

A CRITIQUE OF THE CONCEPT POPAGANO  
IN BOPHUTHATSWANA TEACHER TRAINING  
AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

by

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## ABSTRACT

Educational change accompanies or follows social change. Alone, education cannot effect change within a society. The purpose of this dissertation is to study the efficacy of the ideal of Popagano as a philosophical basis for education in Bophuthatswana and to look at the success achieved to date in its implementation at teacher training colleges and the University of Bophuthatswana.

The study is based on the teacher training curriculum both as recommended by the National Education Commission and as employed in the colleges, and on the input of the university to training colleges to facilitate the realisation of Popagano. The university's own activities with regard to this ideal come under scrutiny in an attempt to determine the implementation of Popagano at this level. The assumption is that educational change must filter down from the top of the system and that in a one university country the university occupies an important guiding position in this regard. The conviction is that the teachers are the people who make a curriculum reality in the schools and that therefore any educational change must be initiated in pre-service colleges and at in-service centres.

The research method employed is descriptive for the writer sought to find out whether and to what extent Popagano had been introduced to teacher training colleges and the university as a classroom reality, not a plan on paper. This necessitated the study of the teacher training curriculum and university education in Bophuthatswana before the 1979 Education for Popagano Act, and at the present time when a teaching corps imbued with this spirit should be coming out of the college.

It is clear that up to the present time, the curricula at teacher training colleges are still the Bantu Education curricula. Indeed, the examination and certification of teachers in Bophuthatswana is still done by the Department of Education and Training. The ideal of Popagano, the instrument the commission hoped would bring about social change in Bophuthatswana is not a component of teacher

education. The university of Bophuthatswana which should feed the colleges with Popagano inspiration is concerned with upholding international academic standards. It too does not have Popagano component. There is no link between the university and the colleges and even if there were, Popagano as defined by the Commission would not be part of the input.

An analysis of the concept of Popagano in relation to the realities of Bophuthatswana reveals it to be out of touch. The country is a modern developing country and is part of the South African economy, not a rural African country. The people being urbanised and part of the capitalist economic system have developed the individualism characteristic of the system

To attempt to change them by means of education to a communalistic, sharing, selfless people when there is no change in the society is futile. The writer is led to the conclusion that Popagno is not implementable because it is at odds with the realities of the country. This is why it has proved so difficult to change to a Popagano curriculum in teacher education and at the university.

There seems to be one working solution and it is for the government to accept the specifically educational recommendations of the commission, but ignore the Popagano aspect. It is more an echo other more thoroughgoing socio-educational changes in some countries, such as education for Self - Reliance in Tanzania. Popagano is merely a political slogan which does not have anything to do with the educational system.

## DECLARATION

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

  
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TWENTY.....day of ..OCTOBER....., 19 87..



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THIS IS THE ..... day of ..OCTOBER....., 19 82..

## DEDICATION

To Malmsey who tolerated all.

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## INTRODUCTION

Every society comes to a point at some stage when it has to think over its education. Changing needs and circumstances render some aspects of the educational system obsolete. The perceptions of the society about what it is actually doing when it educates its youth may change with time. In a rapidly changing, highly technologised world, values taken for granted by the society change or are modified. The educationist and the politician may have to pause and ask whether to educate for now or for the future; whether to emphasize the Humanities or the technical subjects and even the school system itself is called in question.

Post-colonial Africa found itself faced with numerous questions regarding its educational provision. The main question concerned the problem of illiteracy itself. The bulk of the population of the African continent was illiterate and this interfered with several other aspects of national life like health, politics and economics. The problems encountered in education by the different countries were aired at the 1961 Addis Ababa Conference. The unanimous call was for increased educational provision particularly at primary level. The hope was for universal free education by 1980. (Greenough 1961) But having inherited educational systems that gave different fare to different racial groups, the task became one of overhauling the entire educational system.

Educational change had to be in keeping with the self-perceptions and aspirations of the society concerned. Politicians demanded that the educational systems should not only be the best affordable but also saw education an instrument of nation building. National unity required that the education should bridge the gap between the haves and the have nots, but the lack of funds demanded a highly competitive educational system. The result was the perpetuation of the elite-mass dichotomy. Commerce and industry lay in the hands of multinational corporations



and required skilled qualified manpower which also met the requirements of indigenisation.

Another problem facing politicians and educationists related to the adoption of the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. The Commission, having studied education throughout Anglo-phone Sub-Saharan Africa concluded that the education provided was out of touch with the lives of the people for whom it was provided. It therefore suggested that education should be adapted to the situation and needs of the people. (Scanlon 1964) Specifically this called for the involvement of pupils in self-help projects in the Community, the teaching of aspects of their environment and culture. This adapted education was not suggested for the other races in these countries, however, and this made the Africans suspicious of them. But the problems of their countries required that they seriously think about whether the education should prepare the youth for a way of life that was possible in their own countries or adopt systems more suited to industrialised countries.

The problem of educational provision for Africans never loomed too large for the governments of South Africa. They were content to leave the education to the missionary societies. But missionary education, aided by economic and political forces effected a change in the thinking of the Africans. Urbanisation detribalised them and they developed a European outlook and a western lifestyle. The political aspirations of the Africans took shape in terms of their perception of the future South Africa as being a multiracial meritocracy. The 1948 election, however, brought to power a party whose vision of the future South Africa was of a geographically fragmented, socially separated and racially polarised society. The conviction that culture has a biological basis implied in the insistence that races have different identities which it is their God-given task to maintain, led to the legal entrenchment of Apartheid.

To keep South Africa White Bantustans were legislated into existence. The purpose of these reserves was to divert the aspirations of the Africans away from participating in a South African democracy to

areas where they would have limited control over their affairs under the direction of government officials. In order to ensure the acceptance of the Bantustan idea missionary education was done away with and replaced by Bantu Education. In essence Bantu education was the application of the Phelps-Stokes adapted education. Unfortunately the intentions and the spirit that prompted its inception were regarded with the greatest suspicion by the Africans. Not only was it given only to Africans who had ceased to be tribal and were in the process of transition, but it also involved an unfair principle in the allocation of resources. Widespread reaction followed the introduction of Bantu Education.

When Bophuthatswana gained independence she also registered a protest against the system of education she had inherited from South Africa. The same problems of educational change reared their heads here too. While the crucial issue was to raise the standard of education, it was important also to decide what was the best alternative to Bantu education, what was best for the Bophuthatswana situation. There was a realisation that Bantu Education did not suit the self-definition of the people and that a nexus had to exist between the education system and the socio-economic reality of Bophuthatswana.

The National Education Commission made recommendations for a sound educational system, geared to the needs of modern developing country, but decided that the ideal of Popagano must permeate every aspect of this education. This educational ideal is studied with more efficacy within the context of the situation in the country.

## 1. Background and Purpose

### 1.1. Personal Background.

The writer has concerned himself with Popagano education at the colleges and the university generally, and more specifically as it affects teacher education. The reason for this choice is partly that the writer is employed at the University of Bophuthatswana in the School of Education. There is an almost personal concern

for the writer to determine the extent to which the ideology on which the education system is predicated and which is generally referred to as being the ideology for education in this country is in fact understood, relevant and implementable. The teacher education curriculum in the broadest sense was the writer choice partly because of his conviction about the pivotal significance of the teacher in curriculum change and partly because of his involvement in the teacher education programme of the university.

#### 1.2. Importance.

The writer considers it fundamental that an education system, particularly in a time of change, should not be encumbered by irrelevancies. The Tanzanian experience has given sufficient evidence of the difficulty of implementing a new education system. There is client resistance, teacher resistance and the inability of the administrators to understand what it is they are supposed to be doing. Furthermore the tension between the innovation and the society, where this change does not follow or accompany social change predispose the educational change to an untimely demise. It is important that Bophuthatswana should see very clearly what it is in the recommendations of the National Education Commission that is worth accepting and what not. To the extent that Popagano is an ideal completely at variance with reality it is more of an encumbrance to the education system than a help.

