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PERSPECTIVES IN EDUCATION





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DISCUSSION

'WHENEVER A BODY IS UNSUPPORTED IT FALLS DOWN'

Enire Sorim

31 December 1980

The Editors
Perspectives in Education

Dear Sirs

I recently came to the UK (from Lahore) with a view to staying on in this fine country. While visiting some friends and relations here I was lent this most interesting journal of yours, Perspectives in Education, which they had come upon by chance. I have a particular interest in education since I am myself a high school teacher of mathematics (although at present I am jobless). In addition I am interested in education in developing countries. Amongst these I include South Africa, which you may find strange since you are associated with a university which I believe is mainly for white people.

After reading the journal I was moved by our discussion to write down some thoughts which my friends encouraged me to have typed out to send to you.

> Whenever a body is unsupported, it falls down. (Perspectives in Education Vol 4 No 2, November 1980 page 57)

In a country like South Africa the burden that the people bear must sometimes become as heavy as Atlas's, or even of the god himself. Perspectives in Education Vol 4 No 2 reveals the struggles of some academics trying to keep, often unwittingly, one body well supported with another sound body - of theory.

An assumption which permeated most of the articles was that if the educational system in South Africa is not divisible from the State, it ought to be.

In considering the situation of teachers in South Africa, Mr W Morrow stated that in optimal circumstances 'Each profession is obliged to justify its ideals, purposes and principles to the society at large.' (ibid pg 95) He expressed abhorrence that 'For the dominant tradition in South Africa a member of a profession is simply another employee, albeit an employee with 'higher' status because the tasks he is employed to perform touch the interests of the central authority very closely.' (ibid pg 96) Mr Morrow also stated that "A person can be held neither accountable nor responsible for something which is not under his control." (ibid pg 92)

These three quotations carry the most pertinent information presented in Mr Morrow's argument. They communicate the teacher's impulse towards professionalism, to identify with his or her colleagues in their unified purpose; they communicate some South African teachers' frustration that this kind of independence is denied them; and lastly they communicate the unreal self-image that besets some teachers who not only are denied the possibility of taking the consequences of their actions, but find themselves in a position where they cannot even initiate actions.

Fortissimo in these assertions, as in those of Prof Boyce, Ms Bickley, Mr Tomaselli and Mr Gardiner, is the tone of blame: the State is at fault, it has its finger in every pupil, its tongue in every teacher. What surprises the distanced reader is the surprised note in which that tone is sounded. Surely the State's omnipresence is an 'old chestnut' overture which need not be played? Is it not self-evident that the Nationalist Party Department of Education is concerned to perpetuate and improve in its own terms its system of education? And is not the definition of the word 'education' relative to the national context in which

it is used?

Governmentally structured educational systems in any part of the world by definition are concerned to ensure that the youth of their population will perpetuate and augment the society as it is governed currently. That is why the 'Department of Education' bears such a name - it is but a section of government which holds a particular portfolio to do with governing the youth of the country. Since governments come into power by the election, or the silence, or the stillness of a country's adults, so those governments will assume the apparently condoned role of guardians of the children of those adults by whose grace that government has come to power.

The government by virtue of the power with which it is imbued by the people, is like the parent of the people. There is one fortunate difference. This is that one cannot choose one's parents, but one can choose one's government. The flaw in that assertion lies in that when the family is large, one's own voice may be small. For this reason most people in South Africa suspect that they will never be able to choose their government, or, in this case, the department of it that most affects their lives. So it would seem from these articles. They forget that even midgets, who stay small, grow older and stronger. All that is lacking are strategies for facilitating such choice.

Such facilitation may require a process for which some would like to use the word already appropriated by the very institutions they wish to oust - the word 'education.' But I see no need to use that word again, for it only leads to the verbal arguments that abound in this very journal.

What pertains more particularly to these comments in their overview of one issue of this journal, is that research that is published in a medium such as this, should have its priorities fixed on strategies for facilitating change in the particular department of government in which the researchers are experts. What avails complaint if it need not be heard by the listener who stops his ears, or who laughs louder?

Though passivity can generate the impregnability of dignity, I am not recommending as a campaign suitable for the solutions of problems in any time or context. But I am suggesting that your literati should

reconsider the deployment of their energies. It is too late to describe what you see to the people standing next to you. They are not blind, and they were facing that way long before you were. It is time to explore with great particularity what can be done. Surely this is the purpose of research?

If you support the body, it will not fall down.

I remain,

Yours sincerely

Enire Sorim

ARTICLE

EDUCATION FOR PAPAGANO

Ros Jaff

(Report of the National Education Commission
of the Republic of Bophuthatswana)

A critical analysis of curriculum innovation
for nation building.

> "Education has become a major, if not the major, concern of the new independent states in Africa. At almost every part in the "modernization process", education is a critical factor, for without it South Africa's people would be unable to enter the modern technological world. Each phase of economic planning demands not only capital, but skilled manpower, which can only be drawn from the reservoir of the educated population. For millions of Africans education is the key that will open the door to a better life and the higher living standards they were promised as the reward of the struggle for national liberation. No government in Africa could dare to deny the popular demand for expansion of the educational system". (1)

This view of the role of education in the development process has been quoted at the outset as it serves to provide a framework in which to discuss the assumptions of the authors of the Commission, for it is in the context of "modernization" theory and manpower planning that "PAPAGANO" is based.

In essence, "modernization" is identified with Rostow's notion of "economic stages" of development, which are based

on the experience of the industrialized countries. This notion assumes the presence of a dual economy. On the one hand the image of a highly developed, modern and progressive society, and a traditional undeveloped society on the other. Particular societies can then be located on this continuum between traditional and modern through the formulation of social and economic indicators such as urbanization, industrialization and literacy which enable apparently precise measurements to be made.

As the whole debate moved to the notion of underdevelopment in the early '70's, and subsequently to the idea of an articulation of pre-capitalist and capitalist modes of production (i.e. the interaction of the capitalist world system with local/peripheral and national social formations) the whole idea that there was a "set road" or some pre-ordained direction towards "modernization" was eroded. The whole question of the desirability (as well as the feasibility) of following that road came up for discussion.

"Education for Papagano" has been conceived as a grand strategy to bring about educational reform. It recommends the need for the production of high and middle-level manpower and outlines a broad plan linked to general social and economic priorities.

Such thinking was current during the '60's - but the experience of the '70's has made planners far more conscious of the severe political constraints within which planning must occur. Increasingly now the emphasis has been upon the "political economy" of educational planning. Rather than view educational development as resulting from an overall 'master plan' there is a willingness to try a series of educational alternatives and to see which 'experiments' seem to work and, just as significantly to see what alternatives can be diffused widely and at low cost.

Working within the outmoded belief in the efficacy of education as the motor of social improvement, it is not difficult to understand why the control and planning of Education in Bophuthatswana became even before independence an issue of crucial magnitude. Consequently, the Chief Minister and his Cabinet with the consent of Parliament appointed the Bophuthatswana National Education Commission on 24th October, 1977.

While Bophuthatswana manifests all the problems and priority needs of a newly independent and developing state, its creation and political rationale is unique in Africa. Indeed the nature of its 'independence' is highly

questionable as this paper will attempt to show. It is not independence won at great cost or as the result of a struggle for liberation. The yoke of 'colonial' control has not been eliminated - if anything, it has increased - and Bophuthatswana remains an extremely artificial creation: unconsolidated, dependent and at this point in time economically unviable.

Independence was imposed from without and was not the expression of a popular ideology. This aspect is significant in that it has important implications for the development of the overall educational design for Bophuthatswana.

In other emergent states independence has been founded upon a unity of purpose - a rallying cry - that has served to spearhead revolution and change. Elsewhere in Africa the rapid spread of at least elementary education was as much a political as an economic concern to its governments. Literacy was the key to broader communication with the masses. Through the schools and adult education groups, the policies and directives of the party could be explained and justified. The task of mobilizing the entire community to take part in the social transformation that followed political independence could be greatly facilitated by using the expanded educational facilities to increase the level of popular political consciousness. Within the educational system too, there lay the possibility of social control. Education would become the vehicle for the dissemination of the principles upon which the leaders sought to direct the national society.

This sense of a unity of purpose is absent in the inheritance of the Status of Bophuthatswana Act of 1977. Indeed, it is very interesting that the Education Commissioners, in order to give credence and substance to their recommendations had to <u>create</u> a sense of direction for education - and so the concept of "PAPAGANO" was constructed.

"Arising from its discussions and evidence, verbal and written, the Commission was convinced that some educational ideal in which the culture and beliefs, the world-life-view, as well as the highest aspirations of the nation are crystallized would have to be found". (Chapter 6, 1.4 p 18 Education for Papagano).

The document continues:

"2.3 In seeking to identify these national needs and aspirations your Commission

2.3.1 researched into the history of the people of Bophuthatswana and found that, particularly since 1951 determined steps have been taken to mould the different Botswana tribes into one nation;

2.3.2 discovered that the concept 'Papagano' is the ideal that has directed the highest aspirations of families, tribes and groups among the Botswana. Moulding of the person for his mental, physical, moral and spiritual well-being from infancy to the state of puberty and beyond has been uppermost in the family, the mophato, and the nation;

2.3.3 found that in the proverbs, wise sayings and idioms of the Setswana language the verb 'go bopa' and its derivatives are most extensively used.

2.3.4 confirmed that even in his unlettered state, the Matswana is an artist, a creator of images and models. 'Papagano' as an ideal of education indeed aptly describes what is basic in the nature of the people of Bophuthatswana.

