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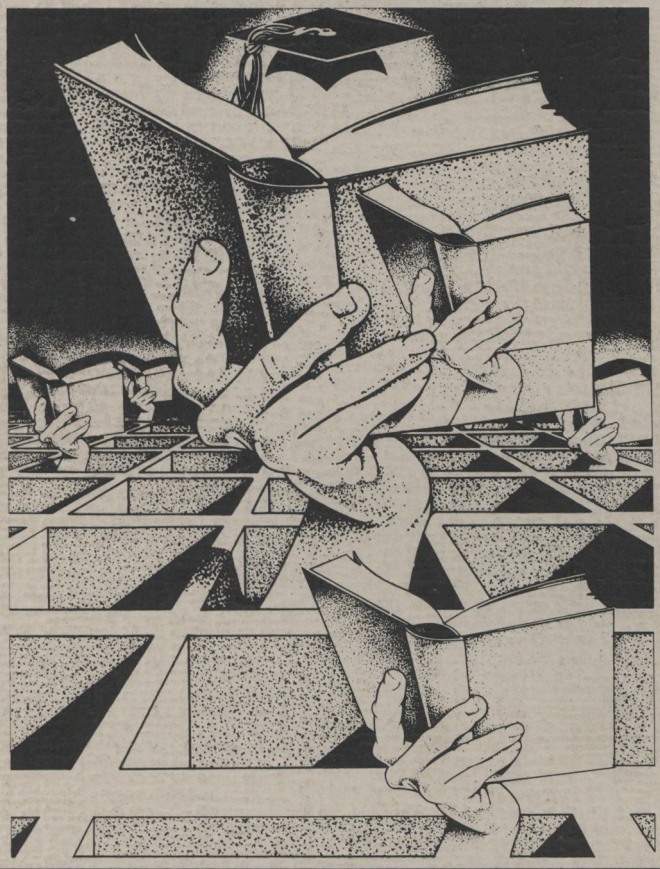
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Perspectives in Education

Volume 9 Number 1 July 1986



In this issue:

- Social Class and Matric Results
- Women Teachers in Natal

Next Issue:

- Bantu Education and Labour Reproduction, 1955-1976

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The policy of **Perspectives in Education** is to promote rigorous critical discussion and debate about education, particularly in South Africa. At this stage of South Africa's educational development, the vigorous exchange of views is vital. The major purpose of **Perspectives of Education** is to clarify the issues at stake in the relation between education and South African society.

The members of the editorial committee wish to affirm their unequivocal rejection of all discriminatory principles and practices in education, and in particular their rejection of the racist and discriminatory features of the South African education system. They furthermore express their committment to a single non-racial education system which will be established by the democratic participation of all South Africa's peoples, and which will provide for the development of their full potential.

Editorial

The students' revolt of 1976 signified the beginning of a sustained battle on the part of black youth against apartheid education. Ten years later, far from having abated, resistance in the schools has intensified and expanded to a point where entire communities, including black parents and teachers, have begun to participate actively in the struggle against the entire structure of apartheid.

Reformist initiatives by the state in education — including the introduction of compulsory schooling in selected areas, the appointment of the de Lange Commission of Inquiry into education in 1980, the increased expenditure on black education and the introduction of a Department of National Education in 1985 to formulate policy for all the departments of education — have done little either to redress grievances or to defuse tensions. Indeed, the gap between the demands of students and the actual reforms has helped to deepen opposition. For the state, reforms can only occur within the context of separate departments of education. As such, huge inequalities have persisted.

Because practical state intervention in schooling has remained segregationist, the lion's share of the budget is still allocated to white education. In the 1983/4 financial year, 52,8% of the total budget went to white pupils (who constituted 16% of all pupils), compared with 29,9% to all African education (70,1% of the pupils), 5,8% to Indian pupils (3,1% of the total) and 11,5% to 'Coloured' education (10,1% of the total). The state's commitment to eventual 'education of equal quality' has been no answer to the widespread demand that 'the doors of learning and culture shall be opened to all' under a people's government. Continued repression in the schools has similarly served to heighten opposition by exposing the real face of an unrepresentative regime. Its lack of concern for life, for children and for education has been manifestly apparent in the shootings and detentions of children, some as young as 7, the occupation of school premises and townships by Casspirs, and the

arbitrary closure of schools in many areas.

Inasmuch as the 1976 revolt inaugurated a new era of reform, repression and resistance in South African schooling, it also stimulated the development of new questions and perspectives amongst analysts of schooling and education. This journal was founded in 1976 and its pages have consistently reflected, in mediated form, many of the issues raised above. This particular issue of *Perspectives in Education* is no exception.

The article by Michael Gardiner, reporting on the Conference called by the National Education Crisis Committee and held in Durban in March 1986, reflects the extent to which 'inexorable pressure is being mounted upon the authorities in black education'. The significance of the decisions taken at Conferences held at Wits in December at the end of 1985 and in Durban 3 months later, is becoming increasingly apparent. Recent developments illustrate how the black community has begun to take active control of the process of education, nationally, through the democratic structures of Students' Representative Councils and Parent-Teacher Student Associations. They illustrate how the struggle in education has advanced beyond the mere criticism of the system to the formulation of an alternative 'People's Education'. They also show the inextricable linkage of educational, political and economic concerns.

The question of the relationship between schooling and politics is further explored by Owen van den Berg in the article, 'Power, Discourse and the Teacher'. His main concern is the politics of language, teacher power, and the way in which the 'dominant discourse' has 'demarcated certain areas of discourse as separate from others'. In particular, he examines the implications of the separation of politics and education in discourse for teachers. Arguing that this separation reflects an 'own affairs' conception of schooling, he makes a strong plea for disinvesting from 'prettied up discourse about "separate freedoms", "group identities", "own affairs", "cultural differences" and the need for "evolutionary change"'; from the discourse that would have us believe that the problems of education 'can be solved by value-free and politics-free experts'; and from 'a discourse that wishes us to be neutral'.

The high level of politicisation of schooling in the Western Cape and the negative impact of 'own affairs' Departments of Education

constituted by the new constitutional provisions in 1984 find a clear echo in the writings of van den Berg. His concerns clearly reflect those of teachers and analysts in the Western Cape who have already begun to repudiate apartheid discourses and practices. The State of Emergency, declared in June 1985 over the Eastern Cape and Witwatersrand, was extended to the Western Cape in November. Here, teachers responded to the viciousness of the assault on schools and students by staging a strike in solidarity with students. The reality of 'own affairs' was brought home to teachers when Carter Ebrahim, newly-appointed Minister of Education and Culture, closed all schools and dismissed, suspended and transferred 120 teachers, including a number of principals.

While van den Berg uses the concept 'discourse' to explain conflicts and divisions of language and schooling, Alan Morris — also writing from and about the Western Cape — argues for the primacy of 'class' as an analytical tool. In a case-study of matric results in selected 'white' and 'coloured' schools in the Western Cape, he demonstrates that 'the social class composition of a school has a crucial bearing on the achievement of its pupils'. In so doing he attempts to apply a literature from advanced capitalist societies on the relationship between social class and schooling to the South African context.

No less an important issue has been the question of education and the social division of labour. Simon and Beard, in their article on 'Discriminatory Factors Affecting Women Teachers in Natal', draw on a body of literature showing how 'education systems operate . . . to reproduce systematically a division of labour between men and women' to examine the attitudes of women towards their occupational status within the teaching profession.

All the above articles thus draw attention, in different ways, to questions of politics, class and gender in South African schooling. They fill an important gap in the literature on South African schooling and should open new avenues of research. That they do not directly explore the relationships between class, gender *and colour* in an integrated manner, but retain what van den Berg would describe as the separated 'discursive practices' imposed by the nature of South African society presents, however, an important challenge to other researchers and analysts.

ARTICLES

Power, discourse and the teacher*

Owen van den Berg

In this paper I would like to approach the topic of teacher power via a discussion of the influence of language on our perceptions of reality. I think we suffer from certain misconceptions about the role of language in our everyday lives and the first point I feel needs to be made is that we tend to exaggerate the extent to which our thinking and speech is our own: we have an overindividualized understanding of our own thinking and language. What would be more accurate, I believe, is to recognize that we live within communities of language users, and that when we engage in discourse we enter into the flow of language that exists around us and which we see as natural or normal. We are far less 'original' in our thoughts, assumptions and language than we normally realize. We live within what I am going to call a discursive context — a flow of talk and ideas which we come to experience as 'natural' or 'normal' or 'correct' or 'appropriate'. The context of our language and of our thinking is social rather than individual.

Two points have to be made about this discursive context. First, that while we often perceive ourselves to be experiencing something directly, it is probably more accurate and illuminating to say that what we are in fact experiencing is *language* about that something, whether it be 'education' or 'economics' or 'politics'. As Edelman put it in talking about the concept 'politics', 'it is *language* about political issues rather than the events themselves that everyone experiences . . .'[1]. Our language framework operates as a lens or spectacle through which we perceive, categorize, explain or otherwise seek to make sense of that supposed reality outside of us. One can even argue that perhaps often these things exist with any clarity only within the discourse — that we really have no idea what, say, 'politics' is, but that once we have given it a label and have used it extensively and repeatedly, we can all claim to know what it is we are talking about and so we can relax, we have the monster under control. The

*This paper is a slightly adapted version of the keynote address delivered at the Diamond Jubilee conference of the Teachers Association of South Africa in Durban on 2 July 1985.

same may very well be true of that other monster that so often concerns us, education. Speaking about it, fencing it about with words, we believe we have hold of it. The reverse may well be more true: because we have encapsulated 'politics' or 'education' in a phrase, it has *us* under control: we are governed by words.

The second point concerns what I shall call not the language of politics but the politics of language, and that is that our discourse tends to become manifested in action. This is a phenomenon that the French philosopher Foucault labelled 'discursive practice' — that one's talk becomes embodied or manifested in action — in the creation of structures, procedures, policies, institutions, laws, customs and the like. The ways-of-habitually-speaking-about-things come to be manifested in the structures and processes that are designed to give effect to those discourses and, once established, those institutions tend to shape the discourse. Buildings, for instance, are the manifestation of discourses, the embodiment of what people felt should be allowed to occur in them and in what way it should occur and, once built, buildings tend to facilitate just those intentions of the discourse that resulted in their being built, and to inhibit others. As Connolly put it, 'Actions and practices are *constituted* in part by the concepts and beliefs the participants themselves have'[2]. Language *about* politics, for instance, is not some neutral medium for explaining politics but itself constitutes the political. The way I engage or am engaged in discourse will determine significantly what action I am predisposed to take or not to take. To quote Connolly again, 'In convincing me to adopt your version of "democracy", "politics", or "legitimacy", you convince me to classify and appraise actions and practices in new ways; you encourage me to guide my conduct by new considerations'[3]. So when we claim to be talking 'about' politics, we are rather perhaps engaging in politics or revealing our attitude towards political engagement or quiescence.

Now, within any society there will be modes or patterns of discourse that come to dominate. In any society these will be myriad, from views on religion to what constitutes legitimate medicine as opposed to quackery, from styles of architecture to what makes for interesting sport, from what the relationship between people should be if they are to be married to which items can be considered as food and which cannot or should not, from what one may say about the ANC to what may be considered as 'appropriate' channels for making one's feelings and opinions known. And these dominant discourses come to be institutionalized and legitimated within the state while other discourses come to be discouraged or

counteracted. The particular dominant discourses that concern us in a discussion of Teacher Power, are, I believe, political discourse and educational discourse, whatever those two monsters in the bush may be. Teacher Power will to a significant degree be constituted, promoted and inhibited by these two dominant modes of discourse.

The question of why or how a particular discourse comes to dominate is a complex theoretical question: for the purposes of this paper, I do not believe it necessary to go into extensive debate about the issue. Let us simply argue that in our country a particular self-constituted and self-exclusive group has taken control over the land, the economy and the instruments of government, and that it has used and continues to use that control to institutionalize its own discourse and to establish and perpetuate its dominance. Even when that dominant discourse is challenged or begins to lose its pervasiveness, it is maintained and perpetuated by the institutions that were set up to give effect to it, institutions which to all of us seem more 'natural' and 'normal' than others, and by the bureaucratic organization and style created for oversight and surveillance of the whole. We would not, for instance, overnight destroy the dominant discourse that resulted in the establishment of Group Areas simply by repealing the Group Areas Act. Its effects, and the ways of speaking about 'other' people it generates, would remain.

The dominant discourse in South Africa is so well known as hardly to bear repeating, but allude to it we must. The dominant discourse that still persists is that South Africa needs to remain under the trusteeship of the Afrikaner 'whites' (who are still seen to be white in spite of Dr Heese's alternative discourse) and that part of the manifest destiny of that ruling group is to protect the 'group identity' and 'separate freedoms' of the other 'peoples' — or 'population groups' — in South Africa, to do so by unilaterally determining who the members of these separate peoples are, and to do so by a policy of segregation and inequality, all in service of a particularly unacceptable version of capitalism that is often mystified by labelling it as 'free enterprise' (it is most certainly enterprising but it is very far from free: 18 million pass arrests can't be wrong).

The schooling dispensation that exists in South Africa is a direct manifestation of this dominant official discourse. It is within the context of segregated and inferior schools that the overwhelming majority of the people of this convulsed country of ours have to grow up and prepare themselves for their adult lives — at least those who do not leave school while they are still very much children. And the 1985 budget shows again

that talk about 'equality of education' is not yet part of the dominant discourse, but remains in the realm of useful rhetoric.

But there is another critical dimension of the dominant discourse to which we need to refer if we are to do any justice to our topic. That is, that it is also inherent in a dominant discourse that it demarcate certain areas of discourse as separate from others and that it confirm the right or authority of 'experts' to speak on some or other topic but not on another topic — as 'experts'. A very common demarcation occurs between that which is deemed to be 'political' and that which is deemed to be 'non-political' and, correspondingly, between who may legitimately engage in 'politics' and who may not. The more authoritarian or totalitarian the society, the more this demarcation tends to be enforced: it is endemic in the pronouncements of our rulers that certain people are engaging in 'illegitimate' political action either because they are not confining themselves to their legitimate sphere of action, defined as 'non-political', or because they are supposedly pursuing political activities in unacceptable ways. This dividing up of discourse Foucault called 'discursive delimitation'. Dreyfus and Rabinow explain Foucault's position as follows: 'Political technologies advance by taking what is essentially a political problem, removing it from the realm of political discourse, and recasting it in the neutral language of science. Once this is accomplished the problems have become technical ones for specialists. In fact, the language of reform is, from the outset, an essential component of these political technologies . . . When there was resistance, or failure, . . . this was construed as further proof of the need to reinforce the power of the experts'[4].

I have already suggested that in South Africa 'teacher power' has to be understood within the prevailing dominant political discourse and the dominant educational discourse: the dominant educational discourse derives from the dominant political discourse and has to be understood in terms of it. Teacher power is also, however, most significantly influenced by the discursive delimitation, by the way the dominant discourse attempts to separate politics and education as topics to be talked of separately and engaged in by different groups of people.

