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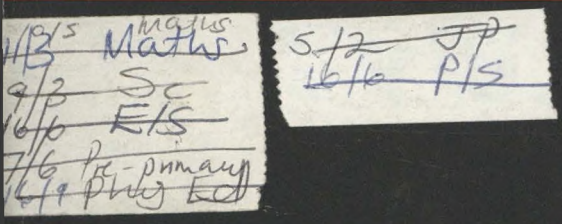
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Pendlebury, S. (Ed.) (1992, Summer). Perspectives in Education, 14(1).

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VOLUME 14 NO 1 SUMMER 1992/93

PERSPECTIVES IN EDUCATION



Anne Mager, Girls' Wars, Mission Institutions and the Reproduction of the Educated Elite in the Eastern Cape, 1945 – 1959. Nazir Carrim and Yusuf Sayed, Civil Society, Social Movements and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC). Wendy Flanagan, Reading Programmes: Are they the Best Form of Intervention in Our Schools? Lindy Stiebel, Treating Trash Seriously: Teaching Popular Fiction in South Africa. Tim Quinlan, The Educational Agenda of Sustainable Development and the Potential of Video in Environmental Education. Dianne Raubenheimer, An Emerging Approach to Teacher Development: Who Drives the Bus?

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Printers: Natal Witness

Perspectives in Education is published twice a year by the Faculty of Education, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, and incorporates the Johannesburg College of Education journal *Symposium*.

ISSN 0 0258 2236

Printed by The Natal Witness Printing and Publishing Company (Pty) Ltd

PERSPECTIVES IN EDUCATION
Volume 14 No 1 Summer 92/93

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Editorial 1

ARTICLES

Girls' Wars, Mission Institutions and Reproduction of the Educated Elite in the Eastern Cape, 1945 – 1959
Anne Mager 3

Civil Society, Social Movements and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC)
Nazir Carrim and Yusuf Sayed 21

Reading Programmes: Are they the Best Form of Intervention in Our Schools?
Wendy Flanagan 35

Treating Trash Seriously: Teaching Popular Fiction in South Africa
Lindy Stiebel 47

The Educational Agenda of Sustainable Development and the Potential of Video in Enviromental Education
Tim Quinlan 55

An Emerging Approach to Teacher Development: Who Drives the Bus?
Dianne Raubenheimer 67

REPORTS, DOCUMENTS AND DEBATE

Apartheid Education and Non-Racial Teacher Unionism: SADTU's Campaign for Recognition
Ismail Vadi 81

Hope is the Child of the Future – The Struggle for Unity in Early Childhood Education in South Africa
Daniel Plaatjies 89

'So Lost is Our Own Past To Us' – Review of the History Workshop Conference 1992
Cynthia Kros 95

Kenton-at-Broederstroom, October 1992
Shirley Sebokwane 101

REVIEWS

Jonathen Jansen (ed.) *Knowledge and Power in South Africa*
Dhianaraj Chetty 107

Douglas D. Noble *The Classroom Arsenal: Military Research, Information Technology, and Public Education*
Stephen Appel 111

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS 117

Perspectives in Education, 1992/93, Vol 14, No 1, 1-2

Editorial

Early readers of *Perspectives in Education* will remember a modestly produced, compact publication with short critical articles from a variety of disciplinary points of view. *Perspectives* began its life in February 1976 as a journal of the Faculty of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand and for a time – between 1980 and 1986 – was jointly published with the Johannesburg College of Education.

The first seven volumes were edited by a committee with no named editor. Wally Morrow provided much of the impetus for founding *Perspectives in Education*, for its continued publication (often against severe financial odds) and for its steadfast commitment to advancing critical debate. He was responsible, too, for initiating the struggle, begun early in the 1980s, to have *Perpectives* recognised as a scholarly journal. A three-pronged strategy was pursued: the adoption of a rigorous refereeing procedure; a drive for inclusion in recognised Indexes to Periodicals; and invitations to respected local and international scholars to serve as consulting editors. Volume 7 (iii), December 1983, marked a major advance with the establishment of the first board of consulting editors, which included such luminaries as Michael Apple and Basil Bernstein.

From volume 10 (i) June 1988, under the joint editorship of Linda Chisholm and Mastin Prinsloo, *Perspectives in Education* displayed a new look, extended and broadened its list consulting editors, and concluded the struggle for inclusion on the DNE list of accredited journals. Together with Mastin Prinsloo, and later as sole editor, Linda Chisholm took a firm stance in ensuring that the journal actively pursued the principles non-racism and non-sexism. Her reputation as a scholar, with an energetic commitment to hard-nosed research and to political change, did much to attract the submission of excellent topical articles – mainly in the areas of history of education and social theory.

The present issue, volume 14 (i), marks yet another turning point. For a start, the design and layout have obviously changed. By setting the text in Times and reducing the size of headings, we have been able to include at least one extra paragraph per page, cutting production costs without putting undue restrictions on the length or number of articles published. The new look is not intended to represent a major shift in orientation. *Perspectives in Education* remains an interdisciplinary journal of theory, research and critical debate on issues pertinent to education in southern Africa. However, there are some changes other than the visual ones.

First, with sponsorship earmarked for affirmative action projects, we will be running an annual essay competition and a series of publication workshops. Named in honour of the educationist and anti-apartheid activist assassinated in 1985, the Matthew Goniwe Education Essay Competition aims to encourage research and

writing by black education students at both undergraduate and post-graduate levels. We are most grateful to the Goniwe family for giving their blessing to this venture.

Much potentially valuable work remains hidden in post-graduate research reports, dissertations and theses because authors lack either the confidence or the knowhow to translate their work into publishable articles. The purpose of the publication workshops – to be run initially at historically disadvantaged campuses – is to encourage submissions from a broader range of educational theorists, researchers and practitioners, and to supply guidance in the preparation of manuscripts suitable for journal publication. Good work which emerges from these workshops will, with the author's agreement, be sent to *Perspectives'* referees as submissions for publication.

Second, we will be initiating a new approach to book reviews. In the past reviewers have tended to focus on a single text. Review editors, Brahm Fleisch and Pam Christie, plan to move increasingly toward extended treatments of a major author or, preferably, essay reviews that consider several works in relation to each other and to broader issues in education. While relevance to South Africa remains important, the choice of books for review need not be parochial. Current and emerging educational issues elsewhere may be used to throw critical light on our own concerns.

From volume 14 (ii) the review section will also include Book Notes – critical annotations intended to give readers a glimpse of what is new and worthwhile. Each Book Note should focus on a single text and should be 100-300 words in length. Readers who are interested in becoming regular Book Note writers should contact Brahm Fleisch or Pam Christie for further details. Submissions from post-graduate students are especially welcome. All submissions will, of course, be subject to evaluation by the editors.

Third, while *Perspectives in Education* will continue to publish work in the history of education and social theory, we wish to encourage work from other disciplines, as well as inter-disciplinary studies and research which illuminate curriculum, pedagogy and policy. Applied linguistics, philosophy and psychology, for example, all provide perspectives which are crucial to a rich and critical engagement with educational issues.

From its inception *Perspectives in Education* has aimed at being the kind of public space in which such critical engagement can thrive. We welcome your contributions – as authors and as subscribers – to sustaining this space.

Shirley Pendlebury

Perspectives in Education, 1992/93, Vol 14 No 1, 3-20

Girls' Wars, Mission Institutions and the Reproduction of the Educated Elite in the Eastern Cape, 1945–1959

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Between 1945 and 1959, the mission schools and colleges in the Eastern Cape in and around Alice were virtually imploded from within by strikes, arson and boycotts. Gender ordering, in particular the organisation of sexuality, was central to the crisis in authority relations in these institutions following the end of the second world war. Women's involvement in protest was often sparked off by grievances around gender arrangements. While women's action did not always directly challenge dominant conceptions of appropriate gender behaviour, resistance frequently took different forms from that of male students. Five phases of gender protest are identified between 1945 and 1959. Each phase is characterised by the ways in which women's involvement in protest was shaped by gender ordering within the institutions and also by broader social and political pressures.

By 1945, the mission institutions clustered around Alice in the Eastern Cape had schooled the educated elite of most of Southern Africa for over a century. They had also printed an indelible stamp on the political economy of the region producing "not so much crops and animals, but education for export – teachers, nurses, clerks, interpreters, and that growing host of urban workers (storeman, lorry drivers, factory hands etc.)".[1] Moreover, it was these women and men who for the past decade had been "transforming South Africa from a rural to an industrial country".[2]

However, in the decade following the Second World War, the Eastern Cape mission institutions in and around Alice, were virtually imploded from within by riots, arson, strikes and closures. While these events have attracted considerable interest, studies examining student protest have neglected the role of women in the uprisings and the place of gender in the ordering of social relations within the institutions.[3] Those analysing state imperatives for the closure of the mission schools and the restructuring of black education have overlooked the gender dimension of these processes.[4] Thus Hyslop's argument that the disturbances were symptomatic of a "crisis of authority relations underpinned by the spread of African Nationalist political consciousness" is compelling.[5] In this view, students developed a "repetoire of protest" around their "conditions of life".[6] But Hyslop's conception largely ignores the organisation of sexuality, failing to perceive this as a highly volatile area giving rise to protest. While historians elsewhere have observed that not uncommonly, "interventions to organise sexuality produce points of opposition, of challenge, of contestation"[7], Hyslop steers clear of this terrain.

Assumptions and practices around gender relations in the mission schools were frequently the focus of student resentment. Gender ordering was central to the

co-educational, residential institutions run on the principles of a narrow, Protestant, patriarchal authority.[8] There was segregation of students on gender lines, differential regulations for boys and girls, sexist ideology and syllabi and differential manual and domestic labour tasks. These and other gender-weighted practices – such as acceptance of certain types of social interaction (like ballroom dancing) while punishing others (like jiving) – were extremely emotive issues, particularly for women students.

Often intertwined with more general grievances, these were central issues in the disturbances at St Matthews (1949), Fort Hare (1955) and Victoria Hospital (1958). But gender issues were often present in other struggles. As Flax observed of struggles elsewhere, "conflicts around gender arrangements become both the locus for and symbols of anxieties about all sorts of social-political ideas".[9] Moreover, not all of these were "actually primarily rooted in gender relations".[10] If the women engaged in these struggles did not directly challenge the dominant conceptions of femininity and masculinity, resistance frequently "took a different form from that of male students" as Chisholm has shown for the Industrial Schools a decade earlier.[11] As will be shown below, sometimes women's resistance was turned inward, against the women themselves. Thus, refusing to eat was less often a complaint about food than an expression of a grievance of another kind. Women's resistance also encompassed passive defiance of regulations – refusal to work, play or sign registers. In addition, women students occasionally adopted the same tactics as men and engaged in aggressive wars of stone-throwing and arson.

Rendering visible the gender dimension of upheavals at the mission institutions also has profound implications for the ordering of our knowledge about these events. While Hyslop's periodisation of the post war decade begins with the Lovedale strike, it is argued below that the earlier riot at St Matthews was a watershed. A gendered periodisation also requires examination of the gender content of protest rather than the simple identification of "peak" moments. This article outlines five phases of gender protest in the Eastern Cape mission schools between 1945 and 1959. Central to each phase were the ways in which women's involvement in protest was shaped by the gender ordering of social relations within the institutions and often also by broader social and political pressures.

PHASE ONE: 1945-1948 – GENDER AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM

By 1945, roughly half the number of students at Lovedale and Healdtown were female; at St Matthews over sixty percent were girls.[12] Together, these three schools produced over half the 316 African matriculants in South Africa by 1946.[13] Supreme authority was vested in the male principals who not infrequently operated in autocratic ways. Dissatisfaction with these "little tin gods" often provided the spark that ignited disturbances.[14] But there was also deep-seated discontent around

the sexist, racist and classist assumptions hidden in the curriculum. In many ways, women students bore the brunt of these prejudices.

At many institutions, female students frequently complained about the volume of manual work. While domestic workers were employed to cook, scrub and clean for the boys, girls were required to shoulder much of this burden themselves. The girls were often expected to do the boys' laundry.[15] The curriculum reinforced colonial values and gender role stereotypes: the home and mothercraft syllabus included "the washing of a hair brush and comb" and the cleaning of silverware; the subject of hygiene was "taught from a book compiled in England and based upon a way of life as remote as the moon".[16]

In the classroom as well as in practical sessions, girls experienced inadequate "attention, training and supervision".[17] Frieda Matthews, wife of a prominent ANC leader, complained that women students were treated shabbily at Lovedale. Their female teachers, themselves graduates of the mission schools, were incapable of innovation or self-assertion as a result of their own impoverished instruction.[18] Since the education of women was directed explicitly at serving the domestic needs of white society, it was not surprising that a growing discontent simmered among women students.

It was not women students who initiated protest immediately following the end of the first world war, however. Frustrated teachers and African nationalist activists demanded a say in the direction and control of education and a better deal for teachers. A dependent petit-bourgeoisie, whose lot was to "interpret, diffuse, teach, administer, and apply the *authorised* knowledge and culture", they aspired to the power and living standards of the white middle class.[19] They called for greater state expenditure and parity with white education, increased job opportunities and improved conditions and salaries.[20] They rejected token advisory committees and urged mission schools to hand over control to governing bodies comprising African and government representatives.[21] The most radical vision emanated from the leadership of the All African Convention. AAC President, W.M. Tsotsi, called for compulsory, "appropriate and attractive" education for all Africans. Control of African education in this view would devolve on the structures of African local government, the exclusively male Bunga.[22]

The St Matthews riot: a watershed

The first indication of an aggressive African nationalist spirit in the Ciskei mission enclave appeared early in 1945. The quiet of the Keiskammahoek valley was disturbed, as usual, at 9.15pm on 24 March 1945, when a bugle sounded "lights out" at the St Matthews Boys' Hostel. Within minutes, one hundred and thirty boys began pelting their house captains and staff with stones and beating them with sticks. The boys set fire to one of the hostels before taking up position on a hillside to watch the blaze. But the fire was quickly extinguished and the arrival of the

police forestalled the planned torching of the girls' hostel by the boys. The students demanded changes in the selection of house captains and the drawing up of rules as well as "the right to appoint their own House*master*, who should be an African".[23] But in the morning, all the rioters were sent home, their demands for change in the mechanisms of control at the boarding school dismissed.

In solidarity, the girls refused to eat their lunch. Turning their anger inwards in an act of self-denial, they adopted a typical female strategy. That night, in the face of staff patrols, the plan for the remaining girls and boys to combine in a raid was aborted. Meanwhile, "interrogation" by the staff continued. More "ringleaders", this time including girls, were sent home and the college resumed with a mere eighty two students. Selective re-admission took place over the following months.

While earlier disturbances were centred on essentially parochial concerns, underlying the discontent with the mission authorities in the 1940s was a new political consciousness derived largely from the re-emergence of political organisation. There was evidence of a high degree of organisation and demands reflected the dominant concerns of African nationalism, students insisting that Africans – which should be glossed as "African men" – "be allowed to manage their own education".[24] The authorities believed that the riot "was an organised attempt at Communism, to overthrow authority, and impose mob law".[25]

Less documented than the Lovedale strike that followed over a year later, the St Matthews riot was the watershed that marked the beginning of African Nationalist student organisation, boosting the radical element in the nationalist movement (including the AAC and the ANC) and giving rise to the formation of the Cape African Parents Association, CAPA.[26]

Lovedale: protest spreads

Following the St Matthews riot, graffiti appeared on the toilet walls at Lovedale, calling for students to "strike" and to "Kill Dr Shepherd", the Principal.[27] A Dickensian type underground "Board", borrowed from the prescribed work, *Oliver Twist*, emerged among the senior male students. Declaring themselves the "cream of the school" by virtue of superior "cranial activity", they complained that Lovedale deprived the student – quintessiantially male – "of *his* liberty as a scholar...and caused *him* to rise up as a pure radical".[28] On 7 August 1946, Lovedale erupted. Two hundred masked boys "formed themselves into a mob and with great violence" stoned and set fire to staff houses, school buildings, printing machines, carpentry tools and the garden shed. Extreme hostility was expressed towards white staff, the authorities claimed. A hundred and fifty seven students were arrested and charged with public violence. While the boys languished in the police cells at Alice, girls expressed their solidarity in "noisy and insubordinate behaviour".[29]

"It was an eventful month for the African," *The Voice* celebrated after the closure of the school. "We had the African mine-workers' strike, the busting of the

so-called Native Representative Council and the Lovedale affair."[30] Investigation found that both the mineworkers strike and the collapse of the NRC had disturbed the students. It also revealed that members of the "Board" had connections with nationalist movements. Preparation had begun during the vacation at meetings of the "Home District Associations" initially established for students to undertake social work during the holidays. It was no accident that Queenstown, where the AAC had been active since its inception in 1935, produced the most militant leaders of both the St Matthews and Lovedale riots.[31]

There was also more to complaints about food than immediately apparent. Wealthy middle class students sat apart at a special table where they were served a more sophisticated menu. Intolerance of hostel food for the majority was exacerbated by watching fellow students enjoy an infinitely more palatable meal. Students demanded an improved diet for all and an end to table segregation. The boys' sexism and the absence of similar preferential treatment for girls from wealthy homes, prevented the sub-elite of the boys seeking allies among the girls. Thus while dissatisfaction over social stratification emerged as the basis of an apparently petty grievance around boarding school food, differential treatment of boys and girls meant that the issue remained essentially a male concern.[32]

If women students did not use the militant mood of the time to protest against their training for domesticity in a racist society, their lack of interest and indifferent performance might be taken as an expression of alienation. An inspector observed that the poor cooking at Healdtown was the result of an inappropriate "High Class Cookery" style and complained that students learned their notes by rote rather than learning to "think and reason intelligently for themselves".[33]

In sum, the first phase of disturbances after the Second World War was distinctly Africanist and organised largely underground by small groups of politicised boys with links to political organisations such as the All African Convention. With the possible exception of Healdtown, where the planned uprising was nipped in the bud, many girls clearly sympathised with these sentiments. Albeit belatedly, they came out in support of the boys' action, fuelled partly by their own gender-specific grievances. But they did so in gender-specific ways, shaped by sex-segregated practices in the home and in the institution and often distanced from direct action by the violent strategies of resistance adopted by the boys.

Parental authority and patriarchal control

Parental anxiety over the turmoil in the mission schools was expressed in a variety of ways. Conservative older men accused parents – particularly fathers – of straying too far from patriarchal custom and so misleading their children. Fathers who cultivated "intimate friendship with their sons...and wrap their boys with profuse love" were courting danger and hastened the disintegration of firm parental control. According to Xhosa custom, "a father of sons should never display his love for

growing boys" and children should grow up in fear of being punished for disobedience.[34]

Most parents held the view that the mission authorities were not entirely blameless. The expulsion of Mary Calata, daughter of Reverend James Calata – a prominent parent, ANC leader and member of the St Matthews school board – was pivotal. Following this action, Reverend James Calata sought out other politically aware parents – predominantly male – such as Prof DDT Jabavu of the AAC, and founded CAPA.

CAPA sought to bring together Eastern Cape parents and to give them a voice in their children's education. Perceived as an Eastern Cape equivalent to the Transkeian Organised Bodies, it drew inspiration from the efforts of Govan Mbeki, himself a product of missionary education, in organising African opinion on education.[35] CAPA called for a government appointed commission of inquiry into disturbances at African institutions.[36] CAPA also requested a reinstatement of the old "fatherly attitude" at mission schools and criticised the appointment of a "bad type" of African as Boardingmaster. CAPA leaders complained of a "race consciousness which is influenced by the political set up outside".[37]

In contrast, unequivocal political support for rioting students came from the AAC. Deploring the training of Africans as "absolute slaves", the AAC concluded: "Unless we have rights in the body politic our troubles will never cease."[38] This conflict between the competing ideologies of the ANC and the AAC shaped loyalties and struggles within the mission institutions, both radicalising and polarising student resistance to authority into the 1950s.

PHASE TWO: 1949-1954 - GIRLS' WARS AND PATRIARCHAL AUTHORITY

Gender protest between 1949 and the mid 1950s was symptomatic of growing pressures on gender relations within the institutions and in African society beyond the mission walls. These pressures were most acutely felt by senior women students – generally undergoing training as teachers or nurses. The rigid gender hierarchy and tight discipline of the institutions reined in these young women professionally, politically and socially. Not only subordinated to sexism and racism, they were trained as purveyors of the ideology and practices which subjugated them.

Most female students at the tertiary level were training to become school teachers. Teacher training for junior primary schools began after Std VI. Within two years, these young women were hard at work in the "practising schools" of the missions, teaching children enrolled in the primary department and reproducing the ideology and sexual division of labour inherent in their own training. The trend of replacing male with cheaper female teachers in primary schools, begun in the 1930s, escalated in 1945 with state restriction of the junior primary teachers' course to women.[39] This move subordinated women both in the teacher training institutions and in the teaching profession. It confined women to junior primary

teaching while shifting men to higher primary and secondary teaching. Moreover, since only Std VI was required for junior primary teaching, women tended to cut their own secondary schooling short to enter the teaching profession earlier.

Training for a limited number of African nurses was offered at the Victoria and McVicar Hospitals attached to Lovedale and at the St Matthews Mission Hospital. These hospitals were part of a broader hegemonic project, implementing the missionary ideal of eliminating "all traces of heathenism...evident in the black man's [sic] concept of disease".40[39] Thus, mission hospitals most valued those nurses who had undergone "a profound religious experience", enabling them to win over converts among their patients. In addition, "good nurses" were those who submitted to "the occupational ideology of nursing...and...genderised the division of labour" which associated science and authority with doctors and caring and innate "womanly qualities' with nurses".[41] Paradoxically, while this patriarchal disciplinary order required deference and servitude, district nurses and midwives undergoing training desperately needed to develop the qualities of initiative and resourcefulness. Not surprisingly, frustration with these controls led to outbursts of "insubordination" and dismissals on several occasions in the 1940s and 1950s.

Lovedale Hospital strike: nurses and the ANCYL

Conflict between women students and mission authorities came to a head at a Lovedale hospital in 1949, when a probationary nurse dared to challenge her superior in the hospital hierarchy and was dismissed. It was symptomatic of the authoritarian hierarchy of the hospital – the "monstrous regimentation of women" – that disobedience constituted grounds for dismissal.[42] Fellow nurses came out on strike in support of the probationer who had stepped out of line. Discarding duty and abandoning docility, the nurses refused to live in the hostel, eat the food or go on duty. They camped in the grounds of the mission and demanded the reinstatement of the dismissed trainee. Given that "any outspokenness let alone more militant industrial action was profoundly discouraged by the authoritarian structures of nursing", the striking nurses flouted authority in a highly provocative manner.[43]

Clandestine support came from the Fort Hare Branch of the ANCYL which provided food and strategic advice throughout the strike. But they were no match for patriarchal control. The medical superintendant, supreme patriarch of the mission hospital, summoned the nurses' parents. By colluding with the girls' fathers, he persuaded them to resume duty. Unable to take on their fathers and the superintendant, the nurses submitted. They saved face only by ensuring that their suspended colleague was given leave to appeal.

But the nurses' dissatisfaction went deep and discontent simmered for weeks. Finally, on the 4th October, the authorities were no longer able to assert their control. The training sections at the Victoria and McVicar Hospitals were closed

and all student nurses dismissed for disobedience.[44] Punishment for the dissenters was particularly draconian.[45] Blacklisted, these nurses were unable to resume their training at mission hospitals elsewhere.[46] Nor was training immediately re-established. When a new medical superintendant arrived to take charge of McVicar in 1952, he found an almost empty hospital with "no staff, no money and only two patients both too ill to run away."[47]

The temporary closure of the Lovedale hospitals as training institutions was a blow to African education in general and to opportunities for women in particular. But it added grist to the Africanist mill, gave the ANC Youth League a boost and opened the doors for young educated women to enter the political arena. Speaking at a meeting of the Youth League, dismissed nurse V. Arosi praised the "unstinted support" of the Fort Hare branch. Thrust to the forefront of political action through the strike, this young woman called on others to follow her example and join the League.[48]

The St Matthews' Girls' War

A few weeks after the nurses' strike, following an exceptionally successful school concert at St Matthews College near Keiskammahoek, a "great crying and screaming broke out" among the students. Glass shattered as rocks crashed through dormitory windows. Boys came running across from their hostels. The warden was pelted with rocks, the housemistress beaten with sticks, her cottage and car burnt to the ground. Hard on the heels of junior girls scurrying to safety, clutching their belongings, senior girls torched the hostel. "It's a girls' war," observed the matron.[49] Then two shots were fired and the students made their way to the stadium, shouting and singing. Police reinforcements arrived from KingWilliamstown and East London. Thirty nine students were detained and over a hundred sent home. The handful of girls and boys who remained were bombarded with anonymous letters and threats of reprisals from outside.[50] A large number of students was expelled and the the library's subscription to the trendy magazines *Drum* and *Zonk* was cancelled. The warden was sent on long leave.[51] The violation of gender norms and the involvement of girls in violence of this scale shocked authorities and parents alike. CAPA intervened to obtain permission for exams to be written in KingWilliamstown; it also raised bail and legal funds for the court case. But CAPA condemned the "brutality and vandalism" of the rioters.[52] Flouting the lead of senior ANC officals, the Youth League declared that the institutions had only themselves to blame, since "there was no recognised avenue through which the students could make suggestions or lay complaints, without being victimised or singled out for undue hostile attention".[53]

The girls' demands were unclear; nor was the "punishment book" with its record of petty crimes – such as unmade beds and "jiving" in the music room – any indication of the degree of pent-up energy and frustration the girls were

experiencing. While it is difficult to pin down precise motives, the St Matthews riot was clearly an expression of deep discontent among the girls. Central was a pent-up tension over the regulations of the patriarchal regime. There was frustration over the authoritarian and oppressive prefect system, but the most acute resentment was expressed towards the warden.[54]

As arch patriarch, the warden's innovations were received with ambivalence.[55] Showering attention on a tiny core of those with musical talent meant that he "spent too much time" at the senior girls' hostel and ignored the majority of students who remained in the shadows. Resentment gave rise to rumours about the warden's character.[56] So acute was the hostility towards the relationship between the warden and the senior girls that a member of the Fort Hare Youth League claimed to have information that the "girls' war" "was all due to the fact that the European priest in charge...was in the habit of deflowering *our African* women students". Moreover, he charged, "the last case was one of the pregnancy of one of these women and was aborted in the Mission Hospital".[57]

If there was little substance in these allegations, African male indignation was sparked more by violation of its turf than by the issue of sexual violence.[58] But it is likely that among the senior women students was a consciousness of the sexual power accorded men in patriarchal authority relations. While the warden had unleashed a pent-up energy – artistic, emotional and sexual – among the senior girls, they remained locked in a boarding school that shut out all avenues for release of this energy. Selection of girls who might mix with boys was a male prerogative. The boys submitted a list of girls whom they wished to visit on Sundays.[59] For the girls whose names did not appear on the list, there was little relief from routine and domestic drudgery.