#### 1.3. Purpose

The purpose of this study is to:

- 1.3.1. establish whether any change has taken place in the teacher education and training curricula and at the university towards Popagano
- 1.3.2 analyse the concept Popagano in relation to the realities of Bophuthatswana.

- 1.3.3. make suggestions as to what may be done about the concept in relation to these two aspects of the education system and the entire system generally.

## 2. Research Methodology

This study sets out to do two things: first it is an attempt to see whether and to what extent the ideal of Popagano has been implemented in the teacher education and training 'curriculum and at the University of Bophuthatswana; and second it seeks to analyse the concept of Popagano and see in what relation it stands to the educational and socio-economic realities of Bophuthatswana. These two aspects demand two different research approaches. The first seems to insist on a descriptive approach (Best 1977) and the second on theoretical reflection. (Study Guide Research Techniques and methods, UNISA 1978). The main intention of this use of triangulation is to study the complex phenomenon of educational change and implementation from two angles. This method, Cohen and Manion (1978) point out, assures the researcher greater confidence in the results of the study.

Best states that the descriptive research concerns itself with the description and interpretation of what is. "It is concerned with conditions or relationships that exist, opinions that are held, processes that are going on, effects that are evident, on trends that are developing". (p.116) He sees descriptive research as involving "events that have already taken place and are related to the present condition". (117). The researcher studies a given situation and traces its relationship with the tendencies that unfolded in the past to lead to the present situation. In this sense descriptive research is a comparative study (Brazelle 1978) in that the researcher studies one situation and compares it with another.

In this study the curricula that were in use in teacher education colleges before the enactment of the Education Act of 1979 which enthroned Popagano are perused in an attempt to find their intention, motivation and purpose. They are then compared to the curricula now, in 1982, to find out whether any change has taken place in keeping with the recommendations of the commission and the provisions of the Act. In order to acquire this information the writer perused the syllabuses for teacher education and the reports of the Department of Education. Unstructured interviews were held with the local inspectorate, the Directorate of the Curriculum planning Section and the Acting Principal of the In-Service Training Centre. Valuable information was acquired from Professor Smith, Dean of the School of Education and from Professor Noruwana, head of the Professional Studies Cluster and convener of the Teacher Education Curriculum Planning Committee. The primary text for the study of Education for Popagano was the National Education Commission's report. Information about the University of Bophuthatswana comes from the writer's direct involvement in this institution and the University Brochure.

The second aspect of this study is the analysis of the concept Popagano as the basis for Educational change in Bophuthatswana. The overview of the history of African education in South Africa and the literature review provide the theoretical context within which this analysis takes place. Here the writer sought to discern those aspects of international, particularly African educational experience that bear resemblance to the Bophuthatswana situation and use these as a basis for reflection on Popagano. This reflection proceeded from the hypothesis that if there is no change in the teacher education and university curricula towards Popagano, then it could be because of the disjunction between the ideal and the reality in which it must serve.

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To conclude, Cohen and Manion quote H.W. Smith as writing in Strategies of Social Research: The methodological Imagination:

"Much research has employed particular methods as techniques out of methodological parochialism or ethnocentrism. Methodologists often push particular pet methods either because those are the only ones they have familiarity with, they believe their method is superior to all others" (p.209) Situations, or the complexity of the phenomenon under consideration may necessitate a slight departure from the traditional single-method approach to research to triangulation techniques.

## CHAPTER TWO

### The Country and its People

#### 1.1. The Country

Bophuthatswana is an independent former Bantustan within the borders of the Republic of South Africa. It consists of six pieces spread through the Southern Transvaal, the Northern Cape and Orange Free State. Interspersed between these pieces are slices of South African soil while the whole Orange Free State separates Thaba 'Nchu, another piece of the homeland, from the rest of the pieces. Mmabatho, near Mafikeng is the capital of the State. The constitution of Bophuthatswana declares it to be a non-racial republic with an executive president.

#### 1.2. The people

According to the 1970 general census Tswana speaking people throughout South Africa, who constitute the de jure population of Bophuthatswana were 1,704,202 of whom only 606 328 lived in what is now Bophuthatswana, while 1086902 lived in "white" South African and 10972 in other Bantustans. (Chris Van Rensburg 1977) It would be misleading to think of the people of Bophuthatswana as homogeneous. Apart from the members of other African ethnic groups who were resident in the country at the time of independence there has been an increase in the number of other-coloured expatriates recently. It is not an exaggeration to say that most of the races and several nations are represented in this country. These various people are found in great concentrations only in certain parts of the country but they do make Bophuthatswana a multi-hued, multicultural country.

#### 1.3. The Economy

The Second largest homeland, Bophuthatswana is also the most economically deversified. This is partly due to the fact that some of the adjacent South African areas

are commercial or industrial centres dependent on one primary economic activity or other. The main employer is the public sector while the mines, of which there are no fewer than 34 including five platinum mines, are the second biggest employers. A great proportion of the total African population, however, is employed in "white" South Africa.

Apart from the Tswana residing outside the country on a more or less permanent basis, many migrate to South Africa on a temporary basis for varying periods of time ..... This system is migratory labour can be attributed to the fact that, despite the development programmes in all economic sectors during the past few decades and particularly during the last ten years, there are as yet insufficient employment opportunities within Bophuthatswana to meet the needs of all those who enter the labour market every year.

(Van Rensburg 1977 p150)

As part of the South African "Labour pool" system Bophuthatswana permits free and incessant movement between town and home. The influence of the town is therefore pervasive even in remote areas while the juxtaposition of rural and urban areas in some parts of the country is no less than dramatic.

#### 1.4. Education, Brief Historical Overview

##### 1.4.1. Missionary Education

Bophuthatswana being but a recent geo-political invention shares a common educational history with the rest of South Africa. Education for Africans in Sub-Saharan Africa was primarily the concern of missionary establishments and a handmaiden of missionary endeavour. (Scanlon 1966). In South Africa education with an evangelical inspiration can be traced as far back



as 1656 or 1658 with the establishment of a school for slaves.

(Loram 1917)

It was only in the nineteenth century, however, that concerted, country-wide missionary educational effort became evident. Generally the kind of instruction given at these schools was similar to that given in schools in the country of origin of the missionary society. Products of western education and culture the missionaries were more comfortable teaching what they already knew.

(Kgware 1974).

#### 1.4.2. Provincial Control

The South Africa Act of 1909 placed responsibility for the control and financing of education, including African education on the provincial councils. Province-administered, state-aided mission schools still determined their own syllabuses and offered courses at secondary level similar to those given at European schools.

(Behr 1978). However, the assumptions upon which the missionaries proceeded were quite reasonable. A.P. Hunter (1966) points out that largely, they believed that the African was being educated for a place in a common intergrated South African society of the not-so-far-off-future. Missionary education not only widened the loyalty of the African beyond the tribe but also inculcated European culture.

#### 1.4.3. Impact of missionary education

By 1961 Nimrod Mkele could state in his perceptive study, The African Middle Class that Africans are not "one inchoate, unstructured and undefined mass without distinctions of any kind".

(p.1). This, he argues, is because the African has now become "as much a creature of capitalist society as the whiteman. Class distinctions are now part and parcel of the African system".

(p.3.). One of the most basic determinants of social rank and mobility in this society is education. Mkele sees it as "the most important force making for the acceptance of the middle class as the leaders of the African community;" (p.5).

".....above all, education, in the absence of other avenues of self-expression is the most direct route the African can take to acceptance in the community of so-called civilized people." (p.7).

Missionary education, then, succeeded in aiding to de-ruralize and de-Africanize the African, breeding the new Europeanized urban dweller.