2.4 In this way your Commission came to use the concept "Education For Papagano". Inherent in this concept is the belief of Bophuthatswana in the ideas of national cohesion and unity, creative renewal, purposeful reconstruction; the reconciliation and interdependence of individuals and peoples; as well as faith and confidence in its people and the future. (2)

Throughout the Commission report the general notion of "community" and "community identity" is expressed, yet firm guidelines as to how this might be achieved are not laid down.

Educationally, "PAPAGANO" is a sound, assertive and optimistic document. It will be criticised for its vagueness, probably the result of its rushed nature - (investigations lasted 75 days); - its breadth of scope and the ecclectic and hence un-coordinated nature of its approach. It recommends many of the currently implemented educational solutions in African countries, without a consideration of their applicability to the unique situation of Bophuthatswana. It remains a conservative and unoriginal statement and lacks a realistic assessment of what Bophuthatswana is, and what its priorities are in

educational development.

Certainly the Commissioners' eyes have not been closed to the tremendous structural and economic constraints within which their report was framed. The effects of population expansion on life circumstances and hence by implication on economic circumstances are acknowledged. Economic conditions and lack of opportunity within Bophuthatswana which give rise to migratory labour are discussed, and it is salutary to note a recognition of the prevalence of black consciousness.

However, in its attempt to plan an overall design for education which extends from early childhood education to a University curriculum in a formal sense, and makes provision for community projects and vocational training for others, it becomes clear that a scheme to attack priority areas at a grassroots level has not been evolved or the problems of doing so faced up to.

In order to provide a framework for a thorough analysis of "EDUCATION FOR PAPAGANO", the following discussion will be placed within the context of three themes. Firstly, the view of education as an instrument of social control will be explored. Here, the creation of the "homeland" system within the structure of Apartheid will be examined and the implications for education of this social and political control will be assessed. Secondly, a consideration of the rationale behind the approach to Educational Planning and its implications is considered. Thirdly, the points of comparison and contrast with a parallel Commission Report on Education in Botswana, "EDUCATION FOR KAGISANO" will be integrated into a discussion and evaluation of aspects of "PAPAGANO."

The point of departure of any analysis of aspects of the "independent homelands" within the South African capitalist society lies in an understanding of the nature of the system through which the exploitation of labour power is facilitated. The first and most basic point about South Africa is that the exploitation of labour power has always been carried out on the basis of a system of migrant labour. The over-riding importance of migrant labour for an analysis of the South African social formation is made clear by the editors of Control. (3)

> "It is the creation and maintenance of this migrant labour force, primarily in the interests of Capital, that is the single most important factor in South

> Africa's history. Pass laws, reserve areas, homeland policies, apartheid all flow in one or other way from this initial process, and the ways in which the basic system has changed and modernized with time."

Migratory labour, so fundamental to the development of South African capitalism, stretches right back to the opening of the mines and even before, to the use of the Cape vineyards and the Natal sugar plantations. The Nationalists, when they took power in 1948, took over a ready-made system which they renamed, extended and systematised. They created a series of black 'homelands' or Bantustans where, so the theory ran, blacks would enjoy separate but equal citizenship rights. Taking as a basis the "native reserves" laid down in the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, the government set about consolidating 12.9% of the country into black "ethnic" areas. To tidy up this picture, a drastic programme of population transfer uprooting and resettling over three million blacks was carried out between 1960 and 1970.

Wolpe (4) has referred to this situation as a theory of "internal colonization" which requires the development of political policies which revolve around segregation and the preservation and control of African "tribal" societies. The ideological focus, he asserts is always necessarily on the "racial" or "tribal" or "national" elements, precisely because of the "tribal" nature of what is being preserved and controlled. (There is of course an even further complicating factor - namely that that 'traditional tribal' reality, so called, has been distorted by the invention of colonial rule for almost a century that the whole notion of 'traditional' or 'tribal' is questionable).

Wolpe shows how the disruptive tendencies create problems of control for the Capitalist state, and how these are met by the vast super-structure of administrative control, both through the state and through the "tribal" authorities. The counterpart of all this is the structure of domination exercised over the labour force through pass laws, Urban Areas acts, the police and Bantu Administration Departments.

Wolpe and Legassick et al (5) have shown how apartheid provides a specific mechanism for maintaining cheap labour power through the elaboration of the entire system of domination and control. They see the function of the 'reserves' as a cheap reservoir for black labour - i.e. the source of a reserve army of labour which could be absorbed or let out according to the demands of industry. Moreover it provided an economic rationale for capital to pay the migrant wages at a rate set below the value of labour power

without attending to the social security needs of this mass inflow or subsidising familial reproduction in the reserves.

Legassick and Wolpe and O'Meara and Innes (6) take the debate further. Their analysis must be seen within the framework of the ideological shift from white supremacy to self-determination and independence which necessitated a change in the ideology of racial inferiority within the Apartheid design.

The Transkei Constitution Act of 1963 and the Status of Bophuthatswana Act of 1977 consequently provided for a legislative assembly to exercise control over finance, justice, interior, education, agriculture and forestry and roads and works. The Republican Government retained control, inter alia, over defence, external affairs, internal security, postal and related services, railways, immigration, currency, banking and customs. It need hardly be stressed that this arrangement in no way approaches political independence.

At the same time, it must not be overlooked that within limits, set both by the Constitution and the available resources, these homeland governments exercise real administrative power. By this means, the South African state is able to secure the execution of certain essential social control and administrative functions at low cost particularly as a considerable portion of Government expenditure can be obtained through increased general taxes.

It is, however, in the sphere of economic development that the emerging role of the 'homelands' can be seen most clearly and it is on this issue that the above-mentioned authors have made their observations. Innes and O'Meara make it clear that they recognise that class structure and class relations in the 'homelands' cannot be considered independently of the dynamics of capitalism in South Africa. Their central point is, that

> "the extension of capitalist relations of production across the South African social formation has proletariarized and/or marginalized the peasantry (in the independent homelands') - i.e. - transformed pre-capitalist relations of production into fully capitalist relations". (7)

This restructuring in the relations of production, so the argument goes, is achieved through the instrument of state policy and legislation, whereby:

(a) the reserve army of labour is situated in the rural areas, rather than in the normal capitalist pattern in the urban slums.

(b) there has been intervention in agricultural production to produce a small but independent, rich peasantry and rich farmers on the one hand and a mass of petty agricultural producers on the other, who are unable to reproduce themselves from agricultural production. This intervention refers to the vesting, by the state, of economic ownership of the land in the 'homelands' in the Chiefs who are thereby given exclusive right to allocate land and to the policy of reducing the number of landholders from ± 500,000 to 50,000.

(c) Industrial Decentralization has been introduced. Here, capitalist relations of production in non-agricultural production have been geographically redistributed into the "border areas." The key instruments in this process have been the establishment of the Bantu Investment Corporation and the Xhosa Development Corporation.

But why decentralize to the borders in any event? Wolpe suggests that this policy can only be understood if it is seen as an alternative to migration as a mechanism for producing cheap labour power.

Its attraction lies in the fact that neither the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act, Section 77 (which empowers the Minister of Labour to reserve certain jobs for particular racial groups) nor the Wage Act (which reserves higher paid jobs for skilled white workers) apply. This being so, it becomes possible to employ blacks in jobs which in the 'white' areas are the exclusive preserve of white workers.

Recently, the Government reversed its previous rejection of the Tomlinson Commission's recommendation that Whites be allowed to invest capital in the 'homelands.' As in the case of border industries, various incentives are held out to induce investment. These include 'tax holidays', tariff reductions, development loans and so on. All the considerations outlined above in relation to border industries apply with equal force to industrial development within the 'homelands.'

This change in policy must be seen then as a further significant step towards the establishment of an extensive structure of cheap labour power in the homelands.

The consequences of labour exploitation have led to a substantial increase in Black unemployment.

> "Both the rapid rise in the organic composition of capital in the '60s and the continued disintegration of the conditions (forms of labour tenancy and non-capitalist relations) which acted as a brake on the process of absolute expulsion of the agrarian population, have accelerated the growth of the relative surplus population functioning as an industrial reserve army to regulate the absolute general level of wages in the economy ..... Despite its scale it cannot be rigorously differentiated into a marginalized or an unmarginalized sector. Nevertheless its size is a structural rather than a cyclical phenomenon - i.e. the rise and fall in the levels of African unemployment are likely to take place around a high absolute percentage of unemployment." (8)

The policies and institutions of the South African state operate to restructure the work force and the industrial reserve army in the homelands in a variety of ways. One crucial aspect of this restructuring is the division of the Black population between those with residential rights in the cities and those regarded as citizens of the homelands. (Although it must be assumed that increasing numbers of blacks are living permanently in urban townships "illegally", there is nevertheless a very large and increasing population of black workers in the 'white' areas hired as contract - labour on yearly contracts through the labour bureau system of the homelands).

It must be stressed that control of the homeland population is not carried out by the South African State directly, but by its functionaries - the 'homeland governments'. The power structure and the class structure that is entrenched by the Bantu Authorities Act, betterment schemes and the abolition of 'one-man - one-plot', create a stratum in whose material interests it is that the demands of the apartheid state be carried out.

The displacement of social control in the homelands from 'white' bureaucrats to 'black' functionaries is a powerful 'divide and rule' tactic. Class divisions within the homeland population are exacerbated and dissatisfaction is directed towards these black agents rather than towards a system of which they are a part.