In sum, the girls' wars of 1949 exposed and implicitly challenged the institutional regulation of sexuality.[60] They revealed the possibility of African fathers colluding with white patriarchs and made explicit the sexual power relations deeply embedded in patriarchal control. Like the nurses at Mc Vicar, the St Matthews' girls lashed out against an education that failed to develop their competence "to live a modern life".[61] Spurred on by Africanist initiatives in the political arena they asserted themselves as African women. If they did not produce an articulate set of gendered demands, the rampant rumours and the authorities' anxiety to quell them provide a window on to the underlying frustrations of women students. Not surprisingly, male dominated parents and teachers' associations were unable to respond in ways that empowered women. Even the more sympathetic ANC Youth League moved only as far as to draw in women as Africans, often diverting the gender concerns of the women. While men were unable to perceive gender relations as politically imposed and socially constructed, the militancy of the "girls' wars" opened a new, albeit circumscribed space, for women in the African nationalist movement.

PHASE THREE: MID 1950S – 'A CLEAR-THINKING INTELLIGENTSIA'

With the establishment of the South African Native College in the late 1930s (renamed the University College of Fort Hare in 1952) the missionary repetoire was extended beyond teacher trainingto encompass tertiary education. There were under four hundred students in 1945, just over half of whom were full-time and only fifty were women. Local students were under a third.[62]

From its inception, the South African Native College was less insular than the mission schools. Not only was Fort Hare interdenominational: the college was also affiliated to Rhodes University and the student body to NUSAS until its disaffiliation in September 1952.[63] Issues of national political significance were debated and discussed in a thriving cultural life of clubs and societies. A vast range of newspapers and bulletins were circulated among the students while branches of the rival ANC Youth League and the AAC affiliate, Sons of Young Africa (SOYA), flourished on the campus in the 1950s.

The women's hostel: gender ordering

Women were admitted from the college's inception. Interestingly, residential rather than academic concerns presented difficulties from the outset. Initially, women were housed in a hundred year old bungalow originally used as an "officers' mess in the Kaffir Wars". Overcrowded dormitories, inadequate plumbing and flooded beds in the rainy season prevented students from applying their teaching on the "precepts of hygiene".[64] By 1945, the modern *Elukhanyisweni* hostel had been built, obviating the decade-long anomaly of conditions "apt to induce in the minds of students the attitude that ideals learnt from books are not things to be practised in everyday life".[65] The new building did not usher in a new disciplinary regime, however, unlike post war initiatives in Britain and elsewhere.[66] By the mid 1950s the issue of authority and control at the women's hostel exploded into defiance and boycotting of graduation.

The immediate cause for the boycott was a change in the rules at *Elukhanyisweni*, home to fifty one of the fifty seven women students at Fort Hare.[67] Trouble had been brewing at the residence for several years. In 1952, a special sub-committee of Senate was appointed to liaise with student representatives over the rules "necessary in hostels for women".[68] This resulted in the re-drafting of the rules but the women students "showed an unfortunate spirit of unwillingness to accept" them by refusing to sign the church attendance register. The principal responded by threatening the women, warning that "disobedience to authorised rules could not be ignored". Women students then refused to serve on the House Committee and boycotted the elections. Treading cautiously, the SRC requested postponement of the elections, buying time until elections could be "accepted freely

rather than under compulsion". This male dominated body also acceded to the principal's request not to hold a mass meeting on the isssue of the new rules, disregarding a request from over 20% of the student body. They agreed to hold a "report back" meeting at which there would be no bargaining around the rules.[69]

The issue of rules at the women's hostel simmered for years before erupting again in 1955. This time male students were directly affected by the regulations and, not surprisingly, were not so easily fobbed off by the principal. Male students had been in the habit of frequenting the women's common room, turning it into a recruiting ground for SOYA and the ANCYL. In June 1955, new regulations restricted the times and venues of the men's visits amid complaints that women students did not "feel at home in their own common room". A core of politically aware and vocal women students protested angrily, complaining of "school girl" treatment and requested a meeting with the SRC. The SRC applied to the Senate for the new regulations to be lifted. Senate would not budge and also refused permission for a mass meeting. The SRC then called an illegal meeting outside the college grounds where students resolved to boycott the forthcoming graduation ceremony.

The graduation boycott was effective – only twenty five students other than the graduands attended the ceremony. The remainder, led by a "secret, illegal authority sometimes referred to as *The Caucus*", held a meeting by candle light at Sandile's Kop outside the college. Here they pledged their support for "the struggle" against oppression.[70]

Shamed by the absence of students on the public occasion of graduation, the principal closed the college. The Commission of Inquiry put the trouble down to the psychological intimidation of the student body by politically motivated members of SOYA and the ANCYL. But the Commission's report also recognised that "political purges followed by expulsions year after year" would bring Fort Hare "perhaps to disaster".[71] If the commission displayed signs of political tolerance, it did not acknowlege the pressures placed on women students under rigid patriarchal control beyond concluding that "the time is overripe for a bold transition from the spirit, methods and atmosphere of the Missionary High School to those of a University".[72]

But the generation of "new ways of life" at the university was staved off by the state's restructuring of education in increasingly repressive ways. In the short term, returning students entered an atmosphere of suspicion, afraid of each other and anxious to avoid the expression of any political views. Women students, their grievances once more suppressed, returned to their old rules at *Elukhanyisweni*. Even the spirit of African nationalism was dampened. The ANCYL complained that in this climate of repression it was difficult to cultivate "a clear-thinking intelligentsia without which no struggle can succeed today".[73]

Victoria Hospital and the Fort Hare SRC

The Youth League's struggle to cultivate an Africanist intelligentsia reached new heights of militancy in 1958. Thus when six nurses were expelled from Victoria Hospital, the Youth League lost no time in directing their struggle for reinstatement. Militant president of the Fort Hare SRC, Mzimkulu Makiwane, procured legal advice and acted as go-between the nurses and the lawyer.

At Fort Hare, the SRC called for "full solidarity" for the six striking nurses and petitioned the authorities for a mass meeting. Despite 249 signatories, permission was refused. In a bid to "persuade" non-striking nurses into greater solidarity with their colleagues, the SRC banned all nurses from the Fort Hare Graduation Ball, calling for a boycott of the occasion. Perhaps as a means of crippling the graduation ball further, the SRC sought to put an end to the custom of inviting domestic workers to make up the shortfall of female partners. They demanded that all "servants be eliminated" from Fort Hare functions forthwith. Their argument was that domestic servants "enticed" male students. Evidence did not bear out this claim, however. The only male student expelled after a graduation ball was found guilty of sexual assault.[74]

Thus, the SRC's actions in the nurses' strike stemmed less from a spirit of gender sensitivity than from an elitist male-centred Africanism. Their solidarity emanated also from a political and organisational chauvinism seeking ideological hegemony within the intelligentsia. Moreover, in their rejection of female domestic workers as suitable dance partners, the SRC displayed petit bourgeois male collusion rather than a common Africanism or social egalitarianism.

For the nurses, little was gained by non-attendance at the ball or the strike. There was no legal victory as the courts upheld their dismissal. Nor was there political purchase. Throughout the struggle, their own voices were muted, their initiative stunted and their leadership suppressed by the chauvinism of the male Youth Leaguers. Both the nature of the grievances and the method of conducting the dispute were defined for them by men, in African nationalist terms. Little space was left for the women to explore or to develop political confidence. If struggles over discipline at the mission hospitals had in the past opened up spaces for women in African nationalist discourse, the experience of the Victoria hospital nurses in 1958 indicated the limits of this opening. In contrast, the militant profile of the Youth League was undoubtedly enhanced by their stage management of the Victoria Hospital dispute, shifting the balance of power between SOYA and the ANC.[75]

In sum, while women students and trainee nurses were drawn into African nationalism in the mid 1950s, male activists dominated their struggles. Moreover, gender concerns were frequently lost as male student leaders bolstered by nationalist ideology failed to interpellate women in gender specific ways. Inevitably, this co-option of women's struggles by men entrenched male

domination within the African Nationalist movement. If the youth attacked the conservatism of older African men within the nationalist movements, they colluded with them in the control of women. This male collusion occasionally extended to include white patriarchal authority. Thus the limits of the political space opened to women within African nationalism were clearly prescribed.

PHASE FOUR: LATE 1950S – POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING

Ushering in Bantu education in the mid 1950s, H.F. Verwoerd insinuated that in serving individuals rather than communities, the elite rather than the masses, the missions had done race relations considerable harm. They had created "frustrated persons" who, unable to find comfortable jobs, became "agitators".[76]

To curb the growth of this disgruntled elite and their potential militant nationalism, Verwoerd as Minister of Native Affairs – planned the simultaneous demise of the emergent middle class and of their institutions. The missions would submit to state control or lose their subsidies; the teachers would adhere to stringent regulations or lose their jobs; educated and illiterate alike would be recast in tribal mould and bow to chiefs and headmen. All would have to run the gauntlet of labour bureaux, influx control regulations and job reservation in the urban centres. The dependent African petit-bourgeoisie were stripped of all possibility of attaining any form of autonomy from the state. Their middle class aspirations were dashed as the state re-created ethnicity and the impoverished African community as the reference point for salaries, power and authority.

For their part, the mission institutions were at an impasse. Continuous riots, disruptions and closures indicated their inability to retain the respect of the very elite which they had partly fashioned, to meet the aspirations of urban youth and to make patriarchal control acceptable to increasingly restless women students. Without adequate financial and personnel backing from Europe, they were coming apart at the seams. Faced with the threat of a 25% cut in state subsidy, they capitulated. Within six months of the Secretary for Native Affairs' ultimatum, nearly all the missions in the Eastern Cape had handed over their buildings for lease by the state and ceded their students to Bantu Education.[77]

A major blow was directed at teachers, achieved partly through gender restructuring. Central to this process was the extension of the feminisation of the primary school teaching profession. This had begun before the Second World War but was not consolidated until the mid 1950s. Incorporated into the Bantu Education package, feminisation took on a hardened edge: the ideological tenet that "a woman is by nature so much better fitted for handling young children" was enshrined in the new education doctrine. The ratio of female:male teachers was to be inverted so that 70% were women.[78] Male primary school assistants were to be eliminated, women teachers promoted to principalships and single women given preference to married women. Following reduced per capita expenditure on black education, a single

(female) salary scale for women and men reduced expenses considerably. Costs – and standards – were further lowered by the reduction of primary teacher requirements from Std VIII to Std VI (plus two years TTC) and a massive increase in the pupil:teacher ratio.[79]

While these initiatives provided more jobs for women, they emasculated the teaching profession. Women who moved into the position of principal, did so without training in administration and were soon swamped by the mass of Bantu Education red tape. Those who saved two years of college fees through lowered requirements entered the profession less as teachers than as instruments of state, "herd girls shepherding the new generations into the Bantustan kraals".[80] Like all teachers, these young women were to be subordinated to the control of school committees, dominated by chiefs – often illiterate, government appointed lackeys with a rigid ethnic mind-set.[81] The combined patriarchal forces of the state and ethnic control effectively ensured the disempowerment of female teachers both as women and as professionals. While the underlying rationale for feminisation was reduced costs and a weakened political threat, patriarchal control sealed the new sexist authoritarianism in black education.

If feminisation of the junior primary teaching profession had produced anger and frustration for male teachers, the extension of this process under Bantu education a decade later produced a howl of protest. Dozens of experienced male teachers either left the profession or were dismissed.[82] Male dominated teachers' and parents' organisations objected strongly , often in sexist terms. "The African male primary school teacher is a species that is fast becoming extinct", lamented CATA. Teacher training colleges would "soon cease to admit males", they complained.[83] Following suite, CAPA opposed the promotion of women to principalships. Women were incapable of this work since they would have to meet with "unsympathetic headmen and suspicious councillors...in a hostile and unco-operative society. This we feel and know will be too much for most women", declared CAPA.[84] Dodging the gender issue, the Minister of Native Affairs, replied blandly that his government had "created more posts for the Bantu than any other government".[85]

Protest failed to halt the implementation of Bantu education.[86] The missionary colleges were ravaged. At Lovedale – the *grande ecole* of the Eastern Cape – students from outside the Union were no longer admitted; Coloured and Indian students were excluded; the library was closed and "students discouraged from reading outside of their prescribed works". Transkeian, Ciskeian, urban and rural students were kept in separate dormitories. In the belief that Africans were not sophisticated enough to cope with co-education, the girls training school was closed down to make way for a single sex establishment. Literary and debating societies were gone; time after class was taken up with manual work and scripture filled much of the curriculum.[87] St Matthews became a teacher training college for women. Everywhere, industrial training was stopped. The 1957 Nursing

Amendment Act subordinated qualified black nurses to unqualifed whites, demeaning the quality and status of their professional training.[88]

In sum, while Bantu education opened opportunities – for more women to become teachers and more children to obtain a rudimentary schooling – it circumscribed the boundaries of aspiration for the intelligentsia. Its effect was to demean the quality of black education, herding blinkered children through a racist, sexist system of rote learning, facilitating tighter control over future generations of the African educated elite.[89] Simultaneously disempowering the male segment of the intelligentsia and boosting the authority of more conservative African men, the state feminised the African teaching profession and subordinated women teachers to a double-edged system of patriarchal controls emanating from the state and the chiefs. Not surprisingly, teachers and students lived in fear. "Fear of informers, fear of expulsion, fear of speaking out and ultimately, fear of thinking".[90] Academic training gave way to inculcation of the qualities "required by a good servant".[91] Education and the struggles of the subordinate classes around it had thus been brought firmly within the orbit of the state.[92]

CONCLUSION

Resistance to the autocratic controls and patriarchal practices of the "closed" missionary institutions was cut down by state restructuring of social relations within African society and brought under the control of the state. The militancy of the predominantly male educated elite was tamed and the intelligentsia honed as African education came under the Department of Native Affairs. Simultaneously, the provision of mass primary education and the feminisation of primary teaching opened up limited opportunities for the lower levels of African society, albeit under the aegis of the state and its chiefs. Professional status and an independent income for women opened the possibility of a greater autonomy under patriarchal control and propelled women into the elite in larger numbers than before. This in turn opened up new terrain on which gender power relations might be played out. While organisational support for opposition to male domination was limited by male-centred African nationalism, political involvement also sometimes led to exclusion from the state-controlled professions of teaching and nursing. Empowerment for educated women was thus frequently underpinned by caution, restricitng this strength to the confines of the profession, the household and the charity organisation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

An earlier version of this paper was presented as a seminar to the Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town on 22 April 1992. I am grateful to Helen Bradford for her comments.

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Perspectives in Education, 1992/93, Vol 14 No 1, 21-34

Civil Society, Social Movements and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC)

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This paper attempts to map the position of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee in the context of local and global social change. Using Touraine's typology, it is argued that processes underway within the NECC indicate a shift from critical to positive struggles and that these shifts have allowed the NECC to assert its own education-specific identity, despite the diverse backgrounds of the actors within it. The paper also considers the civil society location of the NECC and raises questions about the conditions under which the NECC might be an effective agent for deepening democracy in education.

Political and social change in South Africa since February 1990 has seriously affected the strategies, constituencies and location of organisations within the mass democratic movement, in general, and the progressive education movement, in particular. For instance, many organisations are engaging with people in forums to which they previously had no access. Protest-based mass action, although both still viable and vital, is thus no longer the only or necessarily the most appropriate strategy for activating change. This raises questions about the nature, direction and location of educational struggles in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Since its inception in 1985, the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) has been a major actor in protest-based education struggles. This paper attempts to map the position of the NECC in the context of current social change. A Gramscian notion of civil society and Touraine's typology of social movements serve as primary co-ordinates in the mapping.

Following Gramsci, we conceptualise civil society as an instance of an "expansive/integral state". This implies that civil society is a contested political terrain which cannot be totally divorced from the state. Thus while the state and civil society may be distinguished on methodological grounds, the distinction does not refer to a substantial separation. We believe it is more important to consider the inter-relatedness of these two concepts, rather than their separation, within contemporary societies. As a public space, civil society is the most significant terrain for the possible creation of a counter-hegemonic force for social transformation. We argue that the NECC occupies a place within this terrain and

that, on condition that it is able to sustain itself as an organisation, it may have the potential to activate educational transformation in South Africa.

Using Touraine's characterisations of types and levels of struggles pertaining to social movements, we argue that the NECC may be seen as shifting from "critical struggles", which are essentially protest based, to "positive struggles", which are more reconstructive and transformative. The potential for activating educational transformation is indicated in this shift, which occurs in the NECC at each of the levels distinguished by Touraine: historicity, organisation and institution.

Prior to the historic announcements on February 2 1990, the terrain of struggle in South Africa was largely characterised by the use of blatant force and direct repression of anti-apartheid political opposition. This entailed a highly centralised form of the state, evidenced in extensive state intervention in most areas of social life through such structures as the State Security Councils. The anti-apartheid struggle was by no means monolithic; there were intense differences between workerists and populists and the charterists and AZAPO, for example. However, the pervasiveness of the centrist state was reflected in a strong bipolar discourse of "the state" versus "the people", a discourse which obscured the nature and constitution of civil society. This was highlighted with the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF), in 1983; a civil society front which brought together different oppositional forces in an anti-apartheid coalition.

With the announcements on February 2 1990, the nature of the political terrain was fundamentally altered.[1] The unbanning of political organisations and the release of political prisoners opened legal spaces for political contestation. Subsequently various sectors of South African society have begun to position themselves in civil society or as possible contenders for state power, with the resulting fragmentation of the anti-apartheid alliance. To date, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the newly announced united health body, the South African Health and Social Services Organisation (SAHSSO), the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) and the religious sectors, particularly represented by the World Conference of Religion and Peace – South African Chapter (WCRP-SA), *inter alia*, have chosen to situate themselves in "civil society" which is generally understood to mean party-politically independent.[2] In so doing, all of these organisations have been forced to confront issues concerning the nature of their organisation, constituencies and strategies.

But surfacing trends in South Africa are not solely the results of local changes. Global developments have also had an impact on the nature and direction of political debates and activities in South Africa. To cite just a few instances, the defeat of the popular Sandanista Party in the elections in Nicaragua and the Social Democratic Party in the Swedish elections, the collapse of Stalinist governments in Eastern Europe and the recent events in the Soviet Union, now Russia, are significant in understanding developing trends in South Africa. These global events have highlighted two closely related phenomena for South Africa. Firstly, they point

to the dangers of being too closely aligned to the state: corruption, losing the favour of the people and being constrained in resisting the state. Secondly, they point to the need to deepen democracy beyond formal parliamentary party democracy, particularly in civil society, by "new social movements"[3], which include gay rights movements, third world solidarity groups, black rights movements, women's movements, ecology movements and the like. The significance of these social movements is that they can challenge and pressurise the state because of their civil society strengths, irrespective of their political orientations. They are movements that organise around very particular, local issues.

THE NECC AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The NECC was formed in 1985 as a specific response to the crisis in schooling manifested by a protracted boycott of DET schools. It soon established itself as the legitimate voice of the progressive education movement and took the form of a crisis intervention body, intervening in the endemic educational crisis of South Africa. The activities of the NECC were overwhelmingly protest based and included the abolition of corporal punishment, age limits and identity cards, and demands for more facilities and resources. Other actions included the call for the release from detention educational activists and the withdrawal of the SAP and the SADF from schools in the overall demand for a single, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic education system.

In these activities the NECC was part of an anti-apartheid alliance. The anti-Apartheid struggle can best be seen as a "critical social movement" because, as Touraine argues,

> ... its principal aim is the struggle against (Apartheid) domination ... and liberation from the conditions of underdevelopment and dependence. This struggle against a truly social domination, against oligarchy, prevents there being any complete break between a social movement and revolutionary action ... they (struggles) represent the two sides of the class struggle, and it is the mixture of them alone that creates the great historical struggles.[4]

Since 1990, the NECC has found itself increasingly engaged in educational struggles on various levels. These include its participation in the Joint Working Group on education, formulating educational policy alternatives in the National Education Policy Investigations (NEPI) and being part of the broader negotiation process. Whereas previously the NECC was subject to abject repression – from being banned and its leadership detained or in hiding, it now finds itself occupying a legally constituted space for its oppositional expressions, foregrounding the need to articulate its location vis-a-vis the existing government and political parties currently contesting state power. This signals a shift from the protest based struggles to struggles of educational transformation in South Africa.

In Touraine's terms this is a shift from critical struggles to positive struggles. Critical struggles are acts of defense against crisis, demands of access and attempts

to destroy a "truly social domination". [5] Positive struggles, unlike critical struggles, are distinguished by being positive assertions of identity which involve the formulation of alternatives as part of a positive project for change.

Touraine further distinguishes critical and positive struggles on three levels: the institutional, organisational and historicity levels.

	TYPES OF STRUGGLES	
	Positive	Critical
LEVELS OF STRUGGLE		
Institutional	influence	access
Organisational	status	defence
Historicity	alternative	destroy

Central to the characterisation of these levels and types of struggles is the kind of relations that exist between the individual actors (I), the adversary/opponent (O) and the stakes (T) that are at issue at a particular moment. These stakes could range from issues of access, redefinition of social relations to alternative redefinitions of life worlds.[6]

Touraine argues that the classification of struggles aims more at separating types which rarely appear in their pure state than at casting fresh light on the conditions behind the formation of social movements, which involves an unstable synthesis of class action and revolutionary rupture, institutional pressure and revolt against crisis.[7]

The NECC on the level of historicity

Not all instances of struggle, either positive or critical, necessarily qualify as social movements for Touraine. Only struggles which occur at the level of historicity where the definition of the actor (I) does not coincide with that given to him/her by his/her adversary (O) over a common stake (T) Touraine describes as a social movement. Positive struggles occuring at the level of historicity are those which attempt to challenge positively the existing, dominant cultural codes and normative patterns not in order to create a possible future society but rather to control the process of producing meanings and identities in the present. Critical struggles at the level of historicity are attempts by actors (I) to destroy the existing social order in order to create a new order.[8]

Currently the NECC shares characteristics of critical struggles and positive struggles. Because of its location in the broad anti-apartheid coalition, the NECC

manifests some characteristics of a critical social movement. On the level of historicity, the anti-apartheid struggle attempts to redefine normative and cultural orientations that structure the underdevelopment and oppression of black people in South Africa. In the current period, this critical social movement is undergoing transition. The emerging tension is between a "culture of resistance" and the need to define, in practical terms, a new government.

At the level of historicity, positive struggles of the NECC are no longer only redefining normative orders and cultural orientations in an anti-apartheid coalition, but are contesting these specifically in the educational domain. NEPI is an example of this struggle. In investigating policy options, NEPI contests the ways in which educational policy may be constructed in a transformative mode; transforming the historical inequalities, not in generalised anti-apartheid terms, but in relation to specific, realisable and practically implementable interventions within the education domain. This transition is also impacting on the nature of struggles that the NECC is engaging in, on the organisational and institutional levels.

The NECC on an organisational level

Critical struggles at the organisational level refer to struggles that attempt to defend an actor's position against a state of crisis where the adversary (O) is an obstacle to the actor (I) within an organisation (T). Positive struggles on this level refer to struggles that attempt to increase the actor's position within an organisation.

Previously critical struggles on an organisational level were, by and large, crisis behaviour types of struggles. They were essentially protests by individuals attempting to defend their positions against a state of educational crisis. This was particularly evident in the 1984-85 period when the educational crisis reached such phenomenal proportions it provided the context within which the NECC came into existence. The crisis was marked by schools being transformed into "operational zones" for the South African Defence Force (SADF) and the formation of the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC). The defence of individuals against this state of crisis was most clearly articulated in the slogan "Liberation First, Education Later", where liberation was seen as the only way in which people's interests could be safeguarded.

Though still tied to previous critical struggles, the struggles of the NECC on an organisational level are now more positive. Like institutional level struggles, organisational struggles are no longer about access into institutions but about the extent of influence over decision-making processes and their outcomes. The recent "occupation of schools campaign" clearly illustrates the positive protest nature of the organizational struggle against the hierarchy of educational departments. Authority, in this instance represented by Stoffel van der Merwe, was challenged not only in terms of its legitimacy but also on the kind of decision that was implemented.

The Orange Grove primary school (OGPS) struggle is a case in point. OGPS, situated in the north-east of Johannesburg, had been closed down due to dwindling white pupil enrolments. After lengthy negotiations between the NECC, the DET and the DNE, a tentative arrangement was agreed upon whereby the reallocation of the OGPS to the neighbouring Alexandra community would be considered. The decision taken, however, was to sell the OGPS to the South African Jewish Board. In response to this the NECC called on the OGPS to be occupied. This differed from previous actions of the NECC in that it questioned and petitioned the kind of decisions taken by the existing authorities, the nature of the process involved and the devaluation of the negotiating forum around the OGPS issue.[9]

The NECC on an institutional level

Institutional level critical struggles are attempts by actors (I) to become participants in decision-making processes, that is to gain access to an institution from which they are excluded. Positive struggles at the institutional level refer to struggles that attempt to increase the actors position within an institution.

Previous critical struggles of the NECC on the institutional level were characterised by the demand to gain access into fields within which decisions were made. In this respect, the NECC demanded to be relocated from marginal and disqualified positions to actors within institutions of decision-making power. These have been evident in struggles for recognition from Student Representative Councils (SRC's) to Parent, Teacher and Student Associations (PTSA's) and more recently the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU). Indeed, of the People's Education movement itself.

The shift from critical struggles to positive struggles on an institutional level may be seen in a number of examples. One example is the NECC's participation in the Joint Working Group (JWG), another is the NECC's increasing media presence. In both instances the question is about the extent of influence that the NECC is able to exert on decisions being made. Here the NECC does have access to the institutions at issue, but contests the amount of influence it is able to exert on decisions that are being made.

Fundamentally, these shifts from critical to positive struggles on all these levels point to the specific nature of the issues at stake, the localised context within which they are to be implemented and the immediatist nature of their application. This is in contrast to the generalised nature of the context and issues that previously characterised NECC struggles and their futuristic orientations.