#### 1.4.4. Bantu Education

It was into the education of this changed, westernized society whose original culture and way of life was so irreversibly adulterated that the Nationalist Government appointed a Commission of inquiry in 1949, under the chairmanship of W.W.M. Eiselen. This commission had to create an education system to reverse the effects of missionary education, to re-tribalize and re-Africanize the African. It was to create plans for the provision of "education for Natives as an independent race in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitudes" would be crystalized. (Rose and Tunmer 1975 p.244). The Eiselen Commission reported in 1951, stating in a preamble to its recommendations that "Bantu education does have

a separate existence ....because it exists and can function only in and for a particular social setting, namely Bantu Society". (Quoted in Behr 1978 p.167).

#### 1.4.5 Ministerial Rationalizations

In a society based on a policy of physical, social and political separation of races, and an assumption of abyssmal cultural differences between peoples, the function of the School was seen as to "counter ambiguities in affiliation" and to "inhibit loyalties inconsistent with state policy". (Hunter 1966 p.262) The statements of the then Minister of Native Affairs H.F. Verwoerd in this connection bear repetition:

A Bantu pupil must obtain knowledge, skills and attitudes in the school which will be useful and advantageous to him and at the same time beneficial to his community.

(Quoted in Behr 1978 p.171).

Further,

the Natives should be educated in their own manner, and should learn to be good Natives as tribal Natives and should not be imitations of the White man.

(Quoted by Mc Conkey)

#### 1.4.6. Tertiary Education

In pursuit of the above aims tertiary institutions were also placed in the rural areas. Thus Verwoerd in this regard:

Deliberate attempts will be made to keep the institutions of advanced learning more and more in the native reserves. It is the policy of my department that

education should have its roots entirely in the native areas and in the native environment and native community. There Bantu Education must be to give itself complete expression and there it will have to perform its real service.

(Quoted by McConkey p.5)

To co-ordinate this process of social control and engineering it was necessary to centralise educational administration. The ninth paragraph of the 1953 Bantu Education Act prohibited any person to "establish, conduct or maintain any Bantu or native school other than a Government Bantu School, unless it is registered as prescribed". (Quoted in Behr 1978 p.169). Teacher education, which before 1955 was "without exception" (Kgware 1974 p.81) undertaken by missionaries also fell to the department of Bantu Education, while the Extension of University Education Act and the Transfer of the University college of Fort Hare Act of 1959 created pre-cast tertiary institutions for Blacks.

The declared intention of Bantu Education, then, was to reverse the socio-cultural changes that had taken place among African as a result of missionary education and the great trek to the cities during the industrial boom of World War II. The Nationalist Government created a paradoxical education system that aimed to make the African more African, more rural and more tribal but nevertheless able to occupy the lower reaches of western-technological, urban industry. Missionary education was actively antagonistic to the tribal system. The missionaries saw in tribalism the great obstacle to the spread of civilisation, meaning thereby security, land, labour, taxes and Christianity".

(Simons 1957 ) Bantu Education on the other hand sought to put back the clock by stressing the supremacy of the tribe.

#### 1.4.7 . Reaction to Bantu Education

It was the perception of this fundamental dislocation between the intentions of the education system and the desires and self-perception of its clients that brought about concerted country-wide reaction. Even at that time there was a tendency "for South Africans who are not white to demand complete similarity of content on the assumption that "white" syllabuses must be the soundest". ( Auerbach 1978) while there is evidence that there was antagonism against continued missionary control of African education. (Hunter 1966; Horrel 1971). The demand was for equal educational provision not for the lowering of standards which attended the appearance of Bant Education.

In his detailed study of African resistance to Bantu Education Lodge (1980) states that concerted indication of rejection came first from the teachers. While Bantu Education offered them greater opportunities for career advancement it had other stipulations which lowered the status of the profession. The black intelligentsia of the African National Congress believed that education had to equip the blackman "better to take his place in the body politic of South Africa". (Z.K. Mathews, quoted by Hirson 1981 The education system that was introduced in 1953 was rejected because it was different, inferior and sought to place the African outside the mainstream of South African socio-political development.

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#### 1.4.8. Education in Bophuthatswana 1978

When in December 1977 Bophuthatswana became independent it inherited the Bantu Education system. An attempt to change was made in the form of the Bophuthatswana Education Act of 1973. This Act was completely ineffectual and the entire education system, including teacher education and university education remained the purview of the Department of Bantu Education.

(Lekhela et. al. 1978)

#### 1.4.9 Teacher Education

In his study of teacher education in Bophuthatswana in 1977, Brazelle (1978) found that there were four courses offered in the country: a two-year course for primary school teacher with form three as entrance qualification; a two-year course for junior secondary teachers requiring a Senior Certificate as minimum entrance qualification; a two-year technical teacher certificate as entrance qualification of a year's duration after the acquisition of the Primary Teachers Certificate. "For all the abovementioned courses the syllabuses were created, examinations set and the diplomas issued by the Department of Bantu Education". (Brazelle 1978 p.86) - my translation

The primary teachers course consisted of professional and general method together with the contents and method of all the primary subjects. The Junior Secondary Teachers course provided for a choice among five different directions of study: A: languages and social studies (or Scripture); B: Mathematics and Science; C: Commercial subjects; D: homecraft; and E: Agriculture. Hebron Training College (the only training institution offering the secondary teachers course) limited the choice to only A. or B.

#### 1.4.10 University Education

The Batswana shared universities with other African ethnic groups. The Extension of University Education already alluded to provided.

the establishment, maintenance, management and control of university college for non-white persons; for the admission of students to and their instruction of university colleges; for the limitation of the admission of non-white students to certain university institutions; and for other incidental matters.

(Quoted in Nkondo 1976 p.2)

This Act created ethnically divided universities and specifically forbade blacks the use of universities meant for other race groups.

Two African universities, University of Zululand (for the Zulus), University of the North (for the North Sotho, South Sotho, Tswana, Tsonga and Venda groups) came into existence in 1960 as university colleges of the University of South Africa. The University college of Fort Hare, in existence since 1916 was also transferred to the supervision and guidance of the same university, several prominent members of its staff being summarily dismissed or retired.

#### 1.4.11 Control of University Education

The Minister of Bantu Education assumed sole authority over these universities, while white, government-appointed councils governed these institutions and African Minister-designated Advisory Councils served in an "advisory" capacity. (Nkondo 1976). In 1969 these university colleges became autonomous



but they remained ethnic universities integral to the overall national framework of separate development". (1976 p.4). So it was that in 1977 Bophuthatswana found itself served by tertiary institutions created according to Article 14 of the Christian-National Education Manifesto of 1948:

With regard to the national principle, we believe that the coloured man can be made race-conscious if the principle of apartheid is strictly applied in education...(Sprocas 1971 p.86)

## 2. Conclusion

Bophuthatswana, while itself a product of apartheid policy, on independent refused to permit itself to be guided any further by a policy percipitated "on a belief in the implacable difference between man and man consequent upon race" (Nkondo 1976 p.2) Bophuthatswana also shared the sentiment of the rest of the black population concerning Bantu Education. It was seen as a destructive, reactionary force, quite out of touch with the socio-cultural situation in the country. But the most sensitive areas of the country's education system, teacher and university education were, in 1977, still in the hands of the Department of Bantu Education.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### 1. Review of Literature

##### Literature on Teacher Education in Bophuthatswana.

Some studies have been conducted into teacher education in Bophuthatswana. While these studies are not of specific relevance to the present discussion they serve to underscore the importance of teacher education in any education system. The studies concentrate on the more practical, professional aspects of teacher education and not on the usually more obscure but nevertheless real questions of the policies, philosophies and motives of it. When these more fundamental issues are raised it is either in passing, to illustrate some particular concern of the writers; or it is only in oblique reference to Bophuthatswana, a geo-political area of fairly recent origin.

(Kgwane 1969; Lekhela 1969; Lekhela et al 1972)

Lenyai (1977) looked at the mechanics of teacher education in Bophuthatswana and Botswana emphasizing the problems besetting teacher education of these countries. Manne (1981) paid attention to the teaching practice aspect of teacher education in this country without too much concern about the underlying philosophy or the broader socio-political aims governing teacher education. Mokoena (1981) studied the nexus between the training of primary school teachers and the actual, real-life situation that they will encounter in classroom.

