards the secular and religious education of its youthful members: their religious convictions and training must fall and remain within the tenets and practices of their church.

We believe that the state has a most important interest, duty and right in the education of its youthful citizens: all children, by virtue of their birth from adult citizens, are also citizens of the state, and the children of today are the grown-up citizens of tomorrow. The state is deeply concerned for its own existence and preservation in the education and cultivation of its youthful members. No state can flourish, prosper and thrive with citizens who are unlettered, uncultured, uneducated. The young citizens must also receive a civic education, and the state must take care that such training is given to the child: knowledge of state affairs, obedience to state rule etc. The state has the duty and right to lay down at least the limits of educational training and intellectual requirements for general education.

But the state should not concern itself with the religious foundation, character and aim of spirit of this education; it should concern itself with the amount and quality of education, and should demand that such education shall never undermine the morals of the child and the authority of the state.

We believe that the school is an institution having its origin in the home. In past times the home served as the place for the full education of the child: religious, intellectual, vocational, moral. But the home gradually found it impossible and impracticable to provide a good all-round education. The aid of special persons was called in: men and women who made it their profession to teach. They were in fact doing the work of the parents and were substitute parents. The school arose as a place for teaching children by such substitute parents, eventually called teachers. We believe thus that the teachers teach IN LOCO PARENTIS, that they (and hence their institution, the school) receive from the parents their interest, duty and right, and from this that they must educate the children in accordance with the wishes and the views of life and the world of the parents. The school must decide in the matter of the education of its child on how to do such work, i.e. on problems of method and procedure. The school is a formal, specialist institution for the teaching of the child.

The second point in our theoretical thinking on educational matters turns round the problem of the interrelation of these four agencies in education. As Calvinists, we try to answer this question by putting forward two fundamental principles.

We start here in our theoretical thinking by accepting the existence of different spheres in life and consider inter alia the home, the church, the state and the school as separate spheres. Each sphere has a status of its own, which is rooted in its divinely instituted nature and which cannot be infringed upon by any other sphere. This is our first fundamental principle, and it is designated in Calvinistic thinking as the sovereignty of each sphere in its own orbit. In the education of children this principle amounts to the following relationship. The home is autonomous in deciding on the foundation, character, aim and spirit of the education of the child. The church is autonomous in deciding on the religious foundation, character, aim and spirit of the education of its youthful members. The state is autonomous in deciding on the right to education of its youthful citizens, being the institution for the maintenance of justice in human society, as well as on the proper standard of pupils' education and on compulsory education within certain limits and finally on the maintenance of public morality and national safety. These spheres of life exist in this world next to one another and may not supplant or take advantage of one another. And thus lying next to one another, they shall stand under the sovereignty of God, their Creator. But we Calvinists posit a second fundamental principle: these spheres of life have no independent existence, they do not exist in vacuo, but are interwoven, intermingled, intertwined with all others in their temporal existence in this world. This relation between the different spheres of life is explained by this second principle: the universality of each sphere in its own orbit.

Home, church, state and school are closely bound together in the education of the child, because they have all to do with the same child, because they have an interest, a duty and right in such education. Each sphere must recognise and accept not only its autonomy but also its dependence on other spheres. The home needs the church, the state and the school: the church needs the other three, and so does the state, and the school has to do with members of the home, the church and the state. To sum up: the home decides on the spirit and direction of the education of the child, the church on the religious aspect of the education of its members in all the other spheres, the state on compulsion and academic standard and on moral and political standards in public life, and the school finally on matters of organisation and administration and of educational method and procedure. They must work together.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE THEORY OF CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION

The final consideration on the implementation of this theory of education must be short and to the point.

We believe in the ideal of a system of Christian-national schools for the implementation of our educational aims in a spirit and direction in harmony with our world and life view and in accordance with a method of education rooted in the principle of the Word of God, including the method and procedure of teaching and discipline and an organisation in line with our Calvinistic theoretical thought.

The system of Christian-national schools differs essentially from a system of state, church, or parent-schools.

We reject in principle any domination of our schools by the state, the church or the home. The C.N.E. - school should be free to function within the limits assigned to it by our principle of sovereignty in its own orbit. This freedom, however, must not be thought of as absolute but only as relative, as freedom under authority. But the C.N.E. school does not exist by itself away from all contact with state, church and home. It is not an isolated island but a land with full surroundings, physical and social. It exits in this world next to the other spheres of life (state, church, home); it is interwoven, intermingled, intertwined with them in its temporal existence and in this world. In its functioning we accept the principle of universality in its own sphere: the school needs the state, the church and the home in fulfilling its task of educating the child of the home, the member of the church, and the citizen of the sfate.

We reject in principle and in practice a system of state schools. No state can satisfy us in the ideal of C.N.E. The state is always neutral in matters of philosophy and religion. A modern state school is essentially neutral in teaching religion and life and world view, because children of all shades of opinion attend it. Current educational acts for the state school understandably include a so-called conscience clause forbidding the application of any dogma or doctrine peculiar to any religious denomination. In fact, such a clause forbids also any particular philosophical or scientific theory or doctrine. State school education, if systematically and conscientiously given on the principle of neutrality, is completely colourless, senseless and useless. Nobody (be he a Calvinist, a Roman Catholic, a realist, a liberalist, or an atheist) can teach in such a manner.

All teaching in home and school and elsewhere takes on the colour of the religious and /or philosophical or scientific thinking of parent and teacher. Furthermore, we reject a state school system because we believe that teaching is not a function of the state. We also reject a system of church schools, precisely because the church should be concerned only with matters of religious teaching, and school teaching means more than mere religious teaching. And finally, we reject a system of parent schools, because parents have other things to do and are not fully capable of teaching their children in modern times. But we do not object to state schools (e.g. military institutions), to church schools (e.g. theological seminaries) and to parent schools (e.g. private schools) under any and all circumstances. Our objection concerns only a system of such schools.

We Calvinist Afrikaners desire and demand a system of schools that would meet our deepest wishes and convictions. There exists to our minds only one solution to this problem: a general system of state-aided schools, free from the domination of the state, the church and the home, but in full co-operation with the state, the church and the home. Our ideal of a system of state-aided schools embraces the following details. The school should be a sphere of life with sovereignty in its own orbit, but also with universality in its own orbit. The binding factor in school education is the child - the child of parents, the member of churches, the citizen of states. Because all children have parents and are citizens of the state, parents and state should play the main role in school education: in the case of children belonging to any church or denomination, the church should take its parent even in school education.

Schools then exist for the education of children of parents and young citizens of the state. The establishment of schools should, in the first instance, emanate from the parents, not as individuals but as an organised body, and the state should co-operate fully. Because its young members attend the school, the church should also co-operate in such an establishment. The maintenance of schools should also be a joint undertaking of parents and state, with the assistance of the church where applicable. The parents should contribute to the defraying of school expenditure, the state, being the only authority to obtain financial means lawfully, should assume the main share in defraying school expenditure, and the church should lend financial aid to its poor parents, so that they may perform their task of educating their children.

The control of a school should, in the first instance, be in the hands of the parents-in-organisation, but the state should see to it that justice is maintained between children, parents, teachers, supervisors etc., and the church may exercise any necessary control only through agency of the parents as members of the church. Therefore, we believe in the right of existence of school committees for individual schools, selected by the school parents, with a representative of the state on the committee. In every school district there should be a school board, the majority of whose members are elected as representatives of the school committees of schools in such districts, and a minority of whom should be appointed by the state. On a school committee the school principal should hold a seat, and on the school board, a representative of the teaching profession.

In each Province there should be a council of education, with representatives from the school boards, the state and the teaching profession. For the Republic Of South Africa there should finally be a statutory board of education, with representatives from the Provinces, the teaching profession and the state. Under such a system of state-aided schools parents of all religions and non-religious opinion may find full realisation of their wishes and opinions. We as Calvinistic Afrikaners will have our C.N.E. schools: Anglicans, Lutherans, Roman Catholics, Jews, liberalists and atheists will have their own schools. But in all schools two things should not happen: the undermining of morality or of state stability and authority.

SOME CRITICAL COMMENTS ON THE THEORY OF CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION

R. K. Muir

When this series of papers on education in South Africa was planned, it seemed a perfectly logical thing to ask people to prepare papers on education for Africans, education for Coloureds, education for Indians and education for Whites. It is logical, because in South Africa official policy decrees that there should be different centralized bodies, and the separation is justified in official quarters by emphasizing the different needs of the groups. With time, it is no longer possible to differentiate between real differences and those possibly created by the system itself. But to understand much of the theory behind the planning of separate educational provision in South Africa, the study of the viewpoint of the protagonists of C.N.E. is illuminating.

Three aspects of the subject will be dealt with: the historical background; problems to which C.N.E. theory gives rise; and an assessment of the practice and implications of C.N.E. in present times.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

C.N.E. is a 17th century ideology, although it has been formulated in very much more recent times by persons anxious to retain the practices and the ideas of the past. In 17th century Holland, the State, the Church and the School were closely identified.

In fact, they had interlocking existences. There was one State Church. It was a Christian Protestant Church which had adopted the Calvinist interpretation of Christianity. State and Church had joined in a close union to fire the beliefs and resolves of the people in the face of a succession of bitter religious wars with Spain. The Church and the School were so closely connected, that it is difficult to see where the authority of the Church ended and the authority of the School began. In fact, for practical purposes, all schooling was church schooling. At the Synod of Dort, which was held between 1618 and 1619, final form was given to the creed and practice of the Dutch Reformed Church. Among the edicts of this Synod were these: Schools must be instituted in country places, towns and cities; religious instruction must be given; the Christian Magistracy must see to it that well-qualified persons teach with suitable compensation, the children of the poor are to be instructed free; and in all schools only orthodox Christians may teach. To ensure these ends, a church system of inspection was devised - it was the duty of the Minister, with his elders, to inspect the schools. All the functions of the modern education department were carried out by the Church.

At that time, this pattern of educational provision was typical not only for Holland, but for other European countries, and also for the Cape. Education remained a function of the Church until the late 19th Century. A commentator on 19th century education at the Cape, Sir John Herschel, speaks about 'the mixing of the pulpit and the desks'. At the Cape, as in Holland, the church was in practical control of all educational activities, and any threat to this was very vigorously opposed.

The first threat came with de Mist, who came to the Cape in 1803 and proposed a secular basis for all educational efforts. His policy was that education was for national efficiency, for the building up of a nation's culture; that education should be vocational, universal and without regard to colour or creed. This policy was strongly resisted by Cape burghers. The threat to the old established pattern of educational administration was removed when de Mist left the Cape three years later. However, right through the 19th century, whenever the religious basis of education was threatened, the burghers at the Cape resisted the change.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the State gradually assumed a more important place in the provision of education. The history of nineteenth century education in many European countries is concerned with the struggle between Church and State to control education. This struggle was played out at the Cape too, and by the end of the century the Superintendent of Education at the Cape, Thomas Muir, was at the head of a centralized, state-controlled administration. But in the interior, the Church-dominated pattern continued. The trekkers who left the Cape in 1836 and succeeding years, desired to maintain the old relationship between Church, State, School and Home. The Orange Free State constitution, which was formulated in 1854, included these two clauses: Clause 23: "The furtherance of religion and education shall be a subject for the care of the Volksraad", and Clause 24: "The Dutch Reformed Church shall be promoted and supported by Volksraad". Article 24 of the Constitution of the South African Republic, formulated in 1858, reads in translation:

"The people desire the building up, prosperity and welfare of the Church and State and on that account direct that provision should be made to satisfy the want felt for Dutch Reformed ministers and school masters".

Despite earlier attempts to anglicise the Boers by the British authorities, particularly in the time of Lord Charles Somerset in the 1820's, there was not in the 19th century a real clash on national grounds. The protest in the 19th century was mainly a religious one, a protest against secularisation of the schools. However, the Boer War at the beginning of this century, and its aftermath, introduced a new element into the struggle - the element of the national protest. Immediately after the Boer war, Milner came to the two defeated Trekker States with the aim of turning them into British Crown colonies as rapidly as possible. With this end in view he instituted a bureaucratic, hierarchical kind of administration. As part of Milner's reconstruction, the whole structure of education was changed overnight. Church participation in education was stopped, parents were denied any say in the education of their children, and the medium of education became English. Opposition to Milner's policy was inevitable. The movement for 'Vrye Christelike Nasionale Onderwys' (Free Christian National Education) was begun, and it established many schools which became known as C.N.E. schools. The movement sought to be free from two aspects of Milner's regime - free from the bureaucratic kind of state control which Milner instituted, and also free from the Influence of English culture.