In this regard the NECC is currently beginning to assert its own identity and the specificity of both the constituencies it re-presents and the issues it takes up. Using Melluci and Touraine, it is possible to view the collective actions of NECC in terms of an identity-oriented paradigm.[10]

The NECC as an identity-oriented social movement

The nature of identity-oriented social movements is best understood by contrasting them to previous forms of collective action and the nature of the actors that constitute them. Past instances of collective action, generally speaking, were essentially characterised by the centrality of workers' movements and class struggles directed at the seizure of state power in order to create a future classless order. In contrast, identity-oriented social movements are more immediatist, that is directed to a resolution of conflicts in the present with their meanings being found in the present, not in relation to an utopian future. Simultaneously, these movements do not attempt to capture state power, but rather are directed against a more immediate adversary and are assertions of identity, for example, black, female, and so on. Previously, members of the working class were seen as the key actors in forms of collective action. In the contemporary situation, actors within social movements cut across both economic and political codes. These actors, therefore, encompass both the left and right of the political spectrum and occupy different class positions. Implicit in this is the possibility of various people being able to identify with issues taken up by these social movements and the formation of broader alliances or networks of struggle in civil society.

Identity-oriented social movements are thus located at the level of civil society struggling for the control of historicity in terms of the production of cultural meanings or in Melucci's terms "naming the world".[11] These social movements are concerned with the altered forms of production and social life in contemporary societies.

In summary, trends may be identified within the NECC that seem to indicate a shift from critical struggles to positive struggles. These shifts are noticeable on all the levels of struggles described by Touraine. On the level of historicity, NEPI is the NECC's attempt at redefining the normative patterns and cultural orientations of educational discourse. On the institutional and organisational levels, the NECC's actions are not only about access but more crucially about contesting the amount of influence and the nature of decisions taken in organisations and institutions to which the NECC does have access. In all of these shifts in strategies and actions, the NECC attempts to assert an education specific identity.

THE NECC AND CIVIL SOCIETY

The identity-oriented paradigm foregrounds the pluralistic nature of actors in social movements. In this section, we look at the nature of actors within the NECC and discuss the contested nature of the notion of "civil society". We investigate the notion of "civil society" in an attempt to understand the diverse nature of actors within the NECC constituenciess. We argue for an "expansive" view of the state,

which allows for a view of "civil society" as a pluralistic, political and contested terrain.

The constituencies of the NECC

The constituency of the NECC is made up of parents, students and teachers across class, cultural, political, racial and gender positions. Each of these groups has differing interests vis-a-vis each other and within themselves but are united by the specific issues taken up by the NECC.

In relation to its constituency, the NECC is becoming increasingly aware of the different kinds of people and interests that it is attempting to represent. This has entailed a sophistication of the notion of "the people" and an acknowledgement of the varying, but legitimate, interests of the various individuals who constitute "the people". Tensions among "the people" are not only whether they are nationalist or socialist[12] but also whether they are woman and rural, for instance. This is highlighted in current problems about the different role functions of the different sectors within PTSAs. Not only is the NECC contending with differences among these sectors (parents, teachers and students), but also with differences that exist within each sector.

In addition, the constituency of the NECC is not restricted to formally constituted sections of society but includes smaller groupings which are brought together over specific issues. One such example of this is the "intensive learning campaign". In this campaign, individual teachers, experts and concerned individuals, church groups, foreign funders, service sectors and media promoting alternative learning material (such as Learning Nation, radio Metro's educational focus and TV educational programmes, particularly on TV2 and TV3) all form a network, in a loose alliance, to promote effective learning. The NECC, in this network, contests the educational space in civil society in order to establish a "culture of learning". These networks, however, are issue-specific and therefore transitory and *ad hoc*.

The social location of the NECC

The NECC has explicitly stated that it is independent of the ANC and that it is not an education organisation *en route* to becoming the new education department.[13] It had thus located itself firmly in civil society.

> The NECC sees itself as the guardian of the (newly created) public sphere insofar as education is concerned in the present and future South Africa.[14]

A NECC workshop in May 1991 identified fifteen common perceptions of the NECC as an oppositional force. These perceptions can be demarcated into four broad categories. Firstly, the NECC is a "crisis management" body that engages the

government in order to solve the present education crisis. Secondly, the NECC is a "resource/service" organisation whose task is to provide educational resources/services to its affiliates and to establish alternative educational programmes and projects. Thirdly, the NECC is the "education department in the wings". The more extreme version of this conceptualisation, which regards the NECC as acting in a "caretaker" capacity, argues for the disbanding of the NECC as a result of the unbanning of the ANC. Within this conceptualisation the NECC is seen as an organisation which engages the present government in order to seize power with the intention of establishing a unitary education system. Fourthly, the NECC is an independent organisation whose task is to re-present the interests of its affiliates vis-a-vis the present apartheid state and the future democratic state. Within this "potential social movement" perspective the NECC is seen as a major "historical actor" in activating a social movement in education with the prime responsibility to formulate and construct a People's Education.[15]

There is concern in some quarters that if the NECC is located in civil society and is neither an appendage of the ANC nor "an education department waiting in the wings", it will be depoliticised. This perception necessitates a clarification of the conceptions of civil society, the state and the political.

The notion of civil society

The explicit formulation of the notion of "civil society" first appeared in the eighteenth century[16] as a response to the nature of the state beginning to emerge at that time. Implicit in this conceptualisation of civil society was the assumption that the sphere of civil society was constructed to protect public life from the excesses of the newly emerging centralised state. In this sense, the notion of civil society implies the potential for maintaining a critical distance from the centralised state, pressurising the state to act in the interests of the public, and maintaining checks and accountability on the centralised state.

In the historical development of the notion of civil society it has come to mean various things from varying perspectives. However, there appears to be consistency in the way in which these conceptualisations of civil society presuppose particular conceptions of the state.[17] In all these conceptions the state and civil society are perceived as being distinct, separate and independent but related to each other. In addition, as Keane[18] notes, there is a tendency to present civil society as some sort of an organic unity, generating an almost mythical sense of harmony. The view implicit in these various positions is that the state is essentially centralised and monolithic. Simultaneously, the state is primarily seen as the only arena for the political.

The problems with these conceptions of both civil society and the state are particularly poignant within contemporary developments in global politics. These include the collapse of party-states of a Stalinist mould in Eastern Europe, the

pluralisation of civil society and the emerging problems of representation and participation. Melucci aptly describes these contemporary developments as the "democratisation of everyday life".

> Today this distinction between the state and civil society, upon which the political experience of capitalism was based, has become unclear. As a unitary agent of intervention and action, the state has dissolved. It has been replaced, from above, by a tightly interdependent system of transnational relationships, as well as subdivided, from below, into a multiplicity of partial governments, which are defined both by their own systems of representation and decision making, and by an ensemble of interwoven organisations which combine inextricably the public and the private.[19]

There is general unanimity among theorists of contemporary, capitalist societies that the pluralisation of the state and civil society is the distinctive feature of these societies. They also concur that the central problem within this context is one of deepening democracy.

Using Gramsci, it is possible to reconceptualise both the nature of the state and civil society. This entails dissolving the traditional distinction between the state and civil society and perceiving the state as diffused.

Gramsci argued for an "expansive/integral state" whose actions are located not only in what is traditionally regarded as "political society" but extend, through the process of hegemony, into the domain of civil society. For Gramsci, the "state = political society + civil society". This also indicated the various sites within which the modern capitalist state functions. The hegemonic influence of the state is endemic within the totality of the social fabric. However, the hegemonic influence is never complete, but rather always in a state of flux, contestation and conflict. The primary actors in this process are what Gramsci called the "intellectuals", whose task is to win over the consent of the general populace to the hegemonic views.[20]

Fundamentally at issue in Gramsci's expansive view of the state are the implications for the view of what constitutes the political and, correlatively, the implicit governmentalisation of the state in traditional views of the state. It is clear that if the state is what expands both political society and civil society then, as Hobsbawm[21] points out, Gramsci uses an extended sense of the political. As a result, the domain of civil society is in itself a political instance. This is a necessary proposition because it is the ideas – ethical, cultural and economic – which become dominant in political society that are contested and hegemonised in civil society. The political, therefore, does not simply refer to parliamentary procedures and practices, neither does it simply refer to acts of governments. The tendency to portray the political in these sorts of ways are views that not only restrict the meaning of what is political, but also governmentalise the state. As Mouffe points out[22], the state-as-government views also tend to obfuscate the ethical, cultural, economic and intellectual functions of the state.

What then is the view of civil society in this scenario? Following Gramsci, Mouffe[23] argues that civil society is the realm of consent. However, consent is what

is struggled over and is always contradictory and fraught with conflict. Civil society, in this sense, is a dynamically contested terrain. Gramsci refers to civil society as "trench systems of modern warfare".

> In the period after 1870 ... the forty-eightist formula of the permanent revolution is expanded and transcended in political science by the formula of civil hegemony. The same thing happens in the art of politics as happens in military art: war of movement increasingly becomes war of position ... the massive structures of the modern democracies, both as state organisations, and as complexes of associations in civil society, constitute for the art of politics as it were the trenches and the permanent fortifications of the front in the war of position: they render merely partial the element of movement which before used to be the whole of war.[24]

Furthermore, the existence of organisations in civil society are necessary factors for civil society to manifest such characteristics. From the necessity of civil organisation, it follows that civil society is located at the interface between the people and centralised government. Melucci calls this space the "public space".

Public spaces, for Melucci,

> assume the form of an articulated system of decision-making, negotiation and representation, in which the signifying practices developed in everyday life can be expressed and heard independently from formal political institutions.[25]

The location of public spaces are structurally ambivalent in relation to the double meaning of the terms "representation" and "participation". Representation allows interests to be articulated whilst potentially also silencing them. Participation allows for the promotion of the interests of the actors whilst also potentially allowing for these interests to be submerged for the benefit of the common good. People who are in organised groupings are in a position to articulate particular demands. But in so doing they silence other demands since the articulation of demands, although representative, entails a process of selection, whether such selections are for strategic purposes or otherwise. This silencing of other demands also raises tensions in relation to the extent to which representatives in fact represent the interests of all the members of a particular organisation or group. In addition, demands that do not get represented and articulated tend to be submerged in demands that are articulated, while people who are not in organised groupings do not have access to processes of representation and their demands do not get articulated at all.

Public spaces as connecting points between political institutions and articulated, collective demands are increasingly becoming the domain for social movements in contemporary societies. As Melucci puts it,

> ... contemporary social movements can act within these public spaces without losing their specificity. The main function of public spaces is that of rendering visible and collective the questions raised by the movements. They enable the movements to avoid being institutionalised and, conversely, to ensure that society as a whole is able to assume responsibility for ... the issues, demands, and conflicts concerning the goals and meaning of social action raised by the movements ... it thereby makes possible a "democracy of

everyday life", without annulling the specificity and independence of the movements or concealing the use of power behind allegedly neutral decision-making procedures.[26]

The "civil society" location of the NECC does not mean that it is or will land up being apolitical. On the contrary, it is precisely the "civil society" location that enables the NECC to re-present its diverse constituency and potentially maintain struggles for educational transformation in the future.

What the NECC is increasingly contending with the politically diverse nature of civil society and the need to contest a broad range of issues in order to develop a coherent position in relation to a specific issue, education. Because of its "co-ordinating" structural features which enable it to re-present a major portion of the educational constituency, the NECC may conceivably be the best historical actor in a social movement of education. The NECC may also be in the best position to articulate the demands of this important constituency it is supposed to re-present. However, to fulfil this role the NECC will need to ensure that the tensions between what is articulated and therefore, re-presented, is not seriously estranged from what is inarticulate. In other words, the degree of the NECC's representativeness will be the most important determinant in its possible future role as a major actor in the education social movement in a post-Apartheid South Africa.

We do not see only one, single, social movement characterising processes of social change in a post-Apartheid South Africa. Instead, we see a plurality of social movements coming into existence, organising around various, specific issues in different ways, with different constituencies. In this context, the NECC could be a significant actor in the social movement in education in a post-Apartheid South Africa. The NECC will only be able to fulfil this potential for counter-hegemonic educational transformations if it is able to develop the education social movement's articulations of alternative cultural orientations and normative patterns in education on the level of historicity. The fact that the NECC is already beginning to manifest such characteristics suggests that it has the potential to fulfil this task.

Given the emerging shifts from critical to positive struggles in the collective actions of the NECC, the civil society location of the NECC and the pluralisation of its constituency, the central issue at stake is whether and how the NECC ensures that its articulations project an alternative political project on the historicity level. Only if and when the NECC is able to ensure this will it continue to be an effective agent for deepening democracy and transforming the educational space of civil society in South Africa.

In this paper we have argued that processes underway within the NECC indicate a shift from critical to positive struggles. These shifts have allowed the NECC to assert its own education-specific identity, although the actors within it are from diverse economic, political, cultural and gender backgrounds. In addition, we have argued that its civil society location could facilitate the NECC's co-ordination of its pluralistic constituency and enable it to be a major actor in a possible social movement in education in a post-apartheid South Africa. This would imply the

development of a positive social movement in education, which would manifest an identity that is education specific and transformative.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The change in the nature of the political terrain is variously characterised as shift to the "politics of transformation", the "politics of reconstruction" or the "politics of development". See H. Wolpe and E. Unterhalter, (eds.), *Apartheid Education and Popular Struggles in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1991) and M. Nkomo, (ed.), *Pedagogy for Domination: Toward a Democratic Education in South Africa* (New Jersey: African World Press Inc., 1990). For the purposes of this paper we choose to use the term "politics of transformation".
2. See *COSATU Congress University of the Witwatersrand*, (July, 1990); World Conference of Religion and Peace South African Chapter (WCRP-SA): National Inter-Faith Conference on Religion-State Relations held in December 1990 proceedings: *Believers in the Future* (1991) and 19-21 July, People's Health and social services, First Joint National Conference - *Critical Health Conference Edition*, 36/37 (December, 1991).
3. There is a growing debate about whether these social movements are "new" social movements or just social movements See Offe, K. "New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics", *Social Research*, 52, 4 (1985); J. Cohen, "Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements", *Social Research*, 52, 4 (1985); K. Eder, "The "New Social Movements": Moral Crusades, Political Pressure Groups or Social Movements?" *Social Research*, 52, 4 (1985), K. Brandt, "New Social Movements as a Metapolitical Challenge: The Social and Political Impact of a New Historical Type of Protest", *Thesis Eleven*, 15, (1986). For the purposes of this paper we choose to use the term social movements.
4. A. Touraine, "An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements", *Social Research*, 52, 4 (1985): 90.
5. *Ibid.*
6. A. Tourained, *The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 62.
7. A. Touraine, "An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements", *Social Research*, 52, 4 (1985): 91. It is important to note that although Touraine continues to use the term "class" he does not mean it in an economistic sense. To quote Touraine, "I no longer agree to defining class relations within a strictly economic mechanism, and intend instead to portray society as a cultural field torn apart by the conflict between those who take over historicity for themselves and those who are subjected to their domination and who are struggling for the collective reappropriation of this historicity, for self-production of society". A. Touraine, *The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 62.
8. A. Touraine, *The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981): 85-90.
9. The Orange Grove Primary School has now opened as a Model D school. This allows the school to remain a state school with unconditional admittance of black pupils, in terms of the number of such pupils admitted. The South African Jewish Board refused to accept the Orange Grove Primary School after the controversy around the government's decisions about the school broke out.
10. A. Melucci, "The Symbolic Challenge of Contemporary Movements", *Social Research*, 52, 4 (1985) and Touraine.
11. Melluci, 809.

12. See R. Levin, "People's Education and the Politics of Negotiation in South Africa", *Perspectives in Education*, 12, 2 (1991) and G. Mashamba, "A Conceptual Critique of the People's Education Discourse", *Review of African Political Economy*, 48 °).
13. NECC People's Education Workshop, University of the Western Cape, (July, 1990).
14. Buckland quoted in R. Levin, "People's Education and the Politics of Negotiation in South Africa", *Perspectives in Education*, 12, 2 (1991): 13.
15. NECC "Perceptions of the NECC". Paper delivered at an NECC Workshop, 30-31 May, (1991).
16. See M. Narsoo, "Civil Society - A Contested Terrain", *Work In Progress*, 76 (1991) and J. Keane, *Civil Society and Democracy* (London: Verso, 1988).
17. For instance, the views of Hegel, Poulantzas, Hobbes, Locke, Paine and de Toucqueville. These views of civil society tend to correlate to five conceptions of the state: 1) the security state, 2) the constitutional state, 3) minimum state, 4) the universal state, and, 5) the instrumentalist state. See J. Keane, *Civil Society and Democracy* (London: Verson, 1988).
18. J. Keane, *Civil Society and Democracy* (London: Verso, 1988).
19. A. Melucci, "The Democratization of Everyday life" in J. Keane, and P. Meier (eds.), *Nomads of the Present* (London: Hutchinson, 1989), 171.
20. See C. Buci-Glucksman, *Gramsci and the State* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1980); P. Anderson, "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci", *New Left Review*, 100 (1976-77); S. Sassoon, *Approaches to Gramsci* (London: Writers and Readers, 1982); E. Hobsbawn, "Gramsci and Marxist Political Theory" in S. Sassoon (ed.), *Approaches To Gramsci* (London: Writers and Readers, 1982).
21. E. Hobsbawn, "Gramsci and Marxist Political Theory" in S. Sassoon (ed.), *Approaches To Gramsci* (London: Writers and Readers, 1982).
22. C. Mouffe, "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci" in T. Bennet et al (eds.), *Culture, Ideology and Social Process: A Reader* (London: OUP, 1983).
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Selected Prison Notebooks*, 242-3 quoted in Showstack Sassoon, 98.
25. A. Melluci, 173.
26. *Ibid.*, 174.

Perspectives in Education, 1992/93, Vol 14 No 1 35-45

Reading Programmes: Are they the Best Form of Intervention in our Schools?

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Junior primary school teachers, specifically those in Department of Education and Training (DET) schools, have been trained to adopt a mechanical approach to the teaching of reading. Their training places an emphasis on method to the virtual exclusion of theory. The work of one Sub A teacher in a DET school who uses the Molteno Project Breakthrough to (Xhosa) Literacy Programme is taken to illustrate this mechanical approach. The case study is used to set teachers' knowledge of the reading process in tension with intervention programmes. The paper tries to address the issue of teacher in-service education and reading resources in terms of improving reading levels in DET schools.

INTRODUCTION

> We never fully know what implementation is or should look like until people in particular situations attempt to spell it out through use.[1]

The educational terrain in South Africa has undergone a great deal of upheaval in at least the last fifteen years. The impetus to move from preservation to transformation brings with it the injunction for the right to be literate. A conservative estimate suggests that 25% of African children are growing up to be illiterate, indicating that the schooling system "is not contributing to a significant degree to the diminution of the problem of illiteracy".[2] Perhaps this is not surprising, given the way in which the majority of primary school teachers are trained in South Africa, and given the hazards and constraints of teaching in a Department of Education and Training (DET) school.

Initial training of DET teachers is often unsatisfactory, with courses offering inadequate education theory and inappropriate teaching methods.[3] Certainly in DET colleges of education, if not in the others in South Africa, student teachers are not generally encouraged to think critically about their courses either during the course or during assessment. Indeed the philosophy of Fundamental Pedagogics, widespread in DET colleges of education, discourages a critical stance.[4] Once qualified, in-service education is sporadic and, at times, irrelevant to the issues of day-to-day practice.[5] Generally speaking teachers are not encouraged to act independently in the DET system.

Much of what teachers do in classrooms is centrally prescribed and planned, even down to what shall be done in each lesson of the year. In the words of one teacher: "What is required in our schools is to follow the syllabi and schemes of work as they are written."[6]

This kind of prescribed control is at its most obvious in the initial teaching of reading. Teachers are trained to be conversant with and practised in an approach to reading instruction which emphasizes phonics (sounding the syllables and letters) and word recognition ("look and say"). The focus of this training is on method – the "how" of reading instruction. "We were all used to the phonic method. We all believed that our children could learn to read by using phonics."[7] Teachers in training appear to be given little to no insight into the rationale underlying these methods, nor are they encouraged to develop a conceptual understanding of the reading process.[8]

In other words, junior primary teachers are led to believe that children can learn to read only if they learn all the syllables and sounds of a language successfully, and *initially*. So entrenched is this understanding of the reading process that those children who fail to remember all the syllables and sounds fail at "reading" and often fail Sub A. My own work with a number of DET junior primary teachers both in the Western and Eastern Cape and Natal on classroom reading practice, suggests that these teachers believe that reading is fluency in word calling. Sub A teachers, in particular, suggest that reading for meaning is not the major concern, fluency and accuracy in reading are the most important aspects.[9]

This entrenchment of a mechanical approach to the teaching of reading is exacerbated by the popular view held by DET teachers that indigenous languages must be taught through phonics because the orthographies of these languages are phonetically consistent and difficult. For this reason, teacher educators or other literacy interventionists trying to introduce alternative approaches and practices to these teachers often meet with resistance. Teachers argue that while it may be alright to adopt other approaches and methods to the teaching of the reading of English (who is to argue with the "experts" anyway), it is not alright with indigenous languages – other methods will not work, phonic knowledge is initial and essential.[10]

So we can say that DET junior primary teachers are over-prepared to implement certain methods in the classroom. It is difficult to fault these teachers for the "correctness" of their teaching methods, they have learnt them well and practised them often. Their lessons run in an orderly fashion with routine and regular behaviour patterns. So over-prepared are they to instruct in reading that they speak only of "method" when talking about the reading process.

And it is precisely this "over-preparedness" which is at issue when outsiders try to improve reading standards in schools. One such outside intervention is the Molteno Project Breakthrough to Literacy Programme.

THE BREAKTHROUGH TO LITERACY PROGRAMME

The Breakthrough to Literacy Programme, which is part of the Molteno Project of the Institute for the Study of English in Africa (ISEA) at Rhodes University,

Grahamstown, is officially sanctioned and promoted by the DET. The Breakthrough to Literacy Programme aims to teach "initial reading and writing in the mother tongue in Sub A".[11] Whether this aim is actually realised is another matter. What is at issue for the purposes of this paper is whether an ill-informed, mechanical interpretation of this Programme can lead to success.

The Breakthrough Programme is a well established and well regarded programme in South Africa. The Teacher's Manual describes the Programme as a child-centred method which uses a language-experience approach.[12] The language-experience approach is regarded as progressive in style and theory, distinct from approaches which emphasise the mechanics of reading.[13] Drawing from psycholinguistic theory, rather than from behaviourist theory, the language-experience approach results in classroom practices very different from traditional practices of reading and writing instruction, for it emphasises the development of reading strategies which make *meaning* initial and essential.[14]

During its period of implementation the Molteno Breakthrough to Literacy Programme has met with a great deal of acceptance, and research reports note the considerable virtues of the approach in the classroom.[15] For example, the processes of reading and writing are learned simultaneously, and the method allows pupils to read familiar and relevant print, as it is their language experience that is used as the text for learning.[16] Given these positive experiences and reports of the Programme in action, and given theory of curriculum change, the question as to why Breakthrough appears to be so easily accepted into DET schools (and it is[17]) is an interesting one. Looking at the work of one Breakthrough teacher may provide some possible answers.

THE STUDY

Mxoli, a teacher of eight years experience, has used the Breakthrough to (Xhosa) Literacy Programme for three years in her Sub A class of "high achievers". She was one of two teachers in her school in Khayelitsha chosen to use the Programme. The criterion used for choosing her was that the principal wanted "dedicated teachers who would use the apparatuses that were to be provided by the Molteno Project".[18]

Mxoli has followed the Teacher's Manual with care, so in Stages One and Two of the Programme she teaches "a stipulated core vocabulary ... before moving to the next stage". She teaches the core vocabulary as prescribed in the Manual through the sentence method. "The sentence is divided into words and per day the teacher teaches the syllables and letters of that word/s."[19] At the end of each Stage she "tests the children by flashing the words and each child reads the word. I count the number of words he or she could read and after that they are grouped according to their abilities".[20]

However Mxoli had "one major problem" which she could not resolve, that of the "last, weak group", who, when it came to examination time "automatically failed".[21] She sought the advice of her Programme facilitator but found no satisfaction there. While both the facilitators that visited her classroom over this period were qualified teachers,

> ... they had never taught children in class ... To them all the problems that were encountered by teachers in their classroom were due to lack of understanding the manual and not reading it thoroughly.[22]

However, when the opportunity arose to research her own practice in a course in her Bachelor of Education Degree, Mxoli decided to investigate the situation herself through an action research process.[23] This was a risky decision for her to make because the Programme facilitators "strictly wanted the teacher to stick to the Manual steps".[24]

Mxoli decided to "disobey" the Manual instructions slightly by teaching the class as a whole rather than in groups so that she would "avoid neglecting the weaker pupils". She also invited a participant observer/s into the action so that she could reflect more easily on her practice. What is important to add here, for purposes of this argument, is that Mxoli thought she was using a language-experience approach to her reading instruction because the Manual and her Breakthrough trainers said so and "as I thought the method I was using was the best for teaching reading".[25]

At the end of the first cycle of planned action and discussion with her participant observer she commented:

> I had to tell the truth that this cycle was a failure ... Although some children could read some words they could not use these words meaningfully in a sentence if you asked them. They would simply give the sentence that was taught in class. They would never think of another sentence whereby the same word could be used meaningfully.[26]

Nevertheless she decided to press on with the Programme as set out in the Manual as she felt "powerless". But she decided to video record her next lesson. What both she and Nozizwe, her participant observer, noticed when studying the video recording was the apparent boredom of the children, particularly when the breaking of words into syllables and letters was in progress. Nozizwe suggested that it may have been due to the fact that the children knew the vocabulary; Mxoli interpreted this boredom as being due to the children not being able to make sense of what they were expected to learn. She comments, "While the children broke up these words they seemed to lose meaning when the children read them. I thought that was why some children end up not remembering the word."[27]

And here came her first real moment of doubt. Her training had ensured that she would regard the teaching of phonics and word recognition as initial and essential in the instruction of reading. The Breakthrough Programme had not challenged this understanding up to this point. Now the video recording brought her face to face with her practice and it became the catalyst to challenge her thinking. This was

because she was viewing the recording with particular questions in mind - questions which she herself was posing (about "weak readers" and reading). The viewing, then, was a self-directed critical look at her own practice. She writes:

> After I watched the video recorded lesson I realised that the lessons I presented, on their own, would never improve the reading of the children. The children during these lessons learnt to recognize new words through 'look and say' and phonics. ... Through the video recorded lesson I came to see that ... the children would know reading as only reading of sentences, words, syllables and letters. They would never know that reading was reading for meaning and enjoyment. Such children would never become good readers.[28]

Mxoli was learning that relying on the mechanics of reading (phonics and look-and-say) would not break children through to literacy. She then embarked on a course of action which differed fairly substantially from that of the Breakthrough Programme. She introduced *all* the children to a range of story books *immediately*.[29] And she began to emphasise reading strategies which enhanced meaning, for example, using contextual clues for guessing the words, and stressing meaning rather than word accuracy. She describes this innovation as

> the most difficult task I ever experienced in my life or teaching experience. I had never taught reading to my children before I was sure that they had mastered phonics very well. ... I thought the children who had been taught and had mastered the way in which words could be divided into smaller phonological segments made more rapid progress in reading. ... But I had to throw this belief away.[30]

Now that they were working with real story books she saw how her pupils were "mastering skills that are required for reading and becoming a good reader".[31] She had managed to introduce her pupils to "what reading is all about". "What I had been striving for in my class was taking place".[32]

In this new state of "under-preparedness" rather than "over-preparedness" Mxoli came to realise that

> ... no one can rely on a programme to teach reading, in the form of a package that can be taken off the shelf ... Reading is not taught by prescription. ... The Breakthrough system could not be used as the only aid for teaching reading, because it has little relevance to reading and promoting good readers.[33]

COMMENT

Theory of change has consistently shown that top-down approaches to curriculum change have little to no effect.[34] It also shows that teachers are resistant to innovation.[35] So why do teachers adopt the Breakthrough Programme so willingly and implement it so easily, pedagogically speaking, although it is apparently based on a very different approach to the teaching of reading as that traditionally used?[36] Possibly because the Breakthrough to Literacy Programme rides on current understandings, practices and behaviours in DET schools in two very significant ways – the method, and the treatment of the teachers.