This division of 'education' and 'politics' has several significant results. First, it results in the promotion of discourse and action that would treat 'educational' issues and problems as if they can be dealt with and talked about separately from other discourses — political, social, economic, ethical, and so on. Let us take an example, and ask how educationists and

politicians normally treat an issue like under-achievement in schools. Normally, they treat them as 'own affairs', as matters to be treated from *within* schooling. The result is that we do what Foucault says we are likely to do, we appoint more and more experts to resolve the problem of under-achievement, we generate new career opportunities for increasing numbers of people working within that mindset. But those problems are simply not soluble solely from within education — and if we argue that they are, then we must also be prepared to take the blame when the problem persists. Then we proceed, for instance, to devise huge, expensive and useless systems of in-service education, to equip our remedial experts the better to solve the problems. And when that fails, we then run in-service courses for people running in-service courses, because they are obviously failing in their jobs. And when that fails, we run 'leadership' courses for school principals, for they are obviously not giving those who've been on in-service courses enough support. And when those fail, we run in-service courses for those giving principals in-service courses, and so on, via inter-sectoral conferences to research projects by the HSRC, ad infinitum and ad nauseam. Why? Because we have brought into the discourse, which delimits education as 'own affairs', and which appoints and recognizes experts from within, and which then grinds round in never-ending circles of fruitlessness, a principle somebody once called 'the pooling of ignorance'. And it makes us all agents, wittingly or unwittingly, of the racist, economically selfish elite that shapes our discourse, for we don't dispute the delimitation of the problem. About one thing we have to be quite clear: in public schooling in South Africa we have a massive *political* problem, and we have a massive economic problem, because our school system is designed to perpetuate certain politically useful attitudes and is designed to perpetuate a particular stratified economic order, one that is politically generated, supported and protected.

A second result of this delimitation between 'education' and 'politics' goes wider than the first, for it concerns the way in which 'political' action by teachers is considered to be illegitimate. Teachers, in such discourse, are perceived as a particular body of workers whose occupation merely and specifically concerns 'education'. While it may well now be recognized even within the official discourse that education is framed within political parameters, what is certainly not part of that discourse is that teachers may busy themselves with politics. That is, that politics and education, in so far as they concern the *legitimate* activities of the teacher, are mutually exclusive. The teacher, then, is someone who refrains from

politics, who is to be politically 'neutral' in the classroom and within the organized profession. The corollary, as I have already attempted to indicate, is that education in terms of what actually happens in schools is something other than politics, and that teachers may legitimately be acted against should they indulge in political action. But education arises out of a political discourse and is profoundly shaped — no, let us say warped — by the dominant political discourse. If we attempt to engage in discourse about education, and separate that from politics, we make a decision to buy into the dominant discourse — and we then attempt to explain the problems we perceive within education as if they can be dealt with apart from political considerations. We are not thereby engaging in non-political discourse, we are in fact accepting the political discourse foisted upon us, and we are in fact consolidating and legitimating that discourse by operating within its parameters. And so a questionable discourse — one that in our heart of hearts we dispute — becomes ever more acceptable as we get used to it and come to regard it as normal. By buying into the discourse, we sell out our own position — or worse, we simply give it away. To acquiesce in the dominant discourse about the relationship between education and politics is, to quote Connolly, 'to accept terms of discourse loaded in favor of established practices' [5] — that is, to accept the status quo. By 'being reasonable', we indulge in self-censorship and, ultimately, in self-emasculation.

The third, and richly ironical, result of this demarcation between the 'political' and the 'educational', is that the official discourse views teachers first and foremost in *political* terms, as groups legitimately and necessarily separated on the basis of population group classification — I will not say 'racial classification', for then I buy into the government's discourse about race — in that each population group is there to serve its own people in education, and that separate freedoms must be protected and group identities advanced. Further, there is an extensive discourse about the need to order society, to regulate it in terms of certain principles of management and organization, to control it and to keep it under surveillance. The practice that arises from this managerial corollary to the discourse of trusteeship is a massive and stultifying bureaucracy. Occasionally this bureaucracy gets concerned about improving its so-called efficiency and productivity; what concerns us as teachers is the damage it does to our desire to get on with the work we consider important. One particularly heinous dimension of this bureaucratization of trusteeship is that consultation of the organized teacher work force is

seen as an irritant and as an optional extra, good perhaps for public relations but otherwise a nuisance. It means that teachers must consider it a privilege to be consulted on matters educational, and not a right. Further, that justice is considered to be done by means of that weird and wonderful practice ennobled by the name of 'co-ordination', which really means that once decisions have been taken within the security of the 'white' sector for 'white' education, they can then be exported and enforced on all other sectors of education, sooner or later (but usually later) in the name of 'equal standards'. For co-ordination, read colonization. For equal standards, read political imperialism and the prolongation of inequality in the name of equity. Co-ordination, within an anti-democratic context, tends to be but the extension of surveillance.

I have referred here at some length to three implications of the attempt to separate 'education' and 'politics', because I believe that they are fundamental to an understanding of teacher power and therefore, of the position of the organized profession. In South Africa we cannot simply talk about 'teacher power' and we cannot simply talk about the 'organized profession' in the singular. We have to ask, *which* teacher and *which* part of the organized profession, because the status and power of the teacher is understood by the dominant discourse *first in terms of the political placement of that teacher within some or other 'population group' with its allocated rights and statutes, and, only then,* in terms of the teacher as educator. What is more, we have to understand 'teacher power' and the 'organized profession' in the context of a discourse that regards teacher involvement in politics as illegitimate, although the basic rules that govern the official attitude to teachers are themselves politically determined. The result is that teachers classified 'white' and who band together with other teachers classified 'white' are better able to organize themselves and are better able to withstand and contest the dominant discourse and its bureaucratization than teachers with other labels. The problems of organization faced by teachers classified 'black', and their problems in extracting humane and respectful treatment as *teachers* are profoundly different. The ability of a group of teachers to organize themselves and to have their collective voice heard, or at least tolerated, by the bureaucratico-political establishment, is fundamentally linked to the formal political status of those teachers. What rights do those teachers have in the society as people, what clout do they have in Pretoria, what image is held by them by those who rule this land, how crucial is their support, how seriously viewed is their opposition, how sleepless are the nights when

their schools are closed, how much time is devoted on TV when *their* children meet violent death? It is in that context that we need to reflect on the question of teacher power. We cannot talk about 'teacher power' or the 'organized profession' in the singular.

We, therefore, need to contest strenuously that part of the discourse that would separate 'politics' and 'education'. So let us ask the beguiling question, what is the area of politics? Shapiro states that 'the concept of politics can be regarded as appropriately attached to those processes which involve sanctioned individual and collective control over valued experience'[6]. The question, then, is WHO sanctions, WHO decides what is valued, WHO exerts control in the name of that 'collective'? Where our rulers would have us believe that education should be sanitized from politics, we need to say, oh, but that leaves you, our rulers, free to politicize education without reference to us. The danger of seeing educational discourse as separate from political discourse is that we thereby overlook the political significance of those aspects of our discourses that we tend not to construe as political. Where our rulers seek to stamp their own boundaries on what may be considered political discourse we need to say that the realm of politics is not just for them to demarcate, but that we wish to enlarge the realm of politics — and thereby, of course, to enlarge the realm of education, for we are in that game — that we wish to politicize more aspects of human relationships, not because we wish to make something political that previously wasn't, but because we wish the discourse to recognize that those aspects of life *are* already profoundly political and must be acknowledged as such if we are to clarify rather than mystify them. And if we are to enlarge the discourse of politics — and therefore, of education — we must analyze our language usage as a domain of political relations so that we can use it rather than be used by it. Edelman states that 'To politicize an issue is to define it as appropriate for public decision making', and adds the warning, so germane to our situation, that 'Political participation symbolizes influence for the powerless, but it is also a key device for social control'[7]. Politicization, therefore, must be seen as the creation of a state of mind. Because this is so, we must note that 'The *fundamental* influences upon political beliefs flow . . . from language that is not perceived as political at all but nonetheless structures perceptions of status, authority, merit, deviance, and the causes of social problems'[8]. And by enlarging the realm of politics, we also enlarge an understanding of what it is that a teacher legitimately does. Teachers, to be sure, are involved in 'education', but they are not thereby simply agents

of the current ruling elite. They are, significantly, the people in the middle, marginal beings, with a demanding politico-bureaucracy pressing down on them from one side and a suspicious and wary public pressing down on them from the other. To sit on the fence is to take up a position, and a not very comfortable one at that. To state that the appropriate role of the teacher is to engage in education is not really to say anything very useful at all, except to those who would continue to rule over us.

This contestation of the supposed boundary between politics and education is particularly crucial at the moment because the government, in its concern about the erosion of its support within the 'white' electorate, is repeatedly stating that apartheid schooling remains non-negotiable, however much else it may be prepared to consider changing. This adds a supreme irony to Dr Viljoen's plaintive admonitions about people using education for their own political ends! Of him we would ask the question, why should we be impressed by your insistence that we refrain from using schooling for our political ends when it forms a cornerstone, the ultimate non-negotiable apparently, of your plans to achieve your political ends?

The contestation of the imposed boundary between politics and education has various dimensions. The first is that of discourse itself — that is, we need to contest the dominant discourse which those who rule use to undergird their own belief in their right to rule and to make decisions for us but without us, and which they use to have us acquiesce in their right to rule and in the way they exercise that right. This often goes by the name 'protest', which itself has a negative connotation in the dominant discourse. And so we even begin to feel a little negative, a little guilty, about always protesting, but that is the power of the discourse — because we are always protesting, and they are always ignoring, always rationalizing, always resorting to comfortable slogans like the need for orderly and peaceful change. It was Alan Paton who expressed some sympathy for our rulers who, having ridden the tiger so long, were now agonizing about how to get off. But the brunt of that agony is being experienced — not talked about, but experienced — in the schools of the excluded, in the streets of the townships of the impoverished, in the squatter camps of the work-seekers, in the detention cells of the police, in the courts that deal with the pass offenders.

And so, to utilize a popular slogan, I believe that we need a policy of active disinvestment. We need to cease to invest in the discourse of our rulers, to cease to invest in a discourse that would tell us what is 'educational' and what is 'political' and how they need to be kept separate.

We need to disinvest from a discourse that would define the multitudinous problems we face in disadvantaged schools as 'own affairs', matters to be settled by means of an individual pathology of the child rather than by a pathology of the political, social and economic nightmare that is foisted upon us. We need to disinvest from the ethnomanic garbage that is prettied up in discourse about 'separate freedoms', 'group identities', 'own affairs', 'cultural differences', the need for 'evolutionary change'. We need to disinvest from the discourse that would have us believe that the problems of education can be solved by value-free and politics-free 'experts', or that the formulation of curriculum for our schools should similarly be left to 'experts' when we all know that it involves fundamental decisions that are quintessentially ethical, moral, political. We need to disinvest from the discourse that the bureaucrats who lord over us and bury us in paper to send back to them somehow are more equipped to speak about education than we are. We need to disinvest from the discourse that says a teachers' organization can only consist of persons working under a particular education authority. We need to disinvest from the discourse that drives our children apart and teaches them suspicion, hatred, ignorance and caricature. We need to disinvest from syllabuses that foist one particular version of reality on us in the name of co-ordination, or one that allows a section of 'coloured' or 'black' history alongside other histories, as if history can also be reduced to an Improper Interference Act.

Most of all, I believe that we need to disinvest from a discourse in terms of which we allow ourselves to concede that others have the power and we do not, and from a discourse that wishes us to be 'neutral' — that is, to teach the status quo, when we work with our pupils. Rather, we need to set about systematically disputing, contesting, the discourse aimed at us. Those who would rule over us in perpetuity as well as those fellow travellers whom we might have expected to be on our side — all of them have hijacked an assortment of crucial terms, terms which they force into their own mould and which they would have us accept. We cannot allow terms such as 'democracy' and 'freedom' and 'education' to be hijacked and pressed into service to our detriment. We must engage these verbal terrorists, those who hijack these aspects of discourse. But if we are to do so, if we are to contest these metaphors — 'democracy', 'freedom', 'law and order', and all the rest — then we need a far clearer sense of the extent to which the language we perceive and use as 'ordinary' and as 'non-political' is in fact enormously repercussive politically.

Power, Foucault would have us believe, is 'a general matrix of force

relations at a given time, in a given society . . . power . . . is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical relationship in a particular society'[9]. The purpose of the exercising of power, he says, rests in 'guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome'[10]. We dare not abdicate leaving the putting in order of the possible outcome to those who would do it without us.

The person who succeeds in defining reality to our satisfaction — the one whose discourse comes to be dominant — that one exercises power, in that we empower that person's point of view and, because discourse is constitutive of action, in that we both allow that person's action and our own action to be framed by that discourse. What is more, we need to be under no illusion that within schools most of the people of this land receive their most systematic and extensive exposure to that selection from our culture that our rulers deem to be appropriate. In so far as we accept another's knowledge as our own and teach it, in so far we further empower that person and not ourselves and our children.

I said earlier that contesting the imposed boundary between politics and education has various dimensions, and that the first of these is that of discourse itself. But we also need to acknowledge that the task of challenging the dominant discourse is not simply a matter of engaging in sophisticated dialogue. I have argued, with Foucault, that practice arises out of discourse, embodies it, perpetuates it, solidifies it. Problematic discourse can easily become less problematic practice: the problematic discourse that young people should be segregated through their schooling has become acceptable practice far more than we realize, because every day we experience it as normal to be apart and not normal to be together. Schools built this year will have a gigantic impact on pupils and teachers in 75 years time, because they embody today's dominant views and constrain the enactment of other views.

What we need to consider seriously and in an organized way is how, within our limited resources and our volatile environment, we can begin to embody the discourse we hold dear. We need to set up structures that can facilitate the achievement of our aspirations. For instance, if we believe, really believe, that the great majority of teachers in this country wish to belong to a unitary organization, what can we do that we have not yet done to give effect to that aspiration? What can we do to break down barriers that exist between teachers who work in the same geographical area but are accountable to different education authorities? What can we do to illustrate to our several Ministers of Education, by the structures we create,

that we wish to be involved in educational decision making more pervasively, and that we intend to do so not within their categories of segregation but as teachers irrespective of classification? If we believe that curricular decisions should not remain firmly in the hands of the ruling elite, what structures are we setting up to counteract that situation? If we believe that certain teacher groups, by virtue of their political status, are seriously limited in their ability to make an impact, what structures are we setting up to offer them support? The days are past where teachers' organizations can operate without highly sophisticated strategies and structures that equip them to deal with the multifarious concerns they have. We must give effect to our beliefs in the way we organize our profession.

