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PERSPECTIVES IN EDUCATION



Special Issue
The HSRC Education Report
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Journal of the Faculty of Education of the University of the Witwatersrand and the Johannesburg College of Education

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EDITORIAL

This special issue of Perspectives in Education comprises four articles which discuss aspects of the Report of the Main Committee of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) Investigation into Education, entitled Provision of Education in the RSA.

The HSRC was requested by the Cabinet of the South African government in June 1980 to conduct an 'investigation into all facets of education in the RSA'.(1) It is widely believed that persistent and often powerfully-expressed dissatisfaction displayed particularly by black communities since 1976 is the origin of the Cabinet's request for the Investigation. As the articles printed here indicate, there are other considerations which have been influencial in determining the Government's decision to reconsider the future of education in this country.

Professor JP de Lange, Rector of the Rand Afrikaans University, was appointed research leader and chairman of the Investigation, the findings of which are now popularly known as the 'De Lange Report'. Since publication of the Report in July 1981, there has been widespread discussion of its proposals, particularly after the Cabinet's response to that Report in its Interim Memorandum of October 1981.

In that document the Government accepted the Report's eleven principles for the provision of education 'subject to points of departure' like the re-affirmation of the 'Christian and broad national character of education' as contained in the National Education Policy Act of 1967; the principle of mother tongue education; 'that each population group should have its own schools'; and that the 'constitutional framework within which they are to be implemented' will largely affect decisions taken about the Report's recommendations. (2)

The Government provided opportunity for 'official and recognised education bodies' to submit responses to the Report before the end of March this year, whereupon two large conferences were held: one in Grahamstown in February (3) and one in Bloemfontein in March. The latter is discussed in the article by Johan Muller in this issue of Perspectives.

We have been able to publish only four articles within the limited size of this journal. Other material received on the topic of the De Lange Report can be included in future ordinary issues, three of which will appear later this year.

As the first issue will appear in July, the provisional deadlines for the second and third issues are:

Volume 6 number 2: 20th July

number 3: 20th September.

Notes

(1) HSRC Provision of Education in the RSA: Report of the Main Committee of the HSRC Investigation into Education.
Pretoria. HSRC 1981. p 1
(Private Bag X41, Pretoria, RSA 001)

(2) RSA Interim Memorandum: Provisional Comments by the Government on the Report of the Human Sciences Research Council on the Inquiry into the Provision of Education in the RSA. October 1981.

(3) Tunmer R ed. Proceedings of the National Education Conference - The De Lange Report: Assessment and Implementation. Grahamstown. 1820 Foundation. 1982.

TRAINING FOR CAPITAL: DE LANGE REPORTS (1)

Linda Chisholm

1 Introduction

The Commission of Inquiry undertaken by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) was set up to investigate the 'crisis' in South African education and to put forward recommendations on how to solve it. Both the role of the Commission in the political economy of South Africa and the nature of the educational crisis have to be examined to understand the implications of the recommendations made by de Lange's HSRC Commission (2). Although there has been much publicity given to the government's rejection of the report, there is evidence:

(a) that some of the recommended changes are completely compatible with state policy and are, indeed, already being implemented, and

(b) that the significance of the report lies as much in its effects on the educational system as on the nature and scope of political struggle in education.

To untangle the different elements of the report and to understand its significance within the totality of society, one needs to find out who is talking through it, ie which class interests it represents, what the political objectives of these are, and how they are represented in the report.

The overriding concern of the report lies with the so-called mismatch or incompatibility of the economy and society, as compared to the skills made available through the current education system. This theme of 'manpower shortages' and the role of education in meeting such skill shortages is reflected in capital's many speeches and reports on the question. From the Urban Foundation to Manpower 2000, from Anglo-American to Barlow Rand, the argument has consistently been made that unless South Africa's education system is restructured, 'economic growth' will not be maintained. Calls for reform have been made so stridently over the last year that the relationship between manpower needs and the role of education in meeting these has been accepted as obvious, involving 'common sense'. This was expressed by Mike Rosholt, chairperson of the giant Barlow Rand group, in the following way:

> Where knowledgeable people call for a common educational system for all race groups, they are expressing the view that there is no other way

that the educational system will be able to provide the level of skilled manpower we need in the future - indeed, what we require now. (3)

It is accepted that 'economic growth' (or 'economic emancipation' as the report phrases it) demands a non-racial system of education, and that it is only 'politics that is blocking reform'. (4) It is in this way that government rejection of the report has been interpreted: as a typically narrow, backward response to a 'revolutionary' proposal for the overhaul of the education system.

At the outset, we need to understand the reality of 'skill shortages' a little better. Where do they lie? What is their significance?

Statistics on the question of the shortage of skilled labour abound. At a Manpower 2000 convention in November 1980, for example, it was estimated that 700 000 'fully-trained workers' would be needed by 1987 in all sectors of the economy. But, as Charles Meth has pointed out, 'statistics on skill shortages...share an important characteristic and that is their almost complete unreliability'. Irrespective of whether there is a shortage or not, 'it is obvious that ....a persistent belief that there is such a thing, particularly a belief that such shortages are widespread, is likely ultimately to have important political consequences'. (5)

Although there might not be clarity on whether there are any 'real shortages', and if there are in what sectors of the economy these lie, it is true that the development of monopoly capital in South Africa and the correspondingly sophisticated technology that has been put to use in the production process has, amongst other things, introduced a new industrial division of labour between semi-skilled operatives on the one hand, and technical supervisory labour on the other. This has replaced the previously dominant unskilled/skilled division of labour on which the South African economy has historically rested. This process has also marked a decisive shift away from the reliance on cheap, unskilled migrant labour towards the consolidation of a stable, semi-skilled workforce.

How such a working class is to be reproduced has become a much-debated question for both capital and the state in recent years, and its partial resolution has found expression in commissions of inquiry such as Wiehahn, Riekert, and now the de Lange report. The resolution of the problem from capital's point of view has become urgent,

particularly in the light of recent worker and student struggles. The 1976 uprising and the boycotts of 1980 have revealed a profound crisis in the educational structure. For future workers to be reproduced with the required level of skill, and with the requisite societal values, it has become imperative for their consent to be won, and for at least some of their demands to be met - even if in changed form.

It appears that the HSRC report represents an attempt to restructure education from this perspective; that this restructuring aims to prepare a section of the working class for a changed division of labour and to give an appearance of reform. As Dr PJ van der Merwe of the National Manpower Commission has said,

> Structural change in the economy demands a different kind of labour force. The growth of giant high-technology firms, and of manufacturing and public services, demand both skilled black labour and a higher level of general literacy....(T)he de Lange proposals (which I helped frame) are tailored to produce such a workforce. (6)

It is not co-incidental that this semi-skilled workforce is one which is to be 'rewarded' for its pains with section 10(1)(a) or (b) rights, recognised unionisation, etc. As Peter Buckland has written, these are mechanisms 'whereby sufficient blacks can be incorporated into high-income positions to maintain the present balance of power'. (7) This is a very important dimension of the Report, not properly explored in this paper.

It is important to bear in mind that the extent and nature of reforms in education depend to some extent on the balance of forces within the state itself; this balance of power between contending interests determines whether and how changes will take place. It is thus of importance to look at the class basis of the report, the balance of forces within the state, and the question of whether the recommendations were formally rejected by government because of a narrow response.

2 The Class Basis of the Report

The Main Committee of the HSRC was headed by Professor de Lange, rector of the Rand Afrikaans University (RAU). His commitment to a process of restructuring or 'reform' was well known before publication of the recommendations. The committee consisted of some twenty six members drawn either

directly or indirectly from government-supporting educational institutions, and from 'private enterprise' in the shape of Anglo-American. Indeed, the composition of the Main Committee reflects the alliance only recently consolidated in the broader political sphere, viz that between the upper echelons of state power, and monopoly capital. It is an alliance which indicates a shift in the balance of class forces in South Africa, involving the emergence of a distinct state element representing the interests of monopoly capital. In a recent paper, (8) Dan O'Meara has shown how the Information Department scandal associated with Muldergate allowed a reformist element to gain dominance in the state, reflected in the coming to power of PW Botha and his generals. Botha then appointed a new Minister of National Education, Gerrit Viljoen, and it was Viljoen's associate at RAU, de Lange, who was appointed to head the Commission.

The political interests of this new alliance in the state has found expression in what some have called 'total strategy'. Not much need be said of this here, except that it includes an attempt to win over and co-opt a small number of blacks to the 'free enterprise' system. This total national strategy was intended to work in all spheres of society: thus, Wiehahn and Riekert proposed that certain restrictions on africans be lifted, harsher forms of discrimination be relaxed, and that trade unions be incorporated into the industrial relations system. This gave an impression of reform, but at the same time rationalised and streamlined control of the working class.

The HSRC commission of inquiry into education fits into this broad pattern. It involves an attempt to win the consent of the governed through the apparent deracialisation and reform of education, while at the same time streamlining and restructuring the education system. This aims at the more adequate training of a potential workforce for an altered division of labour involving changing skill needs.