Firstly, Stage One and Two of the Programme (which seem to take at least the first two terms of schooling to complete) put an emphasis on learning a core vocabulary through phonics and word recognition – the teacher teaches a pre-prepared sentence which is then broken into words and finally into syllables and letters. In other words a feature of the Breakthrough Programme is that children "focus completely on the complex set of skills involved [in learning to read]".[37] No child can progress in the Programme without first learning correctly this prescribed core vocabulary. So the Programme slots into, rather than challenges, teachers' current understandings of the reading process.

Secondly, Breakthrough teachers are instructed to "follow the method as set out in the Manual. Do not develop your own variations ... the Manual should be a constant guide and companion".[38] So teachers are once again treated as non-authoritative agents and put into the all too familiar position of implementing a method in a somewhat mindless fashion. Moreover, Breakthrough facilitators, recognized as expert uses of the course,[39] visit each teacher to check on the correctness of implementation of the Programme. And what they expect to see is "what is prescribed in the Manual being implemented".[40] Again, an all too familiar style of visitors to DET classrooms.

It would seem that , however unintentionally, the Breakthrough Programme can, in some cases be accused of denying teachers access to the theory/theories of reading. In terms of implementation, and in terms of information given to teachers in the Manual, teachers seem not to be invited to think about their current understandings of the reading process in any transformative way. The Programme, in terms of initial method and style of dissemination, is reminiscent of an authoritarian stance – a stance congruent with the authoritarian approach that teachers are trained to adopt. There is, therefore, ostensibly nothing new to learn from the Programme outside of management and organisation of the reading lessons.

LESSONS TO BE LEARNED

Teacher educators and reading programme implementers and facilitators, together with teachers, should participate vigorously in examining common sense understandings about the reading process. Studies show that if teachers have a well developed concept of reading and if they are able to communicate these concepts during reading instruction then their learners develop a strategic concept of reading.[41]

If teachers are expected to improve reading standards in schools then it seems essential that they release themselves from the institutionalized practices that they stick to so rigidly. Like Mxoli, for example, they will need to learn that designers of schemes of work which assume that children must have some knowledge of phonics *first* misunderstand that phonics always and only look obvious to people

who *can* read! In this context it is also as well to remind ourselves that only a very small proportion of the words a child learns to read are acquired by direct instruction; and that the vast majority of phonic "rules" and grammatical relationships that actually influence a child's reading have never been expressly taught.[42]

The Breakthrough to Literacy Programme claims to teach children to read in one year (Sub A). The Teacher's Manual explains that

> The aims and objectives given below are targets towards which you are moving step by step during the year. With Breakthrough, you can reach these targets ... And you yourself will find satisfaction having brought the children successfully to the first great achievement in education: literacy.[43]

While one cannot make grand claims from the citing of one case (Mxoli's), there is international evidence to support the view that subscribing exclusively to a programme such as Breakthrough to Literacy (or any other), does not, in the end, break children through to literacy.[44] It is a misrepresentation of how children come to read. More particularly in DET schools where the majority of children do not come from a book saturated environment.

According to Clay and Cazden the "larger the chunks of printed language" children can work with, "the richer the network of information they can use, and the quicker they learn". Children in classrooms benefitting from Clay and Cazden's research start with real story books from day one (they work with five and six year olds in their schools in New Zealand). In their view, teachers should draw attention to the "detail" of print only long enough for the uninitiated children (those not in a print saturated environment) to discover its existence, and then use it in isolation "only when absolutely necessary". Clay and Cazden measure the effectiveness of their interventions into early reading instruction by using the criterion of "independent reader". They describe the end point of early reading instruction as being reached when children have a "self-improving system: they learn more about reading every time they read, *independent* of instruction" (my emphasis).[45]

It seems that this criterion for success, producing readers who have a self-improving system, is one that *all* styles of early reading instruction should be measured against for effectiveness. If the early reading instruction, regardless of what method is used, is producing readers who can develop their conceptual understanding of the reading process and their ability to make meaning every time they read, then that instruction must be celebrated for its accomplishment. The criterion of an independent reader with a self-improving system allows for both a quantative (how many children in the class are reading independently?) and a qualitative assessment (what reading strategies are the children using when they read alone?) of the intervention programme. It would perhaps be wise for teachers, teacher-educators and policy makers to keep in mind, therefore, that any plan of action for reading instruction in (DET) schools needs to be a *balanced* one that

takes into account the range of strategies and conceptual understandings children need in order to be counted as readers.

To expect children, especially in DET schools, to learn to read independently without a range of books on which to practice right from the first day of school is rather like asking someone to learn to ride a bicycle by reading about it. Looking at the high levels of reading achievement in well resourced House of Assembly and Delegates schools, in particular, and given that the relationship between socioeconomic status and reading achievement is an indirect one, a strong case can be made for the provision of a range of story books in classrooms. Books that can be used immediately and often. On the question of immediacy, it is a sobering experience to read that Mxoli found that introducing story books to her children *at the same time as* "doing" the Breakthrough Programme was "the most difficult task I ever experienced". And the regular access to books cannot be overstated if children who are independent readers is the goal of junior primary instruction. It is worth noting that studies such as Tizard, Schofield and Hewison in which parents were encouraged to hear their children read from books provided by the school, gained more than those in the control group who were not "practising" reading, *and the improvement was still apparent one year later.*[46] The maxim that we learn to read by reading needs to be given content in terms of resourcing schools with a range of books.

DET junior primary teachers have a much more onerous task than their colleagues in other education systems in South Africa. They have the responsibility of introducing children to print through the mother tongue *as well as*the additional pressure of teaching children to read in English. Junior primary teachers in English and Afrikaans medium schools have some three years to "get children literate" in a language, DET teachers have only one. It is difficult to imagine how teachers can be expected to achieve bilingual literacy, given the insubstantial nature of their training, their lack of insight into the reading process, their obedience to an outside authority, and the paucity of reading material in their classrooms. A quick check of most House of Assembly schools will show that those children are reading anything from twenty to 200 books in Sub A, in comparison to most of their peers in DET schools who read anything from naught to twelve books.

Also, and in order to move from the fixation on "method" that is so prevalent in our colleges and schools, teacher-educators and programme facilitators will need to be much more generous in the transmission of their knowledge to teachers. Recognising that theory and practice are not two distinct entities but two different and yet interdependent phases of the change process, may prevent our interventions from leading to cycles of cumulative ignorance, or to what Sarason refers to as change without change.[47]

In this period of transition in South Africa DET teachers are particularly vulnerable. Intervention programmes are mushrooming in their schools. While many, if not most, interventions are claimed to include a transformational

perspective, the facilitators/teacher-educators are failing in their intentions if they do not engage critically and actively with the pedagogical understandings with which teachers have been inculcated. As Salmon & Woods would have it when explaining the move from modification to metamorphosis, "it is the people, the programmes and the practices which form the crucible for understanding how real change happens".[48] So often the people (the teachers) are the last "to know". Yet the work of the teacher quoted in this article suggests that, given the opportunity, there are teachers capable and willing to engage critically with their work in order to change their pedagogical practices.

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16. C. MacDonald, *Eager to Talk and Learn and Think* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1991), 48.
17. Personal communication with a Breakthrough facilitator.
18. Mxoli, 9.
19. *Ibid.*, 4.
20. *Ibid.*, 3.

21. *Ibid.*, 3.
22. *Ibid.*, 28.
23. Mxoli's Research Essay is housed in the Education Library, University of Cape Town.
24. Mxoli, 52.
25. *Ibid.*, 19.
26. *Ibid.*, 20.
27. *Ibid.*, 24.
28. *Ibid.*, 25.
29. The Breakthrough to Literacy Programme does have twelve graded readers but the first of these, Reader One, which uses only single-letter consonants, may only be used in Stage Two and only with the top group. This is usually in the second quarter of the school year. So, for some children it is four months or more into the school year before they handle a book for the first time, for others it is longer.
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5. The length of the essay should not exceed 5 000 (five thousand) words.
6. The referencing format of *Perspectives in Education* must be used (see inside back cover for referencing details).
7. The essay must be related to education.
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10. Members of the editorial board, regional and associate editors of *Perspectives in Education* are not eligible.

Perspectives in Education, 1992/93, Vol 14 No 1, 47-53

Treating Trash Seriously: Teaching Popular Fiction in South Africa[1]

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Many English Literature departments at South African universities have undergone quite radical shifts in syllabi and teaching methods over the past ten years. From being departments that taught largely metropolitan texts drawn from the "Great Tradition" of canonised works, syllabi at such places have been altered to include South African and African texts as these were accepted into the ranks of high literature. The various literary theories which underlay such choices and critical treatment of texts were also increasingly uncovered and held up for scrutiny. Increasingly as well, the notion of high literature as being the only literature worth studying has also been challenged, and popular fiction forwarded as an equally important and valid field of study. This article looks at the potential importance of popular fiction as a field of study and briefly discusses the pioneering courses in popular fiction taught in the English Department, University of Durban-Westville.

This paper contains some preliminary thoughts and observations on the subject of popular fiction and the teaching thereof, a subject which is relatively new in debate in South Africa. To start off, as is usual in discussions of popular fiction, one needs to define this problematic term: indeed the very problem of defining the field of study is central, fundamental and demands the attention of anyone who thinks seriously about non-canonical texts.

What is signified by the "popular" of popular fiction? Most definitions would include "enjoyed (and probably purchased) by many readers", and in differentiating popular from "serious" fiction it is widely assumed that its readers, as well as being numerous, possess little capacity for literary discrimination. While the identification of popular with commercial success and the enjoyment of many seems relatively straightforward, the popular-serious distinction is a theoretical mine-field. One can cite the familiar examples of Dickens and Shakespeare , who were both popular in their day and subsequently designated serious, together with many others. Clearly the categories are overlapping and historically variable. This tendency to connect popular fiction with a mass, undiscriminating readership has its source ultimately in the practices of literary criticism which has tended to regard popular fiction as second-rate fiction, a kind of "left-over" after literature of permanent value has been identified and canonised.

In South Africa, the term *popular fiction* is further complicated by the existence of a body of fiction which could also be called broadly popular in that it aims for a wide readership, a body of fiction which was, by and large, excluded from serious study in university English Departments because of its repetitive and formulaic

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nature, but one that differs widely from what most people would term popular fiction because of its overt political content and intended audience. One might call this *popular protest fiction* to distinguish it from what the Frankfurt School has termed *mass fiction* that is thrillers, romances and so forth. *Mass fiction* is written to be widely read as is popular protest fiction in South Africa, the difference being that the second aims at a specifically politicised audience whereas the first aims at a mass undifferentiated market, politically speaking. The crucial difference between the two types is *who* writes and for what purpose: mass fiction is written for profit, for large sales with no further care for readership, the exception being certain romance writers, such as Barbara Cartland, who maintain that they perform an educative function on matters of love for their readers; *popular protest fiction* lacks the cynical profit motive, aiming rather at consciousness raising and political education. Writers of protest fiction would not consider themselves as writing "mass fiction" but rather writing for the oppressed masses – overlapping only in the factors of formulaic and repetitive content and appeal to a mass audience. For the purposes of this paper, the term *popular fiction* is used as an umbrella term for both mass and protest writing.

Let us turn now to situating popular fiction and its study in South Africa. Many English Literature departments at South African universities have undergone quite radical shifts in syllabi and teaching methods over the past ten years. From being departments that taught largely metropolitan texts drawn from the "Great Tradition" of canonised works, syllabi at such places have been altered to include South African and African texts as these were accepted into the ranks of high literature. The various literary theories which underlay such choices and critical treatment of texts were also increasingly uncovered and held up for scrutiny. Increasingly as well, the notion of high literature as being the only literature worth studying has also been challenged, and popular fiction forwarded as an equally important and valid field of study.

This has happened not without many bitter debates on the nature of literature and what university English Literature departments should be teaching. The Leavisian notion of high literature being the repository of significant human values, of it being autonomous of social reality and historical pressures, and thus floating free of any contaminating influences of the present has been cherished and defended in many quarters. From such a view of literature developed a critical discourse and methodology whose primary focus was on fine discriminations of sense and emotion, on the primacy of individual felt experience and understanding. Only those initiated into these mysteries of such critical practice could understand what was meant by Literature.

Various schools of Marxist thought, on the other hand, valued literature for its potential to reveal social processes at work, to uncover "false consciousness" and expose the underlying dynamics of social relations. Literature was shown to be profoundly shaped by the social conditions from which it springs. Such a contextual

approach would examine the nature of society, the historical period, the writer's class position and gender, and the potential readership of the text. The only major school of Marxist criticism that can claim to have seriously studied the area of non-canonized texts is the Frankfurt School, particularly its members Adorno and Horkheimer. However the mass-culture critique which informed such study led to a similar evaluative process as that undertaken by Leavisites. Here "authentic" literature was seen to be those texts that opened up a distance between the "literary" and the "ideological", those that stand in a critical relationship to society. Tony Bennett comments on the paradox that:

> ... Marxist criticism has functioned largely corroboratively in relation to the distinctions forged by bourgeois criticism: approving of the same body of canonized works but for different reasons, and disapproving of the rest – lumped together as a residue – but, again, for different reasons. Bourgeois criticism has thus been simultaneously patted on the back for having recognised which works are truly great and taken to task for having misrecognised the reasons for their greatness.[2]

Uneasy with this division of literature into canonized works and the" residue", some academics became increasingly aware that they were expending an enormous amount of time and intellectual energy teaching to their captive audience of students a literature that very few were actually reading. The literature people were actually reading, they were ignoring. They became aware that popular fiction met the imaginative needs of a much larger reading public than the "high" literature they traditionally taught. Ashley concurs:

> [Popular fiction] constitutes the principal, perhaps only, fictional reading of the majority of the population of modern industrialised societies; it is widely assumed to influence lives profoundly; and is surely of major significance in the understanding of those lives, particularly the processes by which meanings are constructed and exchanged.[3]

Furthermore, a serious look at the field of vast range of popular fiction reveals that it is extremely varied and that, despite its formulaic character, it is able to encompass potentially subversive meanings which can challenge dominant ideologies such as sexism and racism as powerfully as anything in high literature.[4]

As Ashley suggests, popular fiction may have a significant influence over its readers' perceptions and assumptions of meaning. While the degree of influence is difficult, if not impossible, to measure, it is reasonable to assume that popular fiction is involved in a process of meaning creation for its readers, if only to support pre-existing views. The fact that most readers read popular fiction of the mass fiction variety for enjoyment and escapism, in other words for light reading, should not negate for academics and students the value of studying popular fiction for what it reveals of a society at a given moment. Researchers in popular fiction would find even in something as lowbrow as the soapie "Loving" much to reflect on given its wide popularity within a sector of the South African population. Christopher Pawling suggests on this score:

> Like all forms of cultural creation, popular fiction both reflects social meanings/mores and, perhaps more importantly, *intervenes* in the life of society by organising and interpreting experiences which have previously been subjected only to partial reflection. Thus to 'understand' popular fiction is to examine it as a form of cultural production and as a process of *meaning creation* which offers a particular way of thinking and feeling about one's relationship to oneself, to others, and to society as a whole.[5]

Popular fiction texts, whether of the mass fiction type or the popular "protest" type, address individual readers in particular ways, inviting their complicity in particular ways of viewing the world. Althusser's concept of interpellation reveals the nature of the invitation and its acceptance: the reader who responds to the text's "hailing" accepts the version of reality offered and is temporarily the "subject" of the text whose ideological work is thus effectively discharged. While it is possible that a reader already sited in ideology will reject the hailing, it is presumably a condition of the popular text that a large proportion of those hailed will respond positively. It follows that a study of popular fiction is important in order to unpack such meanings and analyse their content and the narrative strategies by which they are conveyed. The end goal for such study would be to enable students to become more critical readers, aware of the ways in which popular fiction, broadly speaking, is formulaic or manipulative or sexist, as the case may be – as indeed is much high literature. For similar reasons, English lecturers use the tools of literary theory to unpack texts from the established canon and students should be able to transfer skills acquired in analysing canonical texts to the reading of popular fiction.

Related to this point is the thorny issue of a method of analysis for popular fiction. To assume that there is one mode of analysis appropriate for popular fiction and another that is suitable for high literature is problematic, leading to a position where, as Tony Bennett says, "non-canonized texts are necessarily collapsed back into the conditions of production from which they derive".[6] This results in studies of popular fiction which are limited to empirical surveys of the production, marketing and consumption of popular fiction which deliberately neglect meanings embodied within the texts themselves. Ashley comments on the dangers of the notion of a separate method for the study of popular fiction:

> Such a separation would appear to contradict the insistence that the popular and the serious are shifting and overlapping categories. And it may further be argued that to remove work on popular texts to a separate terrain, with its own distinctive methodology, is to endorse its marginalisation, to legitimise Literature in its tendency to ignore.[7]

What is needed, perhaps, is a creative synthesis in which detailed textual reading is combined with an exploration of historical and social context. Those following such an approach hold that a study of both form and content, together with context, can provide a crucial point of entry into the world of "lived ideology". Researchers following this point of view trace back to Levi-Strauss and others who have examined the way in which the narrative process in primitive myths serves an ideological function in resolving conceptual contradictions in those societies. The

emphasis then is not only on what the myth says but also how it says it. Ideology informs both content and form, and the narrative itself provides a crucial link between the external reality of social experience and the internal meaning which is derived therefrom. Such an approach would see genre analysis of popular fiction as important as various genres adhere (often quite rigidly as in Mills and Boon romances, or the James Bond novels) to various narrative patterns or norms of expectation which are crucial factors in the reader's acceptance or rejection of the text. As Fredric Jameson has noted:

> Genres are essentially contracts between a writer and his readers; or rather, to use the term which Claudio Guillen has so usefully revived, they are literary institutions, which like other institutions of social life are based on tacit agreements or contracts.[8]

But genres do not exist in a vacuum. They circulate in specific social, cultural and historical contexts (a fact which the Formalists and Structuralists tended to overlook).

When it comes to studying South African popular fiction, the above points are as valid as they would be for British or American popular fiction. However, because of its colonial past and long history of deep and bitter divisions and struggles at political, social and economic levels, the development of popular fiction in South Africa has taken a rather different course from that of Britain or America. While many products of British and American popular fiction abound on the South African market, and South Africa has its own popular fiction industry,[9] there is also a large body of popular protest fiction that has resisted domination and silencing.[10] These two types of popular fiction are comparable in that both have a history of being excluded, or "ghettoized" as Leslie Fiedler calls it, from mainstream studies of English literature. However, as interest in South African literature has increased and South African literature become more established in English Literature departments, so too has the study of popular protest fiction which was not originally intended by its creators to be studied in universities.

Popular fiction courses of the University of Durban-Westville English Department are a case in point. The first popular fiction module was introduced into the syllabus in 1987. Our department is keen to foster critical reading skills in our students and this is where we felt popular fiction could make a useful contribution. If students are reading anything at all, they are reading more popular fiction than anything else, so it is useful to use what students by and large regard as accessible texts to encourage a process of critical reading. We offer two popular fiction courses to our two first year groups and two to the Honours (postgraduate) students.

The English IT (a first year terminal course) group look at South African examples of popular fiction as their entire course has a South African focus. We look at examples of the popular romance, the trickster tale and popular protest fiction all drawn from early issues of *Staffrider* magazine. We undertake generic analysis using the specific stories set for close textual and contextual analysis. Popular "protest" fiction, despite its radical nature follows generally almost as set a

pattern, or formula as the metropolitan "mass fiction". Its primary function is consciousness raising among fellow blacks therefore the theme of the evils of apartheid is a constant, with a comparatively narrow range of attitudes and slogans, surface symbols of good or evil (*baases*, sell-outs, madams, cruel farmers, convicts, *tsotsis*, priests, shebeen queens and so forth) used to illustrate the theme.[11] Contextual analysis is particularly important with such writing for it is almost meaningless without a knowledge of the South African society from which it springs.

The English I popular fiction segment has a combination of metropolitan and South African popular fiction. Unlike the IT course there are no set texts so the course is largely theoretical – we discuss how popular fiction works in society, its cultural functions, its constantly shifting relationship with literature and we consider broadly generic analyses of romances and thrillers. However, from 1992 in an attempt to break down the divisions "high literature" and "popular literature" we are to set a range of texts (including what might have been hitherto referred to as "popular literature") with no reference to these categories.

At honours level it is possible to explore the topic of popular fiction in much more depth given the seniority of the students . One of the courses is part of the Twentieth Century British fiction paper. Here we discuss various theories of popular fiction and look at examples of the popular romance, thriller and working class novels, the latter forming an interesting ideological contrast with the first two genres. The second course on popular fiction we offer as part of the South African literature paper and here we study examples of mainstream popular fiction for example, Wilbur Smith, popular protest fiction for example, *Staffrider* and workers' writing for example, Modikwe Dikobe, *Black Mamba Rising* and so on. We look further at the production of these texts, their publication and dissemination.

What has been the response to these courses? In general all have been well received because students have found the texts accessible and, in the case of popular "protest" fiction, relevant. The novelty of treating "trash" seriously has also no doubt contributed to the courses' popularity. A serious drawback has been a lack of reading capital, especially among undergraduate black students. This makes it difficult to talk generally about popular fiction. Many students have had very little exposure to any fiction, even popular fiction – Western culture "household names" of popular fiction like James Bond, or Mills and Boon, do not resonate at all for some students. I have found it necessary, therefore, to deal with specific texts rather than theorise abstractly about popular fiction. Popular fiction is now an accepted part of the English department at UDW. But we are aware of the danger that popular fiction will be seen as a minor tradition alongside the great tradition posited by Leavis. It is as well to heed Tony Bennett's words on how a study of popular fiction should properly lead to a reevaluation of literature:

> ... it is necessary ... to treat it [popular fiction] as a strategic site upon which to deconstruct the entire system of concepts of which popular fiction is at once a part and the excluded

term; and thereby to propose new terms for the theorization of the internal economy of the sphere of fiction as a whole.[12]

This is a longterm but worthwhile goal to strive for. The ideal to work towards is one in which analysis is directed at fiction with no need of a qualitative adjective. In the short term, as a strategy to achieve this ideal, it is important in my view to engage students in critical interpretation of what they do read in an effort to break down these barriers.

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1. A version of this paper was presented at the AUETSA Conference at Fort Hare University, July 1991.
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3. B. Ashley, *The Study of Popular Fiction* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1989), 3.
4. There are a number of articles which look at the potentially subversive quality of various genres of popular fiction, traditionally seen as conservative. See, for instance, R. Brunt, " A Career in Love :The Romantic World of Barbara Cartland ", in C. Pawling (ed.), *Popular Fiction and Social Change (London: Macmillan Press, 1984), 127-157; and C. Belsey "Deconstructing the Text:Sherlock Holmes" in T.Bennett (ed.), Popular Fiction* (London:Routledge, 1990), 277-289.
5. Pawling, 4.
6. *Ibid.*, 9.
7. Ashley, 5.
8. F. Jameson, "Magical Narrative: Romance as Genre", *New Literary History*, 7 (1975):135.
9. The obvious example to quote here is Wilbur Smith whose adventure stories are bestsellers both in South Africa and abroad.
10. It will be interesting to monitor the course of this branch of popular fiction,post- the release of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of various political organisations and the repeal of much apartheid legislation.
11. See for debate on this issue Njabulo Ndebele "Turkish Tales and Some Thoughts on South African Fiction", in A. Oliphant and I. Vladislavic (eds.), *Ten Years of Staffrider* 1978-1988 (Johannesburg:Ravan Press,1988), 318-340. Also, more recently, the Albie Sachs debate on "committed" literature.
12. Bennett, 262.

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Perspectives in Education, 1992/93, Vol 14 No 1, 55-66

The Educational Agenda of Sustainable Development and the Potential of Video in Environmental Education

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This article illustrates the way in which the principles of critical pedagogy inform the concept of sustainable development. This illustration is used as a basis to outline the potential of a community video methodology, which is based on critical pedagogy, to realise the educational agenda of sustainable development.

INTRODUCTION

Today film and print media play a major role in promoting environmental awareness. Nearly every day, we read, see or hear about environmental issues – be they "clean up" campaigns, protests or advertisments of "environment friendly" products. Popular and official interventions are wide-ranging but they share a common aim: to inform the public and stimulate individual and collective action against problems of environmental degradation. Common purpose to educate amidst diversity of approach and interest is a striking feature of contemporary South African efforts to address environmental degradation. One of the questions which has not been explored is the educational logic which underlies this trend. This is the focus of this article.

The central argument is relatively simple. Global concern about environmental degradation is being consolidated largely through the concept of sustainable development, as formulated in the World Conservation Strategy (WCS) by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN).[1] The concept incorporates principles of environmental management which express a particular educational agenda. A close look at these principles shows that they reflect, albeit rather loosely, principles of critical pedagogy, as formulated by Freire.[2] These are now being expressed in a growing number of grassroots "sustainable development" projects in southern Africa. The emergent enviromental education agenda is, therefore, one based upon the exposition of critical pedagogy during the 1970s and early '80s.

In addition, I present an exploratory argument that video technology, harnessed to community video methodology, is an appropriate means to articulate the educational logic of sustainable development. This argument is based on recent research on problems of conserving the alpine grasslands of Lesotho.[3] Initially a community video methodology was integrated with socio-economic and botanical studies to facilitate the sharing of knowledge between scientists and herders and

stock owners. As research progressed, we realised that the community video methodology, which incoprorates principles of Freireian critical pedagogy, was helping us to understand what sustainable development means at a grassroots level. Through that experience came the realisation of the parallels between critical pedagogy and principles of sustainable development. Accordingly, in exploring this set of relationships here, I suggest in conclusion that community video has an important role to play in illustrating and realising the educational logic of sustainable development.