After the change of government in England in 1905, and with the granting of responsible government to the former Republics, political power once more became vested in Afrikaner hands. Changes in education followed, and these were brought about by the Smuts Act of 1907 for the Transvaal, and by the Hertzog Act of 1908 for the Orange River Colony. Smuts was mainly responsible for the spirit of compromise expressed in the Acts. He sought to create through the schools a blend of Afrikaner and English culture, so that there could be one national system of education and one national loyalty. He campaigned very vigorously to achieve this ideal of burying differences between Boer and Briton. At the time, however, there was a tremendous amount of opposition to Smuts's ideal, well expressed by Mr (later Professor) J. Kamp of the Theological School at Potchefstroom, who put forward these arguments against it: (i) The government school was based on a lie and a presumption, for it placed the government between God and the parents; (ii) It was a steady but certain poison for all true religion; and (iii) it could never give children a national education. The two strands of the quarrel with Milner are retained: firstly, Kamp and his supporters did not want secular schooling, and secondly, they did not want a common culture - they wanted an exclusive, separatist Afrikaner culture.

The immediate realisation of the aims of the movement for C.N.E. seemed to be lost, because most of the C.N.E. schools gave up after 1907 and most people responded to Smuts's plea for a burying of all old differences.

In the hearts of a few, the ideal of separatism continued to burn, and they worked in the background for these ideals. Between 1914 and 1918, for instance, a journal called Onse Hoër Onderwys was published under the auspices of the Association for Christian National Higher Education. In this journal, the Association expressed the views that the education system of that time was foreign to the Afrikaner, that the content of the school curriculum was foreign to the Afrikaner, and that it was wrong that professors in Universities need not state that they were Christians. They attacked the Bills establishing the University of Cape Town, The University of South Africa and the University of Stellenbosch. They also gave in their journal a history of the independence of universities and showed how dangerous a principle it was. They cited three Calvinist principles for their own university which were: "Fear of the Lord is the beginning of all wisdom"; "Christ has become the wisdom of God"; and "The Wisdom which is from Above is pure, peaceful and full of mercy".

There was no definitive formulation of C.N.E. for many years, although books and papers expressing its viewpoints were published. In 1939, a church conference was held in Bloemfontein. The main subject under consideration was C.N.E., and a committee was established to consider the matter. This committee met and talked for many years, and eventually, in 1948, a policy statement appeared. An abridged translation of this policy statement was published by the Education League in a pamphlet called 'Blackout'.

THEORETICAL PROBLEMS INHERENT IN C.N.E.

There is in C.N.E. policy a theoretical balance between the State, the Church, the School and the Home. In Calvinistic language each of these institutions is sovereign or autonomous in its sphere. A good example of this kind of thinking is contained in the answer given by one of the formulators of C.N.E. theory to the question: "What about the parents' right to determine the language medium of the child?" The answer was, "Well, that must be determined by the school". It is not the parent who may determine this, because the school is operating within its autonomous sphere in telling the parents that the best educational results are obtained from mother tongue instruction, and therefore the child must be educated through the medium of the mother tongue. This balance between different institutions provides the source of one of the insurmountable problems with C.N.E. theory. Sociological studies of the institutions of society stress their interdependence. In the 17th century, there was a harmonious relationshop between the Church, the School, the Home and the State. However, it is not possible to preserve the same relationship through all times. The relationship between the Church and the State could only be maintained if there is a State Church - and if the functions of both do not change. But the functions of all these institutions have changed over three centuries. The school as an institution has changed as much as any other institution of society. Economic considerations alone make it quite impractical, for instance, to provide education for small, exclusivist, separatist groups. The modern school is not aimed at producing Dutch Reformed Ministers and school masters.

The members of any one denomination in fact do not determine the aims of modern education. One of the functions of modern education is to promote a very wide spectrum of talent, to provide manpower for an industrial economy. This is just one new demand of one of the institutions of society, and here we have got four institutions being held in a closely inter-related system. With new demands on society continually being made, it would seem that any attempt to try to preserve this 17th century relationship is well-nigh ludicrous.

Another balance which C.N.E. theory attempts to maintain is the relationship between Christian principles and national principles. If you look at article 1 of the C.N.E. policy statement, you will find that it says: "All white children should be educated according to the view of life of their parents. This means that Afrikaans-speaking children should have a Christian Nationalist education, for the Christian and Nationalist spirit of the Afrikaner nation must be preserved and developed. By Christian, in this context, we mean according to the creed of the three Afrikaner churches; by Nationalist we mean imbued with a love of one's own, specially one's own language, history and culture. Nationalism must be rooted in Christianity". The question is whether nationalism can be rooted in Christianity. Can a balance be maintained between Christianity on the one hand and nationalism on the other? It must be realised that the Christian element in this theory is honestly upheld. It is a very deep-rooted and precious belief on the Afrikaners' part, and it is not the intention at all to scoff at this in any way.

The Christian element in C.N.E. school practice is to know and honour God, and this attitude must characterise the whole school. In addition, there are some special elements of this Christian theory. One is the doctrine of original sin, which makes it absolutely essential that the school should do its part to save the child from his original sin. Another element is the doctrine of pre-destination: that there are those who are chosen by God for a place in heaven and there are those who are predestined to eternal damnation. This belief must be promoted in the schools.

The other principle associated with the Christian one is nationalism. The theory is that the Afrikaner must be educated according to his nature and being, he must be educated according to his own culture and tradition, he must be educated according to his own kind. The Christian and the National tenet are placed together in this system, and it is stated that nationalism must be rooted in Christianity. Not only is it impossible to maintain this kind of balance, but the two concepts are irreconcilable. On the one hand there is Christianity with principles like 'Love thy neighbour as Thyself' and 'turn the other cheek'. On the other hand, nationalism teaches that one's own group is the most important and must be glorified, and that the history and past of one's own group has special importance and significance. Christianity is for all people, but nationalism is just for the people who belong to a particular group. When linked with nationalism, Christianity no longer seems to have the attributes of God: kindness, humility, tolerance, justice, truth and mercy. The national principle is this worldly and strongly attractive to selfish human beings.

The national principles in C.N.E. have been responsible for the isolationist policy which we find in C.N.E. and which flows over into the education policy generally of South Africa. The policy of C.N.E. has been to prevent different groups coming together and forming a common culture. It aims further at dividing the groups.

PRACTICE AND IMPLICATIONS OF C.N.E. IN PRESENT TIMES

A look at the policy statement of C.N.E. makes it obvious that the theory is not carried out in practice in our school system. But so many of the attitudes, so much of the intention of C.N.E., is carried over into our educational policy. C.N.E. is authoritarian, not liberal. The authorities are the State and the Church, and these two authorities provide all the answers. Teaching is carried out in the schools with the certain knowledge that all life's questions are answered on particular lines.

The authoritarian basis of C.N.E. shows itself not only in the structure of syllabuses, the content of the education, but also in the administration of education and the planning of a national system of education. The view which the protagonists of C.N.E. give of society is the one kept in mind when planning education for South Africa. The structure of society, for C.N.E. theory, is seen, for example, in article 14 of their policy statement, which deals with education for Coloureds and reads as follows:

> "The education of Coloureds should be seen as a subordinate part of the Afrikaner's task of Christianising the non-white races of our Fatherland. It is the Afrikaner's sacred duty to see that the Coloureds are brought up Christian-Nationalist. Only when he is Christianised can the Coloured be truly happy; and he will then be proof against foreign ideologies, which give him an illusion of happiness but leave him in the long run unsatisfied and unhappy. He must also be nationalist. The welfare and happiness of the Coloured lies in his understanding that he belongs to a separate racial group and in his being proud of it. Coloured education must not be financed at the expense of white education."

Article 15 on Native education states:

> "The white South African's duty to the native is to Christianise him and help him on culturally. Native education should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation; its aim should be to inculcate the white man's view of life, especially that of the Boer nation, which is the senior trustee. The mother tongue should be the basis of native education but the two official languages should be learnt as keys to the cultures from which the native will have to borrow in order to progress. Owing to the cultural infancy of the native, the state, in cooperation with the protestant churches, should at present provide native education. But the native should be fitted to undertake his own education as soon as possible, under control and guidance of the state. Native education should not be financed at the expense of whites."

This illustrates the authoritarian viewpoint about man, his place in society, and the kind of education best suited to each person. This viewpoint is reflected in the structure of South African education: in separate provision for different groups, in the insistence on mother-tongue instruction, in syllabuses for subjects like history and religious instruction, and in courses on education for teachers in training.

EDUCATION FOR AFRICAN CHILDREN AT THE PRIMARY LEVEL.

A summary of a paper
read by Mrs E. Mooki.

Mrs Mooki started by describing accommodation problems in lower primary schools, which provide the first four years of education for African children in classes which are called Sub-standards A and B, Standard 1 and Standard 2. In her school in 1966, for instance, she had a total of 714 children. In 1967, there were 952 children. Table I shows how these children were divided into these classes.

Table I.

ENROLMENT IN A LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOL IN 1966 AND 1967.

Standard	1966		1967	
	Pupils	Classes	Pupils	Classes
Sub-std. A	156	1½	422	4
Sub-std. B	150	1½	154	1½
Std. 1	182	4	165	3
Std. 2	226	4	211	4
Totals	714	11	952	12½
	12 teachers		13 teachers	
Gross pupil-teacher ratio(1)	59.5:1		73.23:1	

1. See note to Table V in Chapter I.

The number of admissions to the first class is governed partly by the numbers who leave the school at the end of the previous year, and partly by the numbers of teachers available. Teacher allocation is made on the basis of 50 children in a class in Standards 1 and 2, and 100 children per teacher in the sub-standards. There are not, however, one hundred children in one class at this level. These classes are operated on what is called a "double-session" system. Half the class (some fifty children) work in the first half of the morning from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. The same teacher then deals with the second fifty children from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. In some schools, the whole Standard I group will not come to school until 11.30 a.m., when some classrooms would have been vacated by the sub-standards. Their school day will then continue until 4.30 p.m

The school, however, does not plan its admission programme in isolation. The District Inspector calls regular meetings of the schools in the area and their vacancies are listed, so that unsuccessful pupils can be referred to other schools in the area, provided they use the same language as the medium of instruction.(

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2. In the Witwatersrand area there are schools for most language groups. The smallest is the Tsonga group, and in some instances children speaking this language have to go to schools using a vernacular closest to their own language.

It happens regularly, however, that there are still children unplaced after the beginning of the school year. It is very difficult to refuse admission when parents queue outside the principal's office every day. Principals will try to take these children if they can find "private" teachers to control the extra classes. These private teachers are also used if there are not sufficient children in a class for the school to qualify for an extra "established" teacher. The teachers of the "half-classes" in Table I, for instance, would be private teachers. These women are often unqualified, and are not paid by the Bantu Education Department. Their salaries, lower than those for "established" teachers, have to be found by the local School Board from special "fees" paid by the parents of children at the school.

Mrs Mooki felt that accommodation was the schools' biggest problem, followed closely by the shortage of properly qualified teachers. She commented on the low salaries, and the lack of pensions, which dissuaded many teachers from remaining in the profession. She was hopeful that the new scales, and the recent institution of a pension scheme, would not only hold more teachers, but encourage a greater number of recruits. (3)

For the parents, finding fees is often a problem. At her school, each child has to pay R1.20c a year. Of this sum, 40 cents go to the "school fund", and are used for school equipment and cleaning materials. The remaining 80 cents are levied by the School Board and are used to provide further school buildings and to pay private teachers.

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3. See Table VI in Chapter I.

In Soweto, each householder is levied 20 cents a month by the Johannesburg Municipality to provide Lower Primary School buildings. Upper Primary School buildings are built partly from parental contributions and partly from government funds.

Parents also have to provide most of the children's books. Readers for the vernaculars and the official languages are supplied by the authorities, but it is a typical case when in any one year there is only enough money available to acquire books for one-fifth of the class. Replacement of a reading scheme is, therefore, difficult, supplementary reading material is very rare, and teachers are continuously trying to persuade children to buy their own copies of books. Writing materials and other books all have to be bought by the parents.