Yet the capacity of the homelands to continue to act as a dumping ground, soaking up the unemployed, marginalized,

'politically dangerous' is not infinite.

> "The re-appearance of squatter concentrations ... harks back to the situation in the forties, but on an altered basis. Clearly the increase in the reserve population, the still declining levels of subsistence, the inability of the marginal economy to expand, or even reproduce itself on a long term basis, have meant that the struggle is taking the form of a move back to the towns, but on an ever-increasing scale. It is obvious too that control now rests on blatant repression: the pass raids carried out on the Witwatersrand in 1978, bulldozing of squatter camps in the Cape and the harassment of squatters in Winterveld." (9)

In the light of the above analysis of the relations between the state, labour, monopoly capital, employment and the independent homelands, it is interesting to consider the implications for education. In a recent article, "Homeland children fall behind in school stakes",(10) quoting figures of the semi-official Bureau of Economic Research Co-operation and Development, the point was made that in educational expenditure per pupil and teacher-pupil ratio the homeland pupil was at a considerable disadvantage when compared with his counterpart in "white" areas.

Since the publication of the Riekert report last year, many observers including Professor Francis Wilson of U.C.T. have spoken of an attempt by the authorities to drive a wedge between "urban insiders" and "rural outsiders." The nub of their theory is that tighter application of influx control is being used to separate "rural" from "urban" blacks, with the intention of offering urban blacks a relatively better deal, turning them into a 'labour aristocracy' and using them as a bulwark against the rural proletariat. The bureau's figures can be interpreted as evidence for this theory. Data on black spending power and expenditure by administration boards may also be viewed as supporting evidence.

Figures on black purchasing power show it is largely concentrated in areas outside the homelands, although nearly half the black population lives in them. The survey's breakdown of spending by administration boards points to the high priority being given to "labour control" over the surplus population, thus removing it from the direct involvement of capital. At the same time, there is a recognition by the functionaries that they cannot in fact contain the struggles that are emerging, and consequently an

attempt by them to place the burden of control back on to the shoulders of the capitalist state.

> e.g. "The Transkei does not accept that the Cape squatters are any responsibility of theirs, while "homeland" officials did not want to accept ex-Soweto pupils into their schools indicating the unwillingness to accept 'political militants'.
>
> The unemployed or underemployed, freed from the discipline of the labour process may also be a more politically volatile strata than the settled urban proletariat." (11)

As the struggles of the dominated intensify, so too will the struggle between the 'homeland' leaders and the S.A. state. This will no doubt lead to further refinements and transformations in the role of the homelands and the functions they serve for capital, and this in turn to the intensification of further contradictions arising from this process.

The extent to which the authors of "PAPAGANO" have addressed themselves to this contradictory situation will be the subject of the following section.

It should be stated at the outset that "EDUCATION FOR PAPAGANO" should not be seen as a fully-fledged attempt at educational planning. Rather it is a tentative statement of intent and recommendation which attempts for the first time to evaluate and quantify the total system of education in Bophuthatswana - a legacy of the system of Bantu education.

Detailed charts representing the number of schools, and their grouping according to medium of instruction; a survey of teachers - their ethnic background, age and qualifications; the availability of teaching facilities; an analysis of enrolment denoting pupils' ages, plus ethnic origin; a breakdown of subjects studied by secondary pupils and an enumeration of teachers-in-training and their particulars are all included.

The survey furthermore makes certain projections as to the number of pupils anticipated in schools up until 1982, and consequently the number of teachers and classrooms required. Finally, a summary of general population statistics and an account of general standards of educational attainment and drop-out figures are listed.

To this extent it provides the basis of a comprehensive future working document. This is indeed its strength. However in the light of the previous analysis of the social formation within the Republic of Bophuthatswana, it becomes immediately obvious that the framers of the Commission Report in their euphoria to sweep away the trappings of 'Bantu Education', have failed to take full cognisance of the socio-political and geographic nature of Bophuthatswana.

The report itself is an exciting and sound statement of educational intent, but is unrealistic in terms of many of the real and urgent priority needs.

Balogh and Streeten in their essay on the 'Planning of Education in Poor Countries' highlight this point:

> Because of the narrow margins of tolerance and the closeness of many underdeveloped countries to misery and starvation, it is crucially important that minimum needs are estimated and that the required combination of measures is planned and executed. Failure to execute complementary measures can spell disaster. The isolation of 'educational' expenditure distracts attention from the urgent need, not only to select the right type of education, but also to combine it with the provision of better seeds, drainage and fertilizers with land reform and price stabilization, with improvements in transport and birth control, with the improvements of rural amenities.... The waste involved in not planning for the required complementarities and pushing education too far can be detrimental to development" (12)

As such, "PAPAGANO" is premature. In order to make feasible recommendations overall development priorities need to be the common goal of other ministries, communities and legislators.

On the positive side, many of the resolutions tabled and the general method of approach augur well for the future. The members of the Commission are all suitably qualified practitioners in education or allied fields in Bophuthatswana itself. The composition of the Commission contrasts markedly with those involved in the parallel study in Botswana (Education for 'KAGISANO'). The framers of 'KAGISANO' were mainly international research experts, sponsored by international research foundations. Research on 'KAGISANO' took one year to design and collate and the findings are published in two volumes. 'PAPAGANO' by contrast was formulated in 75 days.

McGinn (13) has put up a convincing case against the rationalist planner from international donor organizations. He contends that although the logic of a rationalist approach is impeccable, its assumptions concerning the reality it seeks to change are wrong. Because national planners have to live with their mistakes and their successes, they cannot and should not rely on the rationalist planning models promoted by international agencies. The planner who wants to help change conditions he finds intolerable must look to the people and organizations of his own country and the political interests they pursue.

Among some of the noteworthy recommendations tabled by the Bophuthatswana Commission is the notion that the school system be re-structured into three phases - Primary, Middle and High School. Each unit should be "rounded off" and complete in itself. The notion of the Middle School (Std. 5-7) is a particularly appropriate and necessary construction given the fact that over 50% of pupils tend to 'drop out' at the Std 6 level. (14) In essence these are day schools with a strong community bias. The Commission recommends that at this stage it is vital to introduce broad areas of differentiation to meet the future needs of the pupils and the encouragement of a 'development spirit' of self reliance and service and the acquisition of skills that can be put to use to the benefit of the country. The middle school is envisaged as ultimately providing the second stage of compulsory education.

The curriculum of the middle school should include Setswana, English, Afrikaans, Science, Mathematics and one 'practical' subject - broadly technically oriented in the urban areas and agriculturally oriented in the rural areas. Besides Art, Music and Homecraft a significant inclusion is that of Development Studies - a course based on the approach pioneered by van Rensburg at Swaneng Hill School in Botswana.

The aims of van Rensburg's course are outlined as follows: (15)

1. To introduce pupils to the national principles of self-reliance, development democracy and national unity and to assure their application to modern day Botswana.

2. To prepare pupils to become responsible and mature citizens and to give them some knowledge of the workings of particular institutions which they will meet on leaving school.

3. To give an indication of the political, economic and social structure of Botswana, background to this and relationship of Botswana to the outside world.

4. To equip pupils with the basic knowledge and skills to prepare them for active participation in the social, economic and political life of the modern community.

5. To make pupils aware of the problems of rural development and the need to develop rural areas.

6. To include in the pupils a spirit of patriotism by emphasizing Botswana's heritage and achievements, its goals for the future, and the plans and programmes set up for the achievement of these goals, and to arouse in the pupils a responsible desire to participate in those national plans and programmes.

In Bophuthatswana, regarding the training of teachers for this component, it is recommended that the Ministry of Education should set up a department in the new university in which Development Studies be offered as one of the major subjects in the School of Education. It is important that local, and not expatriate teachers be prepared to take over the teaching of this sensitive subject. The recommendations on this issue show very clearly how out of touch the authors are with the reality of what Bophuthatswana represents. Clearly notions like 'self reliance' or land reform or 'democracy' are something of an illusion in the context!

A further noteworthy aspect, in which Dr K Hartshorne's obvious views and interests are expressed, is in the area of MEDIUM of INSTRUCTION. In the recommendations of the commission a significant break with the policy of language which underpins 'Bantu education' is evident.

Setswana is to be used as the medium of instruction from Grade 1 up to Std 2. English is to be used as medium of instruction from Std 3 upwards. Further, so that the change from one medium to the other is not abrupt, consideration should be given to the teaching of Arithmetic/ Mathematics through the medium of English in Std 2, so that the development of relevant concepts is promoted, with the flexibility to use the vernacular when pupils experience difficulty. In-service training for teachers, aimed at improving competency in the use of the spoken and written word, as well as a methodology of teaching English at the transitionary phase are envisaged.

The main implication of the above criteria is that the

Bophuthatswana Education Department will have to recruit a strong force of mother-tongue English speaking teachers initially for service in its high schools, teacher-training institutions and in-service training schemes in order to bring about a general improvement in the Standard of English used at all levels.

V Rodseth and J Povey (16), in two persuasive articles on the medium of instruction, both endorse the fact that pupils should learn to read and write in the mother tongue. They indicate that the South African vernaculars are tailor-made for teaching children to read and write. Not only are they regularly spelled, but they have the added benefit of being syllabic in structure. Their research points to the fact that pupils are soon able to generalise and use this learning strategy in acquiring skills in another language. However they do caution against the premature introduction of the third language as this has been shown to create language confusion, and indicate that Std 3 is a feasible stage to make the transition. The framers of the primary school curriculum for 'PAPAGANO' appear to have been misguided in their plans to introduce Afrikaans at the Std 1 level.