It must be borne in mind that the state is a unity of contradictory class interests, involving struggles for dominance by different fractions of capital, changing alliances, and altering balances of power between contending interests. The current alliance between big capital and a certain group in the state does not mean that conflicts within both state and National Party have ceased. Indeed, there continues to be a fierce struggle for power between the wing of state power represented by Treurnicht, and that represented by Botha and his generals. It is therefore not surprising that Minister of Education Viljoen trod very

carefully when the report was published attempting not to convert the recommendations into a terrain of struggle between contending interests within the state.

As Viljoen notes elsewhere, nothing in the report actually contradicts the principle of segregated education, and some of the recommendations and all of the principles have in fact been accepted by government. (9) The apparent rejection of the report by government immediately after its release must be seen in a context where the Botha faction is not fully assured of its dominance in all the state apparatuses, and in the light of what is actually happening within educational restructuring.

To all intents and purposes, many aspects of the report are already being implemented. In the statement mentioned above, (10), Viljoen said that steps were being taken to create the South African Council of Education which the report suggests should advise the Ministry of Education. Moreover, there is evidence that schools in Soweto are being transformed in the manner recommended by the report: capital is playing a large part in the provision of vocational education, and in many schools plans are under way for converting them into technical and commercial high schools. (11) Decentralisation of powers to regional bodies dealing with salaries and appointments is also taking place, and negotiations for the establishment of a statutory teachers' negotiating body are under way.

The HSRC report is thus linked into the interests of the ruling alliance, and although its recommendations were formally rejected, some are already being implemented. But it should be recalled that the inquiry was set up in the midst of the 1980 education crisis, when school boycotts spread to both large and small towns. To argue that educational restructuring is simply a response to technological changes, or to changes within the ruling class, is to neglect the intense struggles which gave rise to the restructuring progamme. This involved struggle and organisation by workers in the form of strikes, stay aways, strong union organisation, and by students in the uprisings of 1976 and 1980. There can be no understanding of the dynamics at work here without an understanding of the way in which processrs are structured and effected by the actions of both the working and popular classes. To some extent, then, the HSRC report must be seen as a response to the demands put forward in struggle. (12)

However, the HSRC recommendations attempt to come to terms with these demands within the context of a capitalist and

racist division of labour - and thereby co-opts and transforms the demands within its own frame of reference.

Priorities and Financing of Education

As mentioned above, there is an extremely close connection between the recommendations of the HSRC, and interests of a more explicitly monopoly capitalist origin. To see this, a comparison between the de Lange Commission and SYNCOM, a 'think tank' for capital which has done work for General Mining and on subjects involving 'constitutional models for change in South Africa', is of value. This comparison covers priorities and financing, and the structure and content of education.

For de Lange, 'the priorities (of education) should be determined in the context of the current and expected manpower needs of the country'.(p 13)

> Seen from a socio-economic point of view, it is recognised that the demand for education, explicitly or implicitly formulated by individuals or groups does not always take practical realities into consideration. In the RSA all population groups are to a greater or lesser degree guilty of having unrealistic expectations of education, with the result that to a large extent the present system ....has not been able to succeed in creating harmony between the human material it produces and society's manpower needs (p 71 - emphases added).

For SYNCOM, the education system must be 'linked to the realities of future society and the demands of economic progress'. (13) Education has been 'irrelevant in promoting development and stifles, rather than stimulates, entrepreneurship, the lifeblood of free societies'. Moreover, 'black demands for a massive input of money to achieve white-type education and facilities for their children are economically unrealistic and will serve neither society nor the black community in the best possible way'.

While the HSRC is undoubtedly far more euphemistic than SYNCOM, and masks its intentions more carefully, for both the priority is maintaining economic growth in its present form.

This highlights the unproblematic and technical way in which the HSRC report treats both the economic development of the country and the development of the education system. Individuals are regarded as factors of production in an

education system whose 'natural' purpose is meeting the manpower needs of capital which, in turn, are defined as the needs of both pupils and workers. Phrases such as 'realistic' and 'normal' abound in the report; these all appear to relate to an analysis which sees South African economic development as neutral and conflict-free. From the report it would appear that the investigation was instigated, not in the context of a crisis for the state and capital, but because of 'disharmonisation' between the educational structure and the manpower needs of society. Disharmonisation is reflected in 'drop-out' rates from schools and the quantitative differences between South Africa's 'distinct' education system. The solution put forward to the problem of disharmonisation is a technical one, not a political one; the provision of an education of 'equal quality' for all.

Education of equal quality means simply equal but separate education, with equal resources to be spent on the different parts of the education system. One is urged to be 'realistic' about the state's financial contribution. There is to be parity of expenditure, but 'it is inevitable that realistic norms be set to determine the financial needs in respect of provision of education' (p 72). These norms are never spelt out, but it is assumed that they are the norms of manpower development.

What is recommended in terms of financing of education is that state resources be shifted to the first 6 years of a child's schooling, which should be 'equal and compulsory' for all. Thereafter, if the pupil continues through to secondary (formal) education, s/he should be financed by the 'individual and the community to supplement the state's contribution', is by his/her parents. If the pupil on the other hand proceeds to vocational education, this will be largely the financial responsibility of capital. What this, in effect means, is that wealthier communities will be able to afford and therefore have access to largely unsubsidised secondary schooling, while the children of the working classes will be channelled into technical and vocational education (heavily subsidised by capital).

The reduction in the length of formal education implied in the recommendations for the majority of pupils, and their channelling into technical education, suggests a shift in the criteria of differentiation and selection rather than an end to differentiation. (14) Thus a meritocratic education is envisaged whereby selection takes place according to social class rather than race, and is legitimated by an ideology of 'parity for all' and 'equality of opportunity'.

In this regard, it is important to note that amongst the values identified by SYNCOM is 'the ability to cope with failure and to learn from it'. Failure, as in all meritocracies, must be seen to lie with the individual and not outside of him/her. The individual must learn to cope with failure, not learn to change the social circumstances that produce it!

4 Structure and Content of Education

A highly-differentiated, vocationally oriented education structure is envisaged by both the HSRC and SYNCOM. South Africa's needs for a differentiated system of education is supposedly derived from 'scientific research':

> The integrated curriculum....is regarded in many countries as the ideal educational model. However, nowhere is it possible to obtain confirmation that integrated curricula are the answer. It is evident from the research that attention should be given to the establishment of a national policy for differentiated curricula. This differentiation will differ considerably from the current system of differentiation (p 41).

A note regarding differentiated education is useful here:

> There appears to be an assumption that the class structure is immutable, and this assumption is fuelled by the vicious cycle effect of providing an education which trains people according to their 'opportunities in life'... (It) takes as given the problematic notion that working class children, or black children, or minority group children, have restricted futures. By accepting this without question, and providing a limited education to match the restricted future, differential education ensures the continuation of the cycle. Bantu Education is par excellence an example of this. But it is worth noting that the removal of (this) education does not imply equality ....if it is not accompanied by the removal of differential socio-economic conditions and values... ie you can't have equality...without a good deal of equality of condition. (15)

To compensate for this inequality of condition, the commission predictably did not address itself to broader inequalities - that was not its mandate, and it would be petty to quibble over this. Rather, it proposes a form of pre-basic education (pre-primary), which is to prepare kids

for school. The entire restructured education system is also designed to have various other compensatory programmes. But these programmes can nevertheless not begin to deal meaningfully with wider socio-economic inequalities. As recent research in England, for example, has shown, 'education cannot compensate for society'. (16)

Both SYNCOM and HSRC recommend a 3-phase formal education structure, the end of the first phase leading to either non-formal education or academic education. The basic phase is to last for 6 years while the post-basis (non-formal or academic) is to last for another 3 years. Streaming at all levels is to ensure that there is no 'wastage'. The basic phase is to be free and compulsory. The Commission has some nice semantics regarding compulsory education: education is to be free and compulsory for the first 6 years; thereafter the pupil must be engaged in compulsory learning but not necessarily 'education' for another 3 years. In other words, students can be streamed into technical education from the age of 12.

HSRC and SYNCOM also conceive of the school as a Community Learning Centre (CLC). Says de Lange, 'our redefinition of a school: it will be a community learning centre which will open up its facilities after hours for the community'. (17) And, at the heart of SYNCOM's new education system, reports The Star newspaper, is the Community Learning Centre, serving 4 target groups. These involve: headstart (compensatory) programmes, 10 years compulsory schooling, ongoing educational programmes, and socio-cultural programmes for the community.

These are all to take place within the CLC to 'guarantee maximum use of a facility 7 days a week instead of the present uneconomic 7 hours a day, 5 days a week'.

Here we see a rationalisation of the school facilities in a way in which the student will appear to have 'a lot more education', a 'greater number of choices'. However, the number of choices, and the increase in the amount of education available should not blind us to the fact that for the worker this does not amount to democratisation. The manual worker can now become a skilled worker, but he still does not have control of the work process, and his education does not put him in a general condition to plan and make decisions. (18)

An indication of the content of this type of education is to be found in the broad specifications given by SYNCOM that

> There will have to be a shift away from communicating what there is to know in the expectation of its being relevant at some future date, towards learning the means of finding out what one wants to know when the need arises. This means learning 'informatics' - how to learn, unlearn and relearn and how to use the information process.