The imposed boundary between politics and education has a third dimension that we dare not ignore. I suggested earlier that the purpose of the exercising of power rests in 'guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome'. When, however, power ceases to have this effect, ceases to guide the possibility of conduct and direct the possible outcome, then recourse is taken to *force*. Slavery, for instance, Foucault said, was not always a power relationship, though it could be that when the enslaved accepted the discourse of the master. Slavery, he said, was rather a physical relationship of constraint[11]. Today we might be tempted to call the discourse on this physical relationship of constraint 'law and order'! The point is that any challenge to the dominant discourse must always take cognisance of the propensity of those who rule this country to indulge in the exercising of force, in the physical relationship of constraint. We dare not forget that those who control the instruments of state have never displayed a wariness to use them. When we strive to re-negotiate and reconstitute the basis of teacher power, we must realize that we thereby expose ourselves to the possibility of being confronted by force.

But we need remember too that teacher power is not merely constituted by the space given to us by our rulers. While we may tend, in these politically volatile times, to think of teacher power basically in relation to bureaucrats and politicians, we also need to think of it in relation to other significant dimensions of our social order — the community of school students, ever restless for real change, the parent community, ever concerned about future opportunities for their children, the greater community of the voteless, hungry for self respect and a fair deal, the total South African community, filled with fears and suspicions and dreams and demands and vested interests.

We owe it to all of these, and we owe it to ourselves, first to put our own house in order — to gnaw away at the debilitating divisions that exist in education, within which we see only our problems, within which we only draw on our resources, within which we deal only with our own perspectives, within which many publicly wring their hands but privately are perhaps pleased that they have their own fiefdom to rule or inhabit. Teachers are involved in a complex of relationships that makes it imperative that they situate and understand their rules in terms of political effect. And in order for teachers to become politically literate, the organized profession will have to play a catalytic role. One of Martin Luther King's most famous speeches concerned his dream: Kindly allow me to finish with a nightmare that comes in the form of a poem I once came across and which asks the question, when all is said and done, what will our students' verdict be on our endeavours:

Greeting his pupils, the master asked
What would you learn of me?
And the reply came:
How shall we care for our bodies?
How shall we rear our children?
How shall we work together?
How shall we live with our fellowmen?
How shall we plan?
For what ends shall we live?

And the teacher pondered these words
and sorrow was in his heart, for his own
learning touched not these things.

NOTES

1 M Edelman *Political Language: Words that Succeed and Policies that Fail*, New York: Academic Press, 1977, p 142.
2 W E Connolly *The Terms of Political Discourse*, Princeton: University Press, 1983 (2nd ed.), p 36.
3 *Ibid* p 39.
4 H L Dreyfus and P Rabinow *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, Chicago: University Press, 1982, p 196.
5 Connolly, *op cit*, p 2.
6 M J Shapiro *Language and Political Understanding: the Politics of Discursive Practices*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p 211.
7 Edelman, *op cit*, p 120.
8 *Ibid* p 21.
9 M Foucault *History of Sexuality*, Vol 1, New York: Random House, 1978, p 93.
10 Dreyfus and Rabinow, *op cit*, p 221.
11 *Ibid*.

Discriminatory factors affecting women teachers in Natal

Alan Simon & Paul Beard

Introduction

The division of labour in contemporary industrial societies tends to involve a clear differentiation between male and female workers. Women are concentrated in particular industries, in this case profession, at paticular levels, and are systematically subjected to poorer pay and working conditions than men. Clearly the divisions between men and women in the sphere of wage labour, constitute a central element of the sexual division of labour, which is based upon an ideological construction of masculine and feminine categories. For Barron and Morris:

> ideological factors are seen as contributing to the preservation of the existing job structure for women, while the job structure is seen as a principle determinant of the inferior status of women as a social group and of the sexist ideology which helps to maintain their position[1].

In assessing the factors which might account for the position of women in the work force it is impossible to escape the conclusion that family structure and the ideology of domestic responsibility play an important part, especially so in South Africa. In addition to this, the categories of work primarily undertaken by women have clearly been constructed along the lines of an ideology of gender which poses servicing and caring work as pre-eminently 'feminine'[2]. Such processes tend to lead to a reinforcing cycle which is difficult to break, both analytically and politically. Education systems operate in such a way as to reproduce systematically a division of labour between men and women in wage labour, and as such they not only reflect, but also reinforce, the division of labour between men and women. As Engels[3] suggested, cheap female labour is preferred to the more expensive male labour.

We are arguing that gender has played and plays a profoundly important part in the division of labour; and it is with the above considerations in mind that we felt an investigation should be undertaken of women's attitudes towards their occupational status within the teaching profession.

Our two-phase research focussed on a sample of Natal women teachers in an attempt to obtain and generate factors they perceived as important.

Findings — phase one

The crucial research concepts were qualitatively generated in the first phase by members of the target population itself. Female students, registered for the Higher Diploma in Education and for a Bachelor of Education degree, were requested to provide the issues which they deem are important as affecting women teachers. This data was analysed qualitatively.

a) *Diploma students*

It appeared that the major factors which students felt were important were:

i lower salaries compared with males;
ii women become temporary staff when married;
iii male teachers have a better chance of being appointed to a post and also have greater promotion and merit award prospects.

This finding compares with Byrne's assertion that 'women teachers are often less frequently groomed for seniority and for responsibility by their mainly male heads'[4]. Of lesser importance were lack of freedom in terms of dress, and discipline problems with senior boys. Married students, in addition to points (i) to (iii) above, complained that no teaching loans were provided for married students, that no loans were provided for further study after qualification, and emphasized that married women were unable to obtain housing subsidies.

b) *Bachelor of Education students*

1 *Whites*

Female students in this group mostly queried lower salaries compared to their male counterparts, lack of housing subsidies for married women,

being placed on temporary staff once married, and greater promotion prospects for male teachers. Of lesser significance, dress regulations and an emphasis on male-oriented sports which downgrades female-oriented cultural activities were mentioned. This observation is not specific to South Africa, for Byrne has noted a 'polarization of the roles between women staff as supportive, subordinate, maternal and caring, and men as the leaders, heads, active members of staff (football, outdoor pursuits, school journeys) . . .'[5].

2 Blacks

Black women B.Ed. students, in the main, are concerned about lower salaries, lesser promotion chances, and being placed on the temporary staff. However, they also complained about the dual role of mother and earner — ie the double work load, being forced to take three months maternity leave, dress regulations, and feel dominated by males who sometimes take credit for *their* hard work. Hence they feel they have to work harder in order to survive in a male dominated environment.

Mitchell has remarked that the dual work-role can be delineated as a sort of 'identity head crisis' because 'women are brought up to think of themselves primarily as mothers and wives; yet finding themselves, despite this, nevertheless out at work . . .'[6]. In South Africa, on the other hand, given specific political and economic realities, it could be argued that black women are socialised into the dual work-role rather than simply as mothers and wives.

Lastly, they observed that they sometimes experience difficulties with regard to control over senior pupils.

Findings — phase two

The issues generated in phase one were inserted in a questionnaire sent to a systematic random sample of women teachers who are members of the Natal Teachers Society (NTS)[7]. The NTS provided the sampling frame, selected the sample and mailed the questionnaires to potential respondents. One hundred and twenty six women members responded.

One half of the respondents indicated that they were teachers, sixteen percent were senior teachers, six percent were heads of departments and eight percent were deputy principals or principals. Fifty-two percent were married, thirty-six percent single, seven percent were divorced and five percent widowed. Their mean age was 36 and the mode (most frequency) 25. Table One (below) presents their responses to the Likert attitude scales.

Table 1
ATTITUDES TOWARDS DISCRIMINATORY FACTORS

	Strong Agree		Agree	Undec.	Disag.	Strong Disag.
a) Women teachers should receive equal salaries	83	95	12	2	1	2
b) Women should not become temporary staff after marriage	77	96	19	1	1	2
c) Married women should be eligible for housing subsidies	49	78	29	11	9	2
d) Appointments to posts should be based on merit not sex	83	98	15	1	1	0
e) Merit awards should not depend upon sex	87	98	11	1	0	1
f) Stringent dress regulations impinge upon women teachers' freedom	15	52	37	11	30	7
g) Loans for further study should be granted to married women teachers	59	96	37	3	1	0
h) Female teachers have comparatively less chance of promotion	41	81	40	10	10	0
i) Teaching loans should be granted to married HDE women students	47	86	39	13	1	0
j) Discipline problems with senior boys could be solved if women teachers had equal status	12	33	21	30	30	7

Female teachers expressed general agreement with all the issues other than 'stringent dress regulations' and 'discipline problems with senior boys'. A few added a comment to (c) above, namely, that they would only require a housing subsidy if their spouse was not receiving one.

The last question — asking teachers whether they wished to add

anything — yielded a wide variety of suggestions. As their ideas were scattered around the low-frequency percentiles and only thirty-six percent of the sample completed it, meaningful analysis was hardly possible. The only possible issue meriting some consideration was that housing subsidies should not be abused, ie if a husband was already in possession of a subsidy, then women teachers should not be eligible for additional housing finance.

Conclusion

Sharp and Green have argued that 'the empiricist tradition has engaged in a series of "fact finding" and "head counting" missions, producing a great deal of statistical information . . . but offering little by way of explicit theoretical or conceptual breakthroughs for interpreting such data'[9]. We feel that their argument should be advanced a level, beyond a theoretical account towards at least an attempt at policy formation. In other words we are advocating action-oriented educational research[10].

Sutherland has stated that 'ideas of male dominance have been so generally accepted and transmitted to the young that the immature must find it threatening to assimilate such beliefs . . .'[11]. This problem of children being taught that males are dominant can be countered, Jones argues, by applying Swedish education policy:

> Textbooks and other teaching aids ought not to further entrench traditional ideas concerning the separate role of the sexes but on the contrary . . . actively combat them[12].

This policy is aimed obviously at the 'grass roots' level. But there remains, in South Africa, a whole host of male adult educationalists who require ideological resocialization. They need to be made aware that females should be equal to males, *in every respect,* in the teaching profession.

It would be academically unjust to ignore the recent improvements that have been made since this survey was conducted in the latter half of 1983. For example, a recent NTS Newsletter observed that 'salary parity is now down to Post level 2 (HOD)'[13], and the position of married women teachers has improved to some extent.

However, improvements cannot be equated both conceptually and practically with equality. Therefore, we suggest that the inherent ideas contained in the Swedish policy be adapted to South African conditions. Simon[14] observed just how powerful the South African media can be as an

ideological apparatus. So not only do we advocate equality of female and male teachers at all levels and on all scores, but we further suggest that the media do the same. After all, women teachers constitute the majority of the teaching force — 72% in Natal state schools according to Thurlow[15].

NOTES

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2 A Wolpe 'Education and the sexual division of labour', in A Kuhn and A Wolpe, *Feminism and Materialism*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London: 1978.
3 F Engels *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, New York: Pathfinder, 1972.
4 E M Byrne *Women and Education*, London: Tavistock, 1978, p 227.
5 *Ibid*, p 220.
6 J Mitchell *Womens Estate*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971, p 139.
7 The assistance of Mr Roger Burrows, then secretary of the NTS, is gratefully acknowledged.
8 Slight errors occur in the percentage due to rounding.
9 R Sharp and A Green *Education and Social Control*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975, p 2.
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12 K Jones *Women's Education*, London: Open University Press, 1973, p 131.
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Social class and matric results

Alan Morris

This paper is an initial, exploratory endeavour to examine something that has been generally ignored in South African research on schooling — the relationship between social class and performance at school. The study suggests that the social class origins of a school's pupils is a key factor determining the matric results obtained[1]. The paper will focus mainly on 'white' and 'coloured' schools in the Cape Town area[2]. Although there is a brief section on Black schooling it must be clearly stated that this section is very tentative and requires a great deal more research.

The overwhelming tendency in the South African literature focusing on school performance is to ignore social class as a factor[3]. The cause of differential educational attainment is located solely in the discriminatory allocation of resources to the various racially defined educational authorities. Even those theorists working on schooling in South Africa who pay heed to social class, ultimately conflate race and class. Educational authorities are seen as uniform: the class divisions within them are given little or no recognition. This tendency is captured in the following quote:

> Bantu education is geared toward the reproduction of labour as required by the needs of capitalist accumulation in general: it is a mass-based system, geared towards schooling on the lower levels, quite unlike its white counterparts[4].

In social formations where race is not an obfuscatory factor, research highlighting the pertinence of social class in explaining varying educational achievement at school is well established. The general neglect of this literature in the South African context appears to rest on the premise that this literature is not relevant in South Africa since the racial structuring of the educational system is the primary reason for differential educational attainment. While not denying that the racist allocation of funds is certainly a crucial factor, my study illustrates that a failure to take cognisance of

social class and capitalist social relations severely limits our ability to understand differential educational attainment.

Capitalist social relations may affect educational achievement in two ways. Firstly, a significant cause of under-achievement and dropping out of school is due to low family incomes. In those cases pupils will not have adequate studying facilities, they will probably not have the required books and will very often be forced to leave school prematurely so as to supplement the family income. Secondly, a less obvious effect of capitalist social relations on pupils of different classes, can be located in the cultural realm. This will be the focus of this paper.

Theorists like Bourdieu[5], Willis[6] and Jackson and Marsden[7] have argued that the 'culture' that working class pupils bring into the school shapes their academic performance so that, relative to the petit bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie, it is generally poorer. Bourdieu argues that

> each family transmits to its children, indirectly rather than directly, a certain cultural capital and a certain ethos. The latter is a system of implicit and deeply interiorised values which, among other things, helps define attitudes towards the cultural capital and other educational institutions[8].

Although Bourdieu is not clear about what he means by 'cultural capital/heritage' besides the attitude held towards 'other educational institutions', he does say that it includes 'mastery over language ("linguistic capital") . . . style, taste, wit . . . ideas, . . . (and) knowledge'. This has serious implications for pupils as

> the cultural heritage, which differs from both points of view according to social class, is the cause of the initial inequality of children when faced with examinations and tests, and hence of unequal achievement[9].

Bourdieu relates the different cultural heritages transmitted by the family to social class. Thus,

> the attitudes of the members of the various social classes, both parents and children, and in particular their attitudes towards school, the culture of the school and the type of future the various types of studies lead to, are largely an expression of the system of explicit or implied values which they have as a result of belonging to a given social class[10].

In their study of 88 working class children and 10 middle class children in a Northern England industrial city, Jackson and Marsden found

> that very few working class children stayed in the grammar schools to pass their final examination at 18 . . . on the other hand the proportion of middle class children who did so was very high[11].

In a similar vein to Bourdieu they explained the success of the middle class children in the following way:

> We saw that they began school with an educational inheritance. It was not just that their parents had often had secondary education . . . but rather that their families had interpenetrated state education . . . from its earliest days. It was for families like this that grammar schools were conceived and built; it was by men and women with similar habits of evaluation that they had been directed and staffed. To the middle-class child the prevailing grammar school tone was a natural extension of his home life[12].