During the four years in the lower primary school, the children learn to write and read in their mother-tongue (one of the seven recognised Bantu languages), and have lessons in arithmetic, environmental studies and an introduction to handwork and gardening. All these subjects are taught through the medium of the mother-tongue. In their first year, pupils are also introduced to oral work in the official European language most commonly used in that area (on the Witwatersrand it is English), and at the beginning of the second term, the second official language is started. In their second year at school, they learn to read and write in both official languages, which remain subjects in the curriculum throughout the eight years of the primary school course.

During all these years the mother-tongue continues as the medium of instruction. (4)

The extended use of a Bantu language as a medium of instruction throughout the primary school was introduced after the creation of the Bantu Education Department in 1954. For many years, language committees have been creating terminology for subjects like mathematics and geography, which in the past had been taught in English. Many thousands of words have been created, but there are still many which lean heavily upon the English originals. For example, in Tswana, 'latitude' has been rendered as latitshutu, 'longitude' as longitshutu and 'museum' as mussiamo. Amendments and additions to the lists of new words are frequently sent to schools.

Most schools have some sporting activities. Scouts and guides are popular. There is always an enthusiastic response to singing and music competitions.

It is not possible to move automatically from Standard 2(the end of the lower primary school) to Standard 3. An external examination must be written. This is set by a committee representative of local lower primary schools and is moderated by the Inspector. A satisfactory level must be reached before a child can apply for admission to the higher primary school. There is much competition to enter such schools, which are much smaller in number than the lower primary schools. These

4. Language study makes greater demands on African children than on White children. The latter start the second official language in their first year of schooling, but work orally in it for two full years before reading and writing it in Standard 1. In the African lower primary schools, children often confuse these two languages.

local examinations are also held at the end of each of the first three standards of the higher primary school. In the last year a public examination, devised by the Bantu Education Department, and sat by candidates throughout the country, decides whether a child can be admitted to a secondary school.

HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR AFRICANS

S. K. Matseke.

Any education system is open to criticism, but in this paper, I will attempt to make as sincere an appraisal of BantuEducation as is possible. Apart from the qualifying word "Bantu", there is little to distinguish the content of Bantu secondary education from that provided for other sectors of the country's population.

Since the introduction of Bantu Education, the government has been concerned with eradicating illiteracy amongst the Africans and raising the standard of African education. It has made an undeniable effort, even if this has been insufficient and always late, to erect Secondary Schools and Teacher Training Schools all over the country. The following statistics show the achievement over the past decade. In 1955 there were 34,983 pupils attending secondary schools in the Republic (including the Transkei). After a decade, in 1965, there were 66,568 pupils at this level. The number of pupils had increased by 100 per cent. In Soweto, in 1955, there were only four secondary schools, as compared with ten in 1967. In 1965 there were 209 Junior Secondary Schools in the country, whereas in 1955 there were only a comparatively small number.

In spite of the progress made, hundreds of pupils leaving primary schools in Soweto, Johannesburg, are not able to find places in the secondary schools. In a number of cases, private individuals have opened commercial schools for typing or dress-making, to relieve the general shortage of educational facilities. These private undertakings were welcomed, and only recently was a public Technical School opened at Jabulani, in Soweto.

Admission to secondary schools are controlled by the limited number of places available and by the results of qualifying examinations. Only students holding First or Second Class Certificates (Continuation Certificates) from the primary schools are admitted to secondary schools. A Third Class pass is considered as a school leaving certificate, although pupils obtaining this pass can enter vocational training, or repeat Standard 6 if they wish.

SECONDARY SCHOOL

After passing Standard 6, pupils enter one of four types of school: (i) Junior Secondary School. This school prepares for the Junior Certificate Examination, which is a three-year course. At the end of the three years, pupils write a public examination. The school is a transition between the primary school and the senior secondary education level. It gives pupils the new experience of attending different classes with different teachers, instead of remaining in the same class under one teacher.

(ii) Senior Secondary School. This is a combined school offering both the Junior and the Senior Certificates. Pupils remain for five years in such a school. Two years after writing the Junior Certificate, pupils write the Matriculation or Senior Certificate. Of the 10 secondary schools in Soweto, five offer the full five years' course.

(iii) Vocational School. This is a specialised school, entered by pupils who pass their Standard 6 Examination in the first or second class. Only in special cases are those with third class passes accepted. There is one such school in Soweto offering Bricklaying, Carpentry, Electrical, Plumbing and Metal Work courses.

(iv) Technical School. A school of this type has just been opened in Soweto. It offers a Commercial Junior Certificate or a Commercial Matriculation Certificate. Subjects offered are Commerce, Book-keeping, Typing, Mathematics and the official languages. In Pretoria there is a technical school which offers a technical Junior Certificate and a new course in watchmaking and repairing. Courses are available to train motor mechanics, plumbers, sheet metal workers, electricians, radio technicians and draughtsmen. A few technical schools are scattered throughout the Republic.

ESTABLISHMENT ADMINISTRATION AND MAINTENANCE OF SCHOOLS

Erection of secondary schools is the work of the local community and the State. There are, however, some schools that are erected by churches and controlled by them.

(i) Private Secondary Schools. These schools are run by churches, especially by the Roman Catholic Church and its Missions. No financial government assistance is given to these schools. The schools are maintained wholly through fees charged to students and gifts from the controlling bodies.

(ii) Day Secondary Schools. These are community schools run by School Boards. Most of them were erected by the government through levies paid by parents, but where there is not enough accommodation parents have to raise considerable sums of money to erect additional class-rooms, purchase equipment, and provide other amenities. From time to time the Department supplies schools with equipment, but the supplies have always been inadequate.

As soon as the schools are erected, the state becomes responsible only for the teachers' salaries and for supervision of the syllabuses and standard of education. Without additional support from the community, schools could not be maintained at an adequate level.

(iii) Government schools. Most of the boarding schools are government schools and are state-aided. These schools are built and maintained by the state.

CONTRIBUTIONS BY PARENTS

Parents' support for education includes salaries for private teachers, maintenance and equipment of school buildings and other operating costs, construction, funds for text-books and instructional material.

Costs for erection of school buildings, initial equipment for science laboratories and library books are often defrayed by the Department through payments of subsidies supplemented in most cases by parental tuition fees.

Voluntary stipulated contributions are paid by pupils in all schools, but these are compulsory in the sense that without them schools would not manage to meet their accounts.

The following statistics show approximately what an average African parent pays in Rands per year to put a child through High School education (One Rand = approximately $1.42)

For J.C. Student in a Junior Secondary School

Stipulated Contribution	4.00
Book Fee	15.00
Lunch money (15c per day)	26.40
Transport (from nearest point)	5.00
	R50.40

For a three-year course, the student would pay a total of R151.20

For Senior Certificate or Joint Matriculation Board Certificate

Stipulated Contribution	4.00
Book Fee	22.00
Maintenance Fund	5.00
Lunch Money (15c per day)	26.40
Transport	5.00
	R62.40

The cost for the full two years would be at least R124.80. To complete a full five year course without having to repeat a year through failure, a parent would have to pay R276.00. The costs of uniform have been ommitted from these calculations, as it is difficult to know how schools deal with their uniform regulations. The amount for transport is obviously an approximation. These figures apply to day - scholars. In boarding schools, boarding fees would also have to be included.

CURRICULUM

The two decades since the inception of Bantu Education have constituted a period of transition in which the old secondary school syllabus has been transformed into the new pattern of higher secondary schools.

The Junior Certificate syllabuses have been redesigned to meet the requirements of the Matriculation syllabuses. In fact the present syllabuses require the teachers to go back to school to retrain, in order to cope with the new demands. Whereas the complaint in the past was that the syllabuses were poor, the opposite is now the case: the syllabuses are of such high standard, that seminars in practically all subjects, but especially in science and mathematics, have been arranged to help teachers.

At the end of the Junior Certificate course of three years, the pupils write public examinations in the following subjects: English (higher or lower grade), Afrikaans, (higher or lower grade), Bantu languages, (Tswana, Tsonga, Venda, Xhosa, Southern and Northern Sotho), General Arithmetic, Mathematics, Biology or General Science or Physical Science, Social Studies, Homecraft or Woodwork, Biblical Studies or Commercial subjects. A pupil must take the two official languages and one Bantu language. The home language is taken in the higher grade and the other two may be taken in the higher or lower grade. In some cases pupils have managed to do the three languages on the higher grade and pass them well. Religious Instruction (Biblical Studies), Music and Physical Education may be taken as non-examination subjects.

The papers for the Senior Certificate or Joint Board Matriculatio Certificates, are the same as those written by all other races in the Republic.

The following subjects are offered in most African schools for Matriculation: Bantu languages (same as for J.C.) English A or B, Afrikaans A or B, History, Geography, Physical Science, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Botany, Zoology, Mathematics, Additional Maths, Bookkeeping, Commerce, Latin, Agriculture, Housecraft and Hygiene, Typewriting, and Shorthand.

The Department shows keen interest in the teaching of the natural sciences and mathematics. To encourage students, special science bursaries are offered to students who do well in these subjects at the end of J.C. and wish to follow a science degree or do medicine. A regular free supply of the magazine 'Spectrum', is sent to all schools doing science.

After passing Junior Certificate in the 1st or 2nd Class, a Student may do Matriculation, train as a nurse, train as a teacher, or do a 'Health Inspectors' Course. Students passing Matriculation and being granted an entrance certificate by the Joint Matriculation Board, may enter any of the three South African University Colleges to do degree work in Science, Social Work, Arts, or even to prepare for a diploma in Pharmacy.

EXTRA-MURAL ACTIVITIES

To enable students to lead a full life, extra-curricular activities are developed, such as athletics, soccer, basket-ball, soft-ball, rugby and tennis; and in the cultural field, debating and dramatic societies, junior Red Cross movements, Student Christian Movement (S.C.M.), and Singing.

Participation by students is voluntary, and some never take part. On the other hand, the voluntary nature of the provision enables students to experience a wider variety of activities than might be the case if they were part of the curriculum.

EXAMINATION RESULTS

To improve results and raise the standard of pupils, the Department has a special section for vocational guidance and scholastic aptitude tests.

The vocational guidance is meant for school leavers, to determine in which occupation they should be employed. This has been done by articles on careers appearing in the Bantu Educational Journal. Most of the pupils entering high schools have been involved in scholastic aptitude tests, the results of which appear on cumulative cards. This cumulative report has been of great help to high school teachers in grading pupils and also in guiding them in new careers. Records show that almost every year there are two to three students who obtain distinctions in Mathematics and other sciences. There are also a number who obtain First Class passes. The overall percentage pass however is still below 50 percent, because of many difficulties, such as the scarcity of qualified teachers.

The results of the 1965 Examinations for the whole of the Republic were as follows:-

EXAMINATION	NO. ENTERED	NO. PASS	NO. FAIL	NO. 1ST CLASS
J.C.	11,644	9,120 (78%)	2,524	1,473
Matric. (Senior)	637	424 (67%)	213	8
(J.M.B.)	702	403 (57%)	299	19

PROBLEMS

(i) Accommodation.

The increase in the number of pupils per teacher in a class brings a deterioration in standards of teaching, especially when ill-qualified private teachers have to handle large classes. In some Soweto schools it is possible to find classes ranging from 60 - 70 pupils.

Taking Soweto as our basis of study, the problem of school buildings in this area has been confronting us for some years. We have ten secondary schools catering for a school population of 9,000, accommodated in 138 class-rooms. This means an average of 55 pupils per class. The figure excludes Alexandra Secondary School and Immaculata High School, which are in Alexandra Township.

(ii) Library buildings and Laboratories.

A survey of Soweto high schools reveals that of the ten secondary schools in this area, only two have proper library buildings. The rest of the schools store whatever books they have in cupboards, or on shelves in a variety of class-rooms. Only five of these schools have laboratories.

An attempt is being made by the Department to improve the position, but this concerns only the supply of library books and science equipment. Nothing has been said so far as to what provision is made for the erection of library buildings and laboratories. An allocation of approximately R45,000 has been made to buy enough books for High schools in the Republic, and R100,000 per year for science equipment.

An Inspector for Library Services has been appointed this year (1967) and with his recommendation all post-primary schools, we hope, should have library buildings and laboratories added to their present buildings.