In other words, education is to make the worker a better worker by making him/her more adaptable. Technical education is to prepare the worker for production with skills that can be flexible and built on. As a teacher of on-the-job training described this kind of education,

> You've got the flexibility to work for 500 different bosses: but this education ties you to the firm, and it does it in such a way that you can never escape. In a sense, you become a better slave. The worst, though, is that because they've given you a little more knowledge, you're that much higher up than the next man down - so you're also a more loyal slave. (19)

There is thus a split into formal and non-formal education, academic and technical education. Non-formal education appears to be directed towards providing cheap adult education, while technical education appears to be designed to produce the engineers, technicians and supervisors which seem to be in such short supply (20). It is clear that if working class education is being upgraded to technical education, then the contribution of capital in the funding of that education will determine, to a large degree, the content of that education. The level of 'individual' contribution to the formal structure for academic education in the post-basic phase will also be an important determinant in ensuring that formal education will be open only to certain social classes.

5 Education as an Agent of Social Change

De Lange, in various public statements, has asserted that 'the present system of education is far too academic', and that 'it is important to realise that formal schooling is not necessarily the effective instrument for bringing about social change'. He has also claimed that the greatest misconception to be overcome is that kids learn best through compulsory schooling, but that they learn best on-the-job. Therefore, it is argued, 'non-formal education should become an indispensable part of the planned provision of education in South Africa'. Interestingly, he places

South Africa in the same category as newly-independent countries, arguing that experience here has proven that 'formal education slows down economic emancipation and political development' (p 19).

SYNCOM similarly argues that 'formal education has not narrowed the income between rich and poor as planners indicated', that it is, in fact, 'irrelevant to development, that more than half all new jobs in future will have to be in the informal sector....This will require totally new education targets and ways of continually learning outside a formal school environment'.

Thus, both the HSRC report and SYNCOM argue for a highly-differentiated system of education in which non-formal (technical and vocational) education will play at least as important a part as formal education - especially 'for blacks, coloureds and Indians' who are the target group to be trained for places in the economy created by a changed division of labour and where there is a 'shortage'.

It is an essential tenet of liberal thought that education will lead to social change. In South Africa liberal educationists such as Hoernle and Malherbe have argued that education, through providing skills and knowledge (which in itself is assumed to banish ignorance and prejudice) has an egalitarian, liberalising effect. In the 1950s and early 1960s, modernising developing strategies in Africa also placed educational provision at the centre of development programmes. By the mid-1960s, however, in the light of endemic underdevelopment and continued political instability, the relationship between education and social change came to be questioned.

For some analysts formal education is now seen to be a manipulative instrument for perpetuating class or racial dominance since it selects and trains an indigenous class of collaborators. Education, rather than the answer to development, is now placed at the centre of an explanation for dependency and underdevelopment. (21)

In the Latin American context, Ivan Illich (22) argued that the solution lay in the 'deschooling of society'; that schools are the source of all social ills and that children should, because they can, learn through experiencing the world at an early age. Thus, by linking education with active work, education will be an active, liberatory process.

If we follow Illich, (whose criticism of capitalism amounts to a critique of consumerism and passivity rather than its

class relations and resultant inequalities, hierarchy and alienated work), children will be channelled into a capitalist work-environment without the intermediate schooling process. For Illich it is not the work-environment and lack of control that is at issue here - it is the schooling. If the problem is social inequality, hierarchy and a capitalist division of labour, then Illich's solution is no solution at all. The de-schooling of society will address inequality even less than the schooling of society. Linking education with active work in the capitalist context becomes a surer means to subordination.

It is interesting to note that de Lange adopts Illich's argument that children learn best on the job (not an entirely incorrect or even undesirable option within changed social relations) to justify their early extrusion from school into restricting, vocational, on-the-job training. It is clear that de Lange is co-opting an argument from a radical education tradition, though not a revolutionary one, for his own very different purposes. The bankruptcy of Illich's proposals within a capitalist society is thus seen when we see the consequences of it here.

It is also important to note the earlier argument that 'education cannot compensate for society'. In this context, de Lange argues by a strange sleight of hand that while formal education will not lead to social change, technical education is 'the key to a better life, the gateway to more money and the power exercised by whites' (23) for blacks. While the liberal illusion that educational change on its own is able to lead to social change has long since been discredited, the report uses a part of this argument and distorts it to justify further differentiation. For the HSRC Commission, formal education will not lead to social change; technical education, however, will!

As mentioned earlier, de Lange must be seen in the same light as the reports of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions - a response to the crisis of accumulation of capital and intensified class struggle, designed to win worker consent with the appearance of reform but simultaneously rationalising control and dividing workers.

We have seen how technical education can be introduced on a large scale and how this can appear to be providing both more and better education while at the same time streamlining the operation of the education system. This will ensure that pupils leave school very early (when seen in the context of the leadership of resistance in schools being drawn from the older age group, this can also be viewed as a

tactic for pre-empting such resistance); it will also ensure that social selection takes place not on the overt basis of race, but on the basis of 'wealth' and 'merit' - since all education, albeit different kinds of education, will be 'of equal quality'.

It can also be noted that:

(a) equal funding and parity of facilities alone will not create either an equal or a non-racial education system;

(b) changes in the education structure alone, without corresponding changes on the factory floor, are hardly 'revolutionary';

(c) 'politics' is not blocking 'reform', in the sense understood by the HSRC commissioners: reform itself is political in the educational as much as in any other sphere.

But we also need to look a little more closely at technical education: the education that will provide workers with the technical competence, in some cases, but not the tools for understanding and controlling the social forces which determine their lives; workers will thus be rendered more dependent on the factory or firm as a whole, and therefore on capital. They will be technically subordinated to the 'uniform motion of the instruments of labour'. To grasp this notion, it is necessary to say something about the division between mental and manual labour.

6 The Division of Labour

The division between mental and manual labour makes its first appearance with the emergence of private property. As a consequence of the alienation of the direct producer from his/her product, there occurs the concentration of intellectual activity at one end of industry, and the purely practical activity of the workers at the other. This is a separation between theory and practice which is reflected in divisions between classes, and within education in class society. Marx, quoting William Thompson in Capital, writes

> The man of knowledge and the productive labourer come to be widely divided from each other and knowledge, instead of remaining the handmaid of labour in the hands of the labourer to increase his productive powers... has almost everywhere arrayed itself against labour... systematically deluding them and leading

> them (the labourers) astray in order to render their muscular powers entirely mechanical and obedient. (24)

This separation of the intellectual powers from manual labour is finally completed by modern industry. The workmen becomes a 'living appendage of the machine'. Such work in which s/he is engaged, 'does away with the many-sided play of the muscles, and confiscates every atom of freedom, both in body and intellectual activity'. Work is organised and fragmented in such a way that the worker loses all control over the production process.

Increasingly, with the emergence of monopoly capital, there has developed a class of engineers, scientists, technicians and supervisory workers whose job it is to co-ordinate work (mental labour) and to control workers. Even here, though, as Bowles and Gintis write,

> The compartmentalisation of white-collar skills (is) an essential aspect of capitalist 'divide and rule' strategy for the control of the labour force. Even in well-paid and high-status jobs the worker's discretion and participation is increasingly limited. (25)

The worker is thus kept ignorant of the process of production and social relations are mystified for him/her. S/he is kept ignorant of the political, economic and social forces that determine the organisation of production and life itself. This is a product of the fragmentation and specialisation of jobs, and the hierarchical division of labour in capitalist society.

An educational strategy that aims to overcome this division, that attempts to restore the physical, cultural, intellectual and spiritual integrity of the worker must then be one that restores to the worker the knowledge and power of decision-making and control. Such an education must combine mental and manual labour, must embrace both technical education, an education to understand the process of production, and an education which will enable the worker to understand social relations. The aim of 'polytechnic' education must be the fully-rounded, politically conscious individual able to take control of his/her life and work.

Technical education, it seems, is a bastardisation of this. Within capitalist social relations, technical education provides skills of a kind that separate the tasks of conception and execution, thus furthering the mental/manual division of labour which reduces the worker to 'an appendage

of the machine'. It is the kind of education likely to leave the worker more vulnerable than before. Technical change is a constant feature of capitalist development. Equipped with specific skills the worker can be made redundant in the case of technical change and replacement.

As long as technical education is part of the maintenance of capitalist social relations, it can do little more than further degrade the worker.

7 Democracy and Control in Education

There is one further aspect to consider, and that is the question of educational management which, says the HSRC report, can be regarded as 'the philosophy and practice of decision making, while effective teaching and learning are the ultimate aim of educational management' (p 87). As such, a 'total curriculum strategy' is necessary (p 41).