The few working class children who completed grammar school generally came from a home milieu which was not characteristically working class. The successful working class children

> were usually born into small families. Over one-third were only children. Often they also lived near to a successful primary school where the pace and tone were influenced by middle class parents. Further, over a third of the parents (of the successful working class children in the sample) had connections with the middle class themselves, and shared many of its aspirations — if not its secure knowledge and modes of communication. Most of the remaining two-thirds of the homes also came from the uppermost levels of the working class[13].

Willis's study reaches similar conclusions to those of Bourdieu's and Jackson and Marsden's. Willis concludes that a large part of the reason for the failure of most 'working class kids' is due to their own choice. This choice is formed through their 'class culture':

> . . . it is their own culture which most effectively prepares some working class lads for the manual giving of their labour power.

> We may say that there is an element of self-damnation in the taking on of subordinate roles in Western capitalism[14].

Within the school this generally involves 'a certain resistance to mental work'. Willis's explanation for this anti-intellectualism is worth noting:

> Resistance to mental work becomes resistance to authority as learnt in the school . . . Mental activity for 'the lads' is not only barred because of their particular experience of the institution of the school, but also because it is regarded as effeminate . . . Despite their greater achievement and conventional hopes for the future, 'ear 'oles' and their strategies can be ignored because the mode of their success can be discredited as passive, mental and lacking of a robust masculinity[15].

None of the three studies places emphasis on how these different cultures, shaped by their respective social class origins, differentiate schools from each other. The interviews I conducted appeared to indicate that the cultural capital transmitted by the family and brought into the schools by the pupils plays a central role in differentiating schools. Pupils with similar class origins/cultural heritages generally go to similar schools. Thus schools that have a preponderance of working class and lower petit bourgeois pupils are dominated by a cultural capital that is different from the cultural capital that dominates schools composed predominantly of the upper petit bourgeoisie (PB)[16]. The former are characterised by an anti-intellectualism that does not recognise virtue in academic achievement, while the latter schools generally place a great deal of emphasis on academic performance so as to ensure future success and the maintenance of their position with minimal effort. This study will illustrate the validity of this postulate by examining matric results in 'white' and 'coloured' schools that vary in terms of the class composition of their pupils[17]. Three broad class bands have been used: working class to lower PB, lower PB to middle PB, and middle PB to upper PB and bourgeoisie. These class bands were arrived at through the information gleaned by the interviews and were also shaped by Wright's depiction of social class (see note 16).

Social class and matric results in 'white schools'

Table one illustrates that there are substantial differences in the matric results obtained by 'white schools' composed of pupils from different social classes. Those 'white schools' in the sample, dominated numerically

by pupils of middle-upper PB and bourgeois origins, outperform those schools whose pupils are predominantly lower/middle PB and outclass those schools whose pupils are predominantly working class (WC)/lower PB. The table displays the matric results obtained in 1981, which was selected as this was the latest year in which the number of matriculants in each school was obtainable[18]. The schools listed are a selection of schools in and around Cape Town. Schools whose class composition is unclear were not included. Unfortunately there are very few white working class(WC) to lower PB schools in the sample. This is due to the small number of schools in Cape Town with this class composition.

Table I
WEA MATRIC RESULTS BY SOCIAL CLASS

Name of school	Class compo-sition	No. of candi-dates	No. of passes	Matric exempt.		No. of failures	No. of A's
				No./%			
Westerford	MPB-UPB	134	134	110	83	0	11
SACS	MPB-UPB	119	115	85	71	4	3
Herzlia	MPB-UPB	107	107	94	88	0	7
Rustenburg	MPB-UPB	103	103	95	92	0	10
Rondebosch	MPB-UPB	115	112	90	78	3	7
Rhenish	MPB-UPB	53	53	43	81	0	0
Total		631	624	517	82(ave)	7	38
Fish Hoek*	LPB-MPB	148	143	80	54	5	3
Milnerton	LPB-MPB	110	106	67	61	4	1
Plumstead	LPB-MPB	134	127	62	46	7	1
Cape Town H.	LPB-MPB	100	97	39	39	3	1
Muizenberg	LPB-MPB	26	25	10	38	1	0
Simonstown	LPB-MPB	34	31	12	35	3	0
Total		552	529	270	49(ave)	23	5
Rhodes**	WC-LPB	19	19	0		0	0
Queen's Park	WC-LPB	13	13	3		0	0
Total		32	32	3		0	0

* There is little doubt that the proportion of middle PB pupils at Fish Hoek and Milnerton will be higher than the proportion at Plumstead,

Cape Town High, Muizenberg and Simonstown high schools. It is interesting how much better the matric results of these two schools are.

** At Rhodes 11 pupils and at Queen's Park 15 pupils did the practical matric course. These pupils are not included in the statistics.

The matric results obtained graphically illustrate that the social class composition of a school has a crucial bearing on the achievements of its pupils. The distinction does not lie in the proportion of pupils who fail (because the numbers are so small) but rather in the proportion who obtain university exemptions. Thus in the six middle PB to upper PB schools selected, approximately 82% of the pupils obtained matric exemption. In the lower PB to middle PB schools selected, approximately 49% of the pupils obtained matric exemption and in the working class to lower PB schools focused on approximately 9% of the matrics who did the academic stream obtained matric exemption. The average for all the schools in the Cape in 1981 is worth noting. 92% of the matric candidates passed and 44,58% obtained matric exemption[19]. It can be concluded that the influence of the social class origins of pupils in this process is clear.

Social class and matric results in 'Coloured' schools

In 'coloured' schooling the influence of social class on matric results is as explicit. There is no doubt that 'coloured' schools vary considerably in their class composition. Thus it is generally accepted that a school like Harold Cressy is numerically dominated by pupils whose origins are petit bourgeois and that Mannenberg is a working class school. These clear differences in class composition are reflected in the matric results obtained by the respective schools. As the table below illustrates, 'coloured' schools dominated by pupils whose origins are lower to middle PB obtain substantially better matric results than schools dominated by working class to lower PB pupils (I would contend that there are no 'coloured' middle to upper PB and bourgeois schools).

The following table displays the 1983 matric results (the number of pupils who failed was unfortunately not available).

Table 2
DIA MATRIC RESULTS BY SOCIAL CLASS

Name of school	Class Composition	No. of passes	Matric exempt.	No. of A aggregate pupils
			No./%	
Harold Cressy	LPB-MPB	102	59 58	3
Livingstone	LPB-MPB	116	57 49	4
South Peninsula	LPB-MPB	82	46 56	1
Belgravia	LPB-MPB	129	39 30	1
Spes Bona	LPB-MPB	90	30 33	1
St Columbus	LPB-MPB	33	12 36	1
Immaculata	LPB-MPB	33	18 55	0
Trafalgar	LPB-MPB	59	22 37	0
Total		644	283 44(ave)	11
			No./%	
Manenberg	WC-LPB	21	5 24	0
John Ramsay	WC-LPB	57	8 14	0
Arcadia	WC-LPB	32	7 22	0
Bonteheuwel	WC-LPB	54	8 15	0
Heideveld	WC-LPB	57	8 14	0
Crestway	WC-LPB	71	14 20	0
Elsies River	WC-LPB	63	13 21	0
Crystal	WC-LPB	40	2 5	0
Mountview	WC-LPB	11	0 0	0
Modderdam	WC-LPB	35	1 3	0
Lavender Hill	WC-LPB	46	8 17	0
Bishop Lavis	WC-LPB	69	7 10	0
Total		475	81 15(ave)	0

The table illustrates that 'coloured' schools composed of pupils whose class origins are predominantly lower to middle PB obtain significantly better results than those schools whose composition is predominantly working

class to lower PB. Thus 44% of pupils at lower to middle PB 'coloured' schools who passed obtained matric exemption versus 15% in working class to lower PB schools. It is noteworthy that the results of 'coloured' schools sampled and composed predominantly of lower to middle PB pupils are similar to the results of 'white' schools in the sample composed predominantly of pupils whose origins are also lower to middle PB. Thus 44% of pupils at the 'coloured' lower to middle PB schools listed obtained matric exemption compared to 49% in those 'white' schools listed whose pupils are also of lower to middle PB origins. Interestingly, if we omit Fish Hoek and Milnerton (whose pupils are mainly middle PB) then the proportion of pupils who obtain matric exemption is almost exactly the same in the 'coloured' and 'white' lower to middle PB schools listed. These statistics confirm the crucial role that social class plays in determining the matric results of a school.

Social class and matric results in Black schools

The case of Black schools is far less clear as I was unable to arrive at a class breakdown of Black schools and the respective matric results. However, it is worth pointing to the very substantial differences in the matric results obtained by different Black schools and the significant regional disparities. It could be tentatively argued that these differences are also linked to the different social class compositions of respective Black schools. As regards regional differences, in the Ciskei the percentage pass rate in 1983 in the Middeldrift and Keiskammahoek areas was 66,1%. In contrast, the pass rates in Hewa and Zwelitsha were 39,2% and 26,7% respectively[20]. Another statistic worthy of note is that the 1983 pass rate in the matric exam in the most affluent Bantustan, Bophuthatswana, was 68% versus 35% in Kwazulu, one of the poorest[21]. Differences between individual schools are also substantial. At the Hofmeyr High School in Atteridgeville the pass rate in 1983 was 39,1%. In sharp contrast the Lethabong High School in Soshanguve in the Northern Transvaal had a pass rate of 85,8%. The national average was 50,4%[22]. Unfortunately it was not possible to obtain the class compositions of these respective schools. Inferring from the scenario in 'white' and 'coloured' schools there is a possibility that the substantial differences in the matric results obtained are primarily due to these schools having different class compositions. However, until further research is done this conclusion can only be surmised.

Conclusion

I hope this paper will contribute towards more cognisance being taken of capitalist social relations when attempts are made to explain differential educational attainments at schools. By focusing solely on the role of the state as most analyses do, an analytic framework develops that neglects the role of social class and locates all solutions in the overthrow of the racist state. This is exemplified in COSAS's statement[23] regarding the 1983 Department of Education and Training matric results.

> . . . the results showed the Govenment's perpetuation of an oppressive, racist and undemocratic education system . . . and were another painful reminder of the racist gutter education under which the oppressed students suffer.

The Institute of Race Relations implicitly took some cognisance of the effects of the capitalist social formation and social class. Not all the blame was pinned on the educational policy of the state. Thus in attempting to explain the poor 1983 Black matric results, they stated that 'blacks frequently faced tremendous problems in living in overcrowded conditions and in lacking a home educational background'[24]. These difficulties are of course compounded by the lack of adequate teachers and facilities within those schools. However, on the basis of this paper we can conclude that it is probable that pupils of petit bourgeois origins, even in Black schools, will not only have an adequate studying milieu but will also be attending schools that have reasonably adequate teachers and facilities. Perhaps most importantly, they will be attending schools where the dominant cultural capital amongst pupils, their parents and teachers will be one that encourages academic achievement. My research has indicated that this appears to be the case in 'white' and 'coloured' schooling[25]. Whether there are substantial differences in the cultural capital of pupils in Black schools of varying class compositions remains a more open question that I hope to investigate in the future.

NOTES

1 It must be stated that matric results, especially in Black schools, are a debatable measure of ability. However, it is beyond the bounds of this study to enter into debate as regards the validity of matric as a test of certain abilities.

2 I have focused mainly on 'white' and 'coloured' schools as this was the focus of my Masters thesis from whence this material is drawn. The thesis also involved in-depth interviews of 55 white and coloured students. I also interviewed 14

teachers and 5 principals. The indepth interviews contributed to the conclusions reached in this paper. When this research was first started there were not enough ex-Black students who were available for interviewing. I also had a very limited amount of information on the class composition and matric results of specific Black schools. The resultant limited focus on Black schools is a major limitation of this study.

3 For examples of this neglect of class analysis as a means of explaining differential educational attainment see H D Herman 'The rate of attrition in coloured schools: 1963-1983 — indicators of educational inequality', *Indicator South Africa* Vol 2, No 2, July 1984. Also see K Hartshorne 'Black secondary school-leavers: Trends in Senior Certificate — Matriculation 1960-1982'. *Indicator South Africa* Vol 2, No 2, July 1984.

4 P Christie and C Collins, 'Bantu Education: Apartheid ideology and labour reproduction' in P Kallaway (ed) *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans*, Ravan Press, 1984.

5 P Bourdieu 'The school as a conservative force: scholastic and cultural inequalities' in R Dale *et al* (eds) *Schooling and Capitalism: A Sociological Reader*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976a, pp 110-117, P Bourdieu 'Systems of education and systems of thought' in R Dale *et al* (eds), *ibid* 1976b, pp 192-200.

6 P Willis, *Learning to labour*, Westmead: Saxon House, 1983.

7 B Jackson and D Marsden *Education and the Working Class*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962.

8 P Bourdieu, *op cit* 1976a p 110.

9 *Ibid* pp 113, 114 and 115.

10 *Ibid* p 110.

11 B Jackson and D Marsden, *op cit* p 189.

12 *Ibid* pp 189-190.

13 *Ibid* p 190.

14 P Willis, *op cit*, p 3.

15 *Ibid*, pp 103, 149 and 150.

16 In this study the petit bourgeoisie is divided into three strata, the upper, lower and middle petit bourgeoisie. This division has been influenced by Wright's categorization of the petit bourgeoisie (E O Wright *Class, Crisis and the State*, London: Verso, 1983). Wright views the petit bourgeoisie as relative to the bourgeoisie or working class. Some members of the petit bourgeoisie are near the bourgeoisie (doctors, lawyers, salaried executives would be examples) and I have called this stratum the upper PB. Others are somewhere in between (examples are teachers, small shopkeepers and researchers) and are referred to as the middle PB. Others in terms of their autonomy, income and status are bordering on the working class and are referred to as the lower PB. Examples of this stratum would be supervisors and foremen.

17 A major methodological problem in this study was to establish the class composition of a school; for example, how to establish whether a school was composed predominantly of upper and middle PB pupils or lower to middle PB pupils. Various indicators were used. Firstly and most importantly, the locality of the school was noted, as a school generally reflects the class composition of

its locality. Thus, there are no schools composed of working class to lower PB pupils located in an area like Rondebosch. The average monthly income in Rondebosch in 1980 for males was R1164,93 and R522,74 for females and only 4% of the economically active males were classified as production workers (see E Patel **Cape Town- A statistical summary and analysis of socio-economic trends for local areas and the 01 economic region (Part 2),** Carnegie Conference Paper, 1984.) Conversely there is no middle to upper PB school in Observatory where the average monthly income in 1980 was one third that of Rondebosch.

As regards coloured schools the situation is more complex. This is often directly related to the effects of the Group Areas Act. Residents have been removed from certain areas but the schools, like Harold Cressey and Livingstone, have remained. The schools composed of predominantly petit bourgeois pupils thus often do not draw on their immediate locality. Because of the paucity of lower PB to middle PB coloured schools pupils will commute from all over Cape Town to get to these schools. It can be argued that the mere fact that pupils do commute to these schools indicates that they are composed of petit bourgeois pupils. The working class cannot afford to commute. There is little doubt that schools in working class coloured areas are composed of predominantly working class pupils. Thus the schools in Mannenberg are unlikely to be composed of pupils whose origins are petit bourgeois. In 1980 the male average monthly wage in Mannenberg was R177,39 and the female average monthly wage was R111,79. 57% of the economically active population are classified as production workers; this would generally be factory workers, and a maximum of 14% fall into the lower or middle PB (E Patel *ibid* p 103). It is highly unlikely that a working class family in Mannenberg would be able to afford to send their children to schools outside of the area.