(iii) Teacher Shortage.

Because of poor pay, some of the qualified teachers now think of going away to more attractive occupations, such as in industry. Because of this shortage, School Boards are compelled to take teachers whom in better times they would not have chosen. Teachers who leave the profession seldom regret their decision. There is bound to be an exodus of qualified teachers until salaries become more attractive.

The position in regard to the shortage of qualified teachers in secondary schools is perhaps at its worst at present, particularly because the number of pupils in the secondary schools is much enlarged and an increased number of these are staying at school well beyond the minimum leaving age. At the same time, the development of the work in the secondary schools according to the new syllabus is creating a greater demand for specialist teachers.

(iv) Medium of Instruction.

Although teachers have a favourable attitude towards the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in the Lower Primary Schools, it is felt that a gradual change-over from mother-tongue medium to medium through one of the two official languages should be done during the last two years of the Higher Primary School.

The present use of mother-tongue as a medium up to Standard 6 has had a deleterious effect on the progress of pupils in the Secondary Schools. Progress in the official languages is evident, but does not help pupils in the change-over from mother-tongue instruction to instruction through the official languages.

In most cases pupils have to relearn what they studied in the Bantu languages whilst in the Primary Schools, and the period of adjustment is so short that by the time they begin to manage the new system, they are expected to write their public examinations. Poor results in certain schools may be attributed to this change-over from one medium to another at a very late stage. Pupils enter high schools after eight years of instruction in one of seven different languages. They have now to come together and be taught through a foreign medium.

CONCLUSION

Despite the problems of teaching staff and accommodation which have been described, the Department of Bantu Education has displayed some vision and diplomacy in its attempts to increase educational provision. Priority has been given to school planning and construction for Lower Primary Education, to try and eradicate illiteracy. Although many people are disappointed that the expansion of secondary education is slower, it must be borne in mind that it is not the first step that completes a journey, but the last, and all teachers look forward to seeing a complete system with syllabuses and accommodation for the whole span of thirteen years of education dovetailing into a logical pattern.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION FOR AFRICANS

A summary of a paper
read by G.W. Tabor.

Looking back over African education from the early days until 1953, it is clear that financial provision by the State was always inadequate, and this led to many problems. Generous voluntary contributions were made by missions and by the African people themselves, but in 1922 public expenditure on African education was pegged and future developments had to be paid for by the people themselves out of direct taxation. Between the years 1925 and 1943, an increasing proportion of these taxes was devoted to education, but real advance was only possible after 1945, when African education became a direct charge on the Consolidated Revenue Fund. (1)

In 1905, only just over 2% of African children in the 7 to 16 age-group went to school, and by 1925 it was just over 4%. By 1953, however, the figure had reached 41%. Yet the average school life of the African child was still only four years,

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1. After the passing of the Bantu Education Act, there was a return to the principles of financing Bantu Education which had been in existence prior to 1945. Again the contribution from central government revenue was pegged, and the expansion of the service was to come from taxation of the African themselves. This has resulted in a startling decrease in the per capita expenditure on education in the years from 1954 to 1967.

and many never reached the third year of schooling. In 1925 1.5% of school-going children were in post-primary classes. By 1949, this had increased only to 2.62%.

Because of inadequate funds and often inefficient management, the state of many elementary schools left much to be desired. There was under-staffing and overcrowding; buildings were inadequate and equipment was lacking; there was a shortage of trained teachers. But against this there were a number of state-aided missionary secondary schools and teacher training institutions which were turning out well-educated, responsible citizens, many of whom occupy leading positions in all walks of life.

African education was a highly complicated system. Its control was divided between state, provinces, missions and the African people themselves. Each province prepared its own syllabuses, mother-tongue instruction was used to different levels, and the need for co-ordination of administration and control on a wider basis was clear.

Some progress had been made with technical, industrial and vocational training, but again limitations were experienced partly through financial stringency and partly through a lack of occupational prospects after training. As long ago as 1882 there were 174 African men doing vocational training other than agriculture, but fifty years later this number had increased only to 319. In 1941 a vocational training centre was opened for Africans in Johannesburg, partly to reduce the incidence of juvenile delinquency, and courses were offered in building trades, carpentry and agriculture. No certificates were issued, and

there was no educational barrier to admittance. An industrial school was being operated by the Transvaal Education Department at Vlakfontein, which had over 200 students, thirty-three of whom were girls. The pupils received training in building and its ancillary trades, general mechanics, agriculture and boot - and shoe-making. Domestic science was offered to the girls. The Department also ran a school for teachers of handiwork. Although it would take too long to list all the institutions in the other provinces, these few examples show that scattered opportunities for vocational training did exist. There were, in all, some 50 institutions throughout the country.

The Bantu Education Act came into force in 1954, involving the transfer of all African education from mission and provincial control to central Governmental control. This step had been recommended by the Eiselen Commission which had been set up in 1949. This Act, and its subsequent amendments, lay down broad policy only. It was left to the Minister to make detailed regulations covering all day - to-day running of schools The present system is carefully described in Horell's A Decade of Bantu Education. (2)

A detailed list of the existing institutions for the vocational training for Africans is given at the end of this paper. From this list it can be seen that there are over 1,000 places at technical schools where building construction, carpentry and joinery, and general mechanics courses are available. Africans can also be trained as health inspectors or medical orderlies,

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2. Published by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

and can take courses in electrical work. In trade and vocational schools there are approximately 2,500 places for building courses of one sort and another, as well as opportunities to train as upholsterers and leatherworkers, tailors and motor mechanics. Courses for girls include dressmaking, weaving, spinning and homecraft. Only 10% of the 2,500 places, however, are available for girls. (3)
Opportunities for the employment of skilled and educated Africans are still limited. It is the Government's hope that they will be directed to the Bantustans, but at the moment there are few opportunities opening there. Many trained men and women try to obtain jobs in other parts of Africa, where opportunities for advancement are greater. This is a serious loss to South Africa.

African men and women with Matriculation Certificates, or higher qualifications can be found working as market researchers, health inspectors, medical orderlies, personnel officers,

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3. It is not to be assumed however, that all these places are filled. In the training centre in Soweto, for instance, there are at present some 180 students, but without increasing staff, there would be room for 40 more. There is no doubt that many Africans regard secondary education as fitting them entirely for white-collar jobs, and there are complicated prestige reasons why they struggle to enter academic high schools rather than technical training institutions. There is also the fact that they cannot be employed as artisans in white areas at rates of pay which are equal to their training. They are expected to practise their skills in African areas. Even if they are employed at skilled level in white areas, they are not paid at skilled rates. This matter is further discussed later in this paper.

journalists, translators, bank tellers, laboratory technicians, salesmen, messengers and clerks. Those with professional qualifications can find jobs as teachers, nurses, social workers, doctors and lawyers. Many men with very varying levels of education take jobs as drivers of buses and trucks. The number of fully qualified artisans is small.

Legislation and social convention make it difficult for industries to employ such men. There is always the possibility that the white workers in the firm will object if an African is given too high a job. The builders and electrical wirers trained in Bantu Education Department institutions are supposed to work in African areas only. Permission to train these men was originally given when it became clear that the buildings necessary to house Africans near large cities could not possibly be done by white artisans only.

This does not mean that these men could not obtain jobs doing the work for which they have been trained. The Tables presented in the first chapter show how many Africans are working in industry in the country. By no means all of these are doing unskilled work. Many have been trained on the job, which is essentially an inefficient training as it does not make the worker flexible, and these men will then earn as much as a man who has spent some years in vocational training.

Industrialists in this country are well aware of the extent to which they have to rely upon African labour, and they have pointed out again and again that the most sensible thing to do is to see that this labour force is properly trained.

The arguments put forward in the 1961 Education Panel's Second Report have been repeated many times by men who are most concerned with the economic progress of the country. They all plead for improved training facilities.

It is clear that the existing institutions could be expanded to meet these demands in a short time. But numbers are not sufficient. There must be a corresponding improvement in the quality of the training offered. Ideally it should be possible to restrict entry to those who have passed Junior Certificate, but failing this the entry qualifications should be similar to those for the Junior Secondary School - that is, a first or second class Standard 6 Certificate. If the pressure on the academic high schools continues (and there is no reason to believe that it will not), then it should be possible to attract some good candidates from academic schools because of the over-crowding there.

There must also be proper recognition for the training offered at these institutions. As can be seen from the Addenda, it is possible to write a Technical Junior Certificate at a technical school. In other schools it is possible to sit for examinations for National Technical Certificates. In the trade centre in Soweto, over 350 students have sat for these examinations during the past four years, and all but eleven of them passed. Here is another way in which the prestige of vocational training is being raised. The real difficulty occurs in the trade testing. In Soweto, inspectors come to the school to assess pupils in the practical aspects of bricklaying, carpentry or plumbing, but there are no facilities for them to obtain the certificate for the theoretical part of their work.

Before these reforms are worthwhile, however, such restrictions as still exist on the entry of non-whites into skilled occupations must be abolished, or progressively relaxed at a rate sufficient to secure a continued advance of the economy without the creation of artificial labour shortages.

ADDENDA: TECHNICAL AND TRADE SCHOOLS FOR AFRICANS (excluding the Transkei)

	Name	Province	Courses offered	Maximum enrolment
A.	Technical Schools:			
1.	Amanzimtoti	Natal	Building construction Carpentry & joinery	120
2.	Bloemfontein	O.F.S.	Building construction Carpentry & joinery	120
3.	Edendale	Natal	Building construction General mechanics Health inspectors	120
4.	Hwiti	Transvaal	Medical orderlies	50
5.	Port Elizabeth	Cape	Building construction Carpentry & joinery General mechanics Electrotechnics	240
6.	Vlakfontein	Transvaal	Building construction Carpentry & jounery General mechanics Electrotechnics Drawing and drafting Radiotechnics	360
			Total	1010

	Name	Province	Courses offered	Maximum enrolment
B.	Trade (vocational) schools:			
1.	Amanzimtoti	Natal	Concreting brick-laying and plastering. Joinery	120
2.	Dundee	Natal	Homecraft	27+
3.	Botswana (Mafeking)	O.F.S.	Concreting, brick-laying and plastering Tailoring. Leather-work & upholstering General & motor mechanics	260
4.	Bethesda	Transvaal	Joinery	40
5.	Caritas	Transvaal	Homecraft	5+
6.	Dube	Transvaal	Concreting, brick-laying and plastering Electricians. Plumbing. Joinery	150+
7.	Edendale	Natal	Concreting and brick-laying. Plumbing. Leatherwork & upholstering. Electricians. Joinery. General & motor mechanics	300
8.	Gemini	Transvaal	Dressmaking	17+
9.	Pretoria (Gorettiana)	Transvaal	Dressmaking	24+
10.	Kama	Cape (Ciskei)	Dressmaking	22+
11.	Lumko	Cape (Ciskei)	Homecraft	4+

12.	Loretto	Transvaal	Dressmaking	45+
13.	Lovedale	Cape (Ciskei)	Concreting, brick-laying & plastering Joinery	80
14.	Malapeng	Transvaal	Homecraft	14+
15.	Mariannhill	Natal	Dressmaking	29+
16.	Mdantsane	Cape (Ciskei)	Spinning, weaving & winding	360
17.	Moroka	O.F.S.	Concreting, brick-laying & plastering Joinery. Plumbing	120
18.	Mopeli	Transvaal	Dressmaking	87
19.	Nongoma	Natal	Concreting, brick-laying & plastering. Tailoring. Joinery. Plumbing. General & motor mechanics. Leatherwork & upholstery Brickmaking	320
20.	Paxona	Transvaal	Joinery	15+
21.	Setotolwane	Transvaal	Concreting, brick-laying & plastering. Tailoring. Leatherwork & upholstery. Joinery. General & motor mechanics	260
22.	Sibasa	Transvaal	Concreting, brick-laying & plastering. Joinery. General & motor mechanics. Tailoring	200
			Total	2,499

+ Actual enrolment

NOTE: According to the Bulletin of Bantu Education 1964, B. 5, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15 and 20 are church schools.