##### 1.1 Teacher Education and the university in Bophuthatswana.

A general study of the educational system of Bophuthatswana was undertaken by Brazelle (1978). He touches on teacher education as it was in 1977, the year of independence, and also looks at university education provision for the Batswana. While these studies serve to highlight certain aspects of teacher education and university education, they do not come to grips with the nitty-gritty of teacher education as a primary instrument of educational reform, nor do they study the possibility of an umbilical connection between the university and teacher education.

2. Teacher Education, the University and Curriculum change.

There are several studies which look into the question of curriculum reform and the role of teacher education in it, as well as the pivotal position occupied by the university, particularly in developing countries, in the dissemination of these new ideas to teacher training colleges, and in the maintenance of the impetus for change.

3. The Curriculum

Educational change at national level implies a shift in emphasis on aspects of the culture selected for transmission to the youth; it is an index of an alteration in the self-perception of a people. Following Lawton (1973) and Hawes (1979) curriculum will be taken here as a selection from the culture. Hawes stress that the primary issue is "what is planned, provided, selected from the culture for the individual learners in schools". (p.3). The selection, he elaborates, involves

...activities, generated by the school or by a higher authority for the school, which take in class and of it, as well as activities like health habits, home farming projects and community service planned in the school and taking place out of school hours in the community (p.3).

The curriculum, then, embraces all the various, diverse activities pupils engage in for some predetermined change to take place in them. The only means of evaluating the success of educational change is the difference perceptible in the learners.

(Hawes 1979)

3.1. Processes of curriculum change

Hawes states that whatever the source of the initiative for curriculum change it has to follow six processes which are the gathering of information about the feasibility of change and the context within which

it must take place; decision-making about the aims and objectives; planning a strategy for change; the process of curriculum development, and its implementation in the classroom. Evaluation takes place at every point in this series of processes.

### 3.1.1 Implementation

This study is concerned with the implementation stage.

Implementation involves two main processes: Changing attitudes and providing material and administrative means. The dissemination of ideas is the first necessity to prepare people to accept change, understand what it involves and why it is worth making.

The teacher is the first person to whom the new idea must be sold if it is to become classroom reality.

## 4. Teacher

In discussing the aims of teacher education Hysom and Sutton (1974) state that these are diverse but that there is consensus that "there must be teachers and that they have to be trained according to certain aims" (p.56). Not only do they affirm Good et al's (1943) position that teachers do make a difference but they also lend support to Howe's (1979) views that "the teacher in school interprets the objectives and content in the curriculum plan and manages the learning situations through which intent is transformed into actual practice". (p.121).

Studies of countries which have effected radical educational change deliver ample evidence that the success or failure of such initiatives depends on the preparedness of the teachers.

### 4.1. Teachers and curriculum change in Tanzania and China.

#### 4.1.1 Tanzania

In 1967 Tanzanian President Nyerere issued his Manifesto on Education for Self-Reliance, a

declaration of his intention to effect radical alteration to the educational system of his country. He saw education as it existed in Tanzania as being a colonial hang-up: it perpetuated the values and attitudes of pre-independence Tanganyika, not quite consonant with the socialism of the new country. (Morrison 1976). The education system bred "a narrow elitism and a basic disrespect among the educated of those who have not themselves had the opportunity of education".

(Williamson 1979 p.161).

Nyerere saw clearly that change required "a complete overhaul of the attitudes of people" (p.164) and recognized that "such changes can only come about gradually recognized special efforts being made to ensure that those whose responsibility it is to introduce the changes know clearly what they are doing. In this respect, school teachers are more important than politicians...."(p.164). Speaking to students at Morogoro Teacher Training College in 1966 Nyerere himself said:

Those of us who left school many years ago have forgotten many of the facts we learned there. But we are what we are now in large part because of the attitudes and ideas we absorbed from our teacher. It does not matter what the teacher says in Civic classes or elsewhere; his students will learn from what he does. If a teacher fawns on visiting officials, and then treats a poor farmer as though he were dirty, the lesson will not be lost on his pupils (Quoted by Williamson 1979 p.169) Nyerere was calling attention here to the significance not only of formal teaching but also of the hidden curriculum.

#### 4.1.2 China

The Chinese Communist party also showed an awareness of this significance of the teacher in educational change. Speaking about his new college the principal of the Tientsin Teachers' Training College said in 1952 that

We aim to produce people's teachers for the secondary schools who are armed with Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Ze-dong, advanced scientific knowledge and familiarity with the techniques of teaching

(Price 1979 p.227).

Chou En Lai instructed higher teachers' Colleges to emphasize political study amongst teachers and to create teaching materials in line with "the standpoint the viewpoint, and the method of Marxism".

(p.229) Mao himself summed up this perspective with the assertion that "in the reform of education the decisive question is that of the teachers".

(p.282-283).

Educational reform in these countries took place as a handmaiden of socio-political reform. The leaders and initiators of educational change understood, however, that teacher education is indeed the "first essential for implementation".

(Hawes 1979 p.121).

#### 4.2. Methods of Teacher Induction

Sinclair (1980) states that the induction of teachers into the new way of thinking takes place in initial training and in in-service training. He points out that prima facie initial or pre-service teacher training offers the greatest scope for innovation.

The trainees are in one place and are constantly exposed to the ideas in terms of which they must perceive their role in school and ultimately in society. However he finds faults with this method, pointing out that the trainees are subsequently disposed into "an often unreceptive environment" (p.166) which promptly retains them.

In-service training in the sense of intensive short courses at in-service centres has the same short coming. Hawes (1979) sees the way around this as being the organisation of courses centrally and regionally and the organisation of these courses for all the teachers very frequently. Teacher superiors-heads, supervisors and inspectors must also undergo this retraining process. "This process has, moreover to be repeated yearly for six years" (p.123, That training is absolutely important however cannot be disputed.

#### 4.3. Teacher Education and the University

Initial teacher education under the supervision of the universities has been the norm in Britain for over two decades. (Lewis 1978). For pre-service as well as inservice teacher training to come under the aegis of the university is more important particularly in periods of educational self-definition, reform and development. Lewis stresses,

if the process of growth and localization of the curriculum is to be accelerated, there will have to be much more intensive co-operation between those responsible for research and teaching in the several discipline in the universities and the people responsible for the work in the schools and in the training colleges p.113

If "the infrastructure for genuine innovation is freedom for the mind", (Mazrui 1978 p.207) then the universities are in an eminently suitable position to take the lead in educational reform and curriculum change.

## 5. The University and the Community

To involve the university in the process of disseminating ideas for curriculum change is to insist on its commitment to some socially oriented stance quite contrary to the traditional posture of universities as seats of disinterested pursuit of knowledge. But what, then, is the position of the university in its community?

### 5.1. Universalism and Particularism

Central to this question are the twin concepts of universalism and particularism. It is the curious nature of the university that it partakes of the universalistic and the particularistic at one (Murphree 1977; Wandira 1978; Mazrui 1978) Bozzoli 1977) captures this dual loyalty when he asserts:

Like all institutions subsisting from public funds or from student fees or both, universities have certain basic responsibilities towards the country in which they are situated, towards the various publics which they serve and also towards the world of learning of which they form a part. (p.188)

And thus Viljoen (1980) on the same head:

When a university tries to serve its community it should always balance its commitment to that community with the kind of reserve, distance and objectivity that are essential ingredients of all good scholarship, and therefore of all good universities. (p.57)



## 6. The African University

For the African university the primary problem is to be African and the words most frequently heard in this connection are relevance, indigenization and Africanisation.