I provide the grounds for these arguments through discussion of the theoretical inter-relationship between sustainable development, critical pedagogy and community video. The discussion skirts around a host of complex questions (for example, the idealist projections of sustainable development; the theoretical ambiguities in subject presentation and representation in documentary film production). My concern is to present the educational premises of contemporary conservation principles in the knowledge that there is much which has yet to be explored and, undoubtedly, will be pursued as South Africa engages with the global effort against environmental degradation.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Sustainable development, as initially expressed in the WCS, is seen as synomous to "living resource conservation", and is defined as:

> ... the management of human use of the bio-sphere that it may yield the greatest benefit to present generations while maintaining its potential to meet the needs and aspirations of future generations.[4]

Essentially, the WCS seeks to promote awareness that economic development and conservation of natural resources cannot be separated. As Hopper notes:

> The challenge is to ensure that development conserves... There can be no development unless the environment is left with an enhanced, or at minimum, unimpaired capacity to sustain over time the new activities which intrude upon it.[5]

Sustainable development has become the unifying concept for global co-operation. It has been advocated as the universal policy option by influential agencies such as the World Bank, the United Nations and the World Wildlife Fund.[6] In South Africa, it is the basis of the country's Integrated Environmental Management policy and the President's Council report on a National Environment Management Strategy.[7] Corporate business recently endorsed the concept at the 1991 Southern African International Conference on Environmental Management, and advocated private sector support of environmental education in schools. Nonetheless, there is little consensus beyond the rhetoric of sustainable development. It demands substantial re-organisation of how we learn about environmental processes and how we practice resource management, which will have profound political and economic

ramifications for conservation agencies and governments. The principles have been advocated, explicitly and implicitly, in WCS documents[8] can be summarised as:

1) the need to pool resources,
2) the need for collaboration,
3) the need to conduct ongoing research,
4) the need to educate (to change attitudes and practices).

As I have outlined elsewhere, these principles overlap.[9] The need to pool resources and for collaboration stems from the scale and complexity of environmental problems. The WCS recognises that preservation of natural resources will not be possible unless complex socio-economic issues, notably population growth, poverty and society's energy demands, are addressed as well.[10] Accordingly, the WCS recognises that no single agency has the skills and means to address all the relevant issues. Therefore, people must pool their resources and collaborate in environmental research and management.

Likewise, the range of issues to be addressed assumes a need for ongoing research. The WCS recognises that sustainable development cannot be achieved unless we understand the interaction of humans with their environments. The WCS thus directs attention to the dynamics of ecological processes which are specific to particular localities and forever changing in form and content. Accordingly, research must be historically sensitive in order to identify changes and underlying patterns. Finally, the vision embodied in the notion of sustainable development presumes a need to educate. The WCS argues that sustainable development requires nations to broaden their perspectives on development beyond material improvement of society; that is, to take into account the potential cost of development in terms of degradation of natural resources and social stress. The specific concern is to change attitudes and practices in ways which ensure improvement of socio-economic conditions along with enhancement of natural resources.

These principles imply a further principle of extensive participation by individuals and organisations in environmental research and management.[11] The rationale is that collaboration promotes integration of knowledge and skills, thus helping participants gain a better understanding of the role of human practices in the environment and, hence, a better understanding of how and why they may need to change their attitudes and practices. As a result, they are prepared to develop appropriate conservation\development strategies and to act collectively.

In themselves these principles are rather vague. However, as even their proponents have acknowledged, the principles demand substantial re-thinking of the relationship between society and nature, as is testified in the rise of "green" movements in Europe and elsewhere. Society is seen to make, and to be shaped by, nature even if there is as yet no agreement on the dynamic of this relationship.[12]

There is growing realisation, stemming from advocacy of extensive participation, that these principles demand considerable re-organisation of environmental research and management structures in order to understand the relationship between nature and society.[13] The principle of extensive participation requires that all affected by a project must be given the opportunity to construct a mutually agreed course of action. This presumes a commitment to achieving a consensus of knowledge and implies recognition of a wealth of knowledge and expertise in populations which are affected by environmental degradation. The imperative is to tap this "resource" which implies use of the Participatory Research approach in environmental research and management.

In other words, the logic is that ecological processes in a locality can be better understood if professionals (for example, scientists, planners) work with other parties such as residents and workers. The latter can identify better than the former the problems which they experience, while the former have knowledge of broader conditions and the means to integrate information. Traditional dependence upon "experts" to define research, to carry it out and to prescribe solutions is challenged. Instead participants become involved in an exercise to re-think their perceptions of problems, to educate one another, and collectively to devise ways of solving environmental problems.

In following through this logic, it is apparent that the residents of a locality, who participate in a conservation/development project, are really the "clients" of external agencies. If change in attitudes and practices is to be achieved, the residents must be incorporated in the management of a project. Accordingly, external agencies (for example, sponsors, government departments, non-government organisations) must devolve management authority and emphasise their service role in order to build locally based research and management structures. This means developing "community" in project localities to stimulate collective and individual responsiblity for the environment. To summarise, WCS princples imply that:

1) Research is a combined effort by acknowledged professionals and other participants;
2) Research is designed to educate "experts" as much as the people subjected to projects;
3) Project initiators must facilitate rather than supervise projects;
4) The service rather than authority role of external agencies such as government departments, NGOs, and scientists must be emphasised.

A strong educational and political agenda underlies these implications; namely, learning through praxis and democratising of procedures in project planning and operation. If one looks at how these agendas are being expressed in grassroots

projects committed to sustainable development, it is apparent that many adopt, though often unwittingly, Freirian critical pedagogy.

CRITICAL PEDAGOGY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

It is not feasible to present a detailed analysis of the correlations between the principles of critical pedagogy and sustainable development within the confines of this article. My concern here is to draw together a wide range of issues which have yet to be examined comprehensively and which deserve attention in the light of popular and official interest in sustainable development.

Critical pedagogy demands a dialogic relationship between teacher and student.[14] Learning is regarded as a collaborative task which builds upon the skills of both participants and which is an engagement through which both create knowledge. This perspective rejects methods by which the teacher imparts knowledge to a passive and receptive student. This Freire dismisses as "banking education".[15] The general argument is that education in these terms is restrictive: there is little scope to acknowledge other interpretations of knowledge;there is little scope for the student to acknowledge the uncertainty of knowledge. Critical pedagogists assert that education must engage teacher and student in ways that allow both to explore knowledge. Built into the principle of a dialogic relationship is the principle for education to be a dialectical process: a process in which participants learn to see beyond objective reality and to understand the subjectivity of interpretations of reality, to reflect upon the origins of knowledge, and to recognise that knowledge poses questions rather than simply provides answers. The relationship between teacher and student is, therefore, one in which both participate in developing critical awareness about their place and activities in the world. In other words, the intent of critical pedagogy is to link theory and practice, thought and action, with the teacher as a facilitator rather than an instructor.

Out of this relationship between teacher and student and the educational process, arises what Freire identifies as "conscientizacao", which has been translated as "learning to perceive, social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action gainst the oppressive elements of reality".[16] This is, as Youngman notes , "the development in the learners of critical understanding of society and an awareness of their capacity to change society".[17]

There are striking parallels between the principles of Freireian critical pedagogy and those of sustainable development as formulated by IUCN. The dialogic relationship sought between teacher and student is reflected in the principles of pooling skills and means, and collaboration, in environmental research and management.The premise of education as a participatory process is reflected in the principle of extensive participation. The quest to link theory and practice is reflected in the principle of for ongoing environmental research which integrates local and scientific knowledge. As with critical pedagogy, the WCS principles for

environmental research and management suggest a dialectical understanding of the way work is organised, and of the relationship between society and nature, in order to stimulate critical consciousness of the environment and the capacity to change attitudes and practices. In short, while critical pedagogy focuses on developing the human imagination to understand how it shapes the world, the WCS principles seeks to harness this understanding in collective efforts to manage the environment.[18]

The logic of critical pedagogy is evident in many projects committed to sustainable development. Generally speaking, the logic is expressed in terms of struggles to recognise the power of knowledge and the role of individuals and society in its making and application. It is, firstly, a struggle to promote awareness that people make their environments and can change them, in the face of common belief that the environment is something separate from society. Secondly, it is a struggle to encourage collective action to change society in a global context where problems seem insurmountable to the individual. At root, the common concern is to re-educate ourselves about our role in shaping the world.

In the field of conservation, this is expressed in the challenge to the political and economic interests of established management structures (for example, government departments, para-statal conservation bodies, Tribal Authorities). For example, the CAMPFIRE (Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources) project in Zimbabwe, whilst committed to promoting community based management and commercial use of wildlife resources, acknowledges that this implies considerable re-definition of the role of government departments. Not least of the required changes is transformation of legal structures to transfer state "ownership" of these resources to newly constituted, rural community groupings.[19] Moreover, CAMPFIRE's commercial efforts challenge established strategies such as the international CITES agreement to ban trade in some wildlife products such as ivory.[20]

The political ramifications of sustainable development in South Africa have recently been explored in a collection of papers edited by Cock and Koch. But, with the exception of Jacobsohn's contribution, the underlying principles of sustainable development and their logic are not identified.[21] The result is that the arguments for sustainable development tend to be uncritical and idealistic. For instance, a number of contributors demonstrate the necessity of collaborative research at the grassroots level of society in order to create "communities" which can perceive the many ecological and economic dangers of environmental degradation and, on this basis, develop appropriate strategies.[22] However, the tendency is either to presume the existence of community or to trust that institution of a democratic process will generate the necessary participation, stimulate environmental awareness and, hence, promote capability to solve problems of environmental degradation.[23]

While this perspective supports the editors' efforts to demonstrate why environmental issues should be part of the political agenda in South Africa, the

emphasis on democratic procedures fails to take proper account of the educational process it involves and hence of its limitations in realising the ideals of sustainable development. While sustainable development demands democratisation of environmental research and management procedures, such procedures can only establish the basis for changing attitudes and practices. Community participation must subsequently be informed by recognition that the "community" includes not just the subjects of a conservation\development project but also imported researchers, and even government officials, as the CAMPFIRE project emphasises. Furthermore, if the link with critical pedagogy was acknowledged, the support for community participation would have to be qualified by acknowledging that assymetries of power are not eradicated in the teacher-student relationship[24] and hence, by extension, are certainly likely to remain in the applied context of environmental research and management.

Nonetheless, Cock and Koch's book raises some of the educational questions which South Africans will need to address if sustainable development is pursued in this country. While there is clearly a close link between the principles of sustainable development and critical pedagogy, this needs to be explored more fully if ideals and aspirations are to be realised. It is in this context that video technology offers itself as a potentially significant instrument. In particular, community video which incorporates critical pedagogic principles can be usefully applied to the quest for sustainable development.

COMMUNITY VIDEO AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Video technology and its increasing accessibility have opened up opportunities for people to document issues, to modify the content, and to communicate knowledge with relative ease. Community video operates on the principle that all participants should be involved in the entire process of film production. The argument is that a methodology in which the subjects control the choice of topic, filming and editing, promotes participants' critical awareness of what they are doing and of the world around them. It also reveals opportunities for collective and individual intervention in that world. This participatory approach is set against standard documentary film procedures where the film maker's adoption of the role of "expert" and control of both production and product minimise opportunities for exploration and expression of knowledge. In community video, professional video producers and technicians are required to adopt a facilitative role to let the other participants record and produce films.

The appeal of community video lies in the way it brings people together to participate in an educational process of creating knowledge – of engaging in debate and reflection that entails re-evaluation of attitudes and practices – and, thereby, develop a critical understanding of the self and of the world. While the principles of community video reflect the Freireian concern with dialogic relationships and

conscientisation, the methodology of community video is a direct application of Freire's method of establishing "culture circles" to facilitate adult education: "we launched a new institution...a 'culture circle' since among us a school was a traditionally passive concept. Instead of a teacher, we had a co-ordinator; instead of lectures, dialogue; instead of pupils, group participants; instead of alienating syllabi, compact programs that were 'broken down' and 'codified' into learning units".[25]

With regard to environmental research, community video can be a useful means for learning about ecological processes and for initiating action to conserve resources. Firstly, the medium provides an audio-visual record which is easily communicated and which allows for immediate recall and feedback to clarify issues and problems. Secondly, the method draws together participants, with different backgrounds and knowledge, to engage directly with that knowledge. In other words, it promotes collaboration in identifying the many and varied ecological processes of which each participant will have only a partial knowledge. Thirdly, the method stimulates debate and reflection, thereby facilitating sharing of knowledge and exploration of ideas expressed by participants.Fourthly, and perhaps most importantly, it helps create "community" amongst participants which is an essential premise to collective and individual responsibility for the environment. This is to say, the method draws people together to organise themselves collectively so that they can identify common issues of concern, to document their common understanding of the issues, and finally, to create a grouping which serves as a basis for applying acquired knowledge in daily activities. Nonetheless, like Freire's method in practice, community video is a difficult and time-consuming process. By its very nature, community video is concerned as much with the process of film production as it is with film product. It entails considerable negotiation amongst participants to develop an awareness that they can intervene in a situation, and to develop a common understanding of the issues to be addressed. It involves compromises which can challenge the interests of professional participants (for example, ecologists, video producers). It stimulates the creation of a community of people with mutual concerns which fosters obligation to collective action beyond production of a film(s).

These dynamics are evident in my current project with Basotho herders and stock owners. One of the reasons for integrating community video in this project was its potential to "decolonise ethnographic film" in terms of minimising the voice of the documentary film maker in favour of the film "subjects".[26] However, as with Freire's aspiration for critical pedagogy to stimulate "conscientisation", we were soon forced to recognise that this was an ideal rather than a given feature of community video. As I have detailed elsewhere, the project has been marked by continual questioning and re-evaluation of perspectives as the herders and the academic researchers contend with each other's interests and aspirations.[27]

In the first instance, the project required explanation and illustration of the concept of film to herders, some of whom had not seen television programmes and

films. As the project progressed, we had to contend with the many questions which it raised. These ranged from different academic and cultural aspirations in making a film, amongst the researchers and between them and herders, to issues such as potential contradiction of the ideal for participant consensus on representation of the subject on film by the video producers' professional skills and choice of cinematic techniques. Some of these questions were resolved more in spirit rather than strictly in terms of adherence to the methodology. For instance, while herders soon developed the confidence to dictate content in terms of problems and issues they felt were pertinent, as opposed to those objectively identified by the researchers, the latter retained control of the filming itself and the editing (subject to reviews of drafts by herders). The outcome was that after a year's work there was general consensus on the main problems for conservation and livestock management in alpine Lesotho.

During the course of the project, these questions raised considerable discussion on how to mediate between concern about the process of community video film making and concern for a film product – a problem inherent in community video methodology. On the one hand, the process of making video films stimulated insight into complex ecological dynamics, as herders and researchers shared information on the interaction between livestock management practices and biotic and abiotic phenomena. On the other, the process also revealed the participants' subjective perceptions of these interactions. The ensuing debate encouraged participants to challenge their perspectives and activities.

The question then was how to express these dynamics in the film product. A danger of community video is that the emphasis on the film making process is replicated in the final film in the form of uncritical testimonies which can be of limited value.[28] Yet, a film is unlikely to provide objective insights without recourse to the dialogue and debates that occurred during its making. In turn, these issues raise a host of subsidiary questions on what to represent and how to do it when editing begins.

While these questions are the subject of current debate on ethnographic film amongst anthropologists,[29] their source in video film production appears to lie in the foundations of critical pedagogy. As Youngman points out, Freire's exposition of critical pedagogy is based on ambiguous grounds:

> Sometimes, he takes a clearly realist position... But at other times he takes a phenomenological position which propounds an objective-subjective dialectic without adhering to the primacy of a pre- existent reality.[30]

CONCLUSION

Current global concern to achieve sustainable developments as enunciated in the WCS, is clearly informed by Freireian critical pedagogy. Like Freire, the WCS emphasises the uncertainty of knowledge. In the case of the latter, the emphasis is on how little we know of the dynamics of bio-physical phenomena in relation to

socio-economic developments. Questions abound about the causes of environmental degradation, evolution and potential consequences of ecological processes. Accordingly, the WCS advocates re-examination of our knowledge and values of economic development and resource conservation. Likewise, the way the WCS questions the belief that the society is separate from the environment, reflects the critical pedagogic concern to problematise people's education and the knowledge they adhere to. Finally, the WCS principles of pooling resources and collaboration in research and resource management reflects the Freireian perspective on the importance of linking theory with practice and thought with action.

The question is how to apply these principles in practice. It has been argued here that video technology is a useful medium for articulating theoretical and practical efforts to learn about ecological processes and to manage the world's resources. However, community video is also time-consuming in the way it generates collective re-evaluation of knowledge and practices. Yet, herein lies the fundamental justification for using community video in environmental education and management. It draws participants into a "common struggle", indeed delineates community in these terms. This is exactly what proponents of sustainable development urge of the world's nations in the call for collaboration and participation, and in terms such as "Caring for the Earth" and "Our Common Future".[31] But the educational premises to support collaboration and participation have yet to be comprehensively assessed. Community video promises to be a useful instrument both to explore the educational logic of sustainable development and to examine the philosophical foundations of this logic.

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in a number of southern African countries. The intention is to use video to facilitate documentation of the different country projects, and to stimulate communication and learning of environmental problems and the experiences of women across the region.

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Perspectives in Education, 1992/93, Vol 14 No 1, 67-80

An Emerging Approach to Teacher Development: Who Drives the Bus?

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Reflecting upon the Natal Primary Science Project (PSP), this paper describes an emerging approach to teacher development that is composed of six key elements, namely materials and resources, teacher inservice training, coping strategies, teacher participation, curriculum development and evaluation. During eight years of operation, the PSP has evolved a number of different approaches to teacher development. These are described and placed within the framework of curriculum development theory. PSP's current perspective of the way in which educational change should be undertaken by Inset practitioners is elaborated, with critical attention to the distinction between teacher enablement and teacher empowerment.

INTRODUCTION

The Natal Primary Science Project (PSP) is part of a national Inset initiative currently operating out of the Urban Foundation, is a nongovernment development agency. During the eight years of its operation the project has changed considerably in its philosophy and approach to both teacher development and curriculum development.

Originally the project developed by responding to contextual constraints, problems and issues that were highlighted through practice and dialogue with others, including teachers. In 1990 PSP underwent a major evaluation which culminated in a national evaluation report[1] and five regional reports, for example the Natal report.[2] The evaluation was a significant event for Natal PSP as it enabled the PSP staff, teachers and other stakeholders to articulate their views of the project. It encouraged critical reflection and dialogue which enabled the crystallization and documentation of PSP's emerging approach to teacher development.

The purpose of describing this approach here is not only to provide a framework for ongoing development in PSP and similar projects, but also to open the way for more rigorous theoretical debate about Inset and teacher development in general.
PSP as a teacher development project consists of a set of essential elements: (i) materials and resources, (ii) teacher inservice training, (iii) school and classroom based strategies, (iv) teacher participation, (v) curriculum development, and (vi) evaluation.

This article describes the history of change in each of the elements, elaborates Natal PSP's current perspective of the way in which educational change should be undertaken by Inset practitioners, and details the values underpinning PSP's current

theory of operation. The PSP approach is compared with some current trends and perspectives on curriculum development in South Africa and internationally. Some implications of this for PSP and other Inset projects are considered. An analogy of "bus driving", suggested by a group of teachers, is used to characterise emerging shifts in teacher development.

THE CONTEXT

PSP operates in an education system that continues to suffer from the deprivations of apartheid education. The system operates through centralised and bureaucratic processes where teachers are not involved in making decisions and are generally not expected to express opinions on educational matters. In most classes rote teaching methods predominate and there is a heavy emphasis on the content. This view of education is reinforced by syllabus documents, textbooks and examination styles that dominate South Africa. Teachers are generally ill prepared for the realities of teaching as most colleges of education do not engage student teachers in problem solving or critical processes which would prepare them for the harsh realities of teaching; such as managing large classes, dealing with multiple classes, coping with limited resources, language constraints and coping with conflict. PSP aims to redress some of these issues through the development of alternative classroom methods and processes of teacher empowerment.

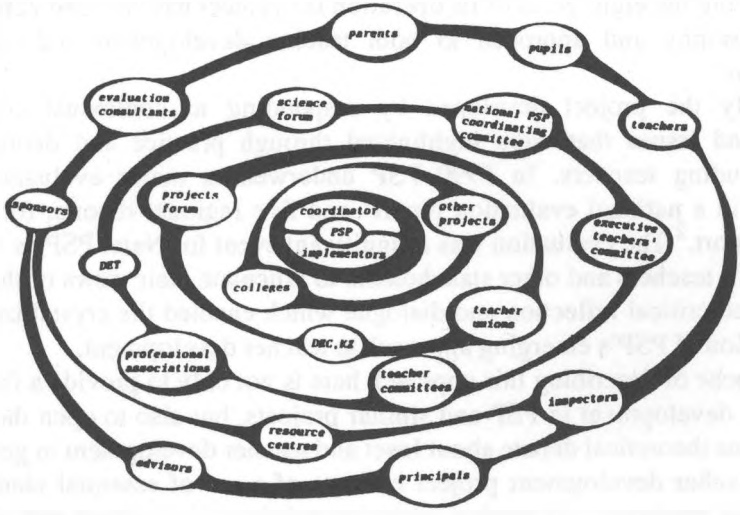


Figure 1: The network of actors involved in the Primary Science Project

The context within which a teacher development project operates consists of a network of actors. When PSP started, the network consisited only of the PSP coordinator, inspector and teachers; by 1990 it included, as far as possible, all

participants in active roles. The more inclusive network acknowledges that changes in classroom pratice do not depend on teachers alone. Such changes should be understood and supported by other actors, like principals and inspectors, who need to be convinced of the need for school based innovations.

Figure 1 shows the current actors involved in PSP. A teacher development project operates within this network, but primarily focuses its attention on the teacher, who is thus presented as the central key in the expanding network of curriculum development actors.

MATERIALS AND RESOURCES

The earlier responses to curriculum development in the U.K. and U.S.A. and to the crisis in education in South Africa were to develop packaged materials and make these available to schools and teachers.[3] This type of approach can be termed the *develop and disseminate model*. Initially PSP adopted an approach that included the development and dissemination of materials. In 1983 a science kit was developed and this formed the basis of PSP's intervention for many years. Up until 1990, most PSP materials and resources were developed by PSP staff. Teacher involvement was largely restricted to comment on the these materials. For instance, teacher comments, as well as staff opinions, led to a substantial redesign of the science kit into a more manageable system.

INSERVICE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF TEACHERS (INSET)

Although materials were produced by PSP staff, the project started with a model of teacher development that included teacher training as a key component. This was immediately a move beyond the *develop and disseminate model*. Science kits were provided only to schools whose teachers attended a programme of inservice workshops. These typically lasted for a week, with one or two day follow-up workshops in subsequent years. This model for teacher development can be termed the *develop and train model*.

Despite the provision of training in the use of the material innovation, the science equipment that was supplied often remained unopened in a principal's office. Moodie suggests that the approach of putting more materials into the classroom produces little change in either teaching or in learning[4] and this was demonstrated also to be true of PSP, in many instances.

There are many reasons why the first two models of teacher development were fraught with problems and failures. A key fault was that teachers were taken out of their real life context and taught something that was not part of that context. The models were prescriptive and assumed that the developers knew what the teachers needed and that this body of knowledge could be deposited to the teachers. It assumed that attitudes and teaching practices would change by demonstrating

alternative approaches. Teachers had little say in the identification of their needs nor in the design of the programmes targeted at them.

Clearly the role of the workshop as an effective change strategy, when implemented in a prescriptive manner, needs serious reconsideration. Without consideration of contextual issues, it has limited viability for producing change in teaching practice.[5] Inset practitioners need to reflect upon the view of change and style of workshop they are adopting, especially as workshops have dominanted Inset practice in South Africa.

In 1989, an example of teachers engaging in material and resource development provided a stimulus to rethink the approach to material development that was in operation. Mr Bheki Nene, who has been associated with the project for several years, offered to coordinate an action research project with a group of teachers in the New Hanover area. The group was supported by the Umgeni Valley Project, Natal Parks Board and PSP.[6]

Teachers experienced great problems with teaching the ecology sections of the syllabus because it was taught theoretically. At first some teachers felt they needed a fish pond into which all of the water organisms needed could be placed, and around which they could build a programme. Further thought ruled this out as an option because it was fraught with problems: since it would be too expensive to build a pond at each school, how could all schools get to use one pond at one school, which organisms would go into the pond, and who would keep the pond clean in the holidays? These weaknesses emerged while teachers were drafting a funding proposal for a prospective sponsor. Through a process of discussion and reflection teachers decided that their major problem was that they could not identify and name the organisms in the natural water ecosystems in the area.

The teachers decided that they would need certain teaching materials to make effective use of natural water ecosystems for teaching the ecology section and so set themselves to task. They successfully developed and piloted a set of support materials including a plan for outdoor activities, a reference book[7] with which to identify water organisms, an activity poster and a game. Most importantly, the teachers will use these materials because they have a sense of ownership.

This example led PSP to reconsider its position on the role of teachers in the material development process. We now believe that it is crucial for teachers to be involved in the production of classroom materials, with the project playing a facilitative support role. So, for instance in 1991 and 1992, teachers were engaged in the production of lesson plans and classroom materials that consider contextually relevant issues, like language, class size, available resources as well as current research on the way in which children form concepts and the role of process skills in learning. The materials were developed after teachers had undertaken a thorough analysis of the syllabus requirements and project personnel had made inputs on language theory, concept formation and process skills. Teachers utilised the theoretical inputs and resource materials made available by project staff and

developed these into viable classroom materials and teaching strategies based on their experience of what is possible. Materials are not highly technical, are flexible, easy to adapt and replicate. More importantly, the materials are being used by teachers.

Curriculum materials that have been centrally produced have had little effect on the classroom context as teachers have not adopted them. Thus the *research, develop and disseminate model (RD&D)*[8] has been challenged strongly in South Africa and alternative approaches proposed.[9] Central to these alternative strategies is the role of the teacher as participant in material and curriculum development.[10]

Thus, PSP recognises that commitment to change occurs only through active involvement in the process. Neither *the develop and disseminate* nor *the develop and train models* are effective strategies for producing meaningful classroom change, even when follow-up workshops are provided. Change in classroom practice is not an externally driven rational problem-solving process.

SCHOOL AND CLASSROOM BASED STRATEGIES

Although PSP workshops were school focused, many of the problems associated with the transfer of the innovations to the school context were highlighted prior to the 1990 evaluation. PSP had begun to grapple with a programme of activities aimed at assisting teachers to transfer new skills to the classroom and to assist teachers to cope in their school situations. These focused on developing with the teachers:

* approaches to classroom management (especially focusing on practical group work in large classes or classes involving multiple standards),
* approaches for system management within the school (for example, the formations of science teams aimed at reducing the isolation between teachers within a school, procedures for managing equipment, and ways to develop a school science policy),
* strategies for coping with the language issues that confront teachers.