The 65 in-depth interviews I conducted were another crucial means of obtaining a profile of the class composition of respective schools. Interviewees were generally able to give me a reasonably clear portrayal of their school's class composition. They could tell me where and how the pupils at the school lived and what a common occupation of the parents was. Finally, my school-teaching experience (I taught for three years) and residence in Cape Town were important in giving me a sense of the class composition of various schools in the Cape Town area.

18 Cape of Good Hope (Province). *Educational Statistics: White schools 1981.* Cape Town: Cape Department of Education, 1981.
19 Cape Times, 24 December 1981.
20 Daily Dispatch, 4 January 1984.
21 City Press, 22 January 1984.
22 Sowetan, 5 January 1984.
23 Cape Herald, 12 January 1984.
24 Cape Times, 7 January 1984.
25 A Morris "Schooling, 'culture' and class: A sociological analysis of 'white' and 'coloured' schooling and the potential effects of this schooling on performance in Sociology." ASSA Conference Paper, 1984.

Participatory research and direct cinema method in community health video programmes

John van Zyl

Introduction

Mass media and development

In broadest terms the problem under consideration — how to disseminate health information to a community effectively — is part of the First World-Third World polarity in mass media communications[1]. This polarity may best be seen in the opposition between, say Wilbur Schramm's *Mass Media and National Development* (1964) and Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972) in which the first argues optimistically for the instrumental use of media to effect change and the latter argues that change can only come from within a community through what he calls 'the action and reflection of men upon their world in order to transform it'[2]. Both seek to eradicate the disparity in living standards between one section of the community and another, or one part of the world and another, but the difference lies in the ideologies that underpin their solutions.

A great deal of communications policy internationally has tried to address itself to the core problem of achieving an acceptable equity of living standards between the richer and poorer countries of the world. As Daniel Lerner puts it: 'Equity is the policy goal, development is its strategy, and communication is amongst its main tactical instruments'[3]. This is still an echo from the 1960s when media experts (mostly from the United States) held out high hopes that the mass media — notably radio, film and television — could play an important part in activating or encouraging development. In those naive days it was commonly assumed that everyone knew what underdevelopment meant (an annual income of less than 300 dollars was a convenient United Nations yardstick). Common to studies like Everett Rogers' *Diffusion of Innovations* (1963) and Lerner's *The*

Passing of Traditional Society (1958) was the optimistic view that an increased input of information through a larger network of communications channels would inevitably cause rapid and extensive change in underdeveloped society. Underlying this belief was a paradigm of development based upon the 'acceleration of history' model, which in its turn was based upon certain crucial revolutions that had changed the life and thought of Europe and America. Events such as the French Revolution and American republicanism were bound up in the minds of these media experts with specific developments like the Industrial Revolution, improvements in road communications, the growth of steam power and conveyor belt manufacturing.

Allied to these were the second generation developments like moveable type, electricity, film, radio transmitters and third generation developments like the transistor, television and satellite communication. Their belief was that the injection of these developments into Third World countries would create a similar acceleration of history. Five hundred years of 'accelerated history' could be compressed into five, so they thought. For the past few years, however, serious objections are being raised about the role mass communications have played on a global basis, and these objections can be scaled down to the micro-level of health education in Soweto. Amongst the main objections are:

- The threat to national sovereignty that is posed by American mastery of communications technology, computer networks and satellite systems. The sheer size of this information bank, and the relative cheapness of the programmes makes it doubly threatening. Not only do developing countries thankfully buy American entertainment series (however dated) to fill airtime, but they buy training and educational programmes that are inappropriate and irrelevant.
- The cultural imperialism that results from this mass of information gives rise to behaviour that is inappropriate. It particularly creates a disruptive 'Want: Get' ratio in which people are led to want more than they can get. When unrealistic items have been suggested to a community, then the 'Revolution of Rising Expectations' ensues, to be followed by the 'Revolution of Rising Frustrations'. Frustration leads to regression or aggression, and both reactions are inimical to suitable change. Regression (giving up one's expectations) wastes the potential of an individual or a culture. Aggression (that often takes the form of personal or political violence) destroys valuable resources and makes meaningful change difficult.

- The monopoly and bias of American and European news agencies. The selectiveness and capitalist interest of most wire agencies usually puts Third World countries in a poor light, and analyses events according to First World principles. The New International Information Order, set up in Sri Lanka in 1976, was a reaction to the complex system of control and manipulation which was being passed off as 'the free flow of information'.

Two points are worth noting. The emphasis on economic growth usually implies an 'aggregate bias' about development which means that economic planning is done on a national basis by national governments. It is hoped that somehow local communities would benefit eventually. Statistics about depressed local areas are lost in glowing statistics about the progress of already developed areas. This is particularly pertinent in health education where local outbreaks of bilharzia or TB are lost in glowing reports of diminishing incidence of the disease. The other point is that per capita income is so widely used because it is such a deceptively simple measuring device. Its *quantitative* nature is so positive that it hardly seems necessary to raise the issue of its *qualitative* worth. The expression 'Quality of Life' was not used until the late 1960s when it was conceded that quantitative change (the number of television sets per capita, for instance) had to be measured by qualitative standards (quality of life experiences, family life etc).

The new approach

The major obstacle that has to be overcome in rethinking a new policy for the use of media in development and community education lies in the outdated notion that the main reasons for underdevelopment lie *within* the community rather than *outside* it. The specific reasons given for this are usually either of an 'individual-blame' nature (in which peasants are thought of as fatalistic, rigid in their thinking and uninterested in change) or of a Western ethnocentric nature in which other societies are seen as endemically having inefficient bureaucracies or being subject to exploitative traditional hierarchical systems.

In this sense rural development is always something undertaken *for* the peasants, not *by* them. Development is seen as the activity of governments, not of peasants and even when terms like 'participation' and 'partnership' are used, it is clear that the rural population or the underpriveledged are always the most subordinate of partners. Several important factors brought

about a change in attitude: The relative failure of the Green Revolution of the 60s (the wonder legumes and grains that needed technology to cultivate); the selfdoubt caused by pollution and ecological problems; and the shift in power after the oilprice war. This went hand-in-hand with the developments in the People's Republic of China where public health, family planning and agriculture had changed without the intervention of First World mass media. The new paradigm laid emphasis on *equality* of distribution of information and the closing of gaps within the community, especially socio-economic gaps. Further, emphasis was laid on decentralisation of planning and movement of communication generators from the already developed urban areas into the regions that needed help. Crucially then, programme development could only occur with the participation of the people themselves. The new catch phrase became 'People cannot be developed, they can only develop themselves'.

Emphasising the community

It was Paulo Freire who showed that even the most enlightened systems approach to the communications process within a Third World community still proved to be unidirectional and vertical. The verticality stemmed from the decision-making body which passed information down to the peasant community. Merely transferring information from a modern, authoritative source to a passive receiver does little to promote the receiver's growth as an individual with an autonomous and critical conscience capable of influencing and contributing to his society. In his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* Freire makes the radical proposals that:

- the differences between learners and educators be eliminated so that both can be seen as learners;
- the flow of information upwards be encouraged through participative decision-making, through which the educators can be educated;
- there can be direct contact between the rural learners and their own reality and problems so that they can learn, change and liberate themselves.

In summary, for development to take place, education must be linked to such processes as conscientisation, politicisation and only then technological investment. In practical terms it means that media must be accessible for the participation of rural or underprivileged populations in the planning stages and in the problem-solving stages for subsequent feedback and adjustment. In addition, the content of communication must

be seen as relevant to their expressed and acknowledged problems and needs.

In this new communicative process the contribution of the community is encouraged in the following ways:

- diagnosis of the community's needs by the community itself;
- access by the community to all the alternative strategies available through the provision of information channels;
- the community itself is organised to see itself as a decision-making agency;
- the community is encouraged to generate its own information-gathering infrastructure and resources bank;
- underprivileged communities are to see themselves as competent in their own physical and social environment.

The obvious problem that confronts such a community is the lack of technical skills in handling media technology such as film cameras, tape recorders, editors and video equipment. Add to this ancillary problems such as the maintenance of sensitive video cameras that go out of alignment with rough treatment over bumpy roads, the lack of mains electricity to recharge cobalt batteries, and the problems of getting exposed film stock to a processing laboratory. It is then clear that however well the pre-production planning, research and decision-making has been, there is still a severe lack in production skills. This is one of the major problems that Direct Cinema seeks to overcome.

The situation in South Africa

The situation in South Africa is complicated by the fact that there is no clear First World/Third World division on simple black/white lines. In spite of the institutionalised racism that separates cultures residentially, socially and occupationally, there are sections of the black community that enjoy access to communications comparable to the white culture. In the areas around Johannesburg there are three newspapers serving the black community, there are seven radio channels broadcasting in seven vernacular languages and there are two television channels meant exclusively for black viewers. One in five black households with electricity in Soweto have a television set.

It is striking that South African television (only established in 1976) has to rely heavily on imported programmes from the United States. TV1 (the English and Afrikaans channel) buys series like 'The High Chapparal' and

'Bonanza' that are nearly twenty years old, to fill airtime. TV2 and TV3 (the black language channels) buy series like 'The Jeffersons' and 'Sanford and Son' and dub them into the vernacular. There are also series available on health care, mathematics, science, and many other subjects that assume that urban needs are the only needs of the community. It is also significant that when the two black television channels were introduced, the percentage of time devoted to commercials was higher than on the white channel (8 per cent as against 6.75 per cent) and commercials were allowed on Sundays. Entertainment was the preferred content, rather than education.

There are of course enormous disparities in the level of information conveyed by the different media. Capital Radio, with its transmitters based in the Transkei, maintains a relatively independent news channel with contacts with the ANC. Newspapers like *The Sowetan* are also relatively outspoken and enjoy a great measure of freedom of speech, although running the risk of being banned. The other radio channels, the so-called Radio Bantu, however, are part of the oppressive state machinery. The news is slanted in favour of the government, and there is very little time devoted to agriculture, primary health care or education. Most of the air time is taken up with sport and with music programmes. The two television channels for black viewers (differentiated by the two major language divisions in black Southern Africa) are quite simply government propaganda channels. Their ultimate control is in white hands and policy is dictated by the state. A number of programmes on so-called 'life-skills' have been broadcast. Subjects like 'How to negotiate a hire-purchase agreement', 'Road Safety' and so on have contributed little to general education. These programmes were researched by qualified and dedicated writers, but their scope was still limited, and they are as yet only transmitted within the most densely populated areas. In addition, they can only be received by people with access to electricity, so it eliminates the areas with the greatest needs — the rural areas. There is some talk now of a satellite system of diffusion rather than line transmitters, but that still does not solve the reception problem[5].

As may be expected, the result of the metropolitan-based transmitters and the centralised programme-generating industry in the densely populated Johannesburg area, the knowledge gap between the sophisticated urban population and the underpriviledged rural population, is steadily widening. The material that is broadcast on these two commercial channels is geared to an urban middle-class and the role

modelling in the programmes is that of a consumer society. Finally, it should be noted that virtually every independent film-making company in South Africa is contracted in some measure to SABC TV, and due to the enormous demand for material, there is a fairly indiscriminate standard of quality control over research, writing and production. Interestingly, when the relatively independent Bop TV was started in Bophutatswana, and beamed to Soweto, it immediately enjoyed a higher viewership than the local channels[6].

Existing primary health facilities

Primary health care facilities in South Africa are inadequate to meet the demands of a large, under-developed population. Between 30 and 70 per cent of black schoolchildren are underweight, and between 22 and 66 per cent of pre-school black children have stunted growth. The average number of people for each hospital bed in South Africa is 61 for whites, 504 for Indians, 346 for coloureds and 337 for blacks. Hospital expenditure on white patients is between R75.56 per person, and R20.54 to R41.56 for a black patient. There is one black doctor for every 44,000 blacks and one white doctor for every 400 whites.

Cholera, typhoid and gastro-enteritis remain endemic, and a single statistic in terms of a specific disease — measles — makes the situation clear. The annual death rate from measles in children under five in South Africa was 11 for whites, 457 for coloureds, 54 for Indians and 2,035 for blacks in the period 1970-74. The official infant mortality rate in 1975 was (per 1000) 20 for whites, 34 for Indians, 104 for coloureds, and 100 for blacks[7].

The care of the pre-school child in Soweto is another facet of primary health care. The fact that since 1979 the number of black women entering the labour force has increased by 50% indicates the scope of the problem. There are some 17,500 pre-school children cared for by child-minders in Soweto. Each childminder cares for an average of seven children. The average age of the children is 20 months, but 47% of the childminders care for children under 12 months. The average charge is R25 per month per child, and the average income of a childminder is R135 per month. Sixteen per cent have no stoves, 33% no refrigerators, and 43% no indoor toilets. A great deal depends on the personal attributes of these women for the children to receive adequate care[8].

The existing situation is one in which some *information* is transmitted,

but the reception and the comprehension is of little educational or developmental value. What is needed is a *communicational* process involving not only information, but also recognition of the social organisation of a community, its psychological dynamics, important cultural factors, plus an acute awareness of the language and codes of the community.

The community should be part of the structure, not apart from it

This can only happen when the community itself is involved in creating, making and disseminating media communication. The sort of communication described here can change *awareness* and provide an entry for interpersonal communication which can cause *attitude* change. For instance, a community health nurse can write the script for an anti-bilharzia film, the local community can enact it, and it can be filmed on the spot on location. Such a film would stand a good chance of being accepted by a local or similar community. But it still needs the presence of the district nurse or health visitor to ensure compliance in the taking of medication and the continued practice of boiling water and maintaining hygienic habits.

Whenever innovation needs to be introduced into a community it needs both the awareness of the possibilities of innovation (through information dissemination) and also the reinforcement of personal intervention for attitude change[9]. Even then, the three factors of relative advantage, compatability and observability must be taken into account. The peasant community must be persuaded of the relative advantage of the innovation (which usually goes hand-in-hand with some sacrifice, real or imagined — like boiled water losing its taste). The innovation must be compatible with the usages of the community — a fish-eating culture will not easily be persuaded to switch to meat. And the innovation must have some observable positive effect. The notorious case of the birth-control poster that showed the model family of a father, mother and two children elicited the response 'See the poor man, he will have no children to support him in his old age'.