### 6.1. Relevance and Africanisation

In the arguments for relevance and Africanisation there is on the one hand an insistence on the cultural decolonisation of the curricula "the adaptation of curricula to African cultural and social contexts" or even the:

more embracing quest which lays upon the African university the task of assembling the entire gamut of African heritage and insuring its continuity by an analysis and pedagogy which gives it a contemporary relevance to the needs and aspirations of the modern African nation-state  
(Murphree 1977 p.103)

On the other hand there is the demand for a radical re-organisation of the university structure itself. Ajayi writes in this regard:

The challenge of the 1970's will centre not only around the questioning of relevance and its identity, it will involve a challenge to the whole idea in an African and developing situation.....the idea of a group of scholars and students living together as a community, financed by the public, but claiming a large measure of autonomy to regulate its internal affairs, and claiming that such autonomy is essential for its proper functioning and well being. (quoted by Wandira 1977 p.48-49)

This insistence on relevance does not exclude loyalty to the universal principle of rationality:

Whatever is rational-regardless of its source or implication - is admissible as a basis for the academic enterprise; whatever is irrational-regardless of its attraction or apparent necessity- is not (Murphree 1978 p.106).

It is rather a plea that research undertaken in the spirit of objectivity and detached intellectual curiosity must be relevant to the community.

## 7. Conclusion

These studies seem to support the motion that educational reform within the context of a developing nation-state must be spearheaded by an informed, committed teaching corps since teacher exert an incomparable influence on pupils. Teacher education, however must be closely attached to the university whose task it is to guide, rationalise and formulate principles and point out directions for change. (Lewis 1978). This imposes a task on the university of meeting the needs of the community it serves.

In the African context, where the university is an imported, foreign institution and its curricula equally foreign, the university needs to consciously adapt itself to the African context both structurally and in terms of syllabuses. (Wanrdira 1977), Mazrui 1978) such adaptation, however, must take socio-economic realities into consideration and be in strict accord with the principle of rationality.

The Chinese and Tanzanian experience seem to oblige us to conclude that thorough, complete educational reform cannot take place without social change. Education alone is not sufficient to effect any indepth attitudinal change; and attempts at educational reform in Bophuthatswana seem to bear witness to this assertion.

#### CHAPTER FOUR

1. The 1973 Bophuthatswana Education Act.

An attempt was made by the Bophuthatswana government to revamp the educational system in 1973 by means of the Bophuthatswana Education Act. This Act was drawn up by the South African government and was akin to the Bantu Education Act. The Bophuthatswana government "never implemented the 1973 Act and have continued to operate under the provisions and regulations of the old Bantu Education Act".

(Setlogelo: Education Minister; Lekhela et al. 1978)

2. The Desire for change.

In 1977, even before independence, the Bophuthatswana government decided on education change as an issue of the gravest significance. The mood is captured by the new President's first address to the nation.

It is therefore important to state quite clearly that in an independent Bophuthatswana there will be no room for such a contradictory monster as "Bantu Education" which-like all apartheid measures - is claimed so piously by South Africa to be "separate but equal".

In view of the unmistakable writing on the wall, my Government has already decided that our first major programme of reform after independence must be in the painfully troubled field of education (Mangope 1978 p.40)

Indeed as he was speaking, a National Education Commission under the Chairmanship of educationist Professor E.P. Lekhela was at work "to prepare a blue-print for educating children who are who are just human beings and nothing fancy like Bantus".

(p.40)

### 3. The National Education Commission

The terms of reference of the National Education Commission reflected this rejection of Bantu Education and charged the Commission.

to evaluate the existing system of education in Bophuthatswana; to investigate the problem of the medium of instruction in schools and institutions; to study the Bophuthatswana Education Act of 1973 as amended; to report its findings and submit its recommendations to the Government of the Republic of Bophuthatswana.

The Commission saw this as reflecting

the urgent desire of the government, on behalf of the people of Bophuthatswana, to pin-point the restrictions and weakness in the system of education which they had so long endured, to eliminate them and to inaugurate their own educational system, worthy of an independent, self-respecting, autonomous nation.

(Lekhela et al. 1978 p.XIII).

Evidently the most fundamental change was desired by the government and envisaged by the commission. It perceived of this change as necessitated by and as itself validating and maintaining independence and autonomy: Noticeable beneath the surface of this desire for change in the Africanist protest against the strictures of Bantu Education.

#### 3.1. Rationale for Recommendations

Missionary education had as its end and purpose the Europeanisation of the African, while Bantu Education insisted on the return of the native to the traditional African way of life of his forebears. The education provided by each of these was structured to reinforce these two perspectives. The National

It charges the education system to preserve and foster Tswana culture and forge the nation into a united body. The need was to educate the Batswana to be more Tswana by insisting that "the traditions and cultural history of the people of Bophuthatswana should find an honoured place in the curriculum". (p.19) This, then is what would give Bophuthatswana education its unique feel and flavour, and this, the means of producing the ultimate Motswana. Education, however was also seen as having the task of producing people to run the country: it had to produce "manpower". On the one hand, there was the emphasis on Tswana culture, on the other hand the need to create efficient and competent members of the modern technological world.

### 3.2.2 Teacher Education

The commission gave due recognition to the importance of teachers in the implementation of the new curriculum. It declared:

Proposals for a new structuring of education.... will be of little avail and will remain recommendations on paper, without the complete commitment of the teacher to their implementation in the classroom.(p.56.)

More specifically for Bophuthatswana it asserted:

(Teacher education and training) is the area, the power house, the source of the spirit of Popagane which should permeate the entire educational and development programme of Bophuthatswana. Here motivation in its widest meaning must be planted, nurtured, tended and allowed to blossom and flower.

(p.113)

Speaking during the debate in the National Assembly on the Bill based on the recommendations of the commission, the Bophuthatswana National Education Bill (later Act No.2 of 1979) an opposition member of parliament V.T. Sifora pointed out that the country had inherited educational institutions and their personnel who were not inspired by Popagano. He insisted that the Bill must enable the government to staff those institutions with personnel who will be able "to interpret the spirit, the aim, the purpose, the aspirations as reflected in this Bill!" (Debates 1979 p.60). The importance of the dissemination of new thinking to teachers as a pre-condition for implementation was recognised very clearly.

The Commission did not lay down any specific activities or content that would lead to Popagano. It rather confined itself to the conditions of service, the organisation of in-service schemes, the treatment of student teachers in colleges with regard to dress and to suggestions concerning examination and certification. In this regard the commission recommended that "liason should be retained with the Examinations Board of the responsible department in the R.S.A." (p.59) which is the Department of Education and Training.

Finally it recommended that the Education Department should set up a "Working Party on Teacher Education and Training" to attend to the details of the implementation of recommendations on teacher education and training. Also envisaged as having an important directive role in teacher education was the university (p.57).

Education Commission expressed the belief that "education must be an instrument in the nurture of the national identity of a people". p.19 It saw education as a means for effecting social change.

### 3.2. Recommendations

#### 3.2.1 The Concept Popagano

The Commission searched for a philosophy on which to predicate the new educational system, and decided that the "ideology of Popagano" was the best for Bophuthatswana. The commission felt that this ideology must be "central to every aspect of the theory and practice of the educational system" p.XIII. The pursuit of Popagano by means of education, would "ensure the attainment of those aspirations and ideals which the people in the Republic of Bophuthatswana held in high esteem". (p.18). The aspirations and ideals are not specified but the commission's description of Popagano is enlightening.

This ideology, the commission asserted, is the sum of what is a uniquely Tswana consciousness. It is a communalistic state of togetherness, of concern for each other, of mutual assistance to individual and communal self-fulfilment, a building up of a united whole out of fragmented pieces. Popagano is anti-individualism and is inspired by what Mphahlele calls "the humanism of the African people".

(Manganyi 1981 p.8)

In its more specific pronouncements the commission sees Popagano as being one with Tswana culture.

### 3,2.3 The University

The National Education Commission evinced the same awareness of the tension between the commitment of the university to the universal academic community and to its immediate constituency mentioned earlier. The University, it declared "should be acceptable to the international university community and to the people of Bophuthatswana ...."(p.85).