CURRICULI: The curriculum for all technical schools except those for health inspectors and medical orderlies consists of non-examination subjects (religious instruction, physical training and singing) in Forms I - III, and examination subjects. These latter are, in Form I, a Bantu language, Afrikaans, English, General Arithmetic, Social Studies, General Drawing and Workshop Practice and Theory of any one of the technical subjects offered by the school; and in Forms II and III, the three languages, Workshop Calculations or Mathematics, with Drawing in Form II, and either Building Drawing or Machine Drawing in Form III, together with Workshop practice and Theory in respect of the subject which has been chosen in Form I.

The curriculum for trade (vocational training) schools consists of cultural and academic subjects (religious instruction and arithmetic and book-keeping) and any one of the trade subjects offered by the school.

Pupils who passed Technical J.C. examination in 1965:

Name of school	No. of pupils who passed
Amanzimtoti	4
Bloemfontein	6
Edendale	6
Port Elizabeth	6
Vlakfontein	31

N.B. Training for technical Junior Certificate examinations takes place at technical schools only.

NOTE: This list was issued as information sheet No. 18, 1967, of the South African Institute of Race Relations, being drawn from Hansard (Assembly) 3, 8th February 1966, Col. 1023 - 1027: reply by the Minister of Bantu Education to a question by Mrs Suzman.

A HISTORICAL EVALUATION OF INDIAN EDUCATION IN THE TRANSVAAL

L.F. Sangaran

The establishment of the first sugar plantations along the East coast of Natal gave rise to an ever increasing demand for Non-European labour. Though various races were tried out with little success it became clear that the experimental cultivation had shown that success or failure of the newly created enterprise depended on the supply of a sufficiently constant and reliable source of labour.

British India was then formally approached as a possible source, and with the concurrence of India, the first batch of indentured Indians arrived in 1860, on a three - and later a five-year basis, after which, as "free Indians", they could remain in Natal or return to India. In theory, the labourers could enjoy the same privileges as any other British subjects in the Colony of Natal, but in practice various legislative enactments restricted not only their movement, but also curtailed other aspects of their so-called acceptance as South Africans. In the wake of the indentured immigrants came a steady stream of "passenger" Indians (as they were called), who entered the country through the normal manner of immigration. The majority of these Indians came specifically to trade or serve in commerce and they opened up shops in backward rural towns, supplying goods desired not only by the Indians but by Africans and Europeans.

Both passenger and free Indians gradually expanded into the hinterland. While a number of them moved into the Transvaal and the Cape Colony, a few ventured into the inhospitable Orange Free State.

As early as 1842, various foreign Mission Societies had started with their evangelization among the Non-Whites who had settled in the South African Republic. By 1881, there were already 61 Mission stations in the Transvaal. The discovery of gold led to an influx of many races to the gold fields. Concerned primarily with the spreading of the Gospel amongst the Non-Europeans, the Mission Societies later ventured into the field of providing them with some form of schooling. Various churches and schools for Non-Europeans were established, particularly on the Witwatersrand which had the largest concentration of Non-Whites.

Through Missionary enterprise, by 1896, seven private schools for Coloureds were in existence in the Johannesburg area, and four mixed schools allowed for attendance by both White and Non-White children.

The Mission schools were financed through private resources, and administration and control depended entirely upon missionary effort and enterprise, as the South African Republic frowned on mixed schools which allowed the enrolment of White pupils.

In 1900, an important development took place. Partly through the selfless efforts of the Rev. Charles Phillips of the Congregational Union, the education of Coloured and Indian children became a State undertaking, and the education of African children was left in the hands of the Mission Societies.

A distinction was thus brought about and the basis established for three separate systems of education, namely, for Whites, Coloureds and Indians, and Africans.

By 1902, after the Peace of Vereeniging, a Superintendent of Non-European education, the Rev. W.R.C. Clark, was appointed. He made earnest efforts to improve the educational needs of the Non-Whites. Six State schools for Coloureds provided education for 800 Coloureds, Indians and Malays. These schools were, to a large extent, enjoying the same privileges as the White schools. Teachers were paid by the State, education was free, and educational equipment and school buildings were provided by the Education Department, while the same syllabi were used in both White and Non-White schools. Thus the foundations were laid for a system of education for Coloureds and Indians which ran parallel to that provided for the Europeans. The policy of strictly enforcing separation between White and Non-White children in the Transvaal had its origin in the early days of the South African Repuplic.

The Education Act No. 25 of 1907, popularly called the Smuts Act, consolidated existing legislation as far as the educational laws of the province were concerned, and for the first time legislation provided for the State to accept the responsibility of providing educational facilities for Coloured persons. The Act also specifically excluded the recognition of mixed schools where both White and Non-White children could be enrolled. Separate schools had to be established for each group.

The South Africa Act which brought about Union, reserved for the Central Government only "higher education" in its widest form, while other aspects of primary and secondary education were delegated to the respective Provincial Administrations, which were responsible for financing general primary and secondary education for Whites, Coloureds and Indians from revenue obtained from Provincial taxation and State subsidy.

The first move for an Indian school came from a group of Indian traders in Johannesburg, who supported their application to the Witwatersrand Central School Board with the contention that there was a large number of Indians permanently resident in the city, and on religious, cultural and linguistic grounds, the establishment of an Indian school was justified. The school Board approved the application on certain conditions, backed up by the Council of Education and the Provincial Executive Committee, and subsequently the first school for Indians was opened in Newtown, Johannesburg, on 14th February, 1913, with an enrolment of 136 boys. The staff consisted of Mr A.H. Nye (as Principal), two European and two Indian teachers. The school was housed in unsatisfactory premises, which prompted local Indians to collect funds for a new building, which was officially opened by the Director of Education, Sir John Adamson, on 7th October, 1919.

To all intents and purposes, the school was a State school, with English as a medium of instruction, but as a concession, the Indian vernacular was used in the beginners' classes. The establishment of the Johannesburg school gave the impetus to the Indian community in Pretoria to request the Department to establish two separate Indian schools in the Asiatic Bazaar, namely, the Tamil Vedic School and the Islamic school.

A third sectarian school was requested by the Memon trading section in Prinsloo Street. But the Department turned down the request, on the grounds that the two schools in the Indian section were adequate for the needs of the community.

An event of great political and educational significance to Indians in South Africa, was the signing of the Cape Town Agreement between the Governments of South Africa and India, whereby the Union Government recognised that Indians domiciled in the Union who were prepared to conform to Western standards should be enabled to do so, with the Government undertaking to do everything in its power to take active steps that would lead to the upliftment of the Indian community. South African Indians attached great importance to the Cape Town declaration, and they interpreted it to mean that they, as South African citizens, would be accorded all possible opportunities to qualify for full citizenship rights. But later events clearly showed that successive South African Governments failed to start a bold policy of uplift as far as South African Indians were concerned.

The Departmental Committee of 1928, set up to enquire into various aspects of Coloured and Indian education in the Transvaal provided an opportunity for the Indian educationist, K.P. Kichlu, to expose certain aspects of Indian education, and lay bare a peculiar set up in the structure of Indian education in the province. Kichlu vigorously attacked the sectarian basis of some Indian schools where Indian vernacular and religious instruction were taught at the expense of certain basic school subjects.

He also took the Department to task for employing Indian teachers who were totally unfit academically and professionally to hold teaching posts in some Indian schools. The significance of the Kichlu report lies in the fact that his recommendations were acted on almost immediately by the Department, and thereby Indian education took on the same form and content as the education that was offered to Europeans and Coloureds in Provincial schools.

The Transvaal Indian Teachers' Association was formed in 1932, and as a teachers' body, the Association has striven to ameliorate the lot of Indian teachers in the service of the Department. Although in its entire existence the body failed to gain statutory recognition by the Administrator-in-Executive, it was nevertheless recognised by the Transvaal Education Department as the official mouth-piece of the Indian teachers, and the Association, by means of representations, fulfilled a useful purpose in bringing about better service conditions for Indian teachers.

Through the initiative of the Indo-European Women's Association, the first school for Indian girls was opened in January, 1936, in Vrededorp, Johannesburg, with an enrolment of 71 pupils. The school fulfilled a long-desired wish of Indian parents to have a girls' school, in view of their reluctance at first to send their girls to co-educational institutions. The opening of the school was fully justified, as it encouraged Indian parents to allow their girls to remain at school for a longer period than had been their earlier practice. From 1950 onwards, the annual enrolment at the school has always been above the 500 mark.

A very significant development in the field of Coloured and Indian education was the appointment of the Provincial Education Commission of 1936, also known as the Nicol Commission. The Commission handed in its report in 1939. While the bulk of its investigations and recommendations centred round the education of European children, the Commission also enquired into various aspects of Coloured and Indian education, and its report on this aspect of education, provided the Department with a blue print to bring about drastic and far-reaching changes and innovations affecting Coloured and Indian education. A direct outcome of the Commission's report was the introduction of separation between educational facilities provided for Coloureds and Indians, and the trend of educational development for at least the ensuing twenty five years, as far as it concerned these groups, finds its basis in the recommendations of the Provincial Education Commission's report.

By 1950, there were 63 Coloured schools with an enrolment of 11,946 pupils, while thirty Indian schools had an enrolment of 10,365 pupils, showing clearly the rapid increase in the number of Indian pupils who sought enrolment at Provincial schools.

The Griffiths Commission Report of 1951 presented some interesting facts concerning Indian education. It established that the majority of Coloured and Indian schools were housed in buildings which were highly unsatisfactory, that there was exceptional over-crowding in these schools, 55 of which were hired by the Provincial Administration at a rental of £9,000 per annum. The Province had built only 26 schools, and 13 Indian-owned schools were placed gratis at the service of the Provincial Administration. The Commission also referred to the acute shortage of Indian teachers, and suggested practical steps that could be enforced to improve the shortage.

In 1952, the Department listed five main problems relating to Coloured and Indian education still awaiting solution, namely, inadequate school accommodation, a shortage of Indian teachers, the determination of which children shall be admitted to these schools, the lack of boarding facilities, and the early age at which pupils leave school.

The following year, Education Ordinance No. 29 was passed by the Provincial Council. The Ordinance consolidated and amended the laws relating to education in the Transvaal. The broad character and principles of the Ordinance were based on the Education Act of 1907 - The Smuts Act. The Ordinance also firmly entrenched the four cornerstones of the earlier Act, namely, central financing and control, local management of education, the religious basis of education and the principle of language equality.

The chapter on Coloured and Indian education brought the Ordinance in line with the accepted practice and policy of the Administration in respect of the establishment of separate institutions for these groups. Section 111 also gave the Administrator specific powers (which could be exercised by proclamation) that any or all provisions of the Ordinance could be applied to Coloured or Indian schools, excepting those dealing with compulsory education and school committees.

When the Nationalists gained ascendancy after the 1948 elections, the Party dedicated itself to the policy of providing separate facilities to the four main racial groups of the country, namely, the Whites, the Coloureds, the Indians and the Africans, in terms of its separate development programme.

In terms of this policy, the control of Bantu education passed into the hands of the State Department of Bantu Education, in terms of Act No. 47 of 1953. The transfer of Bantu education seems to have been the initial move to place Coloured and Indian education under the State departments of Coloured Affairs and Indian Affairs respectively, at a later stage.

The Separate Representation of Voters' Amendment Act of 1951, also made provision for the establishment of a special Coloured Affairs Department. In the same year, the Division of Coloured Affairs, under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, came into existence under a Commissioner of Coloured Affairs. As more and more attention was being paid to the needs of the Coloured people, this Division eventually became a separate State Department, in 1959, with a Secretary and an Under-Secretary. The passing of the Coloured Persons Education Act of 1963 brought to an end the Control and administration of Coloured education by the respective provinces, and vested this branch of education under the Department of Coloured Affairs, with its own Director of Education as its head.

Though in theory Indians under the Transvaal Education Department enjoyed the same rights and privileges as Europeans, and while the Administrator could, in terms of the Education Ordinance, apply any provision of the Ordinance to Coloured and Indian education, there are many aspects of education which in fact are not applicable to these groups. Briefly stated, these include:- High school governing bodies, regional committees and advisory boards, which apply to European schools only; practically all European schools are owned by the Province, while only a fraction of Indian schools are Provincial property;

there are no hostel facilities for Indians; no school feeding or seaside schools are available to Indians; no Indians serve on any of the Departmental Committees or Sub-Committees; and neither are special educational facilities (agricultural, behavioural and special schools, or psychological and guidance services) available for Indians.