> "English should be the medium of instruction in Black education - and Standard III would seem to be about the right stage for the transition. English has already taken its place as a language of wider communication appropriate to the fragmented diversity (of the country) ... and it has become the very essence of national cohesion and the medium through which economic modernisation must occur"
>
> (Rodseth)

Perhaps the most constructive outcome of 'PAPAGANO' has been its expressed determination to establish a University.

Cognisance has been taken of the failure of the neo-colonial experience in university development.

> "Rene Dumont, False Start in Africa (1966), has shown that the investments, the procedures and education of the period since independence have only partially met their goals, and the conclusion that the modern sector is not capable in the near future of providing the basic gifts of modern improvement for the great mass of the people, has led many to the opinion that the priorities should now focus on improvements in the rural sector" (17)

Consequently, "PAPAGANO" asserts that

> "The University of Bophuthatswana, in addition to the normal tasks of a university i.e. i) to teach
> ii) to foster research
> iii) to disseminate knowledge
>
> should bear in mind its special functions in a developing country. The specific needs of Bophuthatswana, academic, cultural as well as technical, should be catered for. University graduates should not consider themselves merely as academics, but as men and women who can dedicate their minds, hearts and hands to the development of their country". (18)

The Commission recognised the immediate need for well qualified teachers, technically qualified people, entrepreneurs, economists, administrators, civil servants, health personnel and social workers. Hence it was proposed that the University serve as a multi-purpose, diversified tertiary institution which would link together all educational activities at the tertiary level.

Among the components of such a university (which would not necessarily be found on the same campus) would be: the University itself initially would offer degrees of a professional nature and diploma courses in Education, Arts, Economics and Administration, Community Development (including Health and Social Work) and as soon as possible in the Natural Sciences (Mathematics should be introduced from the beginning). Secondly, research and development institutes should be set up as soon as possible in the fields of Education, the Civil Service and Community Development. Sub-sections concerned with Adult education, Agriculture, Health & Welfare are also envisaged. These institutes are planned to accept responsibility for shorter term training programmes.

Also included in the overall design are teacher training colleges, agricultural colleges for the training of extension workers and polytechnics for the training of engineers and other kinds of technicians.

There is indeed merit in this motivation to link the needs of the community with those of academic excellence. The following section will however examine the practical implications of the Commissions recommendations.

Wandira (19) discusses the process of university

"adaptation". He cites the "Asquith Scheme" as an example. In this situation a link was established between the university colleges of Salisbury, Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam. These colleges were then allied to London University. It was a relationship which gave credence and respect to the University Colleges and which was one of partnership and not merely patronage. The University of London was prepared to admit within the framework of its degree structure substantial syllabus modifications and courses with a particular African bias were initiated.

However, Wandira shows that adaptation as a policy for university development in Africa was in itself an inevitable source of conflict. It assumes that Western concepts of education had to be adapted and this left no room for other choices.

> "When we consider the role of the African university in the 1970s we must define the objectives and functions in the light of a university in a country where more than 80% of the inhabitants cannot read or write. We must decide what relevance it has to the society it purports to serve and recognise the potential conflict between those functions and the concept of international standards and equivalence".

The authors of the Commission have recommended that the University of Bophuthatswana, since it is faced with inadequate staffing, expertise and facilities, forge such a link with UNISA and various faculties and departments of other universities in South Africa.

> "Through the good office of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Bophuthatswana, negotiations should be entered into by the Department of Education to arrange that, for the first two or three years of existence of the University of Bophuthatswana, its students should write the examinations of the University of South Africa. Where adaptations of course work or curricula are felt to be necessary these should be discussed with UNISA which it is hoped would take a sympathetic attitude towards such suggestions".

At this point in time it is still too soon to know how this proposal will be interpreted. However it would seem that the envisaged link with UNISA is a significant litmus test for the whole enterprise. If the teaching has to conform even in the initial stages (perhaps especially in the initial stages when expectations are high) to the

constraints of a UNISA syllabus, the overall goals of the scheme are never likely to be achieved.

It is interesting to note throughout the document that all phases of tertiary and vocational education and teacher training have as their requirements the same qualifications and standards of those of the Republic of South Africa.

Further quotation serves to reinforce this point:

> "...It remains only to point out that at the highest levels of technical education, the University and the college for advanced technology, Bophuthatswana is at present dependent upon her neighbour, South Africa. Until such time as it is advisable and economic to create these tertiary levels in technical education, immediate and maximum use of facilities in the R.S.A. and elsewhere should be made...etc." (20)

The implications of such a situation are obvious and serve to underscore the need for the Education System in Bophuthatswana to establish some form of credibility, respectability and legitimacy within the constraints of homeland development.

A further noteworthy aspect of "PAPAGANO" is its consideration of "Education and Community Development" in the non-formal sense. The chapter (no. 22) includes all the familiar rhetoric connected with the goals and priorities of non-formal education. The document implies that attitudinal change with regard to the distinction between mental and manual work is crucial - yet makes no concrete proposals to cope with a situation of mass unemployment and marginalization of the rural population. A host of other worthwhile purposes is outlined such as the concept of 'life long education' local self-reliance (based on a Kenyan Harambee-type approach). Significantly it is recognised that planning should be decentralized and closely adapted to local conditions. In this regard, multi-purpose local development centres are envisaged - set up in local schools or church buildings to co-ordinate local activities, share facilities and personnel, and involve the local population in their own community development.

An acknowledgement of this aspect is crucial, for as Linda Dove (21) has shown, there is a tendency in the literature to assume that the community is always united in interests. (She shows that while communities might have a common language, faith and a common acceptance of traditional patterns of social relations and authority, the economic

structure often dictates the subordination of one section of the community's interests to another).

The target groups to whom non-formal education is directed are outlined. A general priority is aimed at people who benefit least from the economic system. The programme is specifically directed at women in the rural areas and out of school youth.

It is acknowledged that as a result of the system of migratory labour, rural development depends almost entirely on women. Two approaches to the problem are required - women who are not yet literate need to be educated in purposive literacy and numeracy as a basis for further development and young girls need to be sent to and kept at school. Furthermore child and health care, nutrition and increased basic skills should be introduced into the villages by trained teachers, social workers or community health nurses. In the field of agriculture, training through an agency of extension officers is to be encouraged.

As far as 'out of school youth' are concerned, the Commission recommends very favourably the BRIGADE SYSTEM pioneered by van Rensburg in Botswana.

The explicit objective of the Brigade movement is to create positive attitudes towards community development and self help. It strives to train young school drop-outs in semi-skilled activities such as building, carpentry etc. Brigades differ from other training institutions in that they provide training on-the-job within a programme of serious production that aims at cost recovery.

The Botswana experience has shown that through this approach it has been possible to train large numbers of individuals at negligible cost to the government. There is no doubt that the Brigades have an important contribution to make in providing young people, especially those who do not progress in formal education beyond primary school with skills and employment. It is however important to point out that in the long term van Rensburg's Brigades were a failure because they did not take account of the structural circumstances of education and employment in Botswana. No amount of juggling with the curriculum of the schools is likely to alter the legitimate aspirations of children and their parents for economic betterment.

In its discussion, the Commission however, acknowledged that no formal or concrete proposals are forthcoming as a result of the hurried nature of its inquiry and recommends the

establishment of future working parties in the area of co-ordinated community development.

It is felt that this failure to come to terms with the pressing problems and frustrations caused by marginalization, enforced citizenship and mass unemployment described earlier is a serious flaw in the "PAPAGANO" document. Creative and original schemes such as a mass literacy campaign or an approach based on simple technology - such as the radio, correspondence courses or group learning (22) are nowhere considered.

Jeffrey Jacob (23) provocatively challenges the concept of the necessity of some kind of centralized and rational planning. He sees formal schooling as a nuisance factor and school certificates as one more obstacle and barrier that the poor have to overcome to obtain the marginal incomes that they now have. He asserts that his notion of 'calculated anarchy' (i.e. of seeing the school as 'only one institution among many, whereby the individual may achieve social mobility) provides a unique twist on the human capital argument. The wealth of nations truly is human resources, but the very worst way to utilize this is to give schools the exclusive rights to its development.

The problem - or contradiction - is of course that such an approach can be dangerous. Methods such as those of Freire would help to destroy the whole system if implemented. Once again the extensive measure of control necessary to any education system must limit its possibilities.

In the final analysis a huge 'question mark' hangs over the ambitious scheme envisaged by "PAPAGANO". The cost factor alone is likely to prove the most serious deterrent. The global ostracism of the 'independent homelands', the overseas development funding that usually has been necessary to make legitimate and viable educational programmes work and the absence of expatriates to staff them are issues that education in Bophuthatswana must face. The high rate of population growth and the resultant imbalance between the number of children to be catered for in the education system and the number of economically active adults further complicates the issue.

Moreover, the fact that a high proportion of economically active people are either migrant workers in South Africa or are daily commuters to the Republic, with the resultant loss of revenue to Bophuthatswana adds to this problem. A significant factor, too is the wastage of money and

resources as a result of premature school leaving, which is in itself usually a direct result of poverty.

What then in the light of the overview that has been gained from this tentative examination of "PAPAGANO" could be construed as the assumptions that underpin the Commission report?

Without doubt it must be seen as a very real attempt to initiate change at the level of curriculum innovation, and to infuse Black education with a new spirit of optimism and purpose.