"The commission saw the involvement of the university in the affairs of the country as being both a concern with its developmental needs and reflection of the culture of the Batswana. This placed on the university a responsibility to disseminate "Education for Popagano!"

#### 4. The Bophuthatswana University Act.

The Act was passed in 1978 while the Commission was busy. The recommendations outlined above were made to guide not to propose the setting up of a university. However, piloting the Bill through parliament the Minister of Education Mr. Setlogelo spoke in these terms:

It is around and within the centre of a University that the cultural, intellectual, physical and spiritual potentiality of the Tswana can be identified, evaluated and expressed ....

(Debates 1978 p.135)

While the Act itself does not commit the university to being a Popagano institution, the Minister's statement leaves no doubt about the role for which it exists.

#### 4.1. The University of Bophuthatswana

Addressing the first council of the university at its inauguration the President of Bophuthatswana endorsed the position of the commission. He charged the council to look for a model of university which will be a departure from the traditional western one.



The University, he said, must be dedicated to the solution of the needs of the country particularly with regard to tertiary education. (Unibo Brochure).

4.2. The University of Bophuthatswana and the Community.

The university sees itself as serving students who come from a non-technological background "with an affiliative rather than an achievement based motivational pattern". (Unibo Brochure p.18) This "Socio-cultural background is seen as a limitation on the student's capacity to function and compete both at university and in the "modern" technological world. Students will be trained towards an "achievement orientated motivational pattern" so as to cope with the problems of people in authoritative and responsible positions. Further, the student will be assisted in "the cultural transition from a non-technical culture". (p.20).

This transitional training will be achieved by combining work experience with lessons to prevent the students from becoming elitist and to "eliminate the knowledge and values which are disfunctional to professional situations" (p.20). The Brochure declares every subject should provide a service outside the school or college into the community" (p.22) to bridge the elite-mass, rural-urban communication gap.

4.3 The University and Teacher Education and Training.

The university regards itself as having a definite commitment to the education of graduate teachers to alleviate shortage in this area. There is no specifically stated intent to link the existing colleges of education with the university or in any way to influence or determine the courses they offer. The only specific curriculum commitments, made in keeping with the commission's recommendations relate to the teaching of English to increase competence in the instructional medium and the teaching of Developmental Studies. It seems, then, that the university

conceives of its direct responsibility with regard to teacher education as being the production of teachers in its own School of Education.

## 5. The Situation Now

### 5.1 The Education System Generally

The implementation of a new educational system is a slow and uneven process. There cannot be much achieved within the space of five years. However, some of the structural and administrative recommendations of the National Education Commission, such as the division of the School system into Primary, Middle, Junior Secondary and Senior Secondary Schools; the inception of the National Education Council; and the submission by the Curriculum and Examination Council of some syllabuses to the Secretary for Education for approval have been effected. (Department of Education Annual Report 1981)

### 5.2. Teacher Education and Training

The National Education Council has set up a Teacher Education Board under the chairmanship of Professor D.N. Nuttall of the University of Bophuthatswana. The Board has established a curriculum committee under Professor Noruwana, Head of the Department of Professional Studies. A working committee for the upgrading of the staff of Teacher Training Colleges has also been established.

For the past three years, however, there has been no change in the syllabuses of Teacher Training Colleges and they were examined by the Department of Education and Training, a function to be taken over by the university of Bophuthatswana. What this implies is that the spirit of Popagano with which the teachers had to be imbued as a matter of priority is absent in the current products of the Teacher Training Colleges.

### 5.3. University Education

In interpreting its mandate to be innovative the university adopted a federal structure. It has five Schools each of which offers a diploma and a degree programme. The school of Agriculture is situated at Taung in the North-Eastern Cape, the School of Technology at Ga-Rankuwa near Pretoria and the Schools of Law, Education and Commerce and Administration are at the main campus at Mmabatho the capital of the new republic.

Each of these schools sends their students for work experience within their own field of study and at their level of training. The students are not just sent out to "the community". In the absence of industries and commercial enterprises the school of Commerce and Administration has problems of placement, while the school of law has to set up mock-trials or arrange visits to the courts to satisfy the "work experience" requirement.

All the Schools, however, offer Development Studies, which does not have a community involvement aspect. Apart from the work experience, the Development Studies course, the federal structure and the use of the local Civic Centre for university ceremonies and occasions the institution does not reflect any Popagano.

### 6. Conclusion.

The National Education Commission saw Popagano, the communalistic, African concept of mutual help, education, communal self-help and national self-reliance as the ideal to be striving after. It regarded Popagano as a unique Tswana attribute. For this educational reform to take place the commission recognized that first the teacher had to be fired with a commitment to the change. Coupling teacher education and training to an innovative African university would ensure the maintenance of commitment of Popagano.

Teacher education in Bophuthatswana, then, is still under the sway of a different perspective on life. Education for Apartheid still feeds the wells of the Bophuthatswana educational system. Education for Popagano vainly seeks to promote and propagate itself by means of a teaching corps educated and trained for a different social situation. The university helplessly thrashes about in the clutches of ivory-tower traditionalism.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### 1. The failure of the Implementation of Popagano.

It is evident from the foregoing analysis, that there is a certain tardiness about the implementation of the Popagano ideal both at university level and in teacher education and training. In spite of the Lekhela Commission's insistence on the primacy of teacher education in curriculum change, an insistence it shares with many other scholars and politicians, there has not been the great flurry of pre-service and in-service activity one would have expected to follow such an assertion.

The University, on the other hand valiantly mouths what it hopes are the correct sentiments in relation to Popagano, but finds itself at a loss about what it means in real syllabus terms. Not only has the link not been established with the teacher education colleges, but even if it were there would still be the question whether what the university feeds down to the colleges will be Popagano at all. While granting that thoroughgoing educational change cannot take place in a short time, definitely not in three years, the present writer nevertheless feels that a start has to be made very early, and a priority area for this is teacher education nourished and supported by the university.

### 2. Reasons for Failure.

The reasons for the failure of the ideal Popagano to lend itself to easy interpretation and implementation pivot around the tension between the aims of the educational system and the perceptions of the other members of the Leviathan. This tension is also evident in the report itself where the philosophy does not seem to have naturally given rise to syllabus specifics. It would appear that the Popagano ideal resists interpretation, or is amenable to as many interpretations in syllabus terms, as there are attempts to interpret it. A look at how this ideology relates to various aspects of the Bophuthatswana reality is enlightening.

3. Education and Social Change.

Education is an indispensable aid to the maintenance of the impetus of social change, but it cannot itself generate and maintain such change. The question may constantly vex educationists, whether to prepare the youth of a society for life as it is now or for life as it may predictably be when the youth reach responsible adulthood. But such preparation for the future is for a predicted future; it is not a preparation to change society towards this future.

This is not to deny that as a result of the education they receive, which points to a future considerably different from the present, the youth may actively strive towards the early realisation of this future. But it seems to be the case that without the intervention of other, non-educational forces there cannot be social change. From this we conclude that social change precedes educational change. An attempt to effect a change in the thought patterns of the members of a society that is not accompanied by a change in the social realities confronting them cannot succeed.

No clearer evidence exists of the validity of this assertion than the cases of China and Tanzania quoted above. While China largely succeeded in changing educationally because of change in the society due to compulsion, Tanzania has problems because of the insistence of "Mwalimu" Nyerere on teaching his people to accept change in the spirit of democracy. Some support for this argument is also found in the analysis of African education in an earlier chapter.

Missionary education had as its priority aim the Christianisation of the African. Education, by which was meant the ability to read, write and cipher was merely a means to the evangelisation of the people. The demands of the colonial situation for land, for labour, for taxes, necessitated the involvement of the African in the money economy of South Africa. Missionary education for natives had the unintended

effect of rendering the Blackman more susceptible to pressure of the demands of the money economy. Bundy ( 1972 ) sees the education of the blackman as being a factor in this proletarianisation. He points out, however, that government legislation and administrative proclamation forced the African off the soil, into the money-earning labour-selling economic system.