The following table sketches the progress of Indian education in the Transvaal from 1913 (when the first Indian school was established) to 1963 (latest available statistics), reflecting clearly the growth of educational facilities for Indians during this period:

TABLE

YEAR	NO. OF SCHOOLS	ANNUAL ENROLMENT
1913	1	136
1926	10	701
1930	15	1,589
1951	30	9,068
1963	57	16,216

In mixed (Coloured/Indian) schools the position in 1963 was as follows:

NO OF SCHOOLS	ANNUAL ENROLMENT
36	4,014

On the initiative of the Teachers' Educational and Professional Association (TEPA) of the Cape, at a meeting convened in Johannesburg, at which seven Coloured and Indian Teachers provincial bodies were represented, a federal body, the South African Federation of Teachers Association was formed.

Over the years (ie. from 1958 onwards), SAFTA has played a vital role in educational matters affecting Coloureds and Indians in the Republic.

Brief reference must, however, be made to certain matters related to Indian education.

A. COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE FOR INDIANS:

As early as 1920, a T.E.D. Departmental Commission recommended that compulsory school attendance be extended to Coloured and Indian pupils in the Transvaal, and though the 1927 draft Education Ordinance made mention of compulsory education for these groups, the section dealing with this aspect of education was rejected when the ordinance was passed. Even the 1937 Provincial Education Commission reported in favour of extending this privilege to Coloureds and Indians, listing various reasons why this should be done. The Department did not enforce the provision for these groups. It contended that there were unsurmountable difficulties, such as, shortage of staffing, lack of suitable accommodation, etc, in the way of enforcing compulsory education for Coloureds and Indians, although every annual report of the Director mentioned the large number of Coloured and Indian pupils who left school at an early age, without deriving the full benefits of even primary school education.

The Education Ordinance of 1953 specifically excluded the provisions of compulsory school attendance being extended to Coloured and Indian pupils. As recently as 1961, there were moves in the Transvaal Provincial Administration to have this privilege extended to Coloureds and Indians, but the Administrator contended that there was no need to do so, as the

annual school attendance for these groups was satisfactory (95%) without compulsion being brought on these communities to send their children to school, so that under the circumstances there appeared to be no valid reason why compulsory education should be extended to these groups.

In 1952, the Department introduced regulations governing school attendance in Coloured and Indian schools. The control of school attendance was tightened by allowing principals the right of discontinuing the enrolment of pupils whose attendance was flagrantly irregular. School principals never really strictly enforced the powers granted them.

Coloureds and Indians enjoy limited privileges in the Cape as far as compulsory school attendance is concerned, in terms of the Coloured persons Education Act, while in Natal, excluding Indians, Coloured pupils enjoy the same privileges of compulsory education as European children, in terms of the Natal Ordinance No. 23 of 1942. In the Free State there are no Indian School-going children and there is no compulsion on Coloured children to attend school.

For the first time, therefore, in terms of the Indians Education Act of 1965, compulsory education may be legally enforced on Indians in various stipulated areas or schools in the Republic, and with its implementation, various educational problems specifically concerning early school leavers may partially be solved.

B. EFFECTS OF RACIAL ZONING ON INDIAN EDUCATION IN THE JOHANNESBURG AREA.

The first effects of the application of the Group Areas Act in the Transvaal were felt in the Johannesburg area where, in terms of the Act, various Indian schools and pupils were either moved to Lenasia or some of the schools were closed down. Areas which were vitally affected were Newclare, Sophiatown, central Johannesburg, and Kliptown on the outskirts of Johannesburg.

The expansion of teacher training facilities at the Training College for Indians in Johannesburg, necessitated the gradual closing of secondary school facilities that were offered at the Johannesburg Indian High School and at the Booysens High school. Parents who wished to send their pupils to other high schools near Johannesburg, other than to the Lenasia Indian High school, were prevented from doing so by a Supreme Court judgment in 1956, the effect of which was that the Transvaal Education Department had the right to restrict the enrolment of pupils at any of the schools under its jurisdiction. This resulted in some Indian parents establishing private high schools in Johannesburg, but these enterprises were short lived, as through the lack of financial support the schools had to close down. Secondary school facilities for Indians are, therefore, only available at Lenasia, an Indian group area, twenty miles outside the Johannesburg municipality.

With the declared policy of the Government that Lenasia would be the only area for Indian settlement in Johannesburg, phenomenal growth in the field of Indian education is clearly discernible in the area.

There are (in 1967) two high schools with an average enrolment of 1,100 pupils, while each of the four primary schools has an average of 800 pupils.

C. TEACHER TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INDIANS

From 1919 to 1954, the Eurafrican Training Centre in Vrededorp, Johannesburg, which had a Secondary section attached to it, provided teacher training facilities to both Coloured and Indians, though the number of courses offered was restricted. Not only did the Training Centre allow for the registration of full-time students, but also played a vital role in providing part-time facilities to teachers in service.

Because of the situation of the College in an unsuitable locality, surrounded as it was by slum conditions, many Coloured and Indian parents were reluctant to send their children to the institution. Motivated by various Departmental Commissions, and in terms of its policy, the Department decided to disallow the further registration or attendance of Indian students at the predominantly Coloured institution, and in 1954 the Department separated Coloured and Indian students, the latter being transferred to the Training Institute for Indian students which was attached to the Johannesburg Indian High School, Newtown, Johannesburg.

The Eurafrican Training Centre was subsequently moved to a modern brick building in Coronationville, Johannesburg, while the Indian institute was housed partly in a brick building with additional facilities provided for in prefabricated structures, and unlike its sister institution, the College of Education for Coloureds, it lacked hostel facilities.

The Indian College enrolled 75 students in 1954, of which only 40 completed their courses at the end of 1955. The courses were more or less similar to and of the same standard as, those available at the European Training Colleges, while the syllabuses were identical to those in use at the Coloured College, having been drawn up jointly by lecturers and the Rectors of the two colleges concerned in co-operation with the European Colleges of Education. In terms of Section 52 of the Education Ordinance of 1953, a regional committee with only Europeans as members was established for the College.

Unlike the European Normal Colleges, the Indian College does not work in close collaboration with any resident University, nor are graduate courses offered. While the former offer a wide range of courses, the latter offers a restricted number of courses, which include the Transvaal Teachers' Certificate (Two years post-J.C.), the Transvaal Teachers' Lower Diploma (two years post-Matriculation), and the Transvaal Teachers' Diploma (three years post-Matriculation).

The following table gives an indication of the growth in enrolment at the Indian College during the period 1963 to 1966.

(The table is reproduced on the following page).

T A B L E

ANNUAL ENROLMENT AT THE TVL. COLLEGE OF EDUCATION FOR INDIANS.

YEAR	ENROLMENT		TOTAL
1963	MEN:	30	78
	WOMEN:	48	
1964	MEN:	50	115
	WOMEN:	65	
1965	MEN:	47	99
	WOMEN:	52	
1966	MEN:	51	121
	WOMEN:	70	

The table clearly shows the increasing number of Indian women who have registered at the College.

There has always been an acute shortage of Indian teachers in Transvaal schools, a shortage which was partly relieved by the Department employing Coloured and European personnel in Indian schools. There seems to be reluctance on the part of Indian youth to take up teaching as a career. Commerce and industry are absorbing most post-Matriculated students, while the low salary scales appear to offer no incentive even to those who wish to take up teaching.

D. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

In 1960, outlining the Government's programme and policy towards the Coloured people, the Prime Minister, the late Dr H.F. Verwoerd, stated that if the Indians showed signs of co-operation, plans for their social, economic and educational development would be the same as those envisaged for the Coloured community.

As in the case of the Coloured people whose specific interests were catered for by the Department of Coloured Affairs, and just as the Union Council of Coloured Affairs was created, with power ultimately to take charge over the administrative control of local government, social welfare and educational services concerning the Coloured people, so, in terms of the Government's separate development programme for the various racial groups, the Department of Indian Affairs was created in September, 1961, at the head of which stood the Secretary for Indian Affairs and a Cabinet Minister with a special portfolio embracing Indian Affairs.

After having had discussions with various members of the Indian community, the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr W.A. Maree, announced in February, 1963, the names of 21 Indians who were to constitute the South African Indian Council. The body, so it was contemplated, would be the organ which the Department of Indian Affairs and the Government would recognise as a means for consultation on matters which concerned the Indian community.

With the creation of these two organs, it seems clear that it is the Government's decision to grant the South African Indian Council ultimate statutory powers to enable it to legislate and take administrative control over various aspects of welfare and social services and educational matters affecting the Indian community. One of the first major functions of the Department, as in the case of its sister institution the Department of Coloured Affairs, was the taking over of educational facilities concerning the community involved.

Various reasons have been offered in support of the takeover of Indian education by a centralised authority. Among these were, that with other levels of Indian education (University and Technical education) being placed under the Department of Indian Affairs, it seemed logical that other aspects of Indian education should also be placed under the same authority, so that all branches of Indian education could be coordinated and centralised. It was also contended that the Indian child would be given an opportunity of deriving maximum benefits from such a system. It was stated that Indians were not deriving the full benefits of education under a system that was predominantly meant for Europeans; that the large concentration of Indians in Natal placed on the province and on the European taxpayer a financial burden which neither could afford; that both the Natal and the Transvaal Provincial Councils were keen to be relieved of their responsibility towards providing educational facilities for Indians.

The two major Indian teachers' bodies, the Natal Indian Teachers' Society and the Transvaal Indian Teachers' Association both expressed their disapproval of the contemplated move, even though both bodies played an active role in the investigations which preceded transfer. Unlike the case of the transfer of Coloured education to the Department of Coloured Affairs, the Chief Planner of Indian Education, the present Director of Indian Education, sought the co-operation of all interested persons and organisations. He carried out a diligent investigation into all aspects of the "take-over" before submitting his final report to the Minister of Indian Affairs, who subsequently approved the report.

There appears little doubt that while many educationists and organisations were against the contemplated move, the majority of Indians in Natal were heavily in favour of Indian education being moved from Provincial control and placed under the Department of Indian Affairs. They argued that the Natal Provincial Administration did not fulfil its obligations towards Indian education as it might have done. The Transvaal Indian Teachers' Association, vigilant about educational matters, not only had a series of meetings with the Chief Planner, but also submitted a memorandum to the Minister of Indian Affairs on various aspects of the "take-over". The Association particularly expressed concern that in the process there should be no diminution in rights and privileges enjoyed by Indians under the Transvaal Provincial Administration. Both the Chief Planner and the Minister of Indian Affairs in various declarations emphasised that there would be no loss of existing rights and privileges, and on the contrary, there would be an extension of educational facilities for Indians throughout the Republic.

The passing of the Indians Education Act 61 of 1965, placed all aspects of Indian primary and secondary education in the various provinces under the Education Division of the Department of Indian Affairs, with a Director of Indian Affairs, at the head of the Division. In terms of the Act, Indian primary and secondary education in Natal, and the two Indian Teachers' Training Colleges in Natal and the Transvaal, were placed under the Department of Indian Affairs as from 1st April, 1966. Similarly, Indian primary and secondary education in the Transvaal was taken over by the Department on 1st April, 1967. When the Act came into operation, the Division of Indian Education, with headquarters in Durban, had a professional staff of 27 officers to control and administer Indian education in the Republic.

In terms of Section 33 of the Act, The Minister of Indian Affairs promulgated various regulations relating to various requirements of the Act and of Indian education in general. Some of these regulations relate to admission of students to Indian Training Colleges, the establishment of Education committees for Indian schools, the extension of compulsory school attendance for Indians, the granting of financial and other material assistance to Indian pupils, the registration and management of private schools for Indians, the recognition of Indian Teachers' associations, the administration and control of school funds, and the conditions of service of Indian teachers under the Department of Indian Affairs.

The Department of Indian Affairs, it seems, is at present devoting much of its attention to solving some of the major problems that confront Indian education, namely, the gradual and systematic abolition of the double session system, the enforcement of compulsory education for Indians, the erection of more and better schools, the introduction of "special classes" for gifted children, the establishment of special schools for mentally and physically handicapped children the introduction of a differentiated system of education in Natal secondary schools, the extension of free books to all Natal pupils up to Std. Vl level, the introduction of a wider variety of courses, including technical and commercial courses, the introduction of psychological and vocational guidance services in Indian schools, and the creation of administrative and professional posts for Indian educationists.