A 3-tier system of educational management with strong, 'built-in structures and procedures for participation, consultation and negotiation at each level, ensuring that all the people and interests concerned have a 'say' and can influence both educational policy and practice' appears to embody the demands of students in their struggle for democratic education. A relatively decentralised structure of education is proposed with one ministry of education served by a South African Council of Education to provide broad national policy. The second level is based on regional educational authorities which would be served by different bodies for curriculum development and examinations, adult and non-formal education and education planning. The third level is based on the local school district 'that could make up units of management smaller than the "region" or "sub-region";...' Here key roles are to be played by principals and circuit inspectors in reform.

Here more than anywhere else, the nature of the report is exposed. Demands by students for a democratic education have been linked to the demand for a democratic society. In the present context, within the present dictates of power and control, the SACE can only play the role of a President's Council, a single Ministry of Education can only involve the streamlining of operations, the central role of principals and circuit inspectors can only imply continued hierarchical control.

The language of the modern corporation is used throughout the HSRC report, and provision for an 'effective system of education management' is considered one of the most

important preconditions for the restructuring of education.

The monopoly stage of capitalism is characterised by an immense growth in the scale of management operations - the functions of management are broadened in the modern corporation in such a way that different functional departments concentrate specific aspects of the management function in them. The proliferation of administrative units and subdivisions within the entire corporation involves the reorganisation of management into 'a complex of staff organisations' which 'represents the dismemberment of the functions of the enterprise head'. The purpose of this is control, which is an essential feature of management throughout its history.

When we look at the proposed education management structure we see the same kind of proliferation of planning and administrative bodies which essentially concentrate in themselves functions previously undertaken and performed by the individual teacher or school, viz those of decision-making and control. This involves the setting up of new bodies for 'curriculating'; the creation of 'curriculum specialists'; the creation of a research body, the results of which are to be passed on to 'curriculum planners'; the establishment of bodies to co-ordinate curriculum design; evaluation and development 'with related services such as evaluation, examinations, certification and educational technology'. This will in turn lead to the creation of subsections for examination and certificating bodies, educational technology units, curriculum packages, etc.

Some of the demands for which students have laid down their lives have been conceded in the proposals of the HSRC report - parity in expenditure, one national education system. But these have been proposed by the de Lange Commission in such a way that ultimate control is maintained in the interests of capital. As such, any restructured education system will involve formal equality - but continued separation; it will be controlled from above rather than below; and it will serve the needs of the monopoly sector of the capitalist economy, rather than the interests of the working class.

Notes

(1) This article was written very hastily and there have already been many useful comments and criticisms. I would appreciate more feedback to clarify the issues.

(2) An interesting analysis of some of these aspects is to be found in Peter Buckland's paper. "The HSRC investigation: another brick in the wall?", presented at Cape Town, December 1981.

(3) Rand Daily Mail, 21.12.81.

(4) Rand Daily Mail, 30.06.81.

(5) Charles Meth, "Shortages of skilled labour power and capital reconstruction in South Africa", African Studies Institute seminar. University of the Witwatersrand, October 1981, pg 1.

(6) Sunday Tribune, 31.12.81.

(7) Sunday Tribune, 13.12.81.

(8) Dan O'Meara, "'Muldergate', the politics of Afrikaner Nationalism and the crisis of the capitalist state in South Africa", Dar es Salaam, 1980.

(9) The Star, 25.11.81.

(10) The Star, 25.11.81.

(11) In conversation with Soweto teachers.

(12) Buckland emphasizes this point too.

(13) The Star, 18.11.81.

(14) Athar Hussain develops this in "The economy and the educational system in capitalist societies", in Dale, Esland, Fergusson & MacDonald (eds) Education and the state: schooling and national interests, Open University Books, 1981.

(15) Work in Progress, 14, 1980.

(16) B Bernstein in Rubinstein & Stoneman (eds) Education for Democracy Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970.

(17) The Star, 11.12.81.

(18) Gramsci on education.

(19) A teacher who would prefer to remain unnamed.

(20) Thanks fo Peter Kallaway for pointing out this distinction.

(21) Marshall Murphree, "Education, development and change", SAIRR, 1976, deals with this in greater detail.

(22) Ivan Illich Deschooling Society, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1971.

(23) The Star, 17.11.81.

(24) See Capital, Volume 1, Chapter 14, Sections 3 and 5 for a more detailed analysis.

(25) Bowles and Gintis, Schooling in capitalist America, RKP, 1976.

'A PROGRAMME TO ATTAIN EQUAL QUALITY FOR ALL INHABITANTS': SOME COMMENTS

Owen van den Berg

Different things to different people

The debate about "educational equality", "equality of educational opportunity", "education of equal quality", or any other permutations of the concept has tended to flounder because of the lack of a shared understanding amongst those involved in the debate about the meaning of the concept. Worse, still, is the tendency for "equality" to be deemed as self-explanatory, an obvious thing, as on bumper-stickers. JR Lucas reminds us, however, that "Opportunity, like Equality, is a treacherous concept, and Equality of Opportunity doubly so". (1)

Educational equality in South Africa

The concept has no long history in South Africa. The Report of the Welsh committee on Native Education, an engagingly frank report if there ever was one, said

> From the evidence before the Committee it seems clear that there still exists opposition to the education of the Native on the grounds that (a) it makes him lazy and unfit for manual work; (b) it makes him 'cheeky' and less docile as a servant; and (c) it estranges him from his own people and often leads him to despise his own culture. Those who bring forward such criticisms in some cases add that it is not to education as such that they object, but to the wrong (present) type of education ... the aim that most of such critics have at the back of their minds is that we must give the Native an education which will keep him in his place. What that 'place' actually is, was not clearly formulated by anyone... Some seem to think of 'place' in the geographic sense ... others seem to think of 'place' in terms of status. (2)

Dr Verwoerd, the doyen of apartheid, had no problems with this treacherous concept : it was a Bad Thing to be avoided at all costs. "When I have control of Native Education", said he, "I will reform it so that Natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is

not for them." Government policy under Verwoerd and subsequently was clearly and proudly aimed at education that was both separate and unequal.

The brief given to the HSRC Investigation seemed to indicate a significant move away from this position to one of separate and equal education, for the Prime Minister requested the HSRC to come up with "a programme for making available education of the same quality for all population groups." He also acknowledged that people had the right to object if educational facilities reflected policies of inequality based on racial classification, for he stated - if the English press is to be believed - that

> The government accepts that justifiable grievances and a backlog regarding the provision of education exist in the coloured community. I shall make it my personal task to ensure that these grievances and the eradication of the backlog be given priority treatment. (3)

The debate on equality

The thrust towards educational equality has occurred on three major fronts: in Western Europe, where it is associated with the movement towards the comprehensivization of schooling; behind the Iron Curtain, where the various states have consistently declared themselves in favour of equality of all kinds; and in the USA, where the issue arose out of the Civil Rights movement and attempts to destroy racial segregation.

The question that arose, perhaps surprisingly slowly, was, in what sense are all men - or, rather, persons - deemed to be "equal", so that they may rightfully expect "equality" in education? Lucas says, rather wryly, that

> To speak of equality in education is rather like speaking of equality in love. Young men sometimes wax indignant about the unfairness of their lot, and say there ought to be arrangements whereby the available girls should be shared out equally, so that everyone should get his whack; or, more sophisticatedly, that the most desirable girls should be made to bestow their favours on egalitarian principles, so that the total female talent be fairly distributed and nobody be deprived of his rightful need of femininity. (4)

The idea that all men are created equal is, however,

dismissed by Eysenck as "politically impossible, philosophically meaningless, and biologically absurd". (5) Lucas is, again, wry when he says that "... if we ... say that all men are equal in respect of their humanity, it is easy to forget that this is a mere tautology, misleadingly expressed ..." (6) He demonstrates the danger of the argument by substituting "numbers" for "men", in the equation :

> All numbers are numbers.
> Therefore all numbers are equal in respect of numberhood.
> Therefore all numbers are equal (7)

On the other hand, Shylock has a point when he says :

> I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions, fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that. (8)

The argument for educational equality does rest on a particular understanding of ways in which all persons are equal, are entitled to certain residual rights : "It is difficult to fight equality", says Lucas, for "Egalitarianism is not so much a doctrine as a temper of mind". (9) It has also strong Christian buttressing - perhaps surprisingly in a country where the Government claims to be Christian while it discriminates - maybe most tellingly epitomised by a verse never quoted by those seeking theological justification for apartheid, Galatians 3:28, "So there is no difference between Jews and Gentiles, between slaves and free men, between men and women; you are all one in union with Christ Jesus".

Given this "equality", all persons are entitled to an equal allocation of whatever it is that is to be allocated, unless there are factors that legitimately allow for an unequal allocation of resources. Each person, says Mary Warnock, "should be treated as having a right, according to the rule ... each gets what the rule allows". (10) - that is, equality-in-the-light-of-justice, or what the De Lange Report entitles "distributive justice".