To this PSP is now involved in school based workshops, school policy generation and engaging teachers in critical reflection of their own practices. These school based activities are time consuming and resource intensive, which means that greater staffing and financial resources are needed to sustain project activities.

Field support staff have recently been appointed to provide the school and classroom based support. Their role is to assist teachers to articulate issues confronting them and to find ways to address such issues, as well as to assist in the transfer of ideas, whether teacher or project initiated, into practice. Support staff are drawn from existing project teachers who are effective classroom practitioners

and who have a record of commitment to the project. It is planned that the support staff will return to the schooling system after a period of three years to play an ongoing supportive role.

A major implication of this new thrust is that projects like PSP, which are largely externally funded, require greater access to financial resources. Financial support for project activities has tended to be short-term, focused on the provision of hardware, like science kits. There is often pressure on projects to expand their work to new areas but this cannot be effectively managed with the limited resources on which most projects have historically operated. Many funders apparently believe that *develop and disseminate* or *develop and train models* are sufficient to produce change, but PSP has shown that these are inadequate models.

TEACHER PARTICIPATION: WHO DRIVES THE BUS?

Since 1986, the need to involve teachers in project management and organisation has been recognised. Science teacher committees have been established in most of the areas in which PSP operates so that teachers are able to participate more fully in the direction of the project. Initially teacher committees grew out of the lack of financial and human resources needed to implement follow-up workshops and school focused strategies. However, this view was expanded as it was recognised that teachers must gain ownership over decisions about issues directly concerning their lives.

Teacher committees are responsible for planning, budgeting, fund raising, financial accounting and implementation of the project in their area. Some examples of activities undertaken by committees include the organisation of olympiads, competitions, excursions, material production, workshops, newsletters, common exam papers, evaluation reports and presenting innovations and findings at conferences. Committees also requested the establishment of an executive body consisting of representatives from all the committees. The activities of this group facilitates networking between committees and teachers and provides a forum for exchange of ideas and approaches. More importantly, teachers are involved in making and implementing policy and financial decisions about the project as this is the main decision making structure in the region.

In short, the project has undergone a shift from a top-down and imposed model to one where the teachers are more independent and able to make self directed decisions. The role of the project has clearly shifted from being a resource directing project, to being responsive to teachers' needs.

An analogy used by one group of teachers highlights the shift:

> ... in the past, Pretoria drove the bus and the bus could only be driven in one way. But now teachers need to have a say in who drives the bus, and in how the bus is driven.

Although the project is still involved in much of the bus driving, teachers are able to do some of the driving, or at least play an active part as passengers.

Inset projects need to be wary of the potential criticism[11] that participatory structures are established as a management technique to engineer change. Projects could use teacher structures to implement what has already been decided centrally as a way to lend credibilty to those decisions. If the ethos of participatory management is taken seriously by Inset projects, it is essential to engage all participants in decision-making at different levels of operation and in the development of a vision for the work of the project. Thus the role of the Inset agency is to facilitate change in ways that are meaningful to the participants. Anything else reflects an attempt to manage change towards predetermined ends and this is inconsistent with a participatory ethos.

Another issue to be considered is the manner in which participatory structures are developed. One could ask the question "Who got teachers onto the bus in the first instance, and how does a teacher chose which bus s/he wishes to be on"? It is PSP's belief that because people in South Africa are deprived of democratic rights it is necessary for Inset initiatives to be proactive in this role by forming such structures. Teachers are provided with opportunities that allow involvement in democratic decision making processes. Those who wish to get off the bus or who wish to catch another bus should be free to do so.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

Until 1990, PSP's view of curriculum development was restricted to syllabus revision and material production. PSP now adopts the view that "... fruitful development in the field of curriculum depends upon evolving styles of cooperative research by teachers...".[12] Similarly, O'Donoghue and McNaught[13] argue that "... any initiative which sets out to influence the school system falls within the ambit of curriculum development" and endorses this. Projects should aim to change not only the syllabus and the materials used, but also to develop the entire system in which the syllabus and materials are implemented. Teachers are part of this system. Curriculum development therefore involves developing teachers' attitudes to themselves and their teaching and includes the development of contexts, structures and processes to support these changes.

Inset could be seen as some necessary experience needed for bus driving, like a licence. Even in driving the bus for themselves, teachers still need some support, just as a driver may need directions or a map. The role of the project is to provide support to the teachers' initiatives and not to take over the role of bus driving.

EVALUATION

The general trend for the evaluation of Inset projects including PSP has been for an outside expert to conduct the evaluation.[14] The expert is seen to be able to provide an objective, unbiased assessment. Such approaches to evaluation have been challenged by several authors[15] who emphasise the need for the intimate

involvement of participants in evaluation designs and processes, if meaningful change is to be effected.

In the case of the national PSP evaluation, evaluaters recognised that their own biases would influence their assessment[16] This was a step in the right direction. However, there are other issues, particularly those of power relationships, that need consideration. The tendency has been for the evaluation process to be steered by the outside consultant(s) who have more knowledge about evaluation and who may disempower participants with little experience or expertise. The evaluator retains power as participants are left grappling with new concepts and terminology. This perpetuates the image that evaluation is beyond the capabilities of the person in the field.[17] Thus while evaluation is seen as necessary for gaining credibility and funds, it is viewed with suspicion by project participants.

Because of these issues, PSP in Natal thus adopted a participatory approach to evaluation. Key actors are involved in processes of self reflection, dialogue with others, and active engagement with the issues that emerge. Writing about experiences was seen as a particularly powerful way to enhance the debate and to clarify thinking as documents could be circulated to all stakeholders for comment and discourse. The evaluation highlighted the importance of people reflecting critically on the everyday world they experience to become agents of change. Through a process of the individual reconstrucing the way s/he sees the world, change that is meaningful and lasting can occur.[18] Here teachers have become the agents of change and are actively driving the bus.

By implication, this model of evaluation is ongoing because the reflection on practice is continuous. Also, it impacts immediately on a situation where a problem is highlighted because a solution is sought as soon as the problem is defined. Evaluation is now seen as an essential element of the project's development.

Although this approach to evaluation has helped to transform the project, staff and teachers, there are pitfalls to be avoided. Firstly before embarking on the evaluation journey it is necessary to know the different expectations people have. There will be a great deal of confusion if the people involved in the evaluation start off with different ideas about why they are there, what they expect and where they want to go.

Secondly, without some form of external moderating mechanism, this style of evaluation could generate into a self-reinforcing and back-patting exercise. One of the tensions raised by participatory styles of evaluation is the question of how to achieve validity. Participatory evaluation is often criticised for its lack of objectivity by those who see objectivity as operating from a neutral base that aspires to the "truth". This goes against the current view of the nature of science and scientific investigation. A change in mechanisms for validating research is needed. Kemmis and Carr's[19] notion that objectivity is "that which corresponds to the intersubjective agreement of a community of enquirers", is helpful. The enquirers need to develop shared standards of rationality and norms of enquiry during the

course of investigation. PSP opted to use a group of people who have a good understanding of evaluation and of project work, but who are sufficiently removed from the PSP to provide this form of external reference and lend credibility to the process.

Thirdly, participatory styles of evaluation are still viewed with much suspicion in South Africa and so those adopting this form of evaluation must consider the implications of continuing with a participatory approach in non-participatory ideolgy of evaluation and society at large. This has particular implcations for funding of Inset activities as many funders are most impressed with products and statistical data. The dilemma is how to encourage people to move out of one paradigm and to view participant approaches in a more positive manner. Evaluation researchers who wish to effect this type of change need an approach that acknowledges those whom they seek to influence. Thus it would be most valuable for evaluation research to include descriptive statistics to provide an entry point for those with a different world view. Indeed this was part of the initial brief of the Natal evaluation[0] where part of the challenge was to find ways to merge the two approaches. However, this did not materialise during the research process and statistical information of the sort that shows the effect of PSP in the classroom is missing. The only statistics provided are those relating to the number of circuits, schools, teachers and workshops. Information about whether PSP makes a significant difference to pupils' learning is absent.

In 1991, a critique of the 1990 Natal evaluation was conducted.[20] From discussions with teachers and project personnel it is clear that teachers gained many skills. They learned some techniques for evaluation and also gained much confidence. Teachers feel that their work has been taken seriously and so they have a greater belief in their abilities. They have discovered the importance of dialogue in seeking direction and solving problems. The process of critical discussion and critical thinking has commenced. However, there are some crucial issues which need further work if the evaluation is to have meaning to teachers.

Prior to the PSP evaluation teachers viewed evaluation as an external means of checking on their activities. They are used to evaluations by inspectors that are geared to finding deficiencies and faults. Since the PSP evaluation teachers have begun to view evaluation in a different light, one where they have a role to play and an important say in its direction. However, this perspective is still in its elementary stages as teachers do not see how evaluation fits into the broader scope of education. They still see evaluation as something for PSP, rather than as something for changing classroom practice or the education system. This is clearly reflected in teachers' reports which tend to be descriptive and show little analysis of underlying social and political causes or issues. Thus teachers showed very little attempt to tackle issues relating to the school infra-structure and authority system and pass them off as issues they "hope" will rectify themselves.

This raises the issue of whether teachers' writings were actually critical reflections or merely articulations of real issues and realities. In general teachers' writings fell into the latter category. This is not a second language problem, nor is it a third world problem. Simons[21] working with teachers in the United Kingdom has found that it takes between five and ten years for teachers to develop the style of discourse and the language needed to engage critically with contextual issues. The first stages of discourse tend to be descriptive accounts and the challenge for PSP is to move teachers beyond this phase into a more critical and active mode. The articulation of problems is however a good starting point for further work.

One of the particular problems in South Africa is that there is no culture of interaction, so teachers have not been exposed to forms of critical engagement and active challenging. This could create tremendous stresses for teachers if the project expected them to challenge their reality without providing an adequate support system. The danger is that two parallel realities could be created. The first is a reality of critical reflection within a structure like PSP where the relationships are strong and where trust and democratic principles operate. The other reality is that of a non-critical and authoritarian school system where any form of critique is actively (and often subversively) discouraged. These risks suggest the need for Inset practitioners to engage more concertively in school based initiatives that include all teachers, the principal and the inspectorate and ensure a meaningful role for each actor in developing supportive contexts.

STRUCTURED INTERVENTION VERSUS COLLABORATIVE ENGAGEMENT

The earlier models (that is, *the develop and disseminate* and *the develop and train models*) of PSP can be called *Structured Intervention Strategies* which operated within a deficit paradigm of development. They tend to encourage dependency syndromes. Such programmes are predetermined, externally driven and controlled. They focus on the provision of skills and knowledge to the learner and are often excessively concerned about the end product. They assume that behaviours can be changed by demonstrating alternatives. Feedback on success is usually the mechanism for determining whether any change occurs within the programme.

In contrast, the more recent developments within PSP can be termed *Collaborative Engagement Strategies*. They assume that many competencies exist or are at least possible. They encourage independence. The strategies are flexible, emergent and internally controlled by the users. They focus on people working in a collaborative framework to identify and solve problems and are process oriented. Change occurs as part of a natural process as people reflect on their activities. A summary of the comparison between the two strategies is provided in Table 1.

STRUCTURED INTERVENTION	COLLABORATIVE ENGAGEMENT
deficit model & dependent	competency model & independence
predetermined	flexible
externally driven	emergent
externally controlled	internally controlled
proactive/instrumental	responsive
training mode	collaborative mode
task oriented (skills & knowledge)	problem posing/problem solving
focused at individual level	focused at group level
product oriented	process oriented
feedback of success determines change	reflection informs change

Table I: A comparison of "structured intervention" and "collaborative engagement" strategies

According to the definitions used by the Bernard van Leer Foundation,[22] the *Structured Intervention Strategies* fall into the category of enablement, whilst the *Collaborative Engagement Strategies* fall into the arena of empowerment.

The Bernard van Leer Foundation, describes *enablement* as what one person does to another. Thus, the enabler passes on the necessary tools, knowledge and/or skills to the recipient (ie the teacher) to enable the recipient to perform a specific task or role. In this case, the enabler has the power as s/he controls the body of knowledge to be passed on. The teacher has a more passive role.

In contrast, *empowerment* is embedded in the belief that each person (teacher) has a meaningful contribution to make to his/her situation and is capable of finding solutions to problems faced. Thus, we are talking about teachers having the power over the knowledge by deciding how to use it. The challenge to teacher development projects is to create opportunities for teachers to demonstrate this competence. This is PSP's goal.

Grundy[23] uses three theories of the way that knowledge is generated and organised in society as a mechanism for making sense of different curriculum practices. Following Habermas, she defines three knowledge constitutive interests into which different curriculum practices can be categorised, namely technical, practical and emancipatory interests.

The technical interest is geared to controlling and managing people, the environment and situations through knowledge generated by empirical analytic methods. This interest is pursued in a positivist paradigm centrally concerned with

objectivity and rationality. Action happens by people following predetermined rules that are intended to change behaviour.

The second interest, the practical interest, is geared to understanding. Knowledge is generated through meaning making so that appropriate interactions can be made. It relies on people engaged in discussions and reaching consensus.

Thirdly, the emancipatory interest is concerned with the promotion of autonomy and responsibility. Knowledge is generated through critical theories and authentic insights. Action is based upon making appropriate contextual decisions.

The early operation of PSP falls into the technical interest category of curriculum development. Methods that seek to bring about change by providing materials and examples of how to behave are highly technicist and it is clear from this paper that PSP has moved away from this view of change. Projects that seek only to enable participants to perform predetermines activities are also operating in a technical mode. The provision of enabling skills may be a starting point for project activities as enablement and empowerment are not mutually exclusive processes. Enablement can provide some technical skills (eg practical skills in handling equpiment) that are needed in a society where people have been denied these, but the control of change should not be the overarching purpose. Thus, PSP's approach is to work towards the empowerment of teachers using some aspects of enablement as an intermediate stage.

PSP also embraces some of the practical interests that lead toward understanding. For instance the emphasis on dialogue is an attempt to enhance the process of clarifying issues to facilitate meaning making. However, PSP strives to avoid the potential pitfalls of the practical interest that rely on the consensual interpretation of meaning. Power relationships and moral issues could become dominant in formulating meaning when practical interests predominate. Thus consensus could be used as a strategy to manipulate and deceive people. The potential dangers of this have been discussed in the section on participatory structures where it was emphasised that such structures must not be used as a management tool.

In elaborating the PSP view on different aspect of curriculum development, it is clear the PSP is attempting to encourage teachers to have deeper insights into the issues surrounding them. This is being done through collaborative engagement strategies that seek to promote a reciprocal relationship between action and reflection. PSP's practice has evolve to a position where teachers and other key actors are engaged in attempting to develop new structures and processes within which meaningful teaching and learning can occur. Thus, for instance the evaluation strategies adopted by PSP seek to encourage critical processes that allow for a deeper understanding of the dominant political and social issues in an attempt to generate ongoing action plans and reviews of these. There is still much work to be done in this regard, but this is the aim to which PSP aspires. Our goal is teacher

empowerment and so PSP strives towards an emancipatory view of change and embraces Grundy's definition

> ... a fundamental interest in emancipation and empowerment to engage in autonomous action arising out of authentic, critical insights into the social constructions of human society.

As PSP has adopted the view that curriculum development is a social construction, the emancipatory interest will continue to inform the project's work.

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Perspectives in Education, 1992/93, Vol 14 No 1, 81-87

Apartheid Education and Non-Racial Teacher Unionism: SADTU's Campaign for Recognition

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INTRODUCTION

Since its inception the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) has been engaged in a battle to gain official recognition from the Department of National Education (DNE) and the other ethnic education departments. At its launch congress in October 1990, members unanimously adopted a motion which called for a campaign to secure the immediate "recognition (of SADTU) from the Minister of National Education as the only teachers' union representing teachers on a non-racial, national basis".[1] In addition, SADTU called for a comprehensive recognition agreement that would include clearly defined grievance resolution procedures such as "conciliation, mediation, arbitration and strike action".[2]

However, existing legislation precludes the possibility of recognising teacher unions with full collective bargaining rights. The various Education Acts provide for the recognition of professional teacher associations only. For example, the National Education Policy Act No.39 of 1967 allows for the establishment of a body of the "organised teaching profession" which the Minister in the House of Assembly could recognise. Its objectives are to promote the prestige of the white teaching profession and to advise the Minister on the requirements for the registration of teachers on the basis of a professional code of conduct. The Indians Education Act No. 61 of 1965 provides that, for the "purpose of consultation", the Minister of Education and Culture: House of Delegates may recognise an association of "Indian teachers". A similar provision exists in the Education and Training Act No.90 of 1975 for African teachers. The Coloured Persons Education Act No.47 of 1963 has no provision for the recognition of teacher associations.[3]

Hence, SADTU's campaign for recognition entails a direct challenge to present statutory provisions, as well as to the long-standing tradition of organising teachers into professional associations. The campaign has involved protracted negotiations with education departments over two years, initially without any substantial results. Consequently, the union embarked on mass teacher action to back its demand for recognition. This resulted in the disruption of schooling on several occassions.

It was only in September 1992 that the first signs of success became evident. Formal recognition agreements have since been concluded between SADTU and the Department of Education and Training (DET) and the Department of Education

and Culture in the Houses of Delegates. Recognition has also been secured from educational administrations in Transkei and Venda. On the 18th November 1992, the Minister of National Education, Piet Marais, ammounced that the DNE had recognised SADTU as a representative teachers' organisation. Negotiations are still continuing between SADTU and education departments in the House of Representatives, Lebowa, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane. The Ciskeian and KwaZulu administrations have refused, on principle, to negotiate with SADTU, and no formal responses to SADTU's application for recognition have been received from the Bophuthatswana government and the Department of Education and Culture : House of Assembly. A working group has also been established between national teacher organisations and the DNE to establish a comprehensive collective bargaining mechanism for all teachers in the country.[4]

SEARCHING FOR "BLANKET RECOGNITION"

Following SADTU's application for formal recognition to the DNE, the first meeting between SADTU and the Minister of National Education, Louis Pienaar, was held on 23 November 1990. Although the DNE had undertaken to forward SADTU's application to its affiliated education departments, the Minister argued that the various Departments of Education were governed by different statutory provisions and that the DNE was not a "post office" for SADTU's application for recognition.[5] In a follow-up meeting held on 12 February 1991, the SADTU delegation walked out claiming that the "Minister had not done the necessary consultations with the other education Ministers in respect of ... recognition". SADTU informed its members that the "government was deliberately delaying the process of recognition at national level" and that it should submit "recommendations for mass action".[6] In the interim, the matter was taken up by the Mandela Education Delegation. In its meetings with President de Klerk, the Delegation argued consistently that education departments had to recognise "representative education organisations such as the NECC and SADTU".[7] While the government accepted this in principle, it was reluctant to translate de facto recognition of such organisations into de jure recognition.

Not meeting with any progress on the matter, SADTU called for an interview with President de Klerk. The office of the State President turned down the request on the grounds that the matter was receiving attention by the DNE. At the same time President de Klerk had agreed to meet with a delegation from the National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA), a loose federation of ethnically-constituted teacher associations. This had angered the grassroots membership of SADTU. General Secretary, Randall van den Heever, stated, "We experience this latest response ... as adding insult to injury ... and can only view it as a form of bias in favour of the retention of racially-based teachers' associations, and a rejection of the concept of unitary, non-racial teachers' unions".[8]

After a year of polite negotiations with the DNE, SADTU remained unrecognised. While administrators from different apartheid education departments were willing to talk to SADTU, they were clearly reluctant to afford the union formal recognition. There are several explanations for this. Firstly, formal recognition would have legitimated SADTU and its strategy of teacher unionisation. In all likelihood, this would have resulted in a substantial increase in membership and the strengthening of the union. Secondly, it is clear that the DNE was delaying SADTU's recognition so as to afford NAPTOSA – widely seen as an adversary to SADTU – an opportunity to consolidate its organisation and formal constitution. Finally, the DNE lacked a coherent approach to the question of recognising a non-racial teachers' union which was insisting on the right of teachers to collective bargaining and strike action.

CHANGING GEAR – NEW STRATEGY

Recognising the futility of conventional lobbying tactics, SADTU's First National Congress in October 1991 altered its campaign strategy. A three-pronged approach was conceptualised. Firstly, the union would seek to negotiate "interim recognition agreements" with the various ethnic education departments. These agreements would, *inter alia*, cover: the granting of stop-order facilities; the right to consultation on all matters concerning member interests; the establishment of clearly defined dispute resolution procedures; the acceptance of third party arbitration in disputes; and, the recognition of SADTU as the "collective bargaining representative" of its members. Secondly, SADTU would proceed with negotiations with the DNE to establish a national, non-racial "collective bargaining mechanism" that would "empower teachers in negotiations which contain democratic grievance and dispute procedures and which would provide for the adequate protection of teachers against victimisation". Thirdly, and crucially, SADTU structures were asked to embark on various forms of mass action to pressurise education authorities to recognise the union.[9]

On 7 August 1991, SADTU's National Executive Committee had already organised a National Day of Teacher Action. In response to the call for action, 40 000 teachers had "chalked-down" to attend rallies, marches and pickets in different parts of the country.[10] After this negotiations had begun in earnest between the DET and SADTU. Negotiations deadlocked on the DET's insistence on including a clause on "unlawful action" in the draft recognition agreement and on its reluctance to agree to a fair and democratic grievance resolution procedure, which included the right to strike action.[11] At the same time authorities from the other education departments took the view that, as they were awaiting the outcome of SADTU-DET negotiations, it was inadvisable for them to enter into negotiations with SADTU on the question of recognition. This prompted "Two Days of National Action" in May 1992.

The campaign focus had by now broadened to include: the victimisation of SADTU members by education authorities; the unilateral restructuring of education by the government in the period of transition; the "measly 8.8% salary increase" for teachers; the "government's support for sweetheart teachers' organisations"; and, the non-recognition of SADTU.[12] Teacher support for SADTU's teacher action call was extensive. School disruptions were recorded in Springs, Johannesburg, Lenasia, Orange-Vaal, Secunda, Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Transkei, Willowmore, George, KwaNdebele and Pretoria.[13]

The campaign for recognition reached a high point in August 1992. SADTU had decided to support the ANC-COSATU-SACP alliance's call for mass action on 3-4 August in the wake of the Boipotong massacre. By then the Transkeian and Venda administrations had announced their recognition of SADTU. As the DET proceeded to take action against teachers who had participated in the August general strike, Soweto teachers declared their intention to go on strike in support of "victimised teachers" and in protest against the non-recognition of the union. As the strike by 5 000 Soweto teachers entered its second day, the DET announced its decision to enter into a comprehensive settlement with SADTU.[14]

On the 8 September 1992 a formal Memorandum of Agreement was signed between SADTU and the DET. The DET Education Minister, Sam de Beer, asserted that the agreement:

> sets out an orderly process of consultation and resolution of disputes. It also accommodates the very important principle in employer-employee relationships that disputes need to be resolved on the spot where the problem occurs ... The Department acknowledges certain employees' rights, while SADTU undertakes to respect the rights of the Department as the employer.[15]

The interim recognition agreement serves to regulate relations between SADTU and the DET and covers the following aspects: channels of communication; media freedom; access to SADTU to Departmental premises, information and policy documents; stop order facilities; dispute settlement procedures at various levels; and, the process of terminating the agreement.[16] SADTU, in turn, has had to submit its constitution, professional code of conduct and verifiable proof of signed up membership to the DET. Subsequently, on the 1 October 1992, a slightly amended version of the same agreement was signed with the Department of Education and Culture: House of Delegates. Similar agreements are about to be concluded with the House of Representatives and the Lebowa administration.

NEGOTIATING A NATIONAL "COLLECTIVE BARGAINING MECHANISM"

At about the same time as the DNE released the *Education Renewal Strategy* and the *Curriculum Model for Education in South Africa*, itdistributed to all teacher organisations in South Africa a less-publicised document on labour relations in the education sector entitled, *Discussion Notes: Employer-Employee Relations in*

Education. This document is instructive as it reveals a distinct shift in government thinking about labour rights for teachers. Therefore, it is worth discussing in some detail.

According to the document, "employer-employee relations in the education sector may be regulated by either separate legislation, or be accommodated under the existing private or public labour legislation".[17] It acknowledges that "collective bargaining" is the "most prevalent and commonly used" method of negotiations in labour relations, and that it "entails a shift (away) from unilateral modes of determining conditions of employment by government".[18] The following mechanisms for collective bargaining are suggested:

a. a conciliation council composed of teacher organisations and other groups such as "businessmen, parents, farmers, and representatives from transport services" to settle disputes by negotiations;
b. third party mediation between parties in conflict;
c. arbitration, possibly by the Industrial Court; and, finally,
d. the right to strike action by teachers and to lock-out by education authorities.[19]

However, on the thorny question of strike action by teachers it arrives at the following conclusion from a study of international trends:

> The point is increasingly stressed that public service strikes inflict more damage on the public than on the employer and interrupt essential services which the State provides to the population. A further point is that increasing strike action by public employees may be a major threat to the balance of public finances and indirectly curtail general efforts to implement anti- inflationary income policies. There seems, however, to be a trend towards extending the right to strike but this trend is slowing down. ... Halfway solutions between complete recognition and outright prohibition therefore prevails in most countries.[20]

The essential functions of the conciliation council are listed as follows:

a. the promotion of labour peace and the prevention of labour disputes in education;
b. to negotiate conditions of service and teacher salaries;
c. to protect the interests of professional teachers;
d. to maintain and enhance the prestige of the teaching profession;
e. to determine standards for tuition and training of teachers;
f. to register qualified teachers;
g. to determine standards of conduct of teachers;
h. to promote efficiency and responsibility of teachers; and,

i. to facilitate international interaction between teachers in different countries.[21]

Significantly, the document remains silent on the role of teachers in promoting curriculum development and innovation both in terms of schooling and teacher education institutions.