COLOURED EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA*

R. Tunmer

There is a frequently recurring pattern in the organization of education for minority groups. The dominant group is anxious to absorb the minority as soon as possible, and, even if older generations cling to their language, culture or religion, it is hoped that younger generations will be more rapidly absorbed. Education is used to hasten this process. If language, culture or religion in the minority group is very powerful, governments will often recognise this, but try to make their adherents as passive as possible. Economic integration of the minority group is often used as an encouragement for younger people to accept the assimilation inherent in the education system.

Such a pattern can be found in countries like the United States, Canada and Australia, which have absorbed large numbers of immigrants by relying heavily upon education and economic integration. Britain, where immigration from Africa, India and the West Indies has recently been discouraged, is nevertheless

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* This paper is part of a longer description of Coloured and Indian education which is to be published by Collier Macmillan in a forthcoming book. The author gratefully acknowledges the permission of the publishers to reproduce this part in its present limited form.

using the same methods to absorb the people she has already acquired. South Africa employs the same tactics to deal with immigrants from Europe. The reluctance of minority groups to abandon their language, culture or religion can be seen in countries like Canada, Belgium or Holland.

There are, however, two large minority groups in South Africa in which this pattern is not found. The Coloured people make up 9.4% and the Indians 3.0% of the total population of South Africa. But in these cases, the dominant group's role of urging assimilation and the minority group's frequent determination to keep something of its separate identity cannot be found. For a considerable part of South African history, the policies of the white population (itself a minority group, but one which holds both political and economic power) have been dominated by differences between peoples. Assimilation has been explicitly rejected. On the other hand, both minority groups have hoped and worked for assimilation, and have made considerable changes in their ways of life under the influence of Western European and American patterns of living which are followed by the Whites. These changes, however, have not hastened assimilation. In fact, there has been a diminution of some rights.

It is only in the present decade, when some Coloureds and Indians have (often reluctantly) accepted that South African life is dominated by group differences, that these groups have been given some limited opportunities which had been consistently denied them by all South African governments when demands for such opportunities were inspired by theories of assimilation.

This is particularly clearly demonstrated in the education provision for the two groups.

The Coloureds are a mixture of several peoples: Hottentots (the original inhabitants of the South Western Cape), slaves (introduced from Asia and other parts of Africa), white colonists, and more recently, Africans from other parts of South Africa. In the Cape, Hottentots were used as herdsmen and farm labourers; slaves were used as house-servants and skilled craftsmen until emancipation in 1833.

Nearly 90% of the Coloured people live in the Cape Province, where many have long traditions of skilled craftsmanship, which could be used to help the country's critical shortage of skilled labour. This useful potential would not be very costly to tap, as the Coloureds' existing educational provision is so much greater than that for the Africans.

The Coloured population is expanding rapidly because of high birth-rates (47.5 per 1,000 of the population). Despite a very high infant mortality rate of 119.6 per 1,000 births, they are likely to comprise some 12 or 13% of the population by the turn of the century.

TABLE 1

RACIAL COMPOSITION (NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGE) OF POPULATION IN 1960, 1966 AND ESTIMATES FOR 2000 AD

	WHITE		COLOURED		INDIAN		AFRICAN	
Year	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1960	3,080,159	19.3	1,509,053	9.4	477,047	3.0	10,927,923	68.3
1966	3,481,000	19.02	1,805,000	9.86	547,000	2.99	12,465,000	68.12
2000 (High)	7,033,000	16.75	5,831,000	13.89	1,159,000	2.76	27,949,000	66.59
2000 (Low)	5,984,000	16.2	4,606,000	12.50	1,103,000	3.00	25,222,000	68.40

Despite the Asian origins of some of the slaves, Coloureds have largely adopted a Western European way of life. The Coloured population speaks Afrikaans or English as its mother-tongue, with the large majority speaking Afrikaans (88.5%). Coloureds, as a result of two centuries of intensive missionary activity, are, nominally at least, members of one or another Christian denomination. The first Coloured mission station in the Cape started work as early as 1737, and as was so frequently the case, education was linked with religious guidance. State-aided mission schools still provide the bulk of primary education in the Cape. The largest Church is the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, claiming allegiance from 29% of the Coloureds. This is followed by the Anglican Church, with 17.8% of the adult population as its members. Congregationalists, Methodists, Catholics, have between 7% and 9% of the population as adherents. Some 6% of the population are Moslem.

The Coloureds accept the primary or nuclear family of father, mother and dependent children as the ideal family organization, in the same way as it is regarded by the Whites. By combining figures from the unpublished family census of 1946 and from studies of Coloured communities in different parts of the Cape Province, Steyn has shown that most families in both communities consist of a man, a woman and children, although there are more childless couples amongst the Whites than amongst the Coloureds.

TABLE 2

FAMILY TYPE ORGANIZATION AMONGST WHITES AND COLOUREDS

Family-Type	White %			Coloured %		
	S.Africa 1946	S.W. Cape	South Africa 1946	South-West Cape	Knysna	Belville
Male/Female/ Children	65.9	65.1	68.3	69.2	72.2	74.4
Female/Children	8.0	10.1	14.2	14.5	12.0	13.6
Male/Children	1.8	1.8	2.9	3.3	2.1	1.5
Male/Female	24.7	19.6	14.6	10.7	9.7	8.2

The second line of this table shows considerably larger percentages for Coloureds than for Whites. In many cases, these families are examples of desertion by the father, or of the mother caring for illegitimate children of one or more fathers. The percentage of illegitimate births amongst Coloured people is alarmingly high: in 1958, 36.8% of all Coloured births were illegitimate, as compared with 1.6% amongst Whites and 2.8% amongst Indians. Amongst women between 15 and 19 years old, 80% of their children were illegitimate; 46% of children born to women between 20 and 24 years were illegitimate. Even for middle-aged women, between 16% and 17% of births were registered as such.

It is apparent from the first line of this table, however, tha most of those women do not remain the sole supporters of their illegitimate children. Many of them marry after one or more children have been born. Others set up permanent or semi-permanent unions which are not registered marriages. Those who do not form any union are represented in the second line of the table. These figures, together with those of infant

mortality, suggest a serious degree of family disintegration. This is confirmed by more detailed investigations by Steyn who investigated a hypotheses first suggested by Patterson from a study by Frazier of American Negro families. Steyn looked at 50 families of the male/female/children type in each of two socio-economic groups - one high, the other low. In the higher group, 94% of the families produced patterns in which either the male was diminant, or there was an equality of responsibility between man and woman. In the lower group, 42% showed a pattern of female domination, and altogether 78% showed this pattern or an irregular conflicting one.

Patterson suggested, and Steyn confirmed, that a female dominant pattern is related to the irregular or small contribution of the man to the family income, his low or non-existent level of education and the fact that in the urban areas, women can always get servant's jobs which give them a more regular, and sometimes a greater, income than men. It is possible that lack of education and skills amongst men of the lower socio-economic classes is liable to lead to their abandoning responsibilities through frustration and despair at low wages and increasing numbers of children. Whatever factor is the main cause for the female-dominant family, its existence can hardly be doubted and, as most Coloured families fall into low socio-economic groups, the numbers exhibiting this pattern must be very large.

Such a pattern is not of course an inevitable mark of disintegration. In the case of Coloureds, however, two factors would suggest that its operation does produce many problems.

The first is the absence of any real form of extended family system, which often cushions similar situations in African families, where fathers are migrant workers or are non-existent, and where the female-dominant pattern is fairly frequently found. Although people additional to the nuclear family are more often found in Coloured households than in White, there is no consistent pattern of relationship to suggest that they represent either the vestiges of an extended family system or one which is gradually evolving. Interviews with Coloured families show that they would prefer a nuclear family arrangement. The traditional European pattern found in the upper socio-economic Coloured groups would seem to imply that in more normal circumstances this would be the most frequently found family type.

The second factor is that the surroundings of the Coloured community make for difficulties with a female-dominant family pattern. Employment, housing administration, social services and, above all, educational administration and values, all assume that the bulk of the money in a home is provided by the father, maternal care can be provided for most of the day by the mother, and that family decisions are made either by the father or jointly by both parents. The conflict between these assumptions and the reality which exists in a large number of Coloured families has a direct and deleterious effect on an educational system which is based on the view that home and school are complementary. When these two social agencies are at variance, education is often comparatively ineffective, as much evidence from Britain and America has indicated. There is evidence that the low attainment of many Coloured children is similarly linked with poor home circumstances.

There are two major social factors which are drawing the Coloured people closer to the Whites. The first of these - education in a Western European pattern - has already been mentioned, and it will be considered in more detail later in this paper. The other factor is an economic one. Table 3 shows how the Coloureds can be found in each major occupational group.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE COLOUREDS IN THE MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS - 1960

Occupational Group	Number %
1. Professional and Technical	% 2.51
2. Administrative and Executive	0.22
3. Clerical	1.48
4. Sales	1.92
5. Farming/Fishing	22.85
6. Transport	3.96
7. Mining, Quarrying	0.16
8. Skilled Trade and Production Work	35.2
9. Service	21.23
10. No occupation given, or unemployed	10.47
	100.00
% of total population economically active	36.7%

Teachers make up most of the people in Category 1 - they constitute 71% of these workers, and more than half these teachers are women. There are comparatively few Coloured entrepreneurs - only 11% of the Coloureds in Category 4 are working proprietors. Since the creation, in 1962, of the Coloured Development Corporation to provide financial assistance for Coloured business men, most applications have been for small businesses.

The Coloureds still retain an important link with farming. 32% of them live out of urban areas. Many of those working in Category 5 can be found in the intensive agriculture areas in the western Cape, and four fifths of them are farm hands. Over 42,000 Coloureds live on State, Church or privately owned agricultural land owned and managed by Coloured themselves. On the whole the agricultural potential of these areas is not high and many men earn extra money as migrant labourers. Since 1963, government funds have been used to improve these lands with irrigation and fencing.

Coloured workers, especially women, have taken domestic service jobs - Category 9 - for many generations. Over 85% of the workers in this category are women. The largest number of Coloured employees is found in Category 8 - craftsmen and production workers. This category includes skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. It is not possible to separate the skilled and semi-skilled workers in the census statistics, but the number of labourers is given separately: 50% of them are unskilled labourers. In the western Cape, by far the majority of bricklayers, plasterers, painters, plumbers and carpenters are Coloured. Many others are skilled and semi-skilled workers

in textile, leather and clothing industries. It is clear that Coloured adolescents could be used in the first stages to relieve the shortage of white artisans, for their educational systems could be more easily adapted for this purpose.

Long-term planning in this direction is made uncertain, however, by legislation introduced in 1956, which made it possible to reserve, after investigation, jobs in certain areas for one particular racial group. By the end of 1966 nineteen "determinations" had been proclaimed. In all of them, Africans had been prevented from doing some tasks, and in most of them white workers had been specially protected. In a few (such as the building and clothing industry in the Western Cape, the Transvaal and Natal, the catering trade in Natal, and in parts of the Cape) jobs have been reserved for whites or Coloured or Indians. It is therefore uncertain how long a particular job or skill will be completely open to Indians or Coloureds. It is difficult to defend the Act, when the shortage of skilled workers is so well documented, and when it is realised that up to 1965, 183 exemptions to the determinations had to be granted, because workers of the "protected" racial group were not available. The Act is cumbersome and in an erratic way is liable to be a serious brake on the contribution that all non-white people can make to the country's industry.

It is also necessary to mention unemployment, which for many years has been a problem. It is almost impossible to get exact figures, for many who are unemployed do not register as work-seekers. In the 1960 Census figures, 41,000 Whites, 89,000 Coloureds and 26,000 Indians were listed as unemployed. These figures bear no relation to the proportions of these groups in

the total population. In 1965 some areas of heavy unemployment in the Cape and Natal were declared "border" areas, where industries employing Coloured and Indian labour would be given financial encouragement to open factories.