On this basis, the formulation of the rule becomes crucial. In educational terms, there are legitimate reasons for educational differentiation just as there are illegitimate reasons for such differentiation. Entwistle provides the following checklist :

> ... equality of educational opportunity implies that no-one should be prevented through social or economic impediment from getting the best possible schooling from which he can benefit. Irrelevant matters to do with social class, economic status, nationality, sex, ethnic origin, religious affiliation, race or geographical location should have no bearing upon access to schooling ... demonstrable differences in intelligence, achievement, talent, interests or tastes may justify differential educational provision. Everything hinges on this distinction between differences which are educationally significant and those which are educationally irrelevant. (11)

To sum this up, educational diversity based on educationally irrelevant factors is discrimination; educational diversity based on educationally valid factors is differentiation. Education may and must differentiate; education may not discriminate. And that is the danger of "equal education": it may ignore the need for differentiation because of the slogan of "equality", and so may discriminate by seeking to treat all in the same way. Conversely, we have a Government which discriminates while it claims to be differentiating. Everything hinges on the distinction between differences which are educationally significant and those which are educationally irrelevant.

Particularly in the American experience, strategies for achieving educational equality went through various phases. The first was equality of access - that all persons should be allowed to enter educational institutions : compulsion was an important aspect of this approach, as was the idea of "free" education. This, however, revealed a rather primitive grasp of an economic concept - "free" education in the formal sense does not allow for the "costs" to the family of having the child at school and not at work. Equality of access was really based on what has come to be known as the "input" model of educational equality - that all educational institutions of a particular level or type of education should have basically equivalent facilities often represented in highly quantifiable terms. This strategy for achieving equality ignores the variable "inputs" to the school by each child; what is more, says Coleman, "equality defined according to inputs is

inattentive to the effects of schooling which is the whole purpose of public schooling". (12)

The failure of the "input" model led, then, to an "output" or "effects" or "outcomes" model of educational equality, which recognised that the inputs of individuals are unequal, and that the school must correct or compensate for these deficits as people should not suffer educationally for factors beyond their control. Rawls termed this the "principle of redress" :

> ... undeserved inequalities call for redress, and since inequalities of birth and natural endowment are undeserved, these inequalities are somehow to be compensated for. (13)

This egalitarian argument tended to be linked to the "human capital" argument, which held that educational expansion constituted an investment that would result in economic growth via the creation of a better-educated, skilled and adaptable workforce. Attempts were made to calculate percentage returns achieved in terms of GNP on earlier investment in education; nobody postulated the reverse argument that it was only in circumstances of greater economic prosperity that countries could enjoy the opportunity of squandering more money on schools.

The difficulty with the "output model" is, as Entwistle points out, that

> the notion of equal results or benefits is very difficult to concretize educationally or socially. Equality of outcomes implies that in some sense people should become equal as a result of their schooling ... what would count as equal learning for the school population within a given society. (14)

One attempted solution was posited by Green, who argued that:

> It can be set down as a kind of definition that any society will have attained a condition of equal educational opportunity when firstly the range of the distribution of benefits and secondly their distribution within that range is approximately the same for each relevant social group within the student population ... not ... that everyone must reach the same level of attainment. It means only that the range of achievement and the distribution within that range should be about the same for each social group. (15)

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But, as Entwistle says, "From a humanist point of view it is not clear why vast inequalities between individuals within social groups should be more acceptable than similar inequalities between human beings across social groups. (16) It is really a matter of determining priorities when faced with two injustices.

If we return to the principle stated earlier, that each person "should be treated as having a right, according to the rule ... each gets what the rule allows" - equality as fairness - then we can argue that two groups deviate from the norm and have the right to an unequal portion of the education cake. First, just as hospitals are expected to devote much attention to the seriously ill, so we might accept that the "educationally deprived" have a right to extra attention, an assumption that spawned vast numbers of "compensatory" education programmes in the USA and elsewhere. Similarly, we could argue that those who display the greatest potential, ability, flair, etc have the right to unequal treatment - an argument that links conveniently with High Level Manpower arguments, as in Entwistle's statement that

> If economic and social efficiency is the objective, then it appears that the most able must be identified early and educated to the hilt of their potential, quite irrespective of their social origins. If the efficient operation of the social system requires the maintenance of inequalities of wealth, status and power, these privileges should be rewards for qualities and skills which are relevant to social efficiency ... Hence, equality of opportunity, requiring removal of hindrances to the development of individual talent, has to be engineered through the educational system. (17)

The failure of educational equality

The attempts to eradicate educational equality met with limited and ambiguous success, a consequence that prompted various responses. The first was to argue, as Coleman did, that schools are too weak an agency to put right the ills of society - "complete equality of opportunity can be reached only if all the divergent out-of-school influences vanish." (18) Schools cannot, then, compensate for society. Secondly, there was the view that educational equality was "not a meaningful term", but that "a proper formulation would use the term "reduction in inequality ... rather than equality". (19) In short, it began to be understood more clearly that inequality was multi-causal, and had been understood too narrowly.

This produced also a shift from a deficit model of the pupil to a pathology model of the school; the school, as an agent of the political establishment, was more likely to consolidate inequality and to attempt to legitimise it than the reverse :

> By giving individuals aspirations strictly tailored to their position in the social hierarchy, and by operating a selection procedure which, although apparently formally equitable, endorses real inequalities, schools help both to perpetuate and legitimise inequalities. By awarding allegedly impartial qualifications ... for socially conditioned attitudes which it treats as unequal "gifts", it transforms de facto inequalities into de jure ones and economic and social differences into distinctions of quality, and legitimates the transmission of the cultural heritage. (20)

In other words, it is pointless - so the argument goes - to tinker with educational systems or processes while leaving unchanged the society within which education operates. A belief that "better" schooling means a "better" society might result in participation in streamlining an educational system so that it more efficiently continues to "perpetuate and legitimise inequalities".

The De Lange Report and Education Equality

The De Lange Report basically accepts the definition of educational equality presented by Entwistle. Looking at the current educational dispensation in South Africa, it states that

> Some of the grounds on which 'differentiation' occurs for example ability, interest, aptitude and occupational orientation, are probably relevant and consequently meet the demand for justice insofar as they have a bearing on the nature and meaning of education and its requirements as a social practice. (5.3.2, p 209)

On the other hand, the Report continues,

> ... differentiation also rests purely on the basis of race or colour, which cannot be regarded as relevant for inequality of treatment. Examples of this are the treatment of different racial groups in a way that is strikingly unequal, for example in the distribution of education in terms of per capita expenditure,

> proportion of qualified teachers, quality and quantity of facilities such as buildings, equipment and sports facilities. A further example is where admission to educational institutions is regulated mainly on a racial basis... Differentiation based purely on difference of race and colour ... is ... contrary to the social and ethical demands for justice. (5.3.3, p 209)

The conclusion to which the Report comes, in 5.3.4, is that :

> the distribution of education will have to be organized in such a way that everyone will receive a rightful share, regardless of race, colour, socioeconomic context, ethnic context, religion, sex or geographical location. (p 209)

The Report recognizes also that unilaterally determined racial classification and the enforced segregation of schooling on the basis of that classification must result in educational inequality, for in speaking of Third level Management structures it states that :

> In the setting up of school districts the wishes of parents, teachers and committee should be considered and the greatest possible weight given to the principle and practice of 'free association' rather than to predetermined 'cultural identities' established from above. (p 201)

It also concedes the need for "The granting of the right to Councils of autonomous educational institutions in higher education to decide who should be admitted as students", (p 216) and yet retreats from the logic of its own arguments by not stating that racially segregated schooling is inherently unequal, for it states support for "the following approach as a point of departure : the reduction and elimination of demonstrable inequality in the provision of education available to members of the different population groups" (p 211, emphasis added). We seem to be back to the point of separate but equal education.

In fact, the Report seems far more concerned to make proposals aimed at producing the necessary manpower than at achieving educational equality. Speaking of the relationship between education and manpower, the Report warns of the dangers of :

> an incorrect understanding of the relationship between education and economics and an over-evaluation of the

> meaning of education for the masses. Investment in education can only show dividends if it can guarantee that the manpower potential of a country is applied productively in its development. If it cannot do so, then at worst investment in education can stand in opposition to instead of in support of economic development. (p 20, emphasis added)

The Report also treats us to vague generalities such as the "inadequate harmonization" between education and the economy, and "the social needs of a country". It also argues that "the aim of development" is "provision of skilled manpower with the value system, insight and skills necessary to contribute to the develolment of the country". (p 32) A similarly narrow view emerges in the great desire to promote "career orientated" education at the expense of what is vaguely dismissed as "the 'academic' value system" operating in education.