It must be seen too as an attempt to formulate the kind of education that would complement that of the wider South African system. The planners envisage no radical social engineering - no attempt has been made to change the system from that of the traditional White model. What is perhaps envisaged is a more efficient and successful way of linking the systems than hithertofore (e.g. the phasing in of stages of compulsory education and the identification at all stages with South African standards of competence and quality etc.)

Perhaps too it should be seen as the kind of system that will perpetuate the present system of Black leadership by providing the civil servants and administrators to staff the 'homeland' bureaucracy.

But ironically, perhaps it will ensure that the grand Apartheid design of Verwoerd will have turned full circle, for it will give Bophuthatswana Blacks the opportunity to seek "greener pastures" and achieve for the South African capitalist the skilled labour force that thirty years of Bantu Education failed to provide.

This is indeed the major contradiction inherent in the educational proposals - for if it does succeed in doing this it will by definition be failing to meet the development goals for Bophuthatswana as formulated in the report. The more successful the schools are at creating high level manpower in the context of the global shortage within South Africa the more Bophuthatswana will lose its graduates (high school, college and university) to South Africa where the opportunities will be more attractive.

NOTES

(1) (Ed) L Gray Cowen Education and Nation building in Africa: Preface (v) Prager, N Y 1966

(2) Education for Papagano. Report of the National Commission of Education. Republic of Bophuthatswana August 1978.

(3) Development Studies Group Information Publication No. I, 1978 p vii

(4) H Wolpe "Theory of Internal Colonization: The S.A. Case", I C S Vol 5

(5) Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power in S.A., Economy and Society, Vol I and Legislation, Ideology and Apartheid in post 1948 S.A., J S A 5 Vol I 1974.

(6) RAPE No 7, 1976. The Bantustans and Capital Accumulation.

(7) RAPE op.cit. p 88.

(8) Wolpe, op.cit. p 103.

(9) J Yawitch Black Women in S.A.: Capitalism, Employment and Reproduction p 23, in Africa Perspectives, Dissertation No 2, June 1980.

(10) R.D.M. 4-4-80. A report by the Bureau of Economic Research Co-operation and Development giving a statistical survey on Black Development revealed the following:

"Expenditure on Black pupils in "the common area" and the homelands was equal in 1976-1977 at R46 a head, but in subsequent years it fell behind in the homelands. In 1978-1979 comparative expenditure was R52 in the homelands and R72 "in the common area".

A similar pattern of relative disadvantage for Blacks at school in the homelands is shown in figures of teacher-pupil ratios. In 1978 it was 1;50 in homelands against 1: 46, 9 in the common area".

(11) Yawitch, op.cit. p 24.

(12) Balogh T and Streeten "The Planning of Education in Poor Countries" in Economics of Education, Vol I (ed) M Blaug Penguin

(13) Planning and Politics, Comparative Educational Review. June 1979 p 239.

(14) Education for Papagano, op. cit. p 125 (diagram)

(15) Education for Kagisano, Report of the National Commission of Education. Gabarone, Botswana. April 1977 and Open University Audiotape "Botswana School and Development" E 203/07.

(16) Povey J Language Policy and Bilingualism and V Rodseth Doing the right thing for the right reason in Perspectives in Education, Vol 4, No. I 1980 Wits/JCE.

(17) Quoted in Porter "University development in English Speaking Africa" African Affairs, Vol II p 82.

(18) Education for Papagano, op.cit. p 85.

(19) Wandira A The African University in Development, Ravan p 17.

(20) "Education for Papagano" op.cit. p 65.

(21) "The Role of the Community School in Rural Transformation in Developing Countries", Comparative Education Review, Vol 16 No 1. March 1980.

(22) Young M et.al. Distance teaching for the Third World, R.K.P. 1980.

(23) Jacob J "Schooling, Planners and the Poor - The case for calculated anarchy". Comparative Education Review, 1979.

A PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION FOR SOUTH AFRICA

A working paper

In trying to formulate this philosophy, the following areas will need to be investigated:

A 1 The view of the nature of man (the child) and of the nature of the world and of reality.

2 One's belief about where knowledge comes from.

3 One's attitude to values, and the nature of value.

The answers to the above three questions will influence how one regards the various aspects of Education, viz.

B 1 The aim of Education

2 The methods to be used

3 The content to be taught

4 The choice of an organizational and administrative system

5 The desired attitude towards the child and discipline

6 The desired role of the teacher (involving a particular attitude to freedom and authority).

Each of these points will be discussed in turn.

A THE PHILOSOPHY BEHIND THE EDUCATION

1 THE NATURE OF REALITY, THE WORLD, MAN

Nature of Reality: There is an Ultimate Reality, ie a First Cause, an Absolute, an Infinite, God.

Nature of the World: God (or any chosen term) created the Universe and therefore the World. He made Man the primary entity in the World. Individual man is therefore sacrosanct and the centre of the World.

Nature of Man: God granted man autonomy and therefore Free Will. In order to practise this Free Will and Autonomy, the individual must take precedence over the State; ie the State is there to serve the Individual and guarantee him the opportunity to exercise responsible choice, with due regard for other individuals whose autonomy must also be respected, because man is a social being as well.

2 THE SOURCE AND NATURE OF KNOWLEDGE

Knowledge derives from many sources - individual men working alone and together using the senses, reason, experience, intuition, imagination, feelings, etc.

All knowledge CAN BE QUESTIONED. The individual is always entitled to verify knowledge for himself, if he should choose to do so. He can also accept Faith, Authority (religious, political or social) and Revelation as avenues to knowledge, but not the means of publicly verifying knowledge. Public verification comes only through reason, the senses and experience.

3 ATTITUDE TO VALUES AND THE NATURE OF VALUE

There are absolute values which exist as moral laws, but since men are not infallible, their interpretation and application will vary according to different eras, areas, environments and situations. Each man is free to choose his values for himself, taking into account the values decreed by those authorities which he accepts as legitimate interpreters of the Good (ie either the Holy Books, the Church, the State, society, the community or the democratic majority).

B PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

1 THE AIM OF EDUCATION

The aim is to encourage the growth of the whole child, primarily for his own sake but also for the sake of his fellow man (for society's sake). 'The whole child' refers to the physical, social, emotional, moral, religious, intellectual, cultural, 'national' and economic aspects of his development. It also includes an understanding of the environment. See below.

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT will involve the development of the body, both for personal health, enjoyment and leisure, as well as the acquisition of physical skills for the benefit of society.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT will emphasize the forming of inter-personal relationships both for one's own sake and for the sake of the community. It will also encourage the development of intergroup understanding and harmony, which will involve a commitment to positive action.

EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT will strive for a balance between reason and emotion and the acquisition of emotional stability.

MORAL DEVELOPMENT will involve the ability to choose values for oneself in a responsible manner, with due regard for the welfare of others, and then act upon them.

RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT will strive for the acquisition of not only knowledge of the Bible, or Holy Books, but also a commitment to the values and laws in the books as chosen by oneself. This commitment is to be followed by action in keeping with the chosen religious principles.

INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT will involve not only the acquisition of knowledge, but also the acquisition of the intellectual skills of comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, evaluation, reasoning powers, critical ability and problem-solving.

Included in the development of the intellect will be the development of language proficiency for the purpose of both self-expression and communication.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT will strive for the ability to interpret and add to one's own culture. This will involve a stress on personal creativity which also demands receptiveness to change. In addition, understanding of and tolerance for other cultures will be encouraged.

'NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT' will encourage a love of South Africa as the common fatherland of all its inhabitants. It will stress the fact that the individual's welfare is intimately bound up with the welfare of his country. Therefore before choosing and acting, every person must take into consideration the effects of his actions, not only on himself, but also on his country; and in times of legitimate need, he must be prepared to sacrifice his own welfare for that of his country.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT will involve the acquisition of job skills principally for the child's own benefit, but also for the benefit of society.

THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE ENVIRONMENT will be stressed for the purpose of maintaining and improving the quality of life for oneself and others. This involves not only knowledge of the environment, but also a commitment to preserving it. This must be followed by action.

To summarise, the 'Development' will involve not only a body of knowledge, but more importantly, understanding, choice, commitment and action.

2 METHODS TO BE USED

If the aim of education (as given) is the development of the whole child, both for his own sake and also for the sake of society, then the methods used must eventually lead the child to judge for himself rather than conform. However, the attainment of autonomy is a gradual process and it might be necessary, while the child is still young and not yet able to use his reason adequately, to stress the more teacher-centred methods (viz. training, involving imitation and repetition: and instruction, involving telling and showing). Stress at this stage must also be on guiding the child to hold the socially accepted values.

However, as the pupil becomes older and his reasoning power develops, there must be a change from influencing, training, instructing and lecturing

towards methods that will lead to self-discipline and responsible autonomy.

The methods used on the older child should progressively lead to the acquisition of intellectual skills such as comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, evaluation, problem-solving, etc. (See Intellectual Aims). Such skills can only be attained if the teacher is open to suggestion, and is prepared to consider differing points of view: if there is regular discussion and debate between the teacher and class and between members of the class (via small-group work), and if self-discovery and independent study methods are encouraged. With such methods, the social, emotional, moral and religious aspects of the child will be better catered for. So too will his ability to use his language.

While training, instructing and memory work still have a place in education at this stage, particularly if classes are over-large or facilities are lacking, the stress must no longer be on these.

Assessment should gradually move from testing, which is dependent on rote memorization, to the testing of the intellectual skills.