Other factors such as language, code, psychological dynamics and social organisation must be taken into account before any action for change can be initiated. Felstehauzen[10] has shown how the study of communicative processes must be the study of social interactions plus the study of the way conceptual forms serve to link ideas together. It is important to stress

language and psychological factors as well as social and institutional variables. In this way, the way in which the structure of messages is changed in the process of transmission can be taken into account. Not just the quality of the ideas, but the nature of the communication system itself is affected by transmission. In devising a health programme, therefore, the conditions before and after the transmission of information must be taken into account. The crucial point that Felstehauzen emphasises is that symbols mediate, but do not create social order. Therefore to believe that a glossy, high-production-value film on nutrition is going to persuade mothers to radically change their feeding habits, is fatuous. If the conditions before the transmission of this message are carefully monitored and prepared, and the receptivity and compliance of the mothers cultivated by personal contact, economic structures and cultural receptivity, then the message can mediate this burgeoning social order. The role and function of the communication is defined *by* the structure, not a*part* from it.

Once the structure is favourably constituted and communication has taken place, then the transmission not only changes the quality of the ideas, but the nature of the communication system itself. A nutrition programme that is being disseminated successfully over video monitors in the waiting rooms of clinics will pave the way for further programmes and will accustom patients to see the monitor as a familiar part of the environment. Not as an alien, foreign object, but as part of the health care they receive at the clinic. Conversely, a badly devised programme on the same subject, nutrition, can be seen as an authoritarian imposition of an unacceptable message. It will prove to the audience the insensitivity of the authorities. The medium chosen *transforms* knowledge, ideas and reality itself, so the communication process is not only located in the sender or in the receiver, but in the structure that creates the concept.

Participatory research

Participatory research in community health education brings together several strands. The first comes from Third World experiences in which the drastic incompatibility of Western traditional social research methods and the problems and requirements of Third World communities has become obvious. The concept of uni-directional, detached research within a society in which there are pressing and immediate problems (sometimes of survival) becomes increasingly untenable. The relationship between the

researcher and the subject has to be shifted to another plane. When problems such as food production, birth control and primary health care are found in a post-colonialist society, or in a society where the demands of capitalism and the so-called free enterprise system are oppressing the dominated group, then development has to be regarded as liberating, and the solution has to be seen as the creation of some sort of independence. The researcher and problem-solver has to be placed as a participant and selfconscious actor in the process. Shirley Walters expresses the main principle at stake here as . . .

> a commitment to adults participating actively in the world, deciding what they want to learn and the best way to learn it. PR is therefore a research and educational approach which has a commitment to the learning process of those engaged in the research. It is also committed to action which demands 'involvement' rather than 'detachment' from those concerned[11].

This means, in the present case of primary health care films and videos, that the film-makers, the fieldworkers, and the medical staff must share a dissatisfaction with the existing social order, and a commitment to improving the social condition of the underpriviledged. It does raise a fundamental problem: The nature of the social change to which people are working. Does it mean a class struggle leading to radical social change? Or does it mean dialogue and gradual adjustment and pressure which will lead to eventual social change? This is the ideological choice. It is obvious then that participatory research, with whatever degree of social change that it involves, acknowledges the political nature of its activities. In depicting a community, it involves the community, and it bridges the gulf between researcher and subject, film-maker and subject, and also between researcher and film-maker.

In the community health education film *Primary Health Care*, the procedure that was adopted was that of participatory research, with the sisters in charge of the individual clinics writing their own scripts from their own experiences, having to interpret and understand their experiences themselves before they could do this for the cameras. The film took the form of a co-operative enquiry between the primary health care workers and film-makers. Together, they identified the problem, namely, what the concept of primary health care was, and which services were offered at which specific clinics, so that the people of the community would not waste time and effort going to the wrong place. With the sisters having to

identify their work and their function, they re-educated themselves as well as educating the community. Since they were involved in conceptualising the film, writing the script, enacting the roles and speaking at gatherings, they could monitor and control the scope and extent of the research. Their own sense of the resources at their disposal and their own ability was enhanced by their seeing the film made, and commenting on the completed product. The film-makers, with their specialised skill in handling cameras and sound equipment became learners and participants in the process. This created a great sense of involvement and participation, rather than a simplistic, detached sense of putting together a product. The film-makers and the health workers collectively decided on the intention, length and ultimate destination of the film, so that both critical and creative control remained within the community.

Direct Cinema

The aims and methods of Direct Cinema are very close to those of participatory research, and the two concepts are being brought together in the community health videos. Direct Cinema stems from 'Kino Pravda' concept of Dziga Vertov, runs through Edgar Morin's 'le Cinema Verite' and finally found expression in Mario Ruspoli's term 'Cinema Direct' in 1963. It is related to the advances in the techniques of cinematography, especially the Coutant cine camera and the Nagra tape recorder, which allowed a two person team to record events where and as they occured. Obviously the *immediacy* of television plays a role in this as well. And added to this is the ability of the television camera to use long takes that can record an event as it unfolds. Direct Cinema asks the film-makers to involve themselves deeply in the events they wish to portray, to do intensive research beforehand, and to get to know the people involved personally. The actual filming is then the culmination of a long period of research and what is termed 'realisation', a complex process in which the film-maker tries to determine the language and codes of the events and then finds equivalent filmic language and code to reflect them.

The name of Jean Rouch is intimately connected with the concept of Direct Cinema. From him comes the concept of ethnographic validity and pre-filmic research, the understanding of a situation that leads to the film-maker being able to participate in it while filming it. Direct Cinema is characterised by long takes, staying with an action until it is complete, picking up an action before it reaches its climax, the use of a highly mobile handheld camera, informal movement of the camera, an absence of the

zoom, and the use of synchronous sound. That is why it has been associated with other terms like 'the cinema of behaviour', 'the cinema of common sense' and 'film journalism'. As Rouch puts it:

> Direct Cinema means that we have wanted to eliminate fiction and to get closer to real life. We know we must only pose the question of truth to arouse questions in the spectator.

The three elements of reflexivity, participation and stimulation are the bases for Direct Cinema. A Direct Cinema workshop was established at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1983, after a few years of preliminary training in film had been run at a black cultural centre by the author. The French Department of Foreign Affairs donated equipment to the Centre in 1983, and the Centre now has some 12 active members who are busy recording cultural change as it happens. One of the projects is to assist the Primary Health Care section of Baragwanath Hospital, the largest black hospital in Africa, with film material of an educative nature. Another project is on the role and function of the child-minders of Soweto. These projects are shot on Super 8mm sound film, edited, and then transferred through a telecine machine onto Umatic $^3/_4$ inch video tape, and from that down to $^1/_2$ inch Beta or VHS video tape. These programmes are then screened continuously in the various clinic waiting rooms, community halls, or any place where there is a crowd that has to wait for some action or event. With this sort of distribution possible, and with programmes devised by the community, for the community, a high degree of communication is possible.

The programmes

In *Primary Health Care* the matrons in charge of the seven clinics liaised with their senior sisters to devise a composite picture of all the activities that take place in a primary health care clinic. The clinics decided which aspect each would concentrate on, and mapped out a script which exemplified the operation. They then selected a patient who typified the operation and enacted the roles supporting the operation, or they themselves enacted the roles of the patients, improvised the dialogue, and suggested what they wanted to have seen. The role of the direct cinema film-makers was to participate in the original planning and assigning of functions, and then to turn up at the clinics, observe the operations and interactions, and film the sequences in as direct and unobtrusive away as possible. Lights are kept to a minimum, and the sound was recorded

synchronously. In the first film, a commentary was added since the film had to have an added function of being a recruiting film for community clinic nurses.

In *The Child-minders of Soweto* use was made of research that had been undertaken by two members of the Department of Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr Jacklyn Cock and Ms Erica Emdon. After a preliminary reading of the research and an interview with the researchers, two members of the Direct Cinema workshop went and observed private childminders, officially supported child-minders, and a childminding institution. An interview was taken with the women concerned, and the activities of the child-minders observed over a long period of time. Children were observed being dropped off and fetched. Children were seen playing and resting, and a picture was formed of the place in Sowetan society of the child-minder. This film and video will be shown in other centres to illustrate the activities of a child-minder, and will also be shown to employers to make them aware of the problems that working black mothers face.

It is hoped that further films and videos of this nature will be made as the Centre develops and more participants acquire greater expertise and more funds become available. A pool of nurses, health workers, social workers and academics will be created within the community to devise, write and help produce films and videos with the specific objective of solving primary health problems, and disseminating essential information about health issues. Baragwanath Hospital has established an audio-visual library and embarked on a massive 'Health through Education' programme. Although socio-political problems lie at the root of the health problem, audio-visual programmes can alleviate immediate distress. At least 1.8 million people visit clinics in Soweto each year, and this constitutes a ready-made audience for educational purposes.

NOTES

1 I am aware of the ideological implications of the First World/Third World terminology, but will use it (rather than North/South or aligned/nonaligned or more developed/less developed) with certain reservations, as it best describes local conditions

2 P Freire *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and *Cultural Action for Freedom*, London: Penguin Books, 1972

3 D Lerner 'Communication, development, world order'. Murrow Reports, occasional papers, Tufts University, 1978

4 G Williams 'Taking the part of peasants: rural development in Nigeria and Tanzania' in PCW Gutkind and I Wallerstein (eds) *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa*, Beverley Hills and London: 1976
5 The most recent proposal is for 'narrow cast' micro-wave transmitters that will limit programmes to specific 'ethnic' groups within a designated geographical area
6 BOP TV is supposedly limited to those areas reported to have mainly Bophutatswana citizens, and SATV has spent about R100,000 to prevent 'spillage' into White areas
7 A Moosa in *The Lancet*, May 1984
8 J Cock and E Emdon 'Child-minders in Soweto: A face from the hidden abode'. History Workshop, Witwatersrand University, 1984
9 A recent programme in which television monitors were donated to schools in Soweto and programmes in science, mathematics and biology, written without proper research, has resulted in the monitors being unused and the scheme being quite counter-productive. Teachers were unable to relate to the programmes and there were few ancillary notes that teachers or pupils could consult
10 H L Felstehauzen *Conceptual Limits of Development Communication Theory*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972
11 S Walters 'Participatory research: theory and practice' *Perspectives in Education*, Vol 7, No 3, 1983, p 171

Communicating with the administrators: The bedevilled state of film and television courses in South African universities 1976-1984

Keyan G Tomaselli

Information-based and communications industries are the two fastest growing sectors of modern capitalist economies. The speed of their development requires a rapid adaptation, not only in the market place, but also in universities and other educational institutions. This explosion of communication technologies has enveloped many previously separate industries and has led to a pairing of activities and technologies: journalism with computer science (word processors); film and video with electronics as well as an integration of film with video; and the use in motion pictures of technologies ranging from laser imagery and interactive computer graphics to conventional film and television techniques.

Despite the growth of the information industry, English-language universities have been slow in realising the implications, not only for curriculum design, but also for *implementation* of media production courses. Film and television practice have been part and parcel of American and European universities for many decades. One would have expected, therefore, that equivalent South African departments would have learnt from the experience of others and designed courses and administrative systems avoiding the pitfalls already identified and addressed by faculties elsewhere. This did not occur, and those departments trying to teach production are facing a crisis, in some cases, barely a few years after their establishment. This crisis becomes all the more urgent against the background moves by industry, supported by some universities and certain individuals, to set up a National Film Institute under the aegis of a university[1].

Objectives

This article outlines the origins of course management and offers some

suggestions to overcome the impasse which has developed between departments teaching film and television, and university administrations. This discussion takes on an urgency in the light of the SAPSE 115 proposals which seem to be geared to forcing a separation between the hands and the head, between theory (to be taught at universities) and practice (to be taught at technikons).

At present, only two universities teach film and television production in any depth. These are the Wits School of Dramatic Art and the Rhodes Department of Journalism and Media Studies[2]. While the Rhodes Department is better off in terms of capitalization and equipment, student access, space and small staff-student ratios, many of the problems that it faces occur because the procedures within which the courses are administered and managed by the university are often inappropriate.

The main problem of teaching information and technology-based communication courses centres on cost. A second problem concerns the relationship of departments to their universities and to other service facilities (eg television studios), as well as the situation of technical personnel employed to service and operate the technology. Objectives are confused, often exacerbated by the cost of maintenance and the need to find additional sources of funding beyond the university. This often leads to clashes between research and commercial interests, with education becoming subordinate to the inexorable pressures of finance acquisition[3].

Media management: The difference between education and commerce

The principles of media technology management in a university environment differ considerably from those which operate in business or commercial broadcasting networks. Business or institutions like the SABC work according to concise, clear and pre-determined objectives. In commercial, industrial, state and para-statal bodies, the purchase and use of equipment is motivated and budgeted for to meet short-term objectives. The machines must pay their own way.

Universities purchase and use equipment to different ends which are of a longer term, less conventional nature. Institutional goals and inter-departmental cooperation are not clearly defined and the use of technology would be considered wasteful by commercial users in terms of the products' built-in potentialities. While this may be a disadvantage, it is also a strength. English-language universities are, on the whole, flexible institutions, a quality which provides them with a resilience and

endurance. The large degree of departmental autonomy and the lack of well-defined and uniform sets of goals are the main elements of this strength and the basis of academic freedom[4].

Given the difference between the intentions of the manufacturers and those of universities, as well as the conventional application of communication technologies by commerce whose business practice is aimed at profit, it becomes clear that universities operate largely outside of business considerations, though they often remain tied to them: universities must play to the marketplace to attract students, research money, and to ensure jobs for graduates. Where commerce is able to update its technology regularly, universities are constrained by costs. The university's use is long-term, process-oriented, with short-term amortization. University equipment is bought for different purposes from those of business and this necessitates its own style of management. The tentacles of this unique style of management reach into unanticipated areas of university administration. However, the co-incidence of university and business ideology sometimes results in co-option by commerce of university facilities and goals. As Peter Anderson observed of the University of the Witwatersrand School of Dramatic Art television courses:

> The key to a true solution would lie in systematic thinking. But exactly the power to generate and influence such thinking is denied us at the highest level where it would count most, i.e. at the highest level of planning and organisation in a university. Also, . . . the *status quo* is not inert so much as developing rapidly in terms of commercial interests selling the importance of their presence to the university under the guise of 'education'[5].

Film, video and electronic journalism have traditionally been located in the arts faculty and are subject to the financing procedures of this less subsidized section of the university. Financing, time-tabling, administration, staff (academic and technical) and course design are thus geared to the infrastructure which has developed around the needs of the humanities. When the university introduces technology-based courses into the Arts faculties it does so in the face of an asymmetrical method of state subsidization which favours the sciences over the arts. Because the subsidy had for some time been calculated according to the numbers compared to lecturers, the administration is persuaded that once a certain amount of equipment has been brought and lecturers and technicians

engaged, student numbers can be increased willy nilly[6]. This places extreme pressures on staff, students and equipment. The department which houses the course consequently becomes a drain on faculty finances and division begins to occur between the department and other less expensive courses. The latter departments often complain that the distribution of resources is unfairly balanced in the direction of the technology-based course.