A frequently voiced interpretation of the history of South African education is that the schooling provided for those classified other than white is a process overwhelmingly aimed at producing workers with the appropriate job skills and attitudes. That is a schooling system designed to socialize them into acceptance of their lot - unless, of course, "gaps" exist which cannot be filled by whites. The Report betrays this preoccupation in the statement that "Since the contribution that whites can make would seem already to have been utilized to a large extent, that of the non-white groups will necessarily have to increase rapidly". (p 23)

The Report makes it quite clear that "Systems of education are a part of the social, economic and political structure of a country. Acceptance by, and the involvement of, the "user" are essential." (p 27) Yet it fails to recognize that any attempt to improve "non-white" education for manpower reasons, or to step up significantly the role of "career-orientated" education within a racially segregated school system in which the "white" school sector remains largely "academic", is certain to be rejected by anderskleuriges as merely another ploy to "educate" them only in so far as their labour is required. The issue ultimately is not a matter of equality at all, but a matter of legitimacy - of the bona fides of the State. This is, in fact, chillingly recognized in the last paragraph of Chapter 3 of the Report:

> Finally there appear to be serious problems with regard to the acceptability of educational practice

> in the RSA. This acceptability is related to two factors : in the first place, the acceptance by the 'users' of the authority responsible for the establishment of the education system; and in the second place the involvement of the 'users' in decision-making processes . (p 90)

A population that is confident that its government firmly intends to do the best it can for all the people will tolerate inequality in education and will appreciate the financial and other constraints that exist. Schools have not been burnt down solely becuase they are inferior, but because they are considered to be physical - one cannot always say "concrete" - manifestations of a government's illegitimate intentions. So people will endure educational inequality if they are convinced of a government's good intentions; on the other hand, this is why education has to be understood as essentially political, and why educational reforms by themselves will not be sufficient. Equal education is a fiction in an unequal society : schooling - any brand of schooling - will always be unacceptable to the majority if it occurs within an economic, social and political framework that is unacceptable to the majority.

The equality debate - implications for South Africa

1 We must warn again against the temptation to borrow indiscriminately from comparative data. Because an "input" model of equality is not a sufficient model in the USA does not mean that equality of facilities is not to be aimed at in South Africa - it is simply to say that equality of input is not enough.

2 Where educational institutions have to a significant extent become flashpoints within a society in conflict, education must not be left with a crisis of confidence or a crisis of expectation that education itself cannot meet. Dalin, in his book Limits to Educational Change, makes precisely this point :

> It is mainly in promising equal opportunity that education has failed to come up to expectation. The result has been disappointment and frustration for those within the educational system as well as for those outside the system who had high hopes of what might be achieved. Caught in this dilemma were educators who never promised the sure delivery, but were left accountable at the end. (21)

To accuse an educational inquiry of "going beyond its brief"

by pointing out to government that education cannot compensate for society is to misunderstand the essentially political nature of educational provision.

3 Programmes for educational equality in South Africa must not be based on the "white model", ie trying to replicate for all persons what has been made available in the most advantaged educational sectors. South Africa cannot afford this; nor should the financial implications of extrapolating the white model be allowed to be used as excuses for policies of gradualism. Too much has been spent on "white" education with too little effect; a less costly and more effective approach is essential. Also, "models", suggest grand designs : flexibility is going to be crucial.

4 Any programme for equalising educational provision has, however, to face the problem of the utilisation of existing high-cost facilities, which fall almost exclusively in white group areas. Decisions that all future buildings, for instance, will have to be less costly might be seen as an attempt to perpetuate inequality should current high-cost institutions remain segregated for whites. If desegregated an inevitable consequence will be the emotive issue of "busing", the onus on travel falling on the disadvantaged. What is more, a plan that provides moderate cost buildings for all communities, leaving it to them to provide additional buildings, equipment and staff makes it easy for advantaged communities to perpetuate their privilege irrespective of the commitment of disadvantaged communities to education.

5 Desires for educational equality tend to be based on the assumption that schooling is a "good" and that therefore more schooling would be better. Schooling and education tend to be equated without alternative approaches to education being explored adequately. Tied to this is the question of legitimacy, in that the majority of the population might well be very suspicious of attempts to provide education in a variety of ways of which the school would only be one.

6 Crucial also in the reduction of educational inequality will be the formulation of curricula that are not guilty of ideological domination by one group. How, for instance, does one equalise education when the bulk of the population study three languages, and study their own subjects through the medium of a language other than their mother tongue? Would a system of schools segregated on the basis of language not also be merely the extension of segregation by other means? As far as subjects other than languages are concerned, any

move towards equality would have to allow for truly representative curriculum development, perhaps best achieved via the core-plus-options approach. It is here that a balance between centralisation and decentralisation in education would be of considerable value.

7 The question of "standards" in the construction of equal education is also one subject to the risks of ideological domination by one group and one raising the danger of a perpetuation of inequality by means of policies of gradualism based upon white-determined "standards". Given the need for more flexible educational provision, the issue of more flexible accreditation procedures becomes crucial. To cite one example, if the equalisation of education involves having available sufficient adequately trained and/or qualified teachers, this requires a massive programme of teacher upgrading. Do practising teachers then have to undergo precisely the same programmes as beginning teachers, for instance in the case of bilingualism requirements? Much of what is defended as "maintaining standards" in the advantaged sectors of education is already merely a trivialisation of knowledge, a manipulation of results and the promotion of ritual learning in schools - in fact, nothing but the bastardisation of standards in the name of standards.

8 Another assumption that needs to be laid finally to rest is the idea that education can be separate but equal, especially as this seems to be the intention in the Prime Minister's brief to the HSRC that it devise a "programme for making available education of the same quality for all population groups". The famous US Supreme Court decision of 1954 stated in fact that involuntary segregation in public education was inherently unequal. Two crucial factors emerge : first, that if people are allowed - in a new educational dispensation - to operate "closed" schools, whether for "ethnic" or religious or other reasons, then there should also be sufficient "open" schools to allow for a genuine choice. Secondly, the racial classification of people and their resultant allocation to certain schools will have to be recognised as involuntary and as therefore essentially discriminatory.

9 Any programme devised to reduce educational inequality is of necessity going to have to develop adult and non-formal educational facilities and opportunities to a significantly greater extent than in the past, where the government's attitude to non-formal education has been one of deep suspicion. Obviously, strategies for equalising education cannot be confined to persons of "school-going age": massive

programmes of adult education are required. Yet as Professor Clive Millar of UCT stated in his inaugural lecture: "Few countries have developed an ecology less conducive than ours to the development of opportunities for adult education". (22)

10 Another danger in determining educational policies aimed at reducing educational inequality is that a new educational dispensation may be tied very closely to manpower requirements. Attempts to create technical schooling to a far greater extent than at present may turn out to be a strategy for discrimination by other means: the degree to which it avoids this risk will depend upon the selection procedures for entrance to such schools and the assumptions upon which these procedures are based. Also, the whole debate concerning the correlation between schooling and manpower rests upon a paradigm of "development" that cannot merely be taken for granted.

11 Inequality is multi-causal; education is essentially political. Therefore "A purely educational response to the initial problem is unlikely to be successful. Educational under-achievement is seen to be merely one manifestation of a number of social and economic disparities experienced by disadvantaged groups". (23) The resolution of problems of educational inequality requires policies extending far beyond education; acceptance of an educational dispensation is also dependent upon its being seen to operate within a social, economic and political context that is acceptable. You cannot "normalize" education in an abnormal society and expect the "clients" to be satisfied.

Notes

(1) JR Lucas "Equality in Education", in B Wilson (ed), Education, Equality & Society, London, Allen & Unwin, 1975, p 39.

(2) B Rose & R Tunner (eds), Documents in South African Education, Johannesburg, Ad Donker, 1975, pp 231-2.

(3) The Cape Times, 6.5.1980, emphasis added.

(4) Wilson, op.cit, p 39.

(5) HJ Eysenck "Equality and Education : Fact & Fiction", Oxford Review of Education, Vol 1, 1975, p 51.

(6) Wilson, op.cit, pp 43-4.

(7) Ibid, pp 44.

(8) The Merchant of Venice, Act 3, Scene 1.

(9) Wilson, op.cit, p 60.

(10) M Warnock "The Concept of Equality of Education", Oxford Review of Education, Vol 1, 1975, p 3.

(11) H Entwistle Class, Culture & Education, London, Methuen, 1978, p 8.

(12) J Coleman "What is Meant by 'an Equal Educational Opportunity'?", Oxford Review of Education, Vol 1, 1975, p 28.

(13) vide Entwistle, op.cit, p 13.

(14) ibid, pp 13-14.

(15) vide Entwistle, op.cit, pp 15-16.

(16) ibid, pp 16-17.

(17) ibid, pp 6-7.

(18) J Coleman "The Concept of Equality of Educational Opportunity", Harvard Educational Review, Vol 38, No 1, Winter, 1968, pp 21-22.

(19) Coleman "What is meant by 'an Equal Educational Opportunity'?", pp 27-29.

(20) P Bourdieu "The School as a conservative force", in J Eggleston (ed), Contemporary Research in the Sociology of Education, London, Methuen, 1974, p 42.

(21) P Dalin Limits to Educational Change, London, MacMillan, 1978, p 3.

(22) CJ Millar Adult Education : Action & Theory, University of Cape Town Inaugural Lecture New Series No 60, 28th August 1979, p 5.

(23) P Wilby "Education & Equality", New Statesman, 16.9.77. p 360.