3 CONTENT

Within the curriculum laid down by Education authorities (which caters mainly for the needs of society) there should also be sufficient flexibility to introduce subjects relevant to the child's own present and future needs. There should be sufficient choice for the child to cater for some of his own interests.

4 ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION

a) The education authority should encourage the parent to participate in a democratic way, in the schooling of his children.

b) Principals and teachers should be given freedom of choice and autonomy in matters for which they have been professionally trained.

5 ATTITUDE TO CHILD AND TO DISCIPLINE

As the child's reason develops, he must be allowed a

certain amount of freedom and choice, subject to these being used responsibly.

Children must learn to obey rules, but these should be obeyed because they are inherently reasonable as far as possible, and not because the teacher insists upon obedience for its own sake.

The child should be trusted and dissent may be permitted, if it leads to the growth of independence and responsibility.

As the child reaches the desired stage of maturity, all subjects should be open to discussion. This means that censorship should be minimal.

6 ROLE OF TEACHER: ATTITUDE TO FREEDOM AND AUTHORITY

The teacher is the agent of authority. Inevitably the young child copies and obeys her.

However, at all levels, the teacher should rather strive to be a guide, adviser and stimulator. She should be concerned with all aspects of the whole child, ie intellectual, social, spiritual, moral, emotional, physical. In all these areas, the teacher should refrain from imposing unnecessary authority, but should instead deliberately provide more and more opportunities for choice and freedom - always with the proviso that the child does not abuse this freedom either by hindering learning or harming others.

As a guide, the teacher will attempt to form good inter-personal relationships with each pupil, and will refrain from moulding the child into a uniform image which does not allow for the development of his individual traits and capabilities.

The teacher must respect the god-given uniqueness of each child.

REPLY TO A "PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION FOR SOUTH AFRICA"

Penny Enslin

There has been strong and regular criticism of the Policy for Christian National Education since its publication in 1948 (1). J Chris Coetzee has claimed (2), partly it seems in response to this criticism, that 'very little has been done in developing a pertinent English South African philosophy of education, while much has been done in regard to the formulation and application of an Afrikaans, ie Calvinistic, South African philosophy of education.' It would appear that the authors-members of the Transvaal Teachers' Association - of "A Philosophy of Education for South Africa" have set out to follow Coetzee's suggestion. The result is a document which raises a number of problems, both in terms of the position which it articulates and of the very enterprise which it undertakes.

1 It is not clear whether the working paper is intended as 'a Philosophy of Education for South Africa' or as 'an English Philosophy of Education for South Africa'. But what is clear is that the very enterprise of drawing up an alternative 'philosophy of education' implies an acceptance of a paradigm (3) which is disturbingly similar to that of CNE. This acceptance of such a paradigm can be analysed on two levels:

Firstly, it is seen in the very attempt to develop a so-called 'philosophy' for a particular section of the South African population. Perhaps the lesson to be learned on this issue from our current situation in South African schooling is that 'philosophies of education' of this type are dangerous and unacceptable,

regardless of the 'population group' for which they are intended. This issue is returned to in 5 below.

Secondly, evidence of acceptance of a CNE type paradigm is seen in the details of the working paper itself. The position taken by the authors of the document is unacceptable in that it adapts principles and assumptions present in the CNE Policy (particularly in section A) to a liberal-humanist (4) tradition, which the paper appears to accept as being part of the 'English' South African outlook, defining its own position in terms of the doctrine from which it wishes to depart. Central aspects of the tradition which the document purports to represent are thus watered down. For example:

a) A.2 suggests that 'All knowledge CAN BE QUESTIONED'. Is it not more appropriate to suggest that all knowledge SHOULD be questioned? (5) The importance of this distinction is well articulated by JS Mill, who argues for the necessity, if we are not to fall into 'the deep slumber of a decided opinion' (6), to question all beliefs which we hold to be true.

> ...even if the received opinion be not only true, but the whole truth; unless it be suffered to be, and actually is, vigorously and earnestly contested, it will, by most of those who receive it, be held in the manner of a prejudice, with little comprehension or feeling of its rational grounds. (7)

b) 'Stress... must also be on guiding the child to hold the socially acceptable values' (B.2.). Whose values, in a plural society like ours? Socially accepted values, of course, are not necessarily <u>moral</u> values. Here again, the liberal tradition indicates the importance of educating children to hold values which can be and are subjected to rational criticism. Behind the liberal facade of the paper there lies the tendency to reinforce and maintain authoritarianism. Many of the liberal statements in the document are thus rendered ineffective by such qualifications. A further example is in B.5., 'As the child's reason develops, he must be allowed a certain amount of freedom and choice, <u>subject to these being used responsibly</u>'. (my emphasis) In the South African context such qualifications in this document serve to water down the stand which its authors appear to be taking, ie that the English-speaking community has its own 'philosophy' of education, which is

different from that expressed in the CNE Policy. It is unfortunate that the document tends to assume the form of a more moderate alternative to CNE instead of opposing the CNE Policy and its consequences for schooling in this country.

2 Section A.1., entitled 'The Nature of Reality, the World, Man', is evidence of the implicit acceptance in the document of the paradigm of CNE. It is unclear what this view of the nature of the world has to do with education, or indeed with an 'English' view of education. What about teachers, as well as pupils and parents, who do not believe in God, or who do not believe that God is relevant to education? One of the presuppositions underpinning the dominant view among white South Africans is that religious beliefs must be respected. From the liberal position, which by definition involves tolerance of beliefs different from one's own, one might ask why the beliefs of those who do not believe in God are not accorded the same degree of respect? If one of the assumptions at work in the document is that all those to whom the document may be relevant believe in God, then the 'philosophy' becomes unacceptable on this score for the same reasons that CNE is unacceptable. That is, it dictates which beliefs and attitudes people may hold and which they may not.

In similar vein, the working paper includes 'national development' as one of the aspects of the child's development (Section B). Is it the case, especially given the unfortunate connotations which the term 'national development' holds in South Africa, that this notion belongs in the working paper's discussion of education at all? Is 'national development', with its traditionally chauvinistic South African connotations, compatible with education? It could be argued that the category of 'social development', also listed, would cater adequately for the desirable features attributed to 'national development', without the nationalistic dimension which such a 'philosophy' should try to avoid.

3 Surely an important point which such document needs to make explicitly is that the dogmatic and authoritarian 'philosophy of education' expressed in the CNE Policy is unacceptable on both educational and moral grounds. That this is a political issue cannot be avoided. The working paper appears to make the mistake of avoiding inclusion of any explicitly political statement of opposition to the CNE Policy. But education is not politically neutral, (8) and education in South Africa is a

particularly clear case in point. That the issues which the working paper tackles are political issues cannot be avoided. There are strong grounds for arguing that alternative views of education to CNE should be clearly thought out in explicitly political terms.

4 If one acknowledges the political realities of education in South Africa, one of the consequences which becomes clear is that a document such as this one, issued by a teachers' association, carries neither weight nor authority. (9) Rather, it represents a request or even a plea on the part of employees to be allowed to differ from the policy of their employers. Teachers employed in a permanent capacity by the Transvaal Education Department are obliged to join the South African Teachers' Council for Whites. What could such a document as this represent except a compromise of views of members of the TTA with those of the protectors of the status quo? Should action not be taken on a more practical and meaningful level, eg in working towards alternatives to the current system of schooling?

5 If there is a need for an alternative 'philosophy of education' for South Africa, it is a need for a broadly based philosophy which takes into account that South Africa's cultural plurality must allow for a variety of different views in a free society. The danger in producing a 'philosophy of education' for, say, the English-speaking section of the population is that it represents yet another sectional and divisive view in a situation which can only be further harmed by the pursuit of sectional interests. If an alternative 'philosophy' of education is needed it should be one of sufficient generality to enable it to embrace all South Africans, regardless of language, race, creed etc., allowing for diversity where desired.

6 However, there is considerable doubt as to whether the positing of an alternative 'philosophy' is relevant to the problems of education in South Africa. Certainly, the efforts of the authors of the working paper are commendable insofar as it is urgently necessary to counter the doctrine of CNE, which has been imposed on the non-Afrikaner community and its schooling. (10) Nevertheless, while one may sympathise with the aims of the authors of the working paper, its presuppositions and contents have been shown to give rise to a number of problems. And in the last resort, it must be asked whether such an exercise as has been undertaken in producing the document in question is relevant to the

enormous problems of education in South Africa.

NOTES

(1) For example: "Blueprint for Blackout; a commentary on the Education Policy of the Instituut vir Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys." Issued by the Education League; and Education beyond Apartheid, Report of the Education Commission of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society, Johannesburg; Christian Institute (1971)

(2) Quoted in Brian Rose & Raymond Tunmer (eds.) Documents in South African Education Johannesburg; AD Donker (1975), pg 117.

(3) Of course, the notion of a paradigm is a problematic one. I use the term 'CNE paradigm' here to denote a framework for thinking about education which lays down a view of education for a certain group of people in an illiberal and authoritarian way. I don't pretend that this characterization is unproblematic.

(4) That a liberal view of education is the most desirable alternative to that expressed in the CNE Policy is not uncontroversial. See for example Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis Schooling in Capitalist America London; RKP (1976) Part I, "The Contradictions of Liberal Educational Reform."

(5) This was pointed out to me by Mary Crewe.

(6) John Stuart Mill On Liberty London; Dent (1910) pg 103.

(7) John Stuart Mill ibid., pg 111.

(8) See for example Yvonne Bickley "Is education inevitably a political matter?" Perspectives in Education, Vol 4, No 2, November 1980.