The westernisation that accompanied missionary education was more a function of external economic and legislative pressures than of education pre se. When the missionaries perceived their task as being the spread of the gospel they trained teachers in their establishments for this purpose , and when the imparting of the civilising influence of westernisation became uppermost, teacher training colleges began producing teachers to implement this perspective.

(Lekhela 1969)

While in the beginning there was discord between society and education, other influences effected changes in African society with which missionary influence found itself in accord. As a result of the success of these other forces which resulted in the Black man's desire to master European civilisation, Missionary education found itself apposite. The change occurred first in the society before the education became appropriate.

When in 1953 the Bantu Education Act was passed these Westernising influences, aided by missionary education were pervasive. Hunter (1966) asserts that missionary education was not in accord with apartheid in that it encouraged pupils to think of themselves as part of wider western world. Mkele's (1961) analysis indicates that the pattern of African middle class life showed conclusively a predilection for things western. He could actually declare on this head, that the Africans were as capitalist as the whites themselves. The process of enculturation was already irreversibly under way when Bantu Education became a reality.

Most prominent is individualism and the consumersism attendant upon it. The distinguishing mark of a person are his possessions: his house, his car or his clothes. The schools to which his children go are also evidence of his membership of this class. A process of deliberate embourgeoisement is under way in this country.

As has been pointed out above Popagano is a value of communalistic, humanist origin. In traditional African societies, indeed throughout the world where communities are small and more or less cut off from the rest of the world, a greater unity is found among members of the community than is the case now or in modern urban communities. There is a greater value placed on social responsibility, on mutual caring and sharing.

The individual is self-fulfilled only to the extent that he is well intergrated in the community, only to the extent that he gives himself to the common weal. Popagano then, is completely out of step with the kind of society that Bophuthatswana is becoming. It seeks to press a capitalistic, individualistic class-conscious community into the illfitting world of traditional communities. Where the sentiment of the people is for the collection and retention of material goods characteristic on the middle-class, the education seeks to inculcate a spirit of sacrifice, to instil a respect for spirit of sacrifice, to instill a respect for spiritual development.

Bophuthatswana sees itself as an alternative society to the South African racially discriminatory one. This implies that Bophuthatswana will have within its borders as residents people of different cultures and value systems. The education system has to take this cultural multifariousness into account.

If Popagano is the expression of a unique Tswana consciousness and the "schools must be open to every child regardless of religious belief, racial origin, cultural background social



position, age or sex" (Lekhela et al 1978 p.21) then surely there is an imposition on the other non-Tswana members of the country. Their right to be different is surely interfered with.

4. **Popagano and the Socio-Economics of Bophuthatswana**  
Lekhela et al (1978) state that 65 per cent of Bophuthatswana citizens stay in urban areas. This is quite apart from the other commuting workers who reside in the rural areas but work in the town and cities. To the extent that these spent most of their waking hours in towns they can also be said to be urban. However, even in these rural areas the influence of the towns is pervasive. No part of the country has not been touched by some level of western technology and urban areas with their high incomes, readily available facilities and anonymity continue to attract many from the villages. It seems reasonable to state that Bophuthatswana is peopled by an urban, technologically aware, westernised population.

The Lekhela commission grudgingly admitted that the cities "have a life of their own a special rhythm characteristic activities and recreation as well as a unique pattern of human relationships unknown and alien to Batswana in the rural areas". In an earlier paragraph the commission said "the trek to the urban areas denuded the rural areas first of the young men, then of the young women so that in the "reserves" only the old men and older women and their children were left" (p.15). It is to these latter categories that urban life is alien - the children being on the way to succumbing to the lure of the cities as have their parents.

Bophuthatswana has very few industries which can absorb the labour it produces so prolifically. "A fundamental characteristic of the economy the dependence of the

people of Bophuthatswana on work opportunities in South Africa". (Lekhela et al 1978 p.2) Indeed, the whole Bantustan concept was intended to provide cheap, disposable labour for South Africa. Within South Africa the Wage Act together with "Job Reservation" continue to determine the areas and categories of jobs available to Blacks, and to entrench the superiority of whites. Since, therefore, education in Bophuthatswana is actually for South Africa, there is every danger that the products of Education for Popagano will be torn between the humanist, egalitarian values of the school and those of the society within which they have to work.

5. Popagano and Teacher Education,

The point cannot be stressed enough that the failure of Popagano to take any concrete shape is seen most starkly in the inability of the commission to make any recommendations about what should happen at teacher training colleges to make Popagano a reality. The statistics of the Education Department show that there were 175 white, coloured and "other" teachers at teacher training colleges and secondary schools in 1981, of whom 12 were principals and 19 Departmental Heads, (Report of the Department of Education (1981). This means the important, policy-interpreting positions in teacher education were still occupied by people who may have an intellectual sympathy for Popagano but who cannot be said to be fired by its spirit.

As pointed out earlier, the commission specifically stated that it would be wise initially for the Departmental of Education and Training to prescribe and examine teacher training syllabuses. It also felt that the University of South Africa should be entrusted with the task of providing courses for student-teachers doing their Senior Certificate Teachers' Course which requires five university courses. Evidently the commission did not envisage nor desire an early change from Bantu Education tutelage.

Bantu education was only a part of a total process of social engineering which included the use of legislation and administrative fiat. Various laws were enacted to re-establish the centrality of the tribe in African life, to render African urban dwellers temporary sojourners, and to ensure the industrial, commercial and technological supremacy of the white man. Bantustans, a natural offspring of the 1913 Land Act and of the Group Areas Act came into being and the division of Africans into 'ethnic groups' was accentuated.

To the aid of these socio-political changes education was pressed. The education was almost self-consciously contrary to the social and value systems, the political and economic perspective of the Blacks. It was a long overdue unwelcome application of the principle of educational adaptation advocated three decades earlier by the Phelps-Stokes Commission. Africans were to be de-westernised and re-tribalised, they had to be taught to appreciate the value of traditional culture and of tribal cohesion. But the education system was only rendered relevant by real, tangible changes in the social set up.

It seems reasonable to conclude, then, that while education for Africans in South Africa was out of touch with social reality, it was rendered pertinent by other non-educational factors. There seem to be grounds to conclude that educational change can only be an aspect of a general, country-wide change. On its own it cannot be efficacious as an instrument for change.

Bophuthatswana is a non-racial country which has a wide variety of cultural groups as its residents. The majority of the people of Bophuthatswana are residents in or near the towns. Most of these people commute to the towns to work and back. Within Bophuthatswana there is an evident concern with the development of an elite middle-class. This developing class evinces all the attributes Mkele mentioned as being typical of the African middle-class.

In 1978 Sifora charged the Minister of Education to make appropriate Popagano - inspired staff available the following year in teacher-training colleges. By 1981, however, expatriates and seconded South African continued to churn out teachers cut according to the old Bantu Education mould. This is not surprising since it is in keeping with the recommendations of the Lekhela Commission already alluded to above. Teacher education is still linked with the very source of the scourge the commission protests it abhors: Bantu Education.

6. Popagano and the University of Bophuthatswana

The National Education Commission recommended that the university should initially be linked to the University of South Africa. The assumption was apparently that this would enable it to take off without any of the problems attendant upon the beginning of such ventures. But the commission was poisoning the well. When the Extension of University Education and the Transfer of the University College of Fort Hare Acts were enacted, it was to UNISA that the responsibility for the development of Bantu universities was given. It is apparent that the South African government saw in UNISA an ally in the introduction of a Bantu tertiary education in keeping with the rest of the system established in terms of the spirit and the letter of the 1953 Bantu Education Act. The commission abandoned all pretense at originality and reneged on their protestations of its dislike of apartheid education when it envisaged and desired the linking of the fledgeling university to UNISA.