TECHNICISM AND DE LANGE: RELECTIONS ON THE PROCESS OF THE HSRC INVESTIGATION

Peter Buckland

While acknowledging the necessity for a critical analysis of the more explicit ideological assumptions underlying the Report of the HSRC Investigation into Education - reflected in the relationship between schooling and the workplace, the anxieties about schooling and the social order, the factory model of the school or the essentially reformist approach - this article argues that another less visible set of assumptions underlies the whole Investigation into Education. They are reflected in the technological mode of rationality which is the basis of the Report and which appears to have escaped critical comment because, as a way of thinking, as a mode of knowing, it has attained virtual hegemonic status among South African educationists and academics. In seeking to understand the ideological functioning of the technicist assumptions so deeply embedded in the De Lange Report, this article examines the process of the whole Investigation in its socio-historical context in an effort to understand how they have served the interests of maintaining the status quo, and why they have so successfully evaded critical comment. This is approached by shifting the focus of critique away from the Report as product, and examining the whole process (1) of the Investigation, including context, the methodology of the Investigation and the responses to it.

TECHNICISM

Manfred Stanley defines technicism thus :

> Essentially technicism is a state of mind that rests on an act of conceptual misuse, reflected in myriad linguistic ways, of scientific and technological modes of reasoning. This misuse results in the illegitimate extension of scientific and technological reasoning to the point of imperial dominance over all other interpretations of human existence. (2)

The important point is not that the technological mode of rationality is 'wrong' in itself, but simply that its application to social and educational issues to the exclusion of all other modes of knowing means that it tends to act as a set of lenses which focus only on certain issues and avoid others. Henry Giroux makes the point that all modes of

rationality contain a "Problematic" which he defines as 'a "definite theoretical structure" characterized by a dialectical interplay of structuring concepts that serve to raise some questions while suppressing others.' (3) This process operates as an ideology when it serves the interests of a power group.

It remains to establish what are the key features of the technological rationality, how they are reflected in the HSRC Investigation into Education, and how they serve the power interests in the South African socio-historical process.

A key assumption of the technicist mode of rationality is that the deductive - nomological model of explanation, the model most closely associated with the natural sciences, with its interest in explanation, prediction and technical control is seen as vastly superior to the hermeneutic principles underlying "speculative" social theory. The positivism implicit in this involves the assumption that social science theory can and ought to be objective, that the relationship between theory and practice in the domain of science is primarily a technical one in that social science theory can be used to predict how a course of action can best be realized, and, finally, that the procedures of verification and falsification must rely upon scientific techniques and "hard data", the results of which are seen as value-free and intersubjectively applicable. (4)

A corollary of these assumptions is the dichotomy between "facts" and values, and a tendency towards what CA Bowers (5) refers to as "context-free thinking" as well as an ahistorical approach to social issues which views them in terms of "problems" to be "solved" by technical means. When applied to education these assumptions lead to the emergence of an instrumentalist tradition in which progress is seen in terms of technological "growth" and learning is reduced to the mastery of skills and the solving of practical problems.

Technicism in education frequently assumes the form of systems thinking, perhaps the most extreme example of technological consciousness. The assumptions underlying the systems approach to education management include, as Michael Apple (6) points out, the advocacy of consensus and the negation of intellectual and valuative conflict and a limited perspective of scientific method which is more reminiscent of nineteenth century positivism than of current scientific and philosophical discourse. This tends to lead to a shift in focus from moral and ethical questions towards a focus on questions of efficiency and control.

Implicit in the systems approach, too, is a tendency to name and classify segments or components of reality, and an artificial dichotomy between theory and experience, with a hierarchy of knowledge which views abstract thought as inherently superior to experience and thereby defines and elevates the status of the "expert".

The essence of all this is that technological rationality is basically a categorical mode of reasoning which ignores the fundamentally dialectical nature of the social world. CA Bowers comments :

> The categorical mode of thought which characterizes technicism in education is expressed in the view that theory is inherently superior to commonsense experience, that the future can be anticipated in terms of technological innovation, that the perfection of human nature is essentially a problem in engineering more adequate social environments, that quality rather than equity is the basic moral problem and that it can be solved through a legalistic (expert knowledge) approach, and that communities are simply social systems or collectives that can be redesigned by well intentioned theorists. As a categorical mode of thought, it ignores the complexity of experience. (7)

SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

To attempt to explore the implications of the De Lange Report without locating it in its context within the South African socio-historical process would be a profoundly technicist act. That most of the discussion around the De Lange Report so far has tended to abstract the document from its social and historical context is indicative of the extent of the technicist hegemony in South African education. As I have discussed at length the historical location of the Report elsewhere (8), I will confine myself here to reiterating the major themes of that analysis.

First, the elements of continuity of the 1981 HSRC Investigation into Education with a long line of previous commissions of inquiry are reflected in the fact that virtually all the major recommendations of the De Lange Report simply reiterate similar recommendations in previous reports: calls for industrial training, vocational education, compulsory school attendance, increased worker efficiency, stress on language skills, and for recognition of "cultural difference", - even the "single Ministry model" and increased financial support - all of these have been posited

in previous "investigations", and none has yet been effectively implemented.

Second, important as it is to recognise the elements of historical continuity in the HSRC Report, it is also essential to be aware of the discontinuities, the features which make this investigation different from those which preceded it. First, the scope of the De Lange investigation, and the scale on which it was launched make it stand out as the most comprehensive investigation in South African educational history, covering all levels of education, formal and non-formal, for all inhabitants of the country. A second discontinuity of this investigation is the rhetoric of "science" used, which has been used to differentiate it from previous commissions. A third feature is the commitment in the terms of reference to "education of equal quality for all population groups", although it appears that this is to be interpreted in its most limited sense by the authorities.

A third theme to emerge from the analysis of the socio-historical context was that the whole investigation appeared to be dominated, like many of its precursors, by two underlying anxieties arising out of an alleged "skilled manpower shortage" and "social unrest", in this case indicated by the 1980 school boycotts and the industrial action of workers in the Eastern Cape. The historical context of each of these elements was traced to its location in the dynamics of the economic and political structures of the society, and it was argued that while the relationsnip between schooling and the "manpower crisis" was more complex than conventional wisdom held, the anxiety about social disorder and social control was clearly a powerful force underlying the whole Investigation. The schooling system was not producing workers with "realistic aspirations" and "appropriate value systems" required by industry, and the results of this "inadequate harmonization" put society "at great risk" and was "a road to disaster". (9)

This study of technicism in the De Lange Report also requires an examination of the ideological shifts of the ruling elite in this country to accommodate changes in the social structure, such that the rationality of the technocrat gained acceptance in a political context formerly dominated by nationalist ideologies whose original stance was one of resistance to modernization. The National Party, when it finally came to power in 1948, represented basically the alliance between white workers and domestic agricultural, manufacturing and finance capital. The nineteen sixties saw the emergence of the 'politics of security' as the emphasis

of the ideology shifted from Afrikaner nationalism to white nationalism. But the really significant shifts in Nationalist ideology have their origins in developments in the social structure other than merely white parliamentary politics. The decade of the 1970s with its international economic turmoil and insecurity combined with the emergence of more concentrated corporate production, contributed to a rise to prominence of international capital, as well as to a heightened anxiety over labour relations and social security precipitated by the unrest in schools in 1976 and 1980, and the industrial unrest signalled by the Natal strikes of 1973 and in the Eastern Cape in 1980. Anxiety over labour relations and social security led to the recognition of two new power factors in the white state - the businessmen and the military. The policy of Total Strategy represents a move toward a tentative alliance with these new forces.

A more instrumental approach to the policy of separate development began to emerge during the period 1974 - 1977, described by Giliomee as the "watershed period (when) they began to see separate development as an instrument rather than a goal". (10) Kurt Danziger sees this in terms of

> ..... a clear shift from a justification of existing institutions in terms of intrinsic value to their justification in terms of their instrumental utility or effectiveness. Secondly, we observe a shift from cultural to political and finally to economic institutions as the main focus for legitimating ideas. (11)

It became more clear with the coming to power of PW Botha and his introduction of the policy of "rationalization" of the bureaucracy that a fundamental tension in the ruling party existed between modernization and nationalism. Economic, political and social pressures had resulted in a shift away from orthodox Christian Nationalism and Afrikaner Nationalism toward a more instrumental approach to social policy. The new breed of Afrikaner which emerged to challenge the ideology of the Verwoerdian era had been through the modern schooling system, which, despite its apparent ideological affiliations to Christian National Education, was rapidly reflecting the technocratic ideals of a modernizing society. The transformation of schooling from its origins in Christian National Education, one of the fundamental pillars of the conservative Nationalist ideology, into a powerful force for modernization was achieved through the infusion into the education bureaucracy and education policy of a technicist ideology which tended to elevate goals of efficiency, management and

control to primacy over the previous explicit goal of preservation of Afrikaner identity. Such a transformation required the institution of powerful centralized control over departments, and powerful departmental control over teachers.