Several consultative meetings have been held between the DNE and national teacher organisations since November last year. An eight person Working Group has been constituted, composed of one representative each from SADTU, the Teachers' Federal Council, the Union of Teachers' Association in South Africa and NAPTOSA, and four from the DNE. The working group has compiled a draft Education Labour Relations Bill which is likely to be tabled in the 1993 parliamentary session. The Bill differs from the DNE *Discussion Notes* document in two important respects. Firstly, it has included the formation of an "Education Bargaining Council" as a forum where educational matters or disputes could be tabled for negotiations and discussion in the first instance. Should a "dispute of interests" or a "dispute of rights" emerge, it could be referred to the Conciliation Board or the Industrial Court only, without the possibility of third party mediation in the matter. Secondly, it accepts the right of educators, excluding those "holding posts in the management echelons", to strike. At the same time it guarantees the employer the right to lock-out.[22]

Thus, for the first time in their history, the established professional associations in South Africa have accepted the principle of the right to strike action by teachers. In so doing, all parties involved in these negotiations now tacitly accept that education is not an "essential service", such as health services. However, SADTU's negotiating position has been that the labour rights of teachers and of public service workers generally should be covered under the existing Labour Relations Act, rather than through separate labour legislation for each group.[23] The DNE appears to be reluctant to accept this proposition on the grounds that the education sector constitutes a distinct sphere of activity that falls under a specific national "ministry". In any case, the fundamental labour rights that are embodied in the draft Education Labour Bill do not in any way differ from those in the Public Sector Labour Relations Act.

CONCLUSION

SADTU's constitution as a non-racial teachers' union and its campaign for formal recognition has, for the very first time, succeeded in extending the debate over the labour rights of South African teachers. The issue is no longer whether teachers belong to a professional association or a union, but more about the legal rights they are to enjoy as "education workers" in the post-apartheid education sector. Although its recognition campaign has had the unfortunate effect of disrupting schooling on several occassions, leading to negative media coverage and concern from parents

and students, very few people can dispute the significance of SADTU's negotiations for a national, non-racial, collective bargaining mechanism for all teachers. While it is still too early to predict the final outcome of these negotiations, it is reasonable to assume that South African teachers stand to gain added power under some kind of an Education Labour Relation Act.

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Perspectives in Education, 1992/93, Vol 14 No 1, 89-94

Hope is the Child of the Future – The Struggle for Unity in Early Childhood Education in South Africa

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South African society is currently undergoing a social movement towards the building of civil society, free from the practices of apartheid. The future of civil society in South Africa will depend critically upon the education of our children.

Apartheid has been responsible for the brutal and systematic denial of those conditions necessary for the optimal development of the full human potential of the majority of South Africa's children. In early childhood education, only 400 000 children out of approximately 7 million under the age of six experience some form of early childhood education provision. As the table below indicates, the lowest percentages of provision is given to the groups most disadvantaged by the apartheid system:

Race	Children	Percentage in Provision
White	300 000	75%
Coloured & Asian	70 000	17%
African	30 000	8%

Endemic community violence, the ravages of poverty, the absence of the basic necessities of life such as food, water, good health, sanitation, decent housing, facilities and the manifest neglect and lack of opportunities for the early childhood education of young children have been the dominant features of the lives of the majority of South Africa's children. Studies have shown that only 25% of African children are successful in the first grade of formal school and that 50% of these children repeat grades before they reach grade five.[1] A dearth of early childhood education is a major cause of poor school performance.

Women comprise a substantial portion of the economically active population in South Africa. The proportion of women in employment has increased from 17.8% in 1939 to 32.4% in 1980 and was estimated at 34.8% in 1987.[2] This represents almost a doubling of economically active women over the past fifty years and it shows that the South African economy cannot function without women. The majority of women are forced to work for compelling economic reasons. Economic

reasons are important for women returning to work – in particular where the mother is the sole breadwinner. Many women return to the world of production to use their talents and skills. Many of our single-parent families are the result of South Africa's migrant labour system, especially within the Black communities. So many women with young children are working and their children need to be looked after. They see the provision of services as a public responsibility to ensure that children are properly cared for.

The South African government has been negligent in meeting the responsibility for educare. Within the South African context, the only key to access into good quality educare is to be white. To date the major lifeline for the development of early childhood education has been provided by community organisations, supported principally by parents and a small group of private funders.

Cock (cited in Van den Berg and Vergnani)claims that:

> The neglect of child care in South Africa must be located in terms of the states's lack of concern with the conditions under which African labour power is reproduced generally. The neglect of state expenditure on child care is thus linked to a whole series of state policies such as the neglect of housing, education, health, pensions and welfare services generally for the African working class.

It is clear that Black children are denied the opportunity to engage in education at an early age, when the foundation for learning skills for future educational life could be built. Here is where the often mentioned "culture of learning" should be rooted.

Apartheid's legacy of conflict, distrust, and statutory legislation for different racial groupings has filtered through to early childhood education at many levels. There is no appropriate representative organisational structure and no resource or training agency can claim to speak on behalf of the early childhood education field.

These realities – which have enabled us to understand the nature and scope of our tasks and to develop innovative interventions – also pose huge challenges. A key element of these challenges is that early childhood education needs to be located within the broader national struggle for unity, liberation and equality and, but in particular ,the educational struggle.

The momentum of political, educational and economic changes in South Africa places an obligation on those involved in early childhood education to unite their energies and resources to explore better quality service for all our children between the ages of naught and six. Through this exploration a common progressive vision needs to be developed in a visible step towards service to our young children.

Early childhood education is a long-term investment for society. Research by Dr David Weikart (High/Scope Education Research Foundation, USA) has shown that children who have been through an early childhood education programme are:

* twice as likely to complete high school;
* half as likely to need specialised education;
* significantly less likely to commit a criminal offence by the age of fifteen;
* and significantly less likely to have children whilst still teenagers.

Dr Weikart also found that for every $1 spent on early childhood education, society would save $6 on other costs such as specialised education and juvenile delinquecy services. This is likely to hold true in a volatile society like South Africa.

To overcome the legacies of apartheid and ensure that the educational needs of young children receive proper attention in a post-apartheid society, a national educare movement is envisaged. This movement needs to reflect the momentum of social change and be responsive to a transitional period away from apartheid to a post-apartheid civil society. The envisaged national educare movement needs to be democratically structured to provide for the active participation of those involved in early childhood education. This is particularly important in the light of apartheid's impoverishment of skills for the masses and consequently also their marginalisation from the national planning process. It is through active, representative participation, the developing of people's capacities and true democratic decision-making that apartheid can be destroyed.

THE WAY FORWARD

Three major moves are crucial for building and sustaining a national educare movement:

1. *Determining the values, norms and principles for an appropriate, representative early childhood educare movement.*
   These should encompass non-racism, non-sexism, democracy and relate to the development of a national plan and a national democratic culture. While the state should have a central role in the provision of early childhood education, it will also be crucial to ensure active participation of all those currently involved in the field. Other principles are:
   * all young children shall have access to a good quality early childhood education programme;
   * inequalities among the historically disadvantaged young children and women, particularly in the rural communities, require an innovative and sustained programme of redress;
   * the current disarray of standards of accredition needs to be replaced by a single set of national standards;
   * state provision of financial aid should be responsive to the special needs of communities living in conditions of economic exploitation, poverty, malnutrition and political harassment;

* education and training should be provided as an essential service to the majority of para-professionals within early childhood education
* early childhood education programmes should be based upon co-operation, critical thinking and should empower our young children to understand and interpret their environment.

2. *Determining structures and mechanisms which will facilitate and create unity in early childhood education.*

There is great contestation around the structures and mechanisms that will bring about "an appropriate representative early childhood education movement". The contestation emanates from the apartheid way of life, different political understandings and interpretations of a national educare movement, regional tensions and resource and training agencies having different political learnings. But the bottom line is that early childhood education has been controlled by a small white, middle-class elite, who entrenched their own principles, values and structures.

Under a formal education system based on Christian National Education principles, early childhood education programmes have been developed through a process of cultural imperialism. Most of our programmes come from foreign soil. Within the national early childhood education curricula debate, it is important to evaluate the principles that would be valuable from other curriculum for a South African context, rather than support the wholesale adoption of programmes developed to suit foreign socio-political circumstances. These foreign programmes should enrich our local, regional and national early childhood education objectives, rather than supplant them.

The same is true for the debate about what structures and mechanisms should be used to bring about unity in early childhood education. On these matters we have to reach a point of sufficient consensus. Because of the relationship between power and structures, the different implicit political tendencies will have to be analysed, understood, considered and decided upon.

The debate will need to include the early childhood education constituency ie. parents, teachers, resource and training agencies and other organisations in education, health and welfare which will impact on early childhood education.

It is at this point that there is a need for tolerance of different political and education views. However, tolerance is only possible in terms of a framework of principles and the development of a national democratic culture in early childhood education.

The envisaged structures and mechanisms which will need to lead towards a democratically respresentative national organisation which will have a South African national character in terms of

* national developmental objectives;
* members who are inclusive of the people of South Africa;
* all the South African regions.

The structures and mechanisms will also need to enhance greater participation of all within the early childhood education field through local, regional and national structures.

3. *Determining strategies and campaigns for enhancing a united early childhood education movement.*

The task here is to develop a set of guidelines around agreed principles in order to set into motion strategies and campaigns that will build unity. Without any doubt, the envisaged strategies should highlight and strengthen the needs and rights of the young child. These strategies and campaigns should strengthen and popularise early childhood education and look at:

* building consensus around issues related to early childhood education such as the recognition of early childhood education as an essential and basic right of children and communities.
* enhancing early childhood education as the foundation within a future democratic education system. At this juncture early childhood education needs to ensure that it becomes part of all policy and resource development which will have an impact on our young children.
* building a united democratic early childhood education movement.
* building a democratic early childhood education organisation at local, regional and national level.
* engaging the mass media in order to highlight the needs and rights of young children and educare workers.
* negotiating with relevant structures for a better deal for young children and educare workers.
* building alliances with a broad coalition of social forces which will lead to the visible acknowledgement of the needs and rights of young chidren and workers in early childhood education.
* engaging the government and capital around the developmental needs of early childhood education and clearly indicate the long term benefits for society.
* enforcing the basic rights of parents and in particular of oppressed women.
* highlighting the general plight of educare workers and their struggle toward appropriate facilities and working conditions.

ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

It is within the context of the transition to a democratic and unitary South Africa that the international community needs to play a substantial role under the auspices of a national early childhood education movement. Broadly, the international community's role could be:

* to support the development of national cohesion within early childhood education in South Africa;
* to provide funding to increase the scale of early childhood education provision;
* to assist in the training of early childhood education teachers, taking into consideration different training models/programmes;
* to assist and support internal leadership in determining general early childhood education priorities which will inevitably lead towards determining funding priorities;
* to assist and support initiatives that will lead to rationalisation, co-ordination and co-operation within early childhood education in South Africa;
* to assist and support through innovative programmes activities that will enhance policy investigation and formulation within South Africa;
* to assist in the consolidation of infrastructure and putting into place sustantiable forms of early childhood education provision.

CONCLUSION

Meeting the basic needs and rights of South Africa's young children and the provision of good quality early childhood education can only be achieved through united action. By confronting the challenges outlined here, we hope to prepare our children for a democratic future.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

A longer version of this report was presented at an International, Interdisciplinary Conference in Bergen, Norway on 13-16 May 1992.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. N. Taylor, *Falling at the First Hurdle* (EPU, University of the Witwatersrand, 1989), 1-2.
2. E. Lemmer, "An Educational Strategy for the Full Utilisation of Women Power in South Africa" (M. Ed. thesis, UNISA, 1987), 2.
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Perspectives in Education, 1992/93, Vol 14 No 1, 95-100

'So Lost is Our Own Past To Us' – Review of the History Workshop Conference 1992

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In July 1992 the History Workshop hosted a conference entitled *Myths, Monuments, Museums: New Premises?* A general invitation was extended to all individuals and organisations interested in the revision of public representations of South Africa's history. There were about 150 participants, mostly from various parts of South Africa. The presence of three African Americans from the Smithsonian Institution provided an international dimension and an opportunity for us to learn how others have handled the issues of racial bias in museum and monumental representations of the past. Among the participants there was an array of museologists and university academics and some bureaucrats.[1] Although there were a couple of participants who spoke from an ANC point of view, and who are members of the ANC's commission on monuments and museums, the head of the commission, Dr Themba Serayi, was prevented from attending at the last minute by an alternative engagement. Other political organisations did not send formal representation, although they were invited several times to do so.

Despite these regrettable absences, there was intense interaction and constructive debate among the participants, with very little of the anticipated "museum-bashing" taking place. Thirty papers in all were delivered, many of high quality. Two provocative exhibitions – ' The Burton Collection' and 'Fractions of a Truth' – were on display in the University's Gertrude Posel Gallery concurrently with the conference.

The African Americans from the Smithsonian helped to connect our debate to more general ones raging in North America and elsewhere, particularly about the kinds of relationships that are possible and desirable between museums and their communities.[2]

Spencer Crew stressed the need for continual dialogue and humility on the part of those who consider themselves to be the experts. He hinted that questionnaires and visitor surveys are not enough to draw in and encourage those who have always felt alienated by the middle class "cultured" aura of museums, with their stern-faced curators, their untouchable glass cases and highly polished brass and wooden decor. As several people pointed out in the course of the conference, the alienation for most of South Africa's population is even more profound than it is in some other places, where petty apartheid actively suggested that black people contaminated the air and would leave sweaty fingerprints on the brass. Such fastidiousness on the part

of white keepers of museums is by no means extinct in my recent experience. Now, somehow these people, who pride themselves and their institutions on preserving the old colonial elegance that has been lost forever three floors below at street level, have to contemplate not only letting "them" all in and having them breathe over the glass, but listening to what "ordinary" people say about what they think should and should not be in the museum, how artifacts should be positioned and what they mean. Crew explained that, whereas the average curator, might easily overlook the significance of a potato peeler, for the community from which it came it could represent a co-operative fund-raising project and be of singular importance as a symbolic marker of a stage in the community's history.

One of Crew's examples of a museum that does interact with its community, is New York's Chinatown Project(which sent a letter to the History Workshop expressing interest in and support for the conference). The Project's exhibitions change constantly in response to the perceptions of their clients, predominantly people who live on the Lower East Side of the City, and to the deposition of new artifacts brought in by the visitors. In the process of inspecting exhibitions and suggesting alterations to them, the visitors also extend and redefine what they think of as their "community".[3] At the conference, we tended to avoid defining "community", although we probably all had some rough working idea of whom we meant. We often crudified the concept and neglected, except in a very few instances, to think of it as fluid and capable of almost infinite diversification. Crew and Bunch suggested that we let in as many voices and representatives of the "community" as possible, so that we could imagine the quiet and tranquil exhibition halls and galleries filled with noisy dissent, a vision some found disturbing. The historian's position in the melle appears to be to synthesise and to bring together, but also to demonstrate fearlessly that there are differences in interpretation and conflicts that are not readily resolved.

Lonnie Bunch (also from the Smithsonian) told a haunting tale of how the curators of the aviation museum at which he once worked had created a mannikin of him to show that there were such creatures as black aviators, but had then hung it up so high that "you would have needed binoculars to see it". Bunch was saying that you don't create inclusive representations of history just by having blacks on the same floor as whites - you have to demonstrate their interaction visibly on the same level. In most South African museums the visitor still has to go upstairs to see the "Zulu" exhibition or through a tunnel to the "Xhosa Gallery". In the Kaffrarian Museum in King William's Town, which has some very good features, "The Frontier Wars" – a phrase used to denote almost a century of bitter conflict, bringing with it systematic material and political dispossession – occupies a single case in the middle of the Xhosa Gallery. The fragmentary artifacts and the bland text relate to nothing on either side of it and certainly do not explain why the visitor is suddenly delivered, at the end of the Gallery, to the model of a little shack settlement. In the East London Museum "The National Suicide" of the Xhosa is

represented enigmatically by a bunch of spears, a silhouette of an ox head and an illuminated disc, presumably symbolising the millennial sun of Nonqawuse's prophecy that was never to rise. It is strangely sombre and sad, but empty of people and reason and totally divorced from the white settlers whom Nonqawuse's visionary ancestors had promised to drive into the sea.

To return to Bunch's story, it is interesting that the curators of his museum thought of casting a "mannikin" of Bunch. Did they think that only a cast of a real life black American would be enough to convince the public that there were black aviators, or was it the only way they could conceive of surmounting some dreary stereotype?

In her paper 'Reading Exhibitions: Towards an understanding of popular responses to museum representations of other cultures', Patricia Davison of the South African Museum argued that, on the whole, audiences relate very positively to the "apparent realism" of the life-casts exhibited in the "Bushmen Diorama". But the construction of life-casts to make an exhibition more convincing or realistic is not a measure that is ever applied to the representation of whites or Europeans. A couple of months after the conference, I managed to see the German settler exhibition at the East London Museum. In the introductory text, the historian points out that the shop dummies used in the exhibition as models for nineteenth century peasant garb are too glamorous and ethereal and that the contrast with the photographic portraits of German settler women, worn down by years of child-bearing and exhausting domestic labour, disturbed the exhibitors. Perhaps they could have made more of this dissonance, perhaps not. The wasp-waisted, aquiline-faced, plastic models do not look like any woman on earth, never mind German peasants of the nineteenth century. But they do look like the fashion pages of a woman's magazine or the interior of a shopping mall. They give what is actually a very thoughtful exhibition the air of a fashion show and it is on that plane that they elicit the viewers' attention. The vacuous faces of the plastic models take precedence over the grainy black and white ones waiting patiently for the shutter of a century ago, and even over the very moving and carefully selected texts, which are not only about hardship and perpetual labour, but also tell of unexpected joy and the triumphs of bringing a family of fourteen to maturity.

The *Myths, Monuments, Museums* Conference brought in all kinds of international allusions and parallels. But it also had more particularly South African characteristics. What struck me was the way we tend to pin our hopes so fearfully to the future and a vision of immediate national reconciliation that the past becomes like a stinking heap of refuse that we have to dispose of as quickly as possible. Apartheid is treated as if it were already quite archaic and very often simply the generic category for quaint memorabilia such as "Whites/Blankes" signs. I observed very strong parallels with the history education conferences, with which I was also involved, as a member of the History Workshop, in the course of 1992. At the beginning of the year, three regional conferences were convened to encourage

history teachers to respond to various curriculum initiatives developed in the last two years and to start articulating their own ideas for reform. When they were asked to think about what they considered appropriate aims for history teaching, most of the teachers skipped over ideas of what the past might have to teach the present and concentrated on skills and attitudes that history might be able to impart to new South Africans in training. Prominent among these was "nation-building", accepted unproblematically in the conferences held in Johannesburg and Cape Town, but interestingly enough not at the one in Durban. Some Natal teachers thought that the phrase was ideological suspect and pointed out that it had come from the very same people who used to mouth apartheid platitudes. In Johannesburg, professor Trumpelmann, one of the co-authors of the so called "Illustrative Syllabus" for the senior high school, published as part of the HSRC's Investigation into history teaching in 1991, provoked heated debate with his version of "multiculturalism". It was generally conceded that Trumpelmann had made an advance over previous school syllabuses by suggesting that "other cultures" are worth studying, but his critics insisted that he was still taking a patronising view of them which restricted their dynamism and their contribution to the making of modern South Africa. It was not only in his treatment of "other cultures" that Trumplemann's syllabus appeared to avoid change or causal explanations for it. It tended to favour static models as a way of teaching broader, more transcendental themes such as communism and nationalism too. The Illustrative Syllabus, in open revolt against chronology, seemed, in many ways, to spurn history itself. It would be no great exaggeration to assert that Trumpelmann's syllabus favours "culture" over history. I suggest that that is because history involves its students in a dangerous pursuit of explanations for conflict, change, instability and uncertainty, whereas "culture" does not.

"Culture" in the guise it appears in the Illustrative Syllabus, reminds me of those programmes in junior primary schools where everyone is encouraged to bring in their "traditional" dish. Participants experience some mildly strange sensations, feel some transient mutual admiration mixed with gratitude that one's own "culture" does not force one to eat such peculiar dishes every day, and go home equipped with even more unshakeable convictions that their "cultural" differences from their neighbours are profound. "Culture" is about emotion and an attachment to a supposedly immutable tradition that is beyond questioning or rational analysis.

The theme of "culture" versus history that I allude to above was picked up brilliantly at the Conference by Wits University art historian, Rhoda Rosene. One of the phrases in Rosen's paper has an almost elegiac air and I use it as my title because it is a poignant reflection on what seems to be happening to history and the consequences for us. Rosen writes with a melancholy lilt: "... so lost is our past to us". Her paper explored the implications of private art collections being exhibited at the Johannesburg Art Gallery as representative of "other cultures". In her oral presentation, she talked more generally about Johannesburg's new cultural drive and warned against the development of a "culture" that, in eradicating difference,

perpetuates the voice of the ascendant elite. Rosen and Anitra Nettleton, professor of the History of Art Department, both raised vital questions about who it is who decides what "culture" is, and what artifacts from any particular "culture" may be deemed representative. Similar issues were raised by Carolyn Hamilton (Social Anthropology, Wits) and Eleanor Preston-Whyte (Social Anthropology, Natal) in their account of several visits to Natal's premier themepark, Shakaland.

Unfortunately Christopher Till, the City's Director of Culture, was not at the conference to answer Rosen's criticisms of Johannesburg's culture and arts programme. A recent letter from him published by *The Star* newspaper seems to suggest that her characterisation of his idea of "culture" is not that wide of the mark. Till's letter is a fairly light-hearted riposte to a correspondent, who had attacked the notion of a "Director of Culture", and it is probably unfair to judge his ideas on the basis of three brief columns of type. Nevertheless, some of his assumptions about "culture" are evident. He writes:

> Culture and the arts have been shown worldwide to be a major force in the redevelopment of cities. If Johannesburg is to survive the current national crisis caused by a combination of factors, both political and social, the cultural aspect cannot be ignored as a major factor in creating urban renewal.[4]

Without any kind of qualification, "culture" stands outside political relationships. Elsewhere in the letter, Till equates the provision of "culture" with other essential municipal services such as "roads" and "sewerage". He characterises "culture" as neutral, anonymous and uncontested. These properties combine to form a powerful glue that can be applied to mend the broken fragments of our society.

The reader may suspect that Rosen is right about the development of what she called, in her presentation, the "culture of control". In her paper she writes ironically of the suppression of politics and what I have boldly called history:

> ... while we may still have our cultural differences in the New South Africa, we can transcend these differences through an aesthetic project which neutralises ideology.[5]

The conference had too much initial ground to cover before it could get to grips with the more subtle issues raised by Rosen, Nettleton, Hamilton and others, and perhaps begin to think about how museums and monuments could provide people with space to explore their identities and to realise that they may owe multiple allegiances to different kinds of "communities".

But there were some attempts to question the omission of the conflict that has shaped South African society and of the villainy and degradation that were germane to apartheid. Jean Leger, of the Sociology of Work Programme at Wits (SWOP) showed a slide sequence of the remnants of workers' compounds that have survived in and around Johannesburg. These powerful images of dehumanisation evoked the question of whether or not we want to remember that which is sordid and chiefly reminiscent of worker impotence and humiliation. Members of the conference audience argued strongly against resurrecting compounds in a way which would tell

nothing of workers' struggles and solidarity. But there was also an indignant cry, protesting that we should not close the door on the "holocaust". In recent months, German educators have had reason to reflect on the disadvantages of banishing Germany's Nazi past from school textbooks. Their conclusion seems to be that evil history, like some natural malignancy, will not simply go away if it is left untreated and ignored.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The three participants from the Smithsonian were: Spencer Crew, deputy director of the National Museum of American History, assistant director of curatorial affairs, Lonnie Bunch and Rex Ellis, the Smithsonian's museums programme director. All of them offered invaluable insights, but were modest about making assumptions that their experiences were directly transferable to South Africa and continually expressed astonishment that South African society should be so "complex: (with the accent on the second syllable.) Fellow Americans David Thelen, editor of *The Journal of American History*, and Dolores Root from the Massachusetts Foundation for the Humanities also delivered fascinating papers at the conference. We much regretted the absence of notable British people in the field, who expressed interest in coming, but for whom funding was difficult to arrange. London's Institute of Commonwealth Studies sponsored Sam Njovana from the National Archives in Zimbabwe. Flexon Mizinga, Head of Humanities at the National Museum in Livingstone, Zambia was subsidised by Wits University's Faculty of Arts and the History Workshop. Substantial interest in the conference was expressed by African museologists and archaeologists from further north but once again lack of funds proved to be an insuperable obstacle to their attendance.
2. For further reading on this debate see I. Karp and S. Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* and I. Karp and S. Lavine, *Museums and Communities: The Poetics of Public Culture* (Washington & London: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992).
3. See S. Lavine, "Audience, Ownership and Authority: Designing Relations between Museums an Communities" in I. Karp, C. Kreamer and S. Lavine, 1992.
4. *The Star*, 2 November 1992.
5. "A Nation for Sale: Johannesburg's Quest to Become a Destination City", 4.

Tapes of the three keynote addresses by the Americans from the Smithsonian Institution are available from the History Workshop office, University of the Witwatersrand. Each cassette with all three speeches costs R20–00.

Perspectives in Education, 1992/93, Vol 14, No 1, 101-105

Kenton-at-Broederstroom, October 1992

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As a first-time participant I was commissioned (at short notice) to report on the Kenton Conference of educationists held at Broederstroom between 30 October and 2 November 1992. The conference drew participants from South Africa, Namibia and Swaziland. All in all, thirty six papers were presented during the three days of the conference. The papers were wide-ranging and, though uneven in quality, covered topics such as teaching large classes, critical pedagogy, academic and staff development, in-service education, distance education, AIDS, modern racism, multiculturalism, class analysis of the teaching profession, gender and policy issues. Parallel sessions, space constraints, and the unavailability as well as inaccessibility of some papers makes comprehensive evaluation impossible. Instead I offer a selection from the sessions I attended and raise some critical concerns about the process and discourse of educational research in South Africa.

In the opening session, Wally Morrow's paper dealt with the tension between admitting too many students to universities and the desire to maintain higher standards in a situation of scarce resources, as well as the consequences thereof. The paper resulted in a heated discussion and it raised more questions rather than answers on the concept of "teaching". His paper described our whole endeavour as educators of trying to "teach" and reminded me of a wise saying: "We don't know what we're doing, but we're doing it diligently and hope one is pleased with our unintelligent decisions". Hilary Janks and Pippa Stein from the Applied English Language Institute at Wits contributed to the debate on large class teaching by showing a video of students evaluating their Applied English Language studies course. Janks and Stein used the video to explore, *inter alia*, the role played by gender, "race" and language in classroom communication. Interestingly, whilst black students were aware that they were at a disadvatage in formal schooling situations, since knowledge is transmitted to them in a language that is foreign to them, no one ever mentioned racism as significant in their experiences. Wendy Flanagan and Cynthia Mpati's paper focused on distance education. A considerable number of people felt after the session that the papers failed to contextualize distance education in the South Africa socio-economic and political context.