The Executive Council of Bophuthatswana, however, created an autonomous university and the council of the university assiduously and painstakingly selected the staff of the university. All traces of the ubiquitous Bantu Education were prevented from tainting the university. The syllabuses were created and are constantly being reconsidered in the light

of the academic persuasions of the staff and the needs of the people of this country. By throwing the recommendations of the commission which sought to fetter it to UNISA overboard, the university placed itself in a better position to be the source of innovative Popagano ferment.

However, from the analysis of the university brochure above and the consideration of its evolution over the past three years it is clear that it is also failing to give shape to Popagano. The Development studies course, which the commission thought would lead the students to the contemplation of the problems of the community and arouse the desire to serve, is merely an academic inquiry into the problems of development in the third world. The university has become engrossed with the maintenance of international academic standards and the production of qualified manpower which, as pointed out above, will be utilized by South Africa.

7. The University and its clients.

In an earlier chapter the writer showed how the university interpreted its mandate within its constituency as being to effect the cultural transition of the majority of its students from a non-technological, affiliative culture to a technological, achievement-oriented one. Basically the assumption is the Bophuthatswana is a rural developing country; that its people are still largely a tribal, traditionbound people, and that their perceptions are non-western. This, however, flies in the face of historical and sociological evidence.

Bophuthatswana is the most westernised and ethnically heterogeneous of the Bantustans (Van Resnburg 1977); the majority of its residents are urban-dwellers (Lekhele et al 1978), most of them members of the middle-class and leaders in the urban areas both in South Africa and within Bophuthatswana. As pointed out earlier Mkhale (1961)

asserted that Black people, at least those exposed to the influence of the West, are as capitalist; individualist and achievement-oriented as are whites. To believe therefore that there are still post-matriculation Black students in South Africa in need of assistance to bridge a cultural gap of the kind mentioned by the university brochure is to be completely out of touch with reality.

8. The University against Popagano.

The university set itself on the course of habituating the students to the achievement-oriented motivational pattern. This course is quite against the spirit of Popagano which is affiliative. While Popagano seeks to instil the values of humanity and social responsibility, the university eradicates these values as disfunctional to modern commercial life, and helps student to make the transition from a non-technological, humanist culture to a technological, materialistic and individualistic one. The students the university has, being so westernised already, however, the university is merely pushing them further away from the goals of Popagano. With the apex of the new educational system so wide of the mark, the rest of the system cannot but slumber along in its old comfortable rut

9. Conclusion

Since the tabling of the report of the commission in 1978 and its adoption by the government as evinced by the Bophuthatswana Education Act of 1979 structural and administrative changes have taken place in the education system of Bophuthatswana. But these do not bear any special pertinence to the implementation and realisation of the Popagano ideal. Teacher Education and Training the most sensitive point in the entire implementation process has not received any attention, while the university pays only lip-service to popagano as conceived by the commission. The ideology of Popagano seems to be completely out of touch with the socio-economic reality of Bophuthatswana.

In the event only the more practical, administrative and structural recommendations were effected. The pith of teacher education, namely those activities which change a student-teacher into a committed, caring dedicated missionary of a particular educational vision, remained the old Bantu Education one.

In this regard the commission must bear its full share of the blame for the introduction of a confusing and thwarting contribution. The recommendation that the African teacher education controlling government Department of South Africa, as well as the University of South Africa should be permitted free rein in teacher education in Bophuthatswana considerably stifled whatever initiative may have existed in the country.

The University of Bophuthatswana gave concrete form to the idea of a federal structure. Its attempts to be African met with very limited success. Apart from being in Africa it does not seem to have any special call to regard itself as being of Africa. The communalism of Popagano which transforms education from being the purview of Western graduates and makes it a community venture of educators does not seem to have scorched any deeper than the surface. While protesting its duty to the community, the university actually worships at the shrine of rationality and international acceptance.

The open intermingling that should characterise an African university according to Wandira (1977); the openness of the university facilities to members of the public; the active, not merely voiced, participation of staff members in community activities and the assurance of the people that they have an ally in their myriad problems of adaptation to self-rule: these are conspicuous by their absence. The source of innovation, the mainspring of curriculum change, the fountainhead of Education for Popagano is sluggish. The philosophy of Popagano as a regenerative educational influence is thus mutilated at its very source.

Jaff (1980) summed up the report on Education for Popagano thus:

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.

(p.4-5)

This statement has now been borne out by the unimplementability of the Popagano idea both at teacher education and at university levels. It still remains admirable rhetoric and not an education specific.



RESUMÉ

An attempt has been made in this study to show that missionary education and Bantu Education did not harmonise with the societies for which they were intended. Missionary education was inimical to the tribal structure while Bantu Education is predicated on a "tribal cult" which is impatient of Black urbanisation, detribalisation and westernisation. Both these systems nevertheless came to be consonant with their societies once external non-educational forces had exerted an influence on the social fabric.

Bophuthatswana now finds itself burdened with an educational system whose intentions are quite contrary to the reality in which it has to function. In the absence of external pressures for change in the society, the education does not change it.

The education system in Bophuthatswana has consequently not changed but remains suited to the conditions prevailing in the country. This paradox is also revealed in the areas of our emphasis, teacher education and university education. Instead of yielding to Popagano they have continued to be closely related to the society they serve.

This country is inextricably entwined in the economic life of South Africa. While it is moving in the direction of non-racial co-existence it cannot shake off the stigma of its creation. Like all other Bantustans it was created with the specific purpose of providing labour for the South African industries without burdening South African with the financial responsibility for the adequate housing and education of those who work within her borders, nor with the moral responsibility for those no longer employable.

It seems patent, then, that for a considerable period to come the majority of Bophuthatswana citizens will continue to find employment in South Africa. The education that these people receive must equip them to live in urban areas where the quality of life is different, or help them to compete favourably on the job market. This calls for people who have marketable skills and who indeed, are not hindered by values disfunctional to this settling. They must be able to compete.

To insist on values like Popagano which are anti-competition is to remove the spirit of modern society from them. Popagano is an ideology supremely indifferent to the reality of the twentieth century African. No longer do people desire nor manage social relations they had before westernisation. Every person wants economic self-fulfilment and modern society does not provide a means of satisfying this urge while remaining true to social mutual help and self-sacrifice. The African traditional society, which calculated the wealth of a man by the amount of material goods he can give away (Mazrui 1978) is no more. Only adulterated vestiges of traditional life survive.

While the present writer agrees with the sentiment that "practical training is the most important component of the teaching profession" (Mokoena 1981 p.66) he submits that practical training cannot compensate for inadequate

education. Supremely, the teacher must be acutely aware of the society he serves, of the values in terms of which he lives, of its self-perception. Popagano has failed to become a teacher training college reality because it has nothing to do with the society the teachers are being prepared to serve and of which they consider themselves to be a part. It is not Popagano or any of those rallying calls so beloved of politicians that the student-teacher needs, but a clear apprehension of his duty to his community.

In this regard the University of Bophuthatswana is perceptive. While being particularistic and providing professional qualifications for even those students who would not have the benefit of tertiary education otherwise, it nevertheless does not practice community involvement of the kind envisaged by the commission. No shamba-bashing takes places, no letsema or community self-help is done. The students gather the skills they will need in a modern, competitive, capitalist society, not some woolly ideal for a non-existent social situation. The university fails Popagano because it is responding to the situation in the country as it really is.

The National Education Commissions recommendations cannot be faulted educationally. Not only has it made recommendations that will decisively move Bophuthatswana from Bantu Education but it has successfully structured an educational system that is relevant to Bophuthatswana and of a superlative quality to any the South African Blacks ever enjoyed. But the ideology of Popagano burdens the educational system with concerns it cannot possibly carry.

In the sense of an African humanist, communalist value Popagano merely makes everybody guilty when in reality the education system is moving in the correct direction for a country in the latter half of the twentieth century. With the Teacher training colleges under the University of Bophuthatswana, teacher education will be removed from the morass of Bantu Education and be placed in line, not with education for some unattainable ideal, but with Education in Bophuthatswana for modern life.

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