Financing

Six consequences flow from the problem of unsuitable financing. First, the department may never reach its optimum staff-student-equipment-technician-time ratio. The result is more often than not a sub-standard course, frustrated students, a high staff turnover and premature ageing of whatever equipment it has.

The second result occurs when the equipment is available in the form of expensive studios which are separately administered. At Wits, for example, the broadcast quality colour studio is managed separately from the School of Dramatic Art which teaches film and video. Since the *raison d'être* of this facility is to produce supportive educational material for the university at large, the School's students are rarely exposed to it[17]. An additional problem concerns running costs. While the facility does get some university finance, it is nevertheless forced to contract out to commerce to balance its budget. This not only further reduces the time apportioned to the film and video students, but it moves production away from creativity to a more orthodox use. The University has laid down in the principles governing the CTVS that academic work *always* takes precedence over outside contract work. The Director of the Unit points out that the principles are always adhered to and are monitored by 'two very senior University committees'. It is interesting to note, however, that only one media specialist sits on these committees, despite the presence on the university staff of at least four other specialists/educationists with actual production/theoretical experience. The committee is, in fact, made up of people whose practical knowledge of the medium would appear to be highly limited.

The management of the CTVS relates, in turn, to the question of staffing, which is the third point. Owing to the complexity of film and video technologies, and to the constant requirement of preventative maintenance, universities have had to employ highly paid engineers and

technicians. As in any production process where there is a division of labour, there is a conflict of interests between the technicians and the users. Since the technician's job is to maintain the equipment in the most cost-effective way, he tends to resent the equipment being used by non-professionals (students). His argument, particularly in separately managed expensive facilities, about who uses the equipment, under what conditions, how it is applied and where, tends to hold sway because it is couched in terms of cost and fear of damage by 'undisciplined' use. This leads to conflict and territoriality among staff and departments sharing equipment. Consequently, instead of pooling the various complementary and supportive components owned separately by discrete departments according to individual needs, separate technology empires are built. Each department is thus forced to purchase its own equipment, very often duplicating the facilities at hand[8].

Fourth, the initiators of film and television courses themselves lacked production, management and teaching experience in the discipline. They were drawn mostly from English literature or print journalism. The result was the acceptance of inadequate course designs and curricula by the university. Existing administrative procedures remain as before, and it takes a number of years before it becomes evident that they are unsuited to technology-based courses. This is more clearly manifested once a specialist has been appointed to a media production course. The gain of a specialist, however, is often negated by the inappropriate nature of the administrative infrastructure and comparatively low status of the course within the department or university[9].*Ad hoc* solutions were applied as various problems appeared. These, in turn, may have created further problems and the ripple effect has, in some cases, become impossible to manage or predict. Neither the initiators of the courses nor the largely overseas trained electronics engineers were able to suggest solutions *within the infrastructure of the university context.* Indeed, their actions and advice often militated against it. The solutions offered by academics remained *ad hoc,* curative rather than preventative, fragmented and arbitrary.

Suggestions from the technicians and engineers were more pragmatic, but assumed an industry or professional orientation. Budgets are presented a year ahead and are not very flexible. Accounting procedures necessitated by these technologies, particularly in a teaching situation, fit uneasily into the standard university accounting systems.

The fifth point relates to the relatively recent introduction of production

media courses to universities, due mainly to the late introduction of television to South Africa. The consequence is that they have been tucked under the wings of existing departments like drama, communications, journalism and fine arts[10]. The result, unfortunately, has largely been one of rivalry and tensions between different factions within the same department. The source of the conflict is partly due to the traditional versus the critical nature of contemporary university-based media exploration. While this cooperation could have been beneficial, this has rarely been the case. The consequence is that film and television — despite tremendous capatalization — remain in a subordinate position *vis-a-vis* other courses offered. This applies not only to the courses or the way they are managed by the host departments, but also in terms of their relationship to the wider university. As Anderson argues, the lack of foresight of the planners is only part of the equation:

> I suspect a greater negativity, involved with the play of dominant values, eg. that TV is either propagandist or simply frivolous 'entertainment', and in any case not worthy of serious academic attention, to have been operating quietly in the background. That's why it's feasible to leave it as a subsidiary course in a School of Dramatic Art, and be patronising about its protests[11].

A sixth point is the problem of time-tabling. Practical courses, particularly those which require familiarization with technology, demand extensive periods of individual hands-on instruction. University time-tables are not geared to this kind of lengthy exposure, nor do they make provision for adequate staff-student ratios. This conflict is exacerbated when courses are tagged onto existing departments. Tuition in print media, for example, is able to operate on low-staff/high-student ratios with minimal technology and supervision. Film and television, on the other hand, require intensive training in small groups. The resulting imbalance in terms of staff time, capital and running costs, and the need for expensive activity spaces, often leads to dissension between lecturers in those courses which fit easily into the dominant liberal arts infrastructure of universities and those which seek an inter-marriage between theory and practice through technology. These tensions need to be anticipated, identified and defused.

Finally, university budgeting and decision-making procedures are centralised and rather cumbersome. Very often a department does not know what its budget will be irrespective of its prior submissions. It can

take several months for a piece of equipment to arrive, even if the department knows that it has already been allocated. Management skills are needed to deal with this long-term advance planning. This is important, not only from the purchase point of view, but more particularly *from the point of view of course design,* as well as student intake. This budgetary discipline works at all levels: components, equipment, staff, space, time and so on. Problems, once identified now take at least a year to resolve, very often more, depending on the needs of other departments. The situation is further complicated by the fragmented administration of universities which delays solutions, not to mention the identification of the problem.

Responses

Management principles in general and the specific requirements of media course management at universities thus work under differing sets of assumptions. Furthermore, the physical resources required for the typical liberal arts structure — merely lecturers and lecture rooms — do not apply. Alternatively, the naive assumption that 'once we get the students the university will *have* to provide the wherewithal' provided a false security, often leading to a disproportionate increase in student numbers.

As it turned out, universities were prepared to spend inordinate amounts on equipment, but they gave less thought to academic staff allocations. Engineers were imported from overseas, or hired locally for TV studios, but it was blithely assumed that the existing incumbents of academic departments could cope with the teaching demands. In very few cases were specialist staff engaged immediately and the result was an entrenchment of inefficient and *ad hoc* procedures. University administrations assumed that all was well and it came as a shock to be told, on the appointment of specialists, that more capital, staff and planning were needed if courses were to attain required standards.

Even the specialists (professionals-turned-academics), however, were mostly self-taught, for no formal education had been available to them in the fields of film, television or electronic journalism. While they were able to identify the problems[12], they were not always in a position to remedy them. The result was a dual obstacle, for not only was there now a conflict between the department and the university administration, but a division also occurred within departments in terms of the allocation of resources.

Conclusions

The development of film, television and electronic journalism has reached a plateau as the two thresholds — staff/student/equipment and student/subsidy — coexist uneasily, relationships which will surely be exacerbated by the SAPSE 115 subsidy system which de-emphasises the theory/practice couplet. The result will be a foregrounding of *skills* in the handling of equipment at the expense of *how* the equipment is handled, *what* is produced, and *why* certain production choices are made.

The next leap in the educative process will depend to a large extent on forward planning, the forging of suitable management procedures, and a revised system of university funding for media production departments.

Acknowledgements

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NOTES

1 Negotiations were held with the University of the Witwatersrand during 1983

2 The Rhodes Department also teaches film and television production courses to Drama Honours students. For detailed information on the courses offered at South African universities and the Pretoria Technikon, see *The SAFTTA Journal*, Vol 1, No 2, 1980, and Keyan Tomaselli 'The Teaching of Film and Television Production in a Third World Context', *Perspectives in Education*, Vol 6, No, 1982, pp 176-187. Also see Criticos, C. *A Survey of Educational Television in South African Universities and Technikons*, M L Sultan Teknikon, Durban, for a detailed inventory of facilities at South African educational institutions

3 It would appear that business considerations have won out with regard to the Wits television studio, having recently begun to produce a series of 'educational' programmes for TV2/3. While the university may claim that these programmes are a-political, any production of this sort has to be studied in the context of the political economy as a whole. One source within the university stated that the University authorities (Screening Committee, Financing Committee) are enormously impressed. "CTVS is not only paying its own way but, I suspect, even being presented as a source of revenue to the University". (Statement made to me in 1983)

4 Graham Hayman 'Are You High on Hi-Tech? How to take a short-circuit in the technology race', *QUAD*, No 3, 1982, pp 6-7

5 Letter to the author, 15 February 1984. There are also the questions of professionalism and the idea of a 'professional degree'. It is not my intention to

elaborate on these here, merely to signal that this debate, concerned mainly with form, denies a process-oriented approach. See Tomaselli, *op cit* and Peter Anderson 'The Tiakeni Report: The Maker and the Problem of Method in Documentary Video Production'. Unpublished Long Essay, School of Dramatic Art, University of Witwatersrand

6 Graham Hayman 'Television in Journalism: Problems, Aims and Solutions', *The SAFTTA Journal*, Vol 1 No 2, 1980, pp 15-19

7 The Wits Central Television Services did make a second studio available to students. However, between 1977 and 1981, this monochrome studio's obsolescence led to it being out of order for long periods. A new colour studio has since been installed. However, the quality has not improved and it had to be stocked with the location cameras previously located in the School of Dramatic Art

8 At Wits, this applies mainly to replay equipment

9 John Van Zyl 'Beyond Film and Television: Which Jobs for Whom?' in Keyan Tomaselli and Graham Hayman, *Perspectives on the Teaching of Film and Television Production*, Department of Journalism and Media Studies, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 1984, pp 52-55

10 Rhodes has alleviated some of these problems by proposing a four year course, of which production may be taken during the last three. It has also increased the number of academic and technical staff, and agreed to a limitation of students registering for the film and television production courses. The proposal, although passed by the university, has been stalled in the Committee of University Principals pending clarification on SAPSE 115

11 Anderson, *op cit*

12 Anderson, *op cit*

DISCUSSION

Zones of progress: a report on the Durban Conference on the crisis in education, March 1986

Michael Gardiner

The second National Education Consultative Conference on the crisis in education changed emphases in education that have prevailed during the history of education in this country.

Very recently, education had become an increasing focus of entire communities in their campaign to free themselves from apartheid (conceived as a political, economic, social and educational totality), but the resolutions passed at the Durban conference have placed education and its attendant concerns in a context of economic, political and ideological campaigns, thereby politicizing education more completely than before and, in so doing, spreading the burden of the struggle for freedom across the different sectors of society.

At the first such Conference in Johannesburg (December 1985), students were urged to return to school after a year of massively disrupted schooling, on condition that a series of demands be met by the state before the end of March. Despite the claims of the Minister of National Education, it was the opinion of the delegates to the Durban conference that these demands had not been met. Instead of calling for a boycott of the schools, the conference heeded the opinions of a very wide spectrum of people within communities throughout the country, and called upon students to stay at school.

The use of school boycotts as a general tactic has thus gone into abeyance for the meantime. But students have not been asked to drop their demands — both short and long term — nor are they expected to

submit meekly to Bantu Education. Programmes of action, such as rent and consumer boycotts, as well as particular, mass stayaway dates have been proposed by the conference. These programmes include students, teachers, parents and others in conjunction with all members of communities.

In addition, plans for the gradual introduction of People's Education have been advanced. The conference made clear that People's Education must be seen on a number of levels and in a number of ways. Essential to People's Education is the establishment of SRCs and parent-teacher-student associations at each school. Following that is the introduction of a single, non-examined school subject in addition to the usual curriculum. Another dimension to People's Education is the case of a dismissed teacher being employed by the community to work as a 'people's teacher' in the same school. It is further intended that communities will repair damaged schools and regard them as their property. The trend suggested by these developments is clear.

Another dimension given to education by the Durban conference was the adoption of motions on Angola and disinvestment, thus linking education to political and economic issues of concern to teachers, parents and students. Such motions are regarded as 'educational' and the rightful focus of such members of society.

Delegates to the Durban conference were elected representatives, consisting of a teacher, a parent and a student, of crisis committees right across South Africa and they also represented over 200 community organizations. The emphasis was, therefore, heavily upon the expressed concerns of people in education who had been democratically selected to speak on behalf of their communities. Few institutions (if any) had delegate status. Such an emphasis is consonant with other developments in South Africa, where community representatives rather than councillors run some townships, and where democratic village councils have replaced tribal authorities in certain areas.

Given the restraints under which the conference took place, decisions were made as democratically as possible. Attacks on the delegates by members of Inkatha as well as other factors made changes of venue essential and the 1 000 plus delegates had to discuss and to decide in one hall from 11 pm to 6 am. Despite these difficulties, the decision-making process was fair and scrupulous, indicative of the degree to which the issues raised at the December conference were of common concern, and reflective of the co-ordinating and consultative role which the National

Education Crisis Committee (developed from the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee) had played in the country as a whole during three months.

A close analysis of the sets of resolutions from the December and March conferences is essential to a proper grasp of the significance of both conferences and of the development which is taking place in the manner in which educational questions, in the context of the fight to destroy apartheid, are being formulated and answered. This process is in itself an evolutionary one and, even when certain decisions are regarded as strategic, such as the attendance of students at schools so as to regroup and to reorganize, that will have its effect upon the nature and kind of education which becomes part of the fabric of post-liberated South African society.

For example, if the trends described here are sustained, the high level of student organization, the working relationships between them and their teachers and parents, and the role of all associated with education in full community action, with workers and unions, with church groups, and with political mass movements, must give to education a particular quality generated by people seeking a democratic and just society.

It is these qualities which are reflected in the Durban conference which are likely to give it its significance in South African history. The contrast between what is emerging as a people's approach to education and the present official education systems could hardly be greater.

It is my view that the questions which the Durban conference has raised are manifold and real. Inexorable pressure is being mounted upon the authorities in black education. If communities determine starting dates for schools, the appointment of teachers, the control of buildings, the manner in which decisions at schools are taken, and — even — when students are promoted, then the entire system must come under threat. (A significant example is that the conference declared the Congress of S A Students unbanned, in contempt of the legal situation).

The role of teacher organizations under these circumstances has increased — for they must play their part with student, parent, worker and political organizations in the development of People's Education.

Then there is the question of the other systems of education in South Africa: white, coloured and Indian. The latter two have declared themselves open to all people, regardless of race, but they are still firmly under the control of ethnic authorities. The white system will not be able to remain aloof — there are signs at present among parents, teachers and pupils of sensitivity to recent developments.

The roles of universities and colleges and technikons also require the most careful attention. Their constitutions, their policies, their relations to society as well as to the economic and political life of the country will be open to increasing scrutiny, debate and to significant pressure throughout the process to which the December and March conferences have given form, direction and articulation.

Resolutions from the First National Education Consultative Conference

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 28 - 29 December 1985

1. On Bantustan Education

This conference notes:

(i) the imminent forced incorporation into the Kwandebele bantustan of thousands of South Africans in the Moutse district against their will

(ii) the fact that Moutse teachers are being forced to sign contracts with the Kwandebele education authorities upon pain of dismissal or transfer from their schools.