In a session that I chaired, Maureen Robinson and Sue Davidoff's paper dealt with the question of in-service education. M. W. Mwenesongole, drawing in a number of examples from universities in East and Central Africa, explored areas in staff development from which universities in

South Africa could draw a number of lessons, particularly with reference to black academic staff development, an issue which is crucial to the debate on affirmative action. It was clear from Robinson and Davidoff's paper that teacher participation in educational innovation is desirable, that institutional support be given to teachers who want to bring about change, and that more empirical research is needed to identify the constraints which militate against teachers' involvement in educational innovation. The two papers raised lots of interesting debates, but because they were presented at the same time as Yael Shalem and David Bensusan's paper "Civil society: the traumatic patient", they failed to draw particularly key people in decision-making positions that are directly involved with staff development.

Nazir Carrim and Zanele Mkhwanazi cautioned against new forms of racism and how it manifests itself in "open schools". W.S. Hlophe raised questions on the concept of multi-culturalism in South Africa, but failed to indicate whether or not he supported the proposed model of education. In the former paper the authors argued that it is indeed the same criminal (in a new form) we are dealing with in educational sectors. If we are to confront the beast, then we must know it very well. They questioned the "technocratic rationality" of some open schools for example, the emphasis on statistical measuring of intelligence for selecting prospective black applicants. Whilst I agree fully with the valuable points that the authors made, I was concerned about the lack of adequate empirical evidence to support their theories, as well as the absence of any real consideration of resistance, agency or change in their depiction of open schools.

The only fascinating paper to discuss the AIDS pandemic, particularly the recurrent view that it is a disease of "others", was delivered by Mary Crewe of the Johannesburg AIDS Community Centre. The paper highlighted structural inequalities that have allowed this epidemic to assume crisis proportions in South Africa, for example: racism; prejudicial claims against gay, lesbian and bisexual people; social, political and economic structures that place society's poverty-stricken and politically repressed at risk of contracting AIDS. Ethical, cultural, and gender issues raised by the AIDS crisis, as well as resistance of both black and white teachers in implementing sex education programmes, were discussed. To develop appropriate culture- and language– sensitive AIDS education materials, I feel that educators will need to consider not only the medical and societal origins (national and international) of the AIDS crisis, but also the cultural clashes between modern and traditional values (for example, tension betweeen polygamy and monogamy) which have left confusion in the minds of African teachers and students and how these impact on women.

In a session on South African youth, Michael Cross dealt with the historical development of youth culture in education and community life throughout South African history, whilr Linda Chisholm focused on State policies towards youth unemployment in the country. Cross refuted the characterization of youth as "marginalized" (a definition which is both negative and disempowering).

Unfortunately, like many papers of this nature, he did not clearly characterize the profile of this target group so that appropriate programmes of intervention can be drawn or designed. Both Cross's and Chisholm's papers may be criticized for their urban bias.

Graham Bloch gave a commentary on the current political situation. He expressed a sense of *dejavue* and romanticism in his reflections about the UDF days which he counterposes with the current state of political organization. He made critical points concerning democracy, mandate-taking, the space within which leadership can manoeuvre and the centrality of the masses. Bloch's paper generated vigorous discussion and debate which left one feeling that there is confusion about the current situation and a lack of a clear vision within the ranks of left academics as to the future socialist discourse.

Three papers dealt specifically with gender issues. Anne McLellan used feminist theory to develop a conceptual framework in which the issue of gender equality in education can be addressed. Tony Morphet used post-structuralist discourse to show how three women (Xhosa, Zulu and British) participated in different ways within dispersed considerations of race, gender and class within the educational discourse. Morphet raised questions around the notion of *responsibility* but did not succeed in explaining how black people could assume responsibility when they are politically repressed. Shirley Walters' paper used a case study approach to show how women of diverse backgrounds can be empowered, using feminist adult training programmes. However, she underplayed the power relations that exist between women as a social category, thereby giving a romantic view of women. There is a need to bring in the experiences of men since lives of both sexes intertwine. Whatever their flaws, Morphet and Walter's papers were powerful in that they explored possibilities of a non-racial adult education milieu between blacks and whites in this country.

Policy issues were the focus of papers by Dhianaraj Chetty, Nick Taylor and Johan Muller, and Esme Prinsloo and her colleagues, Laila Ganie, Terry de Jong and Sandy Lazarus. The latter paper described a case-study of collective and participatory research within the NEPI Guidance Counselling group and focussed on the concerns about the training of black researchers, particularly women. The strength of the paper lies in the authors' demonstration of the tensions and contradictions of a democratic collective research process within an unequal set of relations between white and black researchers. The fact that the field of education is top-heavy with white academics even at the level of policy-making is a thorn in the flesh of most black academics as well as activists in non-governmental organizations. This is not to undermine the contributions that white academics have made in policy-making. Their contributions should be judged first and foremost by whether they advance, defend and promote the long-term interests of the South African disenfranchised masses. The fact that they chose to align themselves with a progressive organization such as the NECC, indicates that NEPI researchers are not

representative of a white minority ruling bloc. The central question to be addressed to those white academics who are still defending the interests of the minority ruling bloc is this: can their limited experiences and conceptualisations – which are radically different from and sometimes diametrically opposed to those of the oppressed – inform policy-making which can find consensus and thereby unify the diverse aspirations which obtain in our country today? Policy is not an individual terrain. It has to be reliazable in order to be meaningful and thus has to be informed by the situation on the ground. In general, there is a dire need on the part of both white and black academics to broaden their perspectives and incorporate the views of all South Africans. In particular, white academics need to align themselves with the struggle for social justice and equality, thereby siding with the oppressed against white supremacy.

There is a need for radical change in the field of epistemology and the methods which have traditionally dominated the research process in this country. If it can be accepted by researchers that South Africa is undergoing rapid change towards a unitary, non-racial, non-sexist democratic education system, then it follows that the analytical model used must be based on a methodology for elaborating a theory of social change, i.e. both empirical and abstract. It must move back and forth, between the two levels, not because one is a higher form of thought, but because both forms of analysis are complementary. The other analytical models employed in South Africa are lacking in this vital aspect.

The conception of a non-racial research milieu presupposes that an allegiance between black and white be forged in constituting a *Code of Ethics* for researchers in South Africa, to safeguard the interests of researchers and those who are being researched. It means a concerted effort must be taken to ensure the redistribution of research skills. It means actively engaging in creating an environment which will facilitate greater participation of black females in the production of knowledge. It means negotiating over issues such as *access*, an issue that stifles the development of research in this country. It means that whites should acknowledge that whilst there is a crisis in black education, there is also a crisis in white education, and that an opportunity for blacks to research whites must be created. In other words, white academics should refrain from objectifying black people as research objects. It means recognizing that traditional research has been pre-occupied with the oppressed and not the oppressors.

This requires of us to be politically self-conscious. Considered in this way, methodological discussions would involve asking questions like: What is the research discourse now dominant in education? What and whose interests does it serve? What and whose interests does it marginalize and exclude? To what extent does the kind of knowledge produced through our educational research discourse and practice operate to reproduce existing social relations? What informs theory? Why should we theorize for other people? What is the social use of research? How

do we remove obstacles to the creation of a non-racial and democratic research milieu?

On the whole I must say that I was struck by the positive mood that prevailed at Kenton-at-Broederstroom, a far-cry from what I was told previous Kenton Conferences were. There was a deliberate attempt by the organisers to draw as many blacks (Africans, Indians and Coloureds) as possible, and in particular to "feminize" the conference. However, "feminization' in this context is used with reservations because there were more white women academics than blacks. This is because of the under-representation of the African female gender in research and the production of knowledge. Women had ample opportunity in chairing sessions, presenting papers, engaging in debates, and this instilled confidence in some women participants.

Three points are worth noting in as far as gender relations is concerned:

- Veronica Mckay and Norma Romm felt very strongly that Gilmour was very dismissive and gave minimal response to a topic initiated by them. I am, however, not sure whether he was dismissive because they were women or for some other reason.
- I noticed several of the men presenting papers still continue the practise of pausing while a woman speaks, then responding to another speaker or topic as if she had not spoken.
- There was a minority comment (in the corridors) that the overall quality of this years' Kenton Conference was low because for the first time there was an increased number of papers presented by blacks. This is no different from the well-known racist stereotype that values of property or houses drop when blacks move into previously whites-only areas. Whilst I concede that there was unevenness in the quality of papers, it is definitely not on the basis of "race", but on the basis of competency, experience and exposure of those academics, blacks and whites.

Good music served as a unifying force. The future of Kenton was vigourously debated. It was felt that since hosting institutions carried heavy financial responsibility, therefore the formalizing of Kenton was deemed necessary. Steve Segal felt that there was no need for a closure of Kenton because the mood produced was cohesive and that there was a willingness on the part of academics to deconstruct ourselves in terms of others. My own ethnocentric view was that we would all stand up and sing "Nkosi sikelel'i Africa", but instead Nazir Carrim ended Kenton on a poetic note.

Call for Papers

Special Issue on Gender in Education
Volume 15, No1, Summer 1993/94

Guest Editor: Anne-Marie Wolpe

Deadline for Submission: May 1st 1993

Submissions to:
The Editor, *Perspectives in Education*, Private Bag 3, Wits 2050

Enquiries:
Telephone (011) 716-5088/ 716-5253

Articles, discussion papers, reports and essay reviews are all welcome. Submissions for the articles section will be subject to the normal blind refereeing procedure. Please mark your envelope: Special Issue on Gender and Education

Perspectives in Education, 1992/93, Vol 14 No 1, 107-109

Knowledge and Power in South Africa: Critical Perspectives Across the Disciplines

Jonathan D. Jansen (ed.), Skotaville Publishers, Johannesburg 1991, 336 pages,
ISBN 0 947 479 61 9

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Knowledge and Power is an important collection of essays which explores the power relations, the identity of the power brokers, and institutional bases of the construction of knowledge in South Africa. The volume includes a range of essays grouped into sections centred on the historical context of knowledge and power, its institutional context, the context of the practitioner, and disciplinary practices. It concludes with a section on possibilities for the future post-apartheid order of knowledge and power in South Africa.

The intorduction and overview essaysare written by Jansen who is a former science teacher and now director of an education consultancy, begins with a review which foregrounds the relationships between knowledge and power using a particular political polemic. The substance of the polemic is essentially a critique of dominant critical perspectives which have taken root in white English language universities and research institutions. The purpose of the critique is to re-visit the race/class debate in South African social science against the backdrop of Marxism and other theories of explanation. Race, is it argued needs to be reasserted as a privileged category of analysis.

The intervention is an important one, but the limitations of the volume in sustaining it have to be pointed out. The best of the contributions, particularly like that by Robert Gordon on the relationship between apartheid's anthropological race theorists and the state, are a devastating indictment of social scientists in the service of a ruling oligarchy. A number of other essays provide evidence of the way in which power relations, predicated on racial/class domination have given rise to knowledge of particular forms in South Africa over generations. To borrow a phrase, apartheid, through its institutions and structures on disciplinary practices has produced 'regimes of truth' to bolster itself. The range of disciplines explored in the collection, which covers health sciences, sociology, education and law to name a few, is testimony to the effect which state policy has had on the production of knowledge in these areas.

However, they ultimately do not answer the problems posed by Jansen's methodological critique. As Jansen's critique suggests, Marxism's blindness to race, gender and other non-class identities needs rethinking. However, despite the assertion that race needs to be prioritised, the implications for research practice and the actual constitution of knowledge are far from clear. If white producers of

knowledge are in various ways complicit in the structures of intellectual production which are so fundamentally flawed, what is the problem: it is their racial identity, their power, and/or their ideological affiliations. *Knowledge and Power* is conspicuous in that it gives voice to a number of black contributors. But, what does that necessarily say about the racial identity of researchers and the integrity of what they produce? True enough, as Eddy Webster points out from the perspective of sociology, there is still a good deal to be said about race in South Africa. In their eagerness to debunk liberal undertandings of South African society, radical social scientists particularly, cast a pall on those who still considered race an important topic – whatever their political affiliation. In doing so they established their own orthodoxy which did not significantly question their own location as very privileged producers of knowledge.

Will the much vaunted ideal of Africanising the research institutions necessarily give greater credibility to the output of knowledge? The answer seems unclear. Africanising, whatever it may mean, means different things to different people. Even if we acknowledge that black intellectuals / researchers in South African tertiary education have been seriously marginalised in the production of knowledge, there is no compelling evidence as yet that they will produce knowledge substantially different in character. Sure enough, their research will be free of the racist devices of apartheid's ideologues and they will be numerically better represented, but what can we predict about the content of the knowledge they will produce? Will it be democratically constituted, or socially useful, or authoritative because they are black? Because of their intermediate location, as black and middle class, can they claim to represent the experience of a fictional black community better than anyone else? Again, the answer seems unclear. The essays dealing with the politics of knowledge at universities (Ralekhetho, Moulder and Vilakazi/Tema), both black and white, do not offer much more than the research by Ivan Evans[1] and Francine de Clercq[2] carried in this journal recently.

The weakness of other contributors is their inability to carry the critical agenda set out by Jansen beyond poorly elaborated political dogma or race relations type psychology. It is not enough to resort to analysis overdetermined by apartheid or capitalism. The best of research in social science and the humanities provides sufficient evidence of human agency and the unintended consequences of structural arrangements in the production of knowledge. At a recent conference on the economics of education, one commentator noted that black history honours students are amongst the most in demand for management training these days. As a result they are difficult to retain in post graduate research programmes. That in itself says a good deal about the students perceptions of research, their commitment (or lack of it), the incentives/disincentives to a research oriented career, and the relations of power which still obtain in some of the most liberal institutions in the country. If the white "left"' that has entrenched itself in some major research producing

departments sees little problem with patronage relations, what difference will Africanisation make?

These criticisms withstanding, the volume will undoubtedly inform and provoke much needed debate about the transformation of research and institutions which produce knowledge. Resources for research, development, and structural change are all on the current agenda.

One final point warrants mention. Despite the importance of historical process in the constitution of knowledge, and the evolution of knowledge producing institutions, none of the chapters is devoted to the examination of history, historical knowledge and its importance in the crucible of knowledge production – our desperately troubled school classrooms.

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Perspectives in Education, 1992/93, Vol 14, No 1 111-115

The Classroom Arsenal: Military Research, Information Technology, and Public Education

By DOUGLAS D. NOBLE, Falmer Press, London (1991),ISBN 1-85000-803-3, 224 pages.

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Writing at the precise moment when SADF military intelligence involvement in murderous activities is being alleged, when the invisible network of Armscor's international dealings are coming to light, and when minor instances of way are regularly perpetrated as little more than acts of revenge, one is inclined to believe that these are only the avoidable violent products of an aberrant militarised regime. Once democracy comes, we think, a military set-up limiting itself to the direct defence of the people will emerge. For a chastening antidote to this view I recommend Douglas Noble's *The Classroom Arsenal.* It is impossible to read this book and remain innocent of the deep penetration of war-thinking into so much what we take for granted, including educational developments.

Readers of this journal will not be very surprised to read that even at the point of America's entry into World War II its military strategists were already preparing for the next war; thus the Cold War began with an Orwellian status quo described by C. Wright Mills as "an 'emergency' without foreseeable end". The similarities between this permanent vigilance and war readiness and P.W. Botha's generals' Total Onslaught ideology are obvious. Also, that the educational system was sucked into the US 'mobilized society' in the form of Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (Junior ROTC) in 1 600 US high schools in the 1980s, as well as the highly developed ROTC system in universities, will be understandable to us with our school cadets and veld schools. It is well known, too, that intelligence testing achieved its prominence when used as a mechanism for American troop selection during World War I. We have heard, further, of the impact of the Soviet Sputnik successes on the American drive to improve science and mathematics performance as a matter of national interest. In the US the influence of mobilized mentality can also be detected in the tack of the influential education policy proposals *A Nation Prepared* and *A Nation at Risk.*

What is deeply shocking, however, is the section before Noble gets to the guts of his book - the role of United States military research and development (R&D) in Computer-Based Education (CBE) – where he provides a summary of the growing mass of research which together describes the thoroughly militarized nature of corporate capitalist culture. An abbreviated listed of the areas of post-industrialism where military-initiated and – sponsored research has dominated includes computers, sonar, radar, jet engines, swept-wing aircraft, insecticides, transistors,

fire- and weather- resistant clothing, high-speed integrated circuits, nuclear power, the development of mining, metallurgy and machine production, railroad and aerospace technology, and, of course, the weapons industry. Whole areas of scientific endeavour are dominated by Department of Defence (DOD) influence and spending: biological science, electronic engineering, cognitive science, electronics, physics, bioengineering, and information science.

Because it is at the cutting edge of information technologies, and is in fact used as the protected technological R&D arm of corporate capital, military enterprise is the advance guard of the information society.[1]

Noble quotes Pollack who asserts that the Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) is "America's answer to Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI)".[2]

It is not just that there is an intersection of interests between the state, corporations, universities and the military. Noble convincingly argues that there is a common objective:

> .. to harness human performance in the service of complex technological systems, to forge a smoothly running symbiosis of human and machine at the hybrid core of the 'information society'.[3]

According to this perspective, then, beneath the dissolute, playful veneer of the fragmented postmodern condition, is a generalised world order of increasingly complex high technology systems wherein people constitute "mental material", where human capacities are so much cybernetic software. How different, one must as, is this from post-Fordist production system? Noble picks apart the military "worldview": it is centered on the principles of total adherence to technological innovation; a command and control imperative; and systems thinking. And from these flow the parts (here including humans) criteria of standardisation, uniformity, and individualisation. Central to the integrated military system is the idea of the "man-machine", the dream of totally integrated "interface" of human and machine capacities. The educational technology impetus is a research attempt to develop this amalgamation. Readers may be interested to learn that, apart from CBE, educational technologies and training principles "thus developed, perfected and popularized within this military research effort" include overhead projectors, language laboratories, instructional films and television, teaching machines, programmed instruction, instructional design, criterion-referenced testing, and the "systems" approach.[4] Indeed, over the last thirty years, US military agencies have spent three-quarters of all the dollars invested in educational technology research.

The US DOD is the world's largest employer of research psychologists, and the dominant cognitivist paradigm has a history tightly interwoven with military research. I, for one, was stunned to read or an influential, well-funded discipline called "engineering psychology" (or "human factors' engineering") concerned with the "man problem": how "to eliminate human error and to otherwise fit human beings into complex technological contexts".[5] Now a sub-field of cognitive science

and artificial intelligence (AI) technology, the most important development in this field has been the change in emphasis from human motor functioning and perception, to the cognition necessary for designing, programming and operating computerised military systems. Educational psychology is the "side door" through which instructional technologies have entered the school. CBE, Noble shows in this book, has been, and remains, an attempt "to understand, and design, new roles for the "human factor" in advanced military systems".[36]

The central part of *The Classroom Arsenal* is devoted to a detailed history and ideology–critique of five major sites of CBE development. In the early 1950s the Semiautomated Ground Environment (SAGE) system was approved by President Truman. A precursor of the Reagan's "Star Wars" proposals, SAGE was an computerised early-warning radar system to counteract any Soviet nuclear attack. CBE developed to support SAGE was "embedded" within the system itself in order that the man-machine interface be integrated. It seems that the SAGE system's criteria have become inbuilt features of CBE generally. These include: simulation; a basis in military training; embedded training in continually changing systems; emphasis on administration and management of instruction; emphasis on well-defined, technical, systems-related tasks; problem-solving; training as intellectual enhancement; man-machine communication research; AI research; and CBE as a controlled laboratory for instructional and learning research. The other four loci of CBE R&D considered here are the System Development Corporation, the PLATO system at the University of Illinois, the IBM Research Center, and the Bolt, Berenak and Newman firm. In each or these case studies Noble tracks the activities and organisational affiliations of several highly influential CBE authorities, every one of which has had intimate connections within or alongside, military R&D. Recent developments in CBE research like intelligent tutoring systems, microworld learning environments, and LOGO are revealed here to be old wine in new bottles; they are military-inspired and -funded efforts to develop "cognitive tools" for the symbiosis of human beings and weapon systems, and the augmentation of human intellect towards this end. The ideal "cyborg warrior" is one who is cognitively flexible enough to be able to perpetually self-teach, and CBE is a way of producing it.

Those who want to follow this fascinating story will need to read the book, but it is worth making a brief mention of the LOGO "learning environment". Developed by the South African born mathematician Seymour Papert, LOGO has many adherents int his country. Partly because of the systems' "user-friendly" nature, and partly because of Papert's own progressive rhetoric, it is tempting to believe that LOGO is somehow different from the main body of CBE applications. However, Noble shows that even in his days of study with Piaget in Geneva, Papert was researching the juncture of human and machine intelligence. Also, the LOGO project was funded by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research (AFOSR). Crucially, the marketing of LOGO as a tool for enhanced thinking was a marketing

afterthought. Like so many other cognitivists, Papert asked this question post hoc: "What is potentially profound among the possibilities this technology offers education?"[7] Needless to say, LOGO has had remarkably little success in enabling children to think "powerful mathematical ideas", as advertised.

What of CBE actually in place in schools? Noble presents the interesting argument that his is not where man-machine work is happening, such research occurs in the development of these systems. The deleterious effects of CBE, he says, lie in the way its built-in vision has captured the imagination of American education. Public education in the US (and can South Africa with its massive quantitative schooling back-log coupled with a diminishing budget, a situation crying out for a technical solution, be far behind?) has to a very large degree supplanted "education" with "problem-solving". This change, says Noble, cannot be explained as an attempt to address the worsening conditions in American schools, or as preparing workers for the information age production (he notes the growing number of low-level design jobs). Rather, educators have bought into the mind-set of "a larger military/scientific enterprise" which shares the language of intelligence, learning, thinking and problem-solving.[8] The massive influx of computers into schools has both coincided with, and been a vehicle for, the introduction of embedded cognitive theory – from thinking skills, to learning skills, to learning strategies, to cognitive engineering which is modelled after AI. Sometime called "AI in reverse", intellectual amplification is the latest attempt to enable the acquisition of machine learning procedures by students in order to make the students' learning more efficient. Education is diminished from being "the cultivation of human beings, through an encouragement of a deep self-understanding along with an understanding of and participation in the world"[9], to "metacognition", the self-monitoring of cognitive resources for the technological systems of the information age.

Ironically, CBE began as an attempt to reduce the need for trainers of high-tech military machines, but the emphasis on user-friendly directions on these machines leads rather to a decrease in the need for training itself. CBE has the dual function, Noble argues, of acting as a laboratory for experimentation around cognition, and of legitimation for the cognitive engineers themselves.

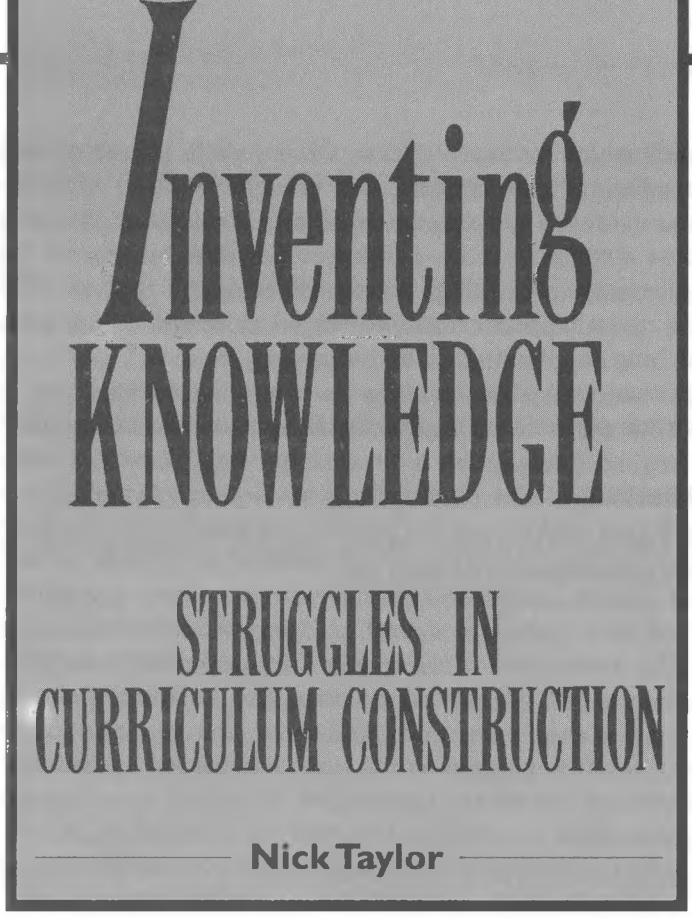
Of course, there is a lot more to be done. The technicist will to control nature and human beings was not invented by the US military (although they may have almost perfected it): this lineage needs to traced. A Marxist theory of postindustrialism which is nuanced enough to conceptualise the (dare I say it?) "relatively autonomous" place of the military in corporate capitalism is needed, especially now after the decline of the Soviet Union. It would be fascinating, too, to read an analysis of some of the CBE systems, rich enough to demonstrate to extent to which the man-machine discourse is irredeemably fixed in their workings. But this only food for though. Noble has presented a engagingly written, thoroughly

researched book which manages to leave a bad taste in the mouth at the same time as it makes one hungry to know more.

If there was evidence that they are open to critical debate, I would recommend *The Classroom Arsenal* and its extensive list of references to our artificially intelligent colleagues. As things stand, however, the best we can do is to be mindful of the military spectre standing behind those who would reduce education to testing, teaching cognitive skills, and re-testing, those who see learning as merely situated cognition, and those among us who believe that one can find the metacognitive competencies of things like the appreciation of literature.

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ARTICLES

Girls' Wars, Mission Institutions and Reproduction of the Educated Elite in the Eastern Cape, 1945 – 1959
Anne Mager 3

Civil Society, Social Movements and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC)
Nazir Carrim and Yusuf Sayed 21

Reading Programmes: Are they the Best Form of Intervention in Our Schools?
Wendy Flanagan 35

Treating Trash Seriously: Teaching Popular Fiction in South Africa
Lindy Stiebel 47

The Educational Agenda of Sustainable Development and the Potential of Video in Enviromental Education
Tim Quinlan 55

An Emerging Approach to Teacher Development: Who Drives the Bus?
Dianne Raubenheimer 67

REPORTS, DOCUMENTS AND DEBATE 81

Apartheid Education and Non-Racial Teacher Unionism: SADTU's Campaign for Recognition
Ismail Vadi 89

Hope is the Child of the Future – The Struggle for Unity in Early Childhood Education in South Africa
Daniel Plaatjies 95

'So Lost is Our Own Past To Us' – Review of the History Workshop Conference 1992
Cynthia Kros 101

Kenton-at-Broederstroom, October 1992
Shirley Sebokwane 107

REVIEWS

Jonathen Jansen (ed.) *Knowledge and Power in South Africa*
Dhianaraj Chetty 111

Douglas D. Noble *The Classroom Arsenal: Military Research, Information Technology, and Public Education*
Stephen Appel 117