(9) Joseph Sherman drew my attention to this point.

(10) That CNE is necessarily good for the Afrikaner is not as obvious as the authors of the CNE would have us believe. But to argue this point would raise the issue of relativism, and this is not the appropriate place to tackle it.

DEFENCE OF "A PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION FOR SOUTH AFRICA": A REPLY TO PENNY ENSLIN

Honey Gluckman

As the chairman of the Transvaal Teachers' Association sub-committee concerned with the drawing up of the document "A Philosophy of Education for South Africa", I was very interested to read Penny Enslin's comments on this document. In view of the criticisms made, I feel I should clarify what our motivation was, and what our objectives were.

On many occasions, various members of the TTA had complained that they were expected by headmasters or inspectors to implement the CNE philosophy in their teaching. When they objected to this imposition of an Afrikaans culture on English-speaking children, they were informed that in terms of the 1967 Education Policy Act, it was their duty to do so. Their objection to this interpretation of the Act was met with the question, "Well, how do you interpret the Act? What do you English believe in anyway?" Either because they had not thought through their educational beliefs, or because they were unable to articulate them in a systematic form, these teachers were unable to give an answer. But even if they had been able to do so, the rejoinder would have been, "That's just your opinion. How can you prove that other English teachers agree with you?"

This then was our motivation - to provide such teachers with a systematic philosophy of Education, which, we eventually hoped to prove, had the backing of the English-speaking community.

Our objective then, was to find out what English-speaking

teachers believe is important in education. Please note, we were not concerned with what we felt they ought to believe in. Our next objective was eventually to produce a document which would, we hoped, be recognized by Education authorities as an alternative interpretation to the CNE interpretation of the 1967 Act. For this highly pragmatic reason, we worked within the limits of the Act. (This is spelt out in the preamble to the document as given at Conference in 1979).

This may be criticised on the grounds that we were compromising our beliefs. However, in a choice between producing an idealistic document which, quite obviously, would be rejected out of hand by the Transvaal Education Department, or one, which by fighting them on their own ground, had a chance of being accepted for English-speaking teachers, we chose the latter. If politics is defined as 'the art of the possible', only in that sense was our document meant to be political. Otherwise, our objective was purely educational.

The starting point of such a venture is always difficult. To draw up a questionnaire from scratch would have been too haphazard and too costly. We therefore decided to draw up a document based on what the 10 to 20 committee members (in consultation with colleagues at their schools) believed in - submit this to the TTA Conference, and then amend it on the basis of reaction to the document. From this amended document, we would then draw up a questionnaire for distribution to members. This is almost ready for publication.

This explanation should serve to answer quite a few of the criticisms made by Penny Enslin.

Now, in my personal capacity, I would like to reply to specific points made by Enslin. Firstly, in point 1) she criticised the paradigm or framework on which the document was based, using the following argument, viz that drawing up an alternative philosophy of education implies an acceptance of the CNE framework and that such a framework is dangerous and unacceptable and waters down the liberal tradition. But why should such a framework necessarily be dangerous and unacceptable and water down the liberal tradition? After all, human beings all have the same framework but it is not this framework which makes some acceptable and others dangerous and unacceptable. It's what goes into the framework. Secondly, while I accept the change from 'can' to 'should' in the statement 'all knowledge can be questioned', I do so on the grounds of

clearer English, rather than because the original statement waters down the liberal tradition!

Thirdly, our framework was not modelled on the CNE document. It started by examining the thinking teacher in the classroom and asked why she/he stressed certain facts and skimmed over others; why she chooses to use method X rather than method Y; why she handles children in one way and not in another. The answer to these questions seemed to be related to her aim(s) of education (conscious or possibly unconscious). We went back further. We asked why would a teacher choose aim X over aim Y, and we realised that aims of education were related to beliefs about the nature of the child, of reality, the nature of knowledge and of values. It was because we wished to bring these hidden processes into the open to allow them to be scrutinised, that we chose the framework upon which the document is based. Incidentally, a similar framework is adopted by several English and American textbooks on Philosophy of Education.

Fourthly, I am bewildered by Enslin's point 1)b). I would like to ask in response to this point: Would you allow your own children, or would you encourage a teacher to allow her pupils, to be nasty to other children or to harm them physically? To shoot at cats and dogs? To wantonly destroy trees and shrubs in the veld or in a garden? To throw down litter in a park? To be rude to or swear at an African servant? To talk loudly at a symphony concert? To disturb a sick neighbour with loud noises? If, as I hope, you would discourage them from such actions, would you regard yourself as being authoritarian? Do you really believe that people could live harmoniously together in any community if the majority did not hold socially acceptable values? Why assume that these values relate only to political or ideological matters?

Moreover, Enslin's objection to a child being allowed 'freedom and choice, subject to these being used responsibly', I find incomprehensible. Chambers Dictionary defines 'responsible' as 'liable to be called to account as being in charge or control - answerable to a person for something - being a free moral agent - morally accountable for one's actions - trustworthy. I would say all these characteristics embody the very spirit of liberalism, rather than rendering it ineffective. Because of the repressive conditions to which many South Africans have been subjected, there is a tendency in our country to have a knee-jerk reaction to words like 'socially acceptable' and 'responsible'. However, this is no justification for replacing authoritarianism by licence. For freedom to exist,

there must be limits, as JS Mill pointed out in his Essay on Liberty.

The same sort of knee-jerk reaction seems to apply to the word 'national' in Enslin's point 2). No education system in the world which is funded by the government of the country allows the national aspect to be omitted. This is a fact and it cannot be omitted, as much as one might decry it. A section on the Nature of Reality and Man was included because consciously or unconsciously, one tends to educate the child towards what one believes the nature of man to be. For example, if you believe man is a creature of God, your teaching will be strongly religiously oriented. Often these beliefs are unconscious. Forcing educators to think about them might help to uncover hidden prejudices. Moreover, just as we must consider those who do not believe in God, so too we must consider those who do. To omit all reference to religion in education might be regarded as equally dogmatic and unacceptable to believers. The answers to our questionnaire will decide which view will prevail. (Enslin's criticism as regards the includion of the religious aspect was answered in my fourth paragraph.)

Point 3) of Enslin's reply censures the document for not explicitly criticising CNE. But if we were to state that the CNE Policy per se is unacceptable on both educational and moral grounds, surely we would be regarded as doctrinaire and as arrogant as we claim CNE proponents to be. If Afrikaners choose to accept and believe in CNE, that is their prerogative. However, what they may not do is impose those beliefs on people who have a different set of values. Surely your desire to deny them their beliefs is a watering down of the liberal tradition?

Similarly in answer to point 5), I would regard it as highly arrogant and presumptuous on the part of the 10 to 20 or more whites on the TTA working committee to state what the philosophy of Education for other racial groups in South Africa should be. As English-speaking South Africans, we know what we believe in, what cultural values we hold dear. But how could be possibly speak for other groups? This would be the ultimate in paternalism (an attitude we so strongly condemn in our rulers). If our final document stimulates educational discussion among and between the different race and language groups, then we have done some good. Our objective remains exactly the one decried in Enslin's point 4), viz a plea to be allowed to be different, but backed up, we hope, by the mandate given to us by English teachers.

Finally, despite my criticisms of Enslin's criticisms, I am very grateful for the interest shown and I hope the debate will continue to go forward. In fact, some of the points she has made have been incorporated in the questionnaire sent to all teachers at English medium schools.

POSTSCRIPT

For various reasons, the TTA shelved this project, and it was subsequently taken over by a committee at the Johannesburg College of Education.

THE NOTION OF A PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

Shirley Pendlebury

"An Educational Creed for English-speaking Teachers in South Africa" might have been a more apt title for the document entitled "A Philosophy of Education for South Africa" (1). As I understand it, the prime purpose of the document in its final form is to provide English-speaking teachers with a systematically formulated answer to the question: 'What do you English believe in anyway?' (2).

Since those responsible for the document have chosen to call it a philosophy and not a creed, I shall treat it accordingly - with the critical attitude invited by a piece of writing presented as philosophy. A creed invites tolerance. We do not demand of a creed that it contain sound arguments (or any arguments at all), that it provide justification for its tenets, that it be open to public critical assessment (3). We do demand these things of philosophical discourse (4). The question is whether we demand them as much from a piece of writing concerned with a philosophy of x as we do from a piece concerned with the philosophy of x. Should not the use of the indefinite article be taken as a plea for leniency? Perhaps. My major concern in this paper is to examine the notion of a philosophy of education; to spell out some of the implications of coupling 'philosophy' with the indefinite, rather than definite, article. But this is not my only concern. If the indefinite article is a plea for leniency, there are more than adequate grounds for rejecting the plea. A secondary concern of the paper is to raise some philosophical objections both to the document in its working paper form and to the enterprise as a whole. Although I

concur with many of the objections raised by Penny Enslin, I try to avoid overlap with her paper (5).

1 The force of the indefinite article in such expressions as 'a philosophy of education', 'a history of art', 'a theory of state' is not only to indicate one among many, but also to suggest limitations of one kind or another.