It is now necessary to look in more detail at the educational provision for Coloureds up to the beginning of this decade. The first effective schooling was provided by missions, as it was in the case of African education. A small slave-school had been started in Cape Town in the Seventeenth Century, and the Moravian Mission Society started a mission in 1737, and re-established it in 1791. This set the pattern for two hundred years of religious and educational work amongst the Coloureds - a pattern followed by the Rhenish, London and South African Societies and then by the full range of Christian Churches. As late as 1964, of the 1,200 State-aided Coloured schools in the Cape (four-fifths of the total number) all but twenty were mission schools. The Dutch Reformed Church supports the greatest number, and is followed by the Anglican, Congregational, Catholic, and Methodist Churches. Similar activity, but on a smaller scale, was started in the other three provinces.

Because the numbers of Coloureds were comparatively small in other parts of South Africa, their education was linked with that of Africans in the Orange Free State, and with Indians in the Transvaal. The control of the content of education was gradually assumed by the four provincial education deparments and with minor exceptions was identical with that given to white children. Provincial education ordinances differ, and differences were also found in the administration of Coloured

education. In Natal, after 1942, Coloured education was free and compulsory at the primary schools, and some money grants were available for poorer children in secondary schools. It has been calculated that the average annual cost of fees, books and writing materials for a Coloured child in a state secondary school is R16.

There is no compulsory education for Coloureds or for Indian children in the Transvaal, but education is free for pupils throughout the twelve years of schooling, and grants for text and library books and laboratory equipment is the same as for white schools. It has been estimated that over 90% of Coloured children of school-going age attend school, but many of them do not complete the full primary course. The Orange Free State also has no compulsory education for Coloured children, and progress has been slow, partly because of the small number of Coloureds in this province. Secondary classes, for instance, were started as late as 1940.

The Cape Province has not been able to introduce uniform compulsory education, but in five areas there is sufficient accommodation to enforce it between the ages 7 and 14. Although education is free and book grants are available to poorer pupils, it seems that large numbers of children are still not at school, one estimate placing the number as large as 60,000.

It is not being suggested, however, that there has been no improv ment in educational provision for Coloured pupils in recent decad Patterson, a severe critic of racial discrimination in South Afri described as early as 1953 the "considerable efforts (in the Cape to improve matters in the face of perpetually inadequate funds

and indifferent or sometimes hostile European opinion". Between 1957 and 1963 the numbers of Coloured pupils increased by almost 100,000 (from 262,000 to 360,000). There have been slight improvments in the number completing the full secondary course. Of the Coloured pupils in Standard VI in 1957, 10.55% were in Standard X in 1961. This had increased to 12.11% in 1963.

The increase in numbers has been accompanied by a slightly better distribution of pupils over the various standards.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COLOURED PUPILS IN VARIOUS STANDARDS

Year	Sub A/B	Std.I-V	Std.VI-VIII	Std.IX-X	Total
1957	37.2	54.1	7.8	0.9	100.0
1963	37.3	52.6	9.0	1.1	100.0

These improvements, however, must be set against factors which hamper educational advance. Some of the sociological factors have already been described. The high birth rate of the Coloureds makes the provision of places very difficult.

TABLE 5

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF COLOURED POPULATION 1960

AGE	% POPULATION
0 - 4	18.0
5 - 9	15.0
10 - 14	12.2
15 - 19	9.5

It can be seen that it is difficult to provide schooling for such a rapidly increasing population.

Apart from accommodating these children, teachers must be found for them. The number of teachers with degrees is very small. In 1966 a little over 3% of Coloured teachers had degrees, but over 90% had some professional training. This did not mean, however, that all these teachers had completed a full school course themselves. It was still possible for women to enrol for two years of training after completing their Junior Certificate examinations. Only 2% of teachers in schools, however, had neither a matriculation certificate nor a professional certificate. Large numbers of children to be educated, and teachers with poor academic backgrounds, make teaching ineffective and are likely to delay the implementation of compulsory education.

Secondary education for Coloureds is almost entirely academic in nature. Most Coloured children do History, Geography, Science and Biology. Only 4,400 Coloured boys out of a secondary school population of 20,000 are learning Bookkeeping and Commercial Arithmetic, and 580 of these boys are doing courses of manual training or industrial arts. Only 5,100 Coloured girls out of the 16,800 in secondary schools are learning domestic science and 542 are learning typing.

One cause of this academic bias is the statutory limitation on provincial action in technical and vocational education. Another cause is the prestige associated with academic subjects. It is clear that secondary education is providing training that has little relevance to the jobs that most Coloured children

will hold after leaving school. Any large scale expansion of secondary education must be accompanied by a much broader range of subjects offered by these schools.

The underlying problem of lack of finance for African education has already been discussed in earlier chapters. The same problems, but to a smaller degree, are present in Coloured education.

In the face of these difficulties, how well have the provinces managed to educate their Coloureds in the past? Table 6 shows the percentage of the adult population (20 years and over) who had reached certain levels of education.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF ADULT POPULATION (20 YEARS AND OVER) WHO HAVE REACHED VARYING LEVELS OF EDUCATION

1960

	Level not Known	No Educ.	Sub A to Std.2	Std. 3/4	Std. 5	Std. 6	Std. 7	Std. 8/9	Std. 10	TOTAL %	TOTAL
Coloured Men & Women	0.76	35.9	12.9	19.3	10.5	12.6	3.53	3.56	1.15	100.2	683,013
Coloured Men	0.71	37.15	12.6	16.58	9.71	13.39	4.2	3.92	1.75	100.01	338,665
Coloured Women	0.81	34.48	13.16	21.91	11.21	11.79	2.88	3.19	0.56	99.99	344,348

It can be seen that about one-third of the adults have had no education, and the numbers who have received any secondary education are very small.

These figures do not reveal the improvements in educational opportunity that have occurred over the years. Table 7 shows the number of adults in every thousand in different age groups who have passed Standard V.

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF ADULTS PER 1000 OF COLOURED POPULATION WHO HAVE PASSED STANDARD V OR A HIGHER STANDARD

AGE	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN
20-24	431	475	417
25-34	385	407	364
35-64	225	269	233
65+	88	82	93

It is clear that there has been a steady improvement in the educational levels of Coloured men and women.

The decade which began in 1960 will, in any future assessment of South Africa, have to be regarded as a dividing line in the history of the Coloureds. Some of these changes are political, and closely linked with these are educational developments. It has already been suggested that any attempts to promote assimilation of the two minority groups were rejected by all South African governments. Prior to 1948, when the Nationalist

government came to power, there had been little hope of the Coloured franchise rights of the Cape being applied to the rest of the country. In the 1950's these Cape rights were removed, and the Coloureds were placed on a separate roll. In 1950 Coloureds were affected by the Group Areas Act, which allowed for the residential segregation of races, and threatened trading rights as well. Since 1950 many thousands of Indian, Coloured and African families have been moved to new areas.

By 1960, the Nationalist Government began to stress the idea of "separate development", and made plans for a number of African "homelands" in which some political rights were to be granted. The Transkei was the first to be created. Similar ideas began to be applied to the Coloured and Indian groups. For some years there had existed a purely advisory Council of Coloured Affairs. In 1961, it was announced that this was to be expanded into a representative body with its own budget and with legislative and executive powers over such matters as education, health and welfare. From this time, this apparently quiescent body seems to have become livelier, and there have been reports of opposition groups linked with embryonic Coloured political parties. When the detailed changes were debated in Parliament in 1964, it became clear that a major difficulty lay in the lack of any geographic area which could be made a Coloured "homeland". The powers of the Council would operate over Coloureds who lived in areas administered by local provincial and parliamentary laws created by Whites for Whites. Cilliers has pointed out that it is far from clear how effective such a council could be, for "if any population group is to develop separately, the logical outcome of such a process... ... (is) .... political autonomy for the group .... (this)

has traditionally been associated with the development of separate states".

The Coloured Council has been linked to the Central government's Department of Coloured Affairs, which has been gradually assuming control of many services for Coloureds such as welfare, administration of the Coloured Development Corporation, and education. Some of its middle posts have been given to Coloured people, and the Government plans to extend this policy.

As the Group Areas Act is more fully implemented, local government in Coloured hands is more feasible than the proposals for a representative Coloured Council. By 1966, 28 Consultative Committees had been created, and there is a blueprint for these to grow into full local governments, with elected representatives and budgets from local rates. This has already involved far more Coloureds than the older Cape Municipal franchise, which had Coloureds on some rolls.

The Council has been promised full control of education, and the Department of Coloured Affairs was given control of technical and university education. Prior to 1962, branches of the Cape Technical College provided separate classes for Coloure From that date, these classes were merged into the Peninsula Technical College, which, when hostels have been built, will be the centre for advanced technical education for all Coloureds Part-time technical training in Coloured secondary schools throughout the country is intended to complement the work of the College. Up to now, technical education for Coloureds has been on a very small scale. In 1964, there were some 1,700 students of whom 780 were apprentices. The need for expansion

has already been demonstrated, as have the difficulties created by Job Reservation.

University education for non-white students has been a matter of dispute since 1959, when the government prevented them from attending the "open" Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town, or the segregated University of Natal, unless they had ministerial permission. These universities objected because this interfered with academic freedom: their right to choose who shall be taught. The non-white peoples objected because this was yet another separation step, which prevented their benefitting from well-established university teaching. To replace these lost places, the beginning of the sixties saw a spate of university building. Apart from the three University Colleges for Africans, one was opened for Coloureds in Cape Town in 1960 and one for Indians in Durban in 1961. These colleges offer degrees in Arts, Science, Commerce and Education, but they have not yet started courses in applied sciences like Engineering, or in Medicine or Dentistry. For this reason there are still some non-white students at white universities; others are there, with special permission, because their homes are far from Cape Town or Durban.

In 1965 there were 623 full time Coloured students in universities (346 of them in the Coloured College). There were a further 466 Coloureds (many of them teachers improving their qualifications) doing correspondence degrees with the University of South Africa. For adults who have achieved a university education, a degree is a symbol of many years of hard work and financial difficulty.

It is very hard to find any grounds to justify academic segregation. Universities are short of staff and under-financed; many are still very small. (Three Universities for Whites have under 3,000 students. Each of the non-white Colleges has less than a thousand students). As only about 28,000 pupils of all races reach the end of secondary school each year and by no means all of these enter Universities, it is clear that South Africa cannot afford to run 14 universities or plan to open its fifteenth in 1968.

Primary and secondary education for Coloureds was removed from provincial control by legislation in 1963. The Act accepts the contribution made by state-aided schools, and this is to continue. It also envisages much greater community involvement in education than existed under the provincial systems. There will be an Advisory Council and Regional Education Boards, the latter consisting of partly elected and partly nominated members who will advise on local needs. Each school will have a school committee of five members, chosen from seven people elected by the parents. The membership of these bodies will be entirely Coloured. The new Department of Education is expected to make considerable use of Coloured teachers as inspectors and subject advisors.

It will be possible, under the Act, for a local area to introduce compulsory education as soon as there is sufficient accommodation. There is a promise to introduce a wider range of subjects into secondary education and to create something resembling comprehensive education. Technical, vocational, agricultural and commercial equipment will be used for part-time adult education as well.

The Act was not passed without opposition. There was dislike of the concept of "Coloured" education being something apparently different from "education" in general. There were fears about transferring responsibility from the experienced provinces to a new inexperienced department. There was disappointment that the Act did not provide for immediate compulsory education throughout the country or set a date by which it should be introduced.

On the other hand, the Act proposed some very necessary improvements in the education of the community, especially in providing a wider range of subjects. Because it enforced separation, it gave prospects of promotion which never existed under provincial control. It gave parents greater links with the education of their children and made it easier for them to indicate the kind of education they want. The re-organization of control has made possible increased expenditure on education.

It is very difficult to guess how this education system will develop in the next few decades. The new department has inherited from the provinces unsatisfactory and uneven levels of education. This means that it may take years for the promises of the Act to be fulfilled. Will the Boards and School committees be able to satisfy quickly enough the parents' desires for their children? Will technical education be able to reduce under employment and unemployment if Parliament continues to legislate against the full use of skilled manpower?

Behind these doubts, however, are some that are far more fundamental. Is the social and political separation of groups feasibl if economically they are closely integrated and their education seems to be designed to hasten economic integration? Can the

Coloureds be left to create their own culture, if their education seems to make younger generations more and more Western European in outlook? Can these groups be given, with governmental encouragement, more and more opportunities to exercise responsibility at local level, and yet no opportunity to exercise similar responsibility at any higher level? Until these questions are answered, no one can be quite sure what South Africa is educating Coloured children for.