Therefore:

(i) we condemn this forced incorporation and the victimisation of teachers in Moutse who oppose it

(ii) we resolve to struggle against bantustan education departments and to support teachers in their struggles against these agents of apartheid.

2. On Statutory School Committees

This conference notes:

that statutory parent's committees at schools are the agents of the state and carry out the work of the oppressive apartheid education system throughout South Africa.

Therefore we resolve that:

(i) parents should not be members of statutory parents committees at schools

(ii) progressive parent-teacher-student structures be formed at all schools so that:
  (a) parents, teachers and students can come to understand each other's demands and problems
  (b) interaction can take place between different schools to develop the education struggle to higher levels.

3. The Role of Teachers

We resolve that:

(i) teachers should work actively with students towards the formation of democratically elected SRC's
(ii) teachers should work closely with parents and students in dealing with the current education crisis
(iii) teachers should become involved in community struggles and help to set up PTA's in all schools
(iv) education programmes for teachers which bring out the history of progressive teachers' struggles, the role of teachers in the community, and the role of teachers' unions, should be conducted
(v) teachers should work to unify all teachers into a single, progressive teachers' body
(vi) meetings of teachers should be called in all areas to give students and parent organisations an opportunity to address them on the education crisis.

4. On the Detention of our People

We call for the immediate and unconditional release of all students, parents and teachers detained in their struggles for peoples' education in our land.

5. On student organisation

This conference notes:

(i) that the banning of Cosas is an attack by the State on student organisation, unity and mobilisation
(ii) that the struggle for a unitary, non-racial democratic education is an integral part of the struggle for a unitary, non-racial and democratic society, free from oppression and exploitation
(iii) that the struggle for democratic SRC's is an essential part of the democratic struggle within the schools.

Therefore we resolve:

(i) to intensify the campaign to unban Cosas

(ii) to implement democratically elected SRC's in all schools and tertiary institutions
(iii) to forge close links between student, worker and community organisations and to co-ordinate action in these different areas
(iv) to strive to establish regional and national co-ordination in the student struggle
(v) to strive in co-ordinated campaigns to publicise the legitimate, democratic demands of students
(vi) to endeavour to take the struggle for a non-racial democratic South Africa into every school and hence into every home
(vii) to seek consciously to break down artificially created racial barriers
viii) to encourage the different student organisations to unite in action.

6. On School Fees

This conference notes:
(i) that there is increasing retrenchment of workers, who are in turn the parents of our students
(ii) that the oppressed people of our land bear the brunt of the economic crisis
(iii) that national resources should be geared towards the education of our people instead of towards the SADF occupying our townships.

Therefore we resolve this:
Parents should refuse to pay school fees in 1986.

7. On Textbooks

We demand:
the provision of free textbooks and other educational materials for our students in all schools.

8. On the Formation of a National Parents' Crisis Committee

This conference notes:
the good work done by the SPCC, and in particular their calling of this consultative conference.
Therefore we resolve that:
(i) three members of the SPCC together with one regional representative from each of the following areas:
  (a) Natal
  (b) O.F.S.
  (c) Western Cape
  (d) Eastern Cape

(e) Northern Cape
(f) Border Region
(g) Transvaal

constitute themselves into an adhoc committee to form a *National Parents' Crisis Committee* that will liaise with local and regional organisations in the implementation of the decisions of this conference.

9. On People's Education I

This conference notes that Apartheid Education

(i) is totally unacceptable to the oppressed people
(ii) divides people into classes and ethnic groups
(iii) is essentially a means of control to produce subservient, docile people
(iv) indoctrinates and dominates
(v) is intended to entrench apartheid and capitalism.

Therefore we resolve to actively strive for people's education as the new form of education for all sections of our people, declaring that people's education is education that:

(i) enables the oppressed to understand the evils of the apartheid system and prepares them for participation in a non-racial democratic system
(ii) eliminates illiteracy, ignorance and the exploitation of one person by another
(iii) eliminates capitalist norms of competition, individualism and stunted intellectual development, and replaces it with one that encourages collective input and active participation by all, as well as stimulating critical thinking and analysis
(iv) equips and trains all sectors of our people to participate actively and creatively in the struggle to attain people's power in order to establish a non-racial democratic South Africa
(v) allows students, parents, teachers and workers to be mobilised into appropriate organisational structures which enable them to participate actively in the initiation and management of people's education in all its forms
(vi) enables workers to resist exploitation and oppression at their workplace.

10. On People's Education II

This conference notes that the implementation of programmes to promote people's education is an urgent matter.

Believing that:

(i) all student-teacher-parent and community based organisations must work vigorously and energetically to promote people's education

(ii) all programmes must enhance the organisations of all sections of our people, wherever they may be

(iii) the programmes must encourage critical and creative thinking and working methods

(iv) the programme must promote the correct values of democracy, non-racialism, collective work, and active participation.

Therefore resolves:

(i) that the recommendations of the commission on people's education be referred to the incoming committee for use as a guideline for the formulation of programmes to promote people's education at all levels

(ii) that all local, regional and national structures mobilise the necessary human and material resources in the first instance from within the communities and regions and then from other sources.

11. On School Attendance in 1986

This national consultative conference, convened by the SPCC at the University of the Witwatersrand on 28 and 29 December 1985, having considered in detail the question of whether students of the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa should return to school and if so, under what conditions.

(i) commends the students and their organisations for the principled and courageous manner in which they have conducted the struggle against inferior, racist and ethnic education

(ii) salutes the heroic sacrifices made by our students throughout the country

(iii) acknowledges that the boycott campaign has resulted in fundamental political, organisational and educational gains in spite of the many problems experienced by the students, and that it has also helped to raise the level of consciousness and organisation of the oppressed and exploited people.

Therefore resolves:

(i) to call on all students throughout the country to return to school on January 28 1986

(ii) that unless the following demands are met before the end of March 1986, another conference shall be convened to consider what action

to take:

(a) the erection of school buildings where such buildings have been partially or completely damaged
(b) the postponement of all examinations until March 1986
(c) the release of all students and teachers in detention
(d) the reinstatement of all dismissed, forcibly transferred or suspended teachers
(e) the unbanning of Cosas
(f) the recognition of democratically elected SRC's
(h) the lifting of the State of Emergency in all parts of the country

(iii) to call on all relevant student, teacher and parent organisations to continue the struggle for:

(a) the immediate abolition of corporal punishment in all schools
(b) controls to prevent the sexual harassment of female students
(c) the abolition of all forms of racist education
(d) the implementation of people's education in our schools

(iv) to recommend to all democratic organisations to exhort students to return to schools on the above conditions.

Resolutions from the Second National Education Consultative Conference

Rajput Hall, Durban, 29 - 30 March 1986

1. On May Day National Stayaway

This 2nd National Education Crisis Conference noting that:

(i) This is the 100th Anniversary of May Day celebrated internationally as Workers Day.
(ii) COSATU AND CUSA have called upon workers to declare May Day as a public holiday.

Hereby resolves to:

Call upon students nationally to support the May Day celebrations in the most appropriate form.

2. On Inkatha

This Conference noting that:

(i) Inkatha has attacked all the democratic forces struggling against the apartheid regime

(ii) It attacked life, limb and property of the organisers and delegates of this conference.

Therefore declares:

That Inkatha is an enemy of the people and wholly in league with the National Government.

And resolves to expose, isolate and to fight against this fascist organisation.

And further condemns Putco for aiding and abetting the criminal activities of Inkatha against our people.

3. On repressive actions against teachers

This second National Education Crisis Conference noting:

(i) The hardships being experienced by progressive teachers' organisations in mobilising and organising teachers

(ii) The negative and collaborating role of certain teachers and their obstructive teacher organisations.

And believing:-

that there is an urgent need for a united, democratic, national teachers organisation and that no one should handicap the development of unity among teachers.

Therefore resolves:

(i) To condemn all repressive actions taken against teachers (e.g. dismissals)

(ii) To urge all obstructive organisations and teachers to stop their negative and repressive roles and stop collaborating with the authorities against democratic teachers.

4. On June 16 National Stayaway

This 2nd National Education Crisis Conference noting that:

(i) June 16, 1986 marks the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprisings

(ii) None of the fundamental demands for which thousands of our comrades died have been met.

And believing that:

We must engage in united mass action in support of our education and other demands,

We call on:

All sections of our people to launch a national stayaway on June 16, 17, 18.

And we declare:
June 16, the National Youth Day.

5. On Unbanning of COSAS

This 2nd Consultative Conference of the NECC noting:
(i) Our call for the unbanning of COSAS
(ii) The intansigence of the government in meeting this demand.
Hereby declares:
That COSAS is unbanned forthwith.
And resolves to:
Call on all students to plan for national united action to give effect to this declaration.

6. On Political Prisoners

This 2nd NECC Conference BELIEVING that in order to find lasting solutions to the fundamental problems of education involving genuine leaders of the people as a pre-requisite:
Therefore believes that:
(i) Banning orders on all organisations including the ANC be lifted
(ii) All political prisoners and detainees be released and all exiles be allowed to return home
(iii) All treason trials be stopped and charges in all other political trials be withdrawn
(iv) The banning order on meetings be lifted
(v) The unconditional release of the Sharpeville 6 who have been sentenced to death
(vi) That apartheid be completely dismantled.

7. On National Action Committee

This 2nd National Education Crisis Committee noting:
(i) The numerous calls for decisive action.
Hereby resolves to mandate NECC to form:
A National Action Committee which will be made up of representatives from all National Organisations that subscribe to the decisions/ recommendations of this conference.

8. On Sanctions

That this 2nd National Education Crisis Conference noting:
(i) The importance of the international campaign to isolate South Africa.
(ii) That some western governments still continue to collude and connive with the minority Botha Government in the continued

oppression and exploitation of the majority of South Africans.
And believing that the effective isolation of this regime cannot be achieved by mere condemnation and posturing in world forums alone . . .
And further believing that:

(i) Foreign capital is involved in the bolstering of apartheid and its structures
(ii) The position of Blacks cannot be worse off than it is now from any withdrawal of foreign capital
(iii) Progressive and Democratic mankind can and must play a greater role in the intensification of the campaign for the total isolation of South Africa.

Hereby resolve to call on all those countries, corporations and individuals with investments in South Africa to immediately withdraw such investments. For as long as political and economic power is still vested in the hands of a white minority, these investments can never be in the interest of the oppressed and exploited majority.

And furthermore resolve, as a decisive punitive measure, to call upon all those countries that still afford the South African Airways landing rights to cancel such forthwith.

9. On Implementation of People's Education

This 2nd National Education Crisis Conference noting:

(i) That resolutions 9 and 10 on Peoples' Education of the First NECC are still relevant
(ii) The report of the Ad Hoc Commission of People's Education.

Therefore resolves,
To accept recommendations, 1, 2, 3 of the Ad Hoc Committee
And urges:
All progressive teachers, parent and student organisations to take immediate and urgent steps to implement the above recommendations.

We further urge that this committee should report within a period of 3 months.

10. On Angola

This conference noting:

(i) The collusion between the Apartheid regime and the Reagan Administration as shown in United States Government's policy of constructive engagement
(ii) The attempts by the South African Government to destabilize Front-line states, particularly the SADF's role in Angola

(iii) The decision by the Reagan Administration to offer aid to the terrorist — UNITA organisation.

Therefore resolves:-

(i) To make it known to the entire world that we consider the Reagan Administration as accomplices in the crimes of Apartheid

(ii) To call on all freedom loving people all over the world to further isolate the Apartheid regime internationally

(iii) To call on the American people not to support the murderous policies of the Reagan Administration, particularly their attempts to destabilize the legitimate and popular government of MPLA in Angola.

11. On Community Action on Education Struggles

This 2nd National Education Crisis Conference noting:

(i) The impact of education struggles on the community

(ii) The increasing hardships experienced by our people with respect to rents and costs of other necessities

(iii) The source of our problems in the community and educational sector is the same

(iv) That the Government has consistently ignored our demands for reduced rents and charges, scrapping of GST and reduction and control of food prices.

Hereby resolves to urge all communities and democratic organisations to launch appropriate regional and/or national mass action campaigns, by considering all forms of rent, consumer and other boycotts.

12. On Women

Noting

(i) That many women are forced to work to support their families

(ii) That working women experience extreme difficulty in ensuring the safety and happiness of their children

(iii) That working women do not have the right to maternity leave

(iv) That there are extremely few child care facilities available to African children and at least 50% of women do not have other family members who can look after their children

(v) That only .37% of African pre-school children are in creches.

Believing

(i) That women have the right to work and rear children

(ii) That women have the right to have access to facilities that keep their children safe and exposed to opportunities for their full emotional, physical and intellectual development

(iii) That women have the right to keep their jobs while they are pregnant and to maternity leave before and after the birth of their babies
(iv) That children have the right to be properly cared for
(v) That children have the right to have access to education from an early age.

Resolve

(i) To demand that the state should provide creches, nursery schools and after-school centres for all children
(ii) To demand that legislation be implemented giving women the right to job security and adequate maternity leave.

13. On Return to Schools

This conference having carefully considered the conditions set by the December Consultative Conference for the return to schools and noting:

(i) That the demands have not adequately been met
(ii) That the situation has been exacerbated by the government's intransigence and unresponsiveness to our demands, and in particular the large number of schools which have been closed by various authorities

But believing that:

(i) Education struggles must increasingly involve parents, teachers, and students and all democratic organisations
(ii) We will have to use new and creative tactics to advance education struggles.

Therefore resolves that:

All students should return to school when the new term starts to:

(i) In such cases where schools have been closed, they must be occupied and we must demand the right to education
(ii) Use the presence of students at schools to assist in building and regrouping of our student organisations
(iii) Implement alternate people's education programmes immediately.

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CONTRIBUTIONS

The Editors will welcome contributions in the form of comments on local events or questions, original articles, discussion of articles published in previous issues, reviews, items for the 'Notices' section, and so on.

Contributions should be sent to:

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Contributions should not ordinarily exceed 3 000 words in length, and should be typewritten on one side of A 4 paper, double spaced, with ample margins. Three complete copies should be submitted. Proofs will not be sent to authors for correction.

There is to be no separate 'Bibliography'. References should be kept to a minimum. All notes (which includes 'footnotes' and references) are to be numbered consecutively in the text (in Arabic numerals, in parenthesis, on the line of the text), and should be listed at the end of the article, as 'Notes'. Titles of papers or chapters cited are to be enclosed in quotation marks; titles of books are to be underlined. Examples:

NOTES

1 Carole Pateman *Participation and Democratic Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
2 PF Strawson 'Freedom and Resentment' in *Freedom and Resentment and Other Essays*, London: Methuen, 1974, pp 15-23.
3 L Althusser 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses' in BJ Cosin (ed) *Education, Structure and Society*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977, see p 81.

Substantial quotations (more than about 3 lines) should be indented, shorter quotations should be enclosed in single quotation marks. Omissions from a quotation should be indicated by three dots.

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