For example, we expect a book entitled A History of Art to be limited either in scope or in approach or both. The author might have chosen to limit herself in one or another of these respects, or she might intend the title as a declaration of intellectual modesty, an acknowledgement of her individual limitations (and thus frequently as a plea for leniency of judgement). Where limitations are a matter of choice they can well be specified in the title, to wit: A Concise History of Art, A Marxist History of Art, A Thematic History of Art, A Layman's History of Art, and so on. If we accept the author's chosen limits as well-conceived, these provide us with a set of criteria for judging the work in question. A history of art which rambles on at length fails as a concise history, one overburdened with technical jargon fails as a layman's history. There are cases, however, in which we want to reject the author's chosen limits as ill-conceived. Usually these are cases in which the limits are seen to violate in some way our conception of what constitutes history of art as a discipline. Think, for instance, of the condemning remark: 'This isn't a history of art - it's a piece of feminist propaganda!' My remarks at the outset of this paper are similar in kind, although not in spirit. They suggest that the document "A Philosophy of Education in South Africa" falls short not only of being a philosophy of education for South Africa (ie, it fails to meet the limits implied by its title) but of being philosophy at all. The second section of my paper substantiates these suggestions. Right now I want to focus more directly on the notion of a philosophy of education.

Perhaps the most common use of the expression 'a philosophy of education' is with respect to those all-embracing theories of education which are rooted in an explicit and (more or less) coherent set of ethical, metaphysical, and epistemological views. Turn to any of the standard philosophy of education textbooks of the 1960s and you will find a wealth of examples: a pragmatist philosophy of education, a humanist philosophy of education, an existentialist philosophy of education, and so on. The paradigm for this approach is, of course, to be found in Plato's Republic, where the Forms are the kingpins of the

philosophical position which justifies his educational recommendations. Not every instance of this approach is as tightly knit as Plato's. Nevertheless, in each of these 'philosophies of education' the basic philosophical views serve to justify and thus to limit the recommendations concerning the aims, methods, content, and (sometimes) administration of education. In judging any one of these 'philosophies of education' on its own grounds what we look for is internal consistency. We require that its educational recommendations be adequately justified, that they not overstep the limits implicit in the explicit philosophical position.

The explicit philosophical position of 'a philosophy of education' is itself open to judgement. For, given two equally consistent 'philosophies of education' (and assuming there is some point in selecting one rather than another), there must be criteria for choosing between them. You might say that the choice depends upon keeping intact our most cherished beliefs, but to choose on these grounds is not to judge the position in question. It is to choose uncritically and thus to step outside of the domain of philosophy. In order to judge the ethical, metaphysical, and epistemological views which delimit a 'philosophy of education', we have to ask what support is offered in their favour and whether the support offered can withstand critical scrutiny. The choice between 'philosophies' can thus be made on philosophical (rather than on private, personal) grounds (6). Making the choice involves the practice of philosophy - not of a philosophy.

But perhaps there is little point in choosing between 'philosophies of education', except as an academic exercise. Over the past decade or so, the whole notion of a philosophy of education (as an all-embracing educational theory rooted in a set of philosophical assumptions) has been called into question. Some have challenged it as a misconception of the legitimate tasks of philosophy of education; others have challenged its capacity to yield the insights we need if we are to avoid making a mess of education in practice. In the English-speaking world, at least, the tasks of philosophy of education are now less grandly conceived. They are seen to involve not the building of systems but the critical analysis of educational discourse in all its aspects. Doing philosophy of education in this sense includes such tasks as drawing conceptual distinctions, mapping out the logical relationships between such key terms as 'teaching' and 'learning', showing up nonsense for what it is, and examining the credentials of competing theories (be they psychological, sociological, political, or whatever)

pertaining to educational issues. Of course, doing philosophy of education in this way does not mean proceeding without any presuppositions. It does mean that all presuppositions - except one - are open to question. The one which is immune is the presupposition that it is both possible and fruitful to apply objective critical analysis to educational discourse.

2 The document "A Philosophy of Education for South Africa" ignores recent developments in the field of philosophy of education. It follows the traditional approach of advancing a comprehensive set of educational recommendations on the basis of certain explicit philosophical assumptions. Suppose we refrain from questioning the legitimacy of the approach. It is still pertinent to ask: (i) whether the document is internally consistent, (ii) whether its philosophical assumptions are well-grounded, (iii) whether its stated purpose is justifiable, and (iv) whether it fulfils this purpose.

That the document fails to meet the internal consistency requirement is clear from a single, absurd, example. In the section headed "The Nature of Reality, the World, Man" there is the following passage:

> God (or any chosen term) created the Universe and therefore the World. He made Man the primary entity in the World. Individual man is therefore sacrosanct and the centre of the World. (My underlining)

The invitation to substitute any chosen term for 'God' is no doubt prompted by a well-intentioned open-mindedness. But try substituting the term 'man' for 'God' and consider the result: A ludicrous argument, entirely consistent in itself but in blatant contradiction both to the ethical position advanced in the document and to many of its recommendations. For instance, once this substitution has been made, it makes no sense to demand that a teacher respect the God-given uniqueness of each child. Unless, of course, we continue the substitution throughout the document. Then - on condition that there are no inconsistencies which are unrelated to the substitution instances - we have an internally consistent 'philosophy of education' grounded on a ludicrous and insupportable view of the world.

The lack of consistency, and of coherence, in the document is not surprising considering its purpose and the manner in which it was compiled. As I understand it, the working paper was compiled by a committee as a basis for a questionnaire intended to find out the beliefs of English-

speaking teachers concerning education (7). But surely what characterises the English-speaking community in South Africa is the diversity of its values and beliefs. The committee had to work within a double set of constraints: (i) They had to formulate both the underpinning assumptions and the educational recommendations in terms broad and vague enough to accommodate the full spectrum of (often contradictory) beliefs of the English-speaking community, but (ii) they also had to take into account the much narrower views of the official guardians of education in South Africa. The outcome could not but be full of tensions (8).

To say that the explicit philosophical assumptions of the document are not well-grounded is not to say that there are no grounds for them. Perhaps there are, but those responsible for the document fail to supply them in any but the most cursory fashion. Highly problematic concepts like 'free will', 'autonomy', 'authority', and 'ultimate reality' are used glibly with neither explanation nor qualification. It might be thought that since the document in its final form is intended to articulate what English-speaking teachers believe in, there is no need to consider whether or not their views are justified. But in the absence of such justification, the document must answer to the title "Creed" and not "Philosophy".

Whether it be a creed or a philosophy, the document does claim to be for South Africa. The authors recognise that a set of educational recommendations for any society has to take into account the limitations inherent in the political realities of that society. What they fail to recognise is that CNE and the 1967 Education Policy Act are only part of our political reality. A more important part is that South Africa is a society in transition; it is also a society in which formal education is in a state of severe crisis. To produce a document like "A Philosophy of Education for South Africa" is both short-sighted and inappropriate at a time when there are more urgent tasks to be accomplished.

NOTES

(1) Unless otherwise indicated, I use the term 'document' to refer to the working paper published in this issue of Perspectives in Education, pgs 28-33.

(2) See H Gluckman "Defence of 'A Philosophy of Education for South Africa'" in this issue of Perspectives in Education, pgs 39-43.

(3) It is only when a creed prompts its adherents to engage in grossly inhuman acts that we withdraw our attitude of tolerance towards it.

(4) Throughout this paper I take philosophy to be a meta-inquiry, a critical discussion of critical discussion. For just one among many defences of this view see JA Passmore Philosophical Reasoning (London & New York, 1961). Philosophy of education, like philosophy of law or philosophy of science, I take to be an inquiry concerned with the rules and presuppositions which govern a distinctive practice in human life, in this case educational practice.

(5) P Enslin "Reply to 'A Philosophy of Education for South Africa'" in this issue of Perspectives in Education, pgs 34-38.

(6) Notice that a 'philosophy' cannot itself provide one with the tools necessary for choosing between 'philosophies'.

(7) See Gluckman, ibid, pgs 39 and 40.

(8) Section 2 of Enslin's paper contains some examples of these tensions. The tensions are also evident in my 'man' for 'God' substitution example - presumably an attempt to accommodate atheists or agnostics without offending the official guardians of education in South Africa.

NOTICES

EDITORIAL NOTE

The Report of the Human Sciences Research Council's investigation into education (the De Lange Report) is due to be published in June 1981 and is likely to be of great importance to the future of education and schooling in South Africa.

There is to be a special issue of Perspectives in Education consisting entirely of papers about the Report. The Editorial Committee would like to invite the submission of appropriate material which we should receive within one month of the publication of the Report.

Deadline for Vol 5 No 2: material for publication in the next issue of this journal should be with us by 11th May 1981.

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(ii) tutors in Education departments and colleges of Education

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JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

The Journal is published by the Faculty of Education in the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg and Durban. It is a vehicle for communicating ideas in a variety of fields in education.

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Contributions should not ordinarily exceed 3000 words in length, and should be typewritten on one side of A4 paper, double spaced, with ample margins. Two complete copies should be submitted. Proofs will not be sent to authors for correction unless this is explicitly requested.

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

Notes

(1) Carole Pateman Participation and Democratic Theory, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

(2) PF Strawson "Freedom and Resentment" in Freedom and Resentment and Other Essays, London: Methuen, 1974, pgs 15-23.

(3) L Althusser "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in BJ Cosin (ed) Education, Structure and Society, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977, see pg 81.

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

CONTENTS

DISCUSSION

1 'Whenever a body is unsupported it falls down' — Enire Sorim

ARTICLE

5 Education for Papagano — Ros Jaff

INTERCHANGE

28 A Philosophy of Education for South Africa

34 Reply to "A Philosophy of Education for South Africa" — Penny Enslin

39 Defence of "A Philosophy of Education for South Africa": A reply to Penny Enslin — Honey Gluckman

44 The notion of a Philosophy of Education — Shirley Pendlebury

NOTICES

50