The past two decades have seen a battery of legislation to establish such control, an early and crucial example of which was the National Education Policy Act of 1967, which despite its commitment to education of a "Christian" and "broad national character", served primarily to centralize control of the provincial schooling system in order to implement a modern differentiated curriculum calculated to meet the "needs" of a modernizing economy. In the event, the provisions for differentiated curricula were not implemented for several years and the HSRC was commissioned to investigate the matter.

The Report of this investigation, published in 1972 (12) attempted to outline the details of a technically reasoned, functionally oriented, differentiated education programme backed by a powerful guidance service to channel white youths into schooling appropriate to the maintenance of white economic and political dominance. Control of teachers was increased through the institution of "scientific management" procedures, implemented in part through the South African Teachers Council for Whites Act of 1976 and the introduction of "accountability" programmes such as the "merit award system".

The "twin crises" in education in 1980 suggested that "differentiated" education, which was slowly being implemented in various forms in all education departments, was not operating efficiently enough. Total strategy, and the accompanying rhetoric of reform, demanded a wide ranging revision of the entire education system in a way that would involve "private enterprise" more actively in the process of schooling. The technicist values of efficiency and control implicit in "scientific" research, "scientific management" and "differentiated education" provided the legitimating ideology expressed in terms of "equality", modernization, "harmonizing" of educational "needs" with "the needs of society", and "optimal returns on investment in education". Wrapped in the rhetoric of "science" and "reform" this proved a powerful medium for the control required to implement this modernization which is likely to encounter some resistance both within the National Party and in the broader society. Considering the depth of hiddeness at which the process operates in American curriculum design, Michael Apple comments :

> .... the real issue is not that systems techniques yield information and feedback that may be used by systems for social control. They themselves are systems of control. What is of equal importance is that the belief system underlying them and a major portion of the curriculum field stems from and functions as a technocratic ideology which can often seem to legitimate the existing distribution of power and privilege in our society. (13)

The point of this brief overview of the socio-historical context is to indicate the shifts in the social and economic order which have facilitated the evolution of a ruling class ideology which incorporates fundamental technicist assumptions, and the way in which these assumptions are embedded in the very context which gave rise to the De Lange Investigation. The danger of these assumptions is their very embeddedness in the modernizing ethos which pervades the "developing" country. The technological mode of rationality does not provide the vocabulary or conceptual tools for a critique which could expose the way in which such assumptions serve the power interests of the ruling elite.

TECHNICISM AND HSRC INVESTIGATION

One of the widely acclaimed features of the entire investigation was the assertion that this project, under the auspices of the HSRC, was to be a "scientific and co-ordinated investigation" rather than the "opinion" of a commission, as had been the case previously. The entire project was planned in accordance with the HSRC masterplan for educational research, the South African Plan for Research in the Human Sciences, which is explicitly calculated to achieve the "balanced development" of the human sciences in the RSA, to isolate "national problem areas" and to "stimulate, co-ordinate, finance and control" research into such areas. (14) The document outlining the SAPRHS serves as a classic illustration of the way in which technicist assumptions work in the interests of order and control :

> Taken as a whole the proposals that follow represent an attempt to seek consensus regarding the working method that will be adopted in the implementation of the SAPRHS - a working method that will be sufficiently flexible to accommodate the wide range of subjects, approaches, problem areas, ideological orientations, etc., that exist in the human sciences. (15)

The call for consensus and the search for a neutral methodology is followed by an outline of the approach to be used. The national problem areas are selected by a committee of experts, and placed in order of priority on the basis of a "scientific survey". A Main Committee for each "problem area" is appointed, and their first task is to divide the topic into a number of smaller areas, for each of which a Working Committee is constituted to "conduct research". A report from each Working Committee is then submitted to the Main Committee which then synthesises the various reports to produce a final document. In the case of the De Lange Committee, this involved the "synthesising" of some 20 000 pages of "research" into a two hundred page final report. Heavy stress was placed by the Main Committee on consensus, such that any vestiges of scientific inquiry method were sacrificed and the final report represents an account of the issues that the members of the committee were able to agree on, or were able to couch in such ambiguous language that their conflict was submerged beneath a layer of benign circumlocution. On the basis of this it seems extraordinary that the final report should still be regarded as evidence of scientific inquiry, yet the rhetoric of science is constantly used to attach a value-free image to the Investigation. The Report of the Main Committee is, on its own admission,

> .... not merely an account of the findings and recommendations of the different work committees, but rather an interpretation of these findings and recommendations viewed as a whole. An attempt was therefore made to synthetize the wealth of information. (16)

The tendency to deny or eliminate conflict, or to redefine it and search for consensus is frequently defended by the argument that this constitutes an attempt to be scientific about problems. Herein, argues Michael Apple, lies the basic difficulty since this perspective of science is notably inaccurate:

> To link scientific rationality with consensus, however, is to do a disservice to science and shows a profound misunderstanding of the history of scientific disciplines .... the very normative structure of scientific communities tends towards skepticism and not necessarily toward intellectual consensus. The call for consensus, thus, is not a call for science. (17)

Apple goes on to argue that while the advocates of systems

procedures seek to enhance the scientific status of their work, the systems thought they have borrowed is not from the scientific branch of systems logic:

> Rather, they have chosen to appropriate the models of operation of the business community ... One has to wonder if their models are indeed appropriate for dealing with students. The issue is made more potent when one realizes that systems management was created originally to enhance the ability of owners to control labour more effectively, thereby increasing profits and weakening the burgeoning union movements early in this century. (18)

The language of science attached to the De Lange Investigation, then, serves a rhetorical function. But it is a powerful rhetoric in a rapidly modernizing technological society which widely regards "science" as "value-free" and apolitical. Although the illusion of strict scientific method cannot really be maintained with regard to the Report of the Main Committee, some of the implicit assumptions of the positivist approach to the social world nonetheless survive in the structuring of the Report. Key among these is the assumption that the problems of education are essentially technical ones that can be solved by technical solutions. The basic pattern of the Report reflects the sort of "examination, diagnosis, prognosis and prescription" approach which Karabel and Halsey describe:

> Theoretically informed exchanges between social scientists and the government may well reveal that there are "social problems" that cannot be formulated adequately in terms approximating those of medical problems in which the social scientist is defined, by analogy, as a skilled diagnostician. Such a model, apart from assuming that there is a social science theory to be applied in the same way that doctors apply medical theory, also takes it for granted that there is agreement about social ends just as there is consensus about the nature and desirability of good health. (19)

On looking at which interests are served by such an approach, they go on:

> It is in the interests of established government to define the social sciences as apolitical and organized social sciences as, in effect, an extension of the civil service. On such a view problems are

> essentially technical and the role of the social scientist is that of a hand-maiden. Research strategies and priorities, from this perspective, are finally left in the hands of the government. (20)

A consequence of this is that the investigation is dominated by essentially reformist ideologies which tend to focus on such questions as "How can we make it work better?" rather than on more fundamental questions such as "How does it work?" and "Who benefits?" A certain amount of excitement was generated by the statement in the Report which acknowledges the essentially political nature of schooling, but it soon emerges that questions of efficiency and control are regarded as crucial, and the political element of schooling is reduced to a question of "user participation":

> Various criteria can be applied to evaluate education management and a variety of factors exercise a determinative influence on these criteria (for example the development level of the country and its people, homogeneity in respect of the composition of the population and political philosophy). However, in the final instance, structures for education management should be based on educational considerations ....
> Systems of education are part of the social, economic and political structure of a country. Acceptance by, and involvement of, the "user" are essential. (21)

Giroux, however, points out that

> .... acknowledging the social and cultural basis of the character of different modes of pedagogy is important but incomplete. This approach must be supplemented by analysing the assumptions embedded in a given educational paradigm against larger social and political interests. Questions which arise out of this type of analysis might take the following form: What interests do these assumptions serve? What are their latent consequences? What are the material and intellectual forces that sustain these assumptions and their corresponding paradigm? (22)

It is just such questions which the HSRC Main Committee Report does not ask. The technicist assumptions implicit in the methodology serve to rule out the asking of such questions which may present a fundamental challenge to the

status quo. What is not reflected in the methodology of the Report is the dialectical interplay between knowledge, power and ideology. Giroux argues that this results in a confusion of objectivity with objectivism. The former he describes as a scrupulous attempt to minimize biases and false beliefs. The latter, "objectivism",

> .... refers to an orientation that is atemporal and ahistorical in nature. In this orientation "fact" becomes the foundation for all forms of knowledge, and values and intentionality lose their political potency by being abstracted from the notion of meaning. (23)

Despite the "principles for the Provision of Education" which were supposed to guide the investigation and which acknowledged in the vaguest possible terms the importance of such values as "equality", "recognition of commonality and diversity" and "freedom of choice", the subtle framework of the methodological assumptions, the ahistorical approach and the call for consensus served to guide the Main Committee away from considering the fundamental implications of these values towards consideration of technical issues.

This process is reflected in the recommendations of Main Committee which, in pursuit of consensus in such ideologically sensitive areas as language medium and curriculum, resorts to a concern with "means" rather than "ends". After 13 months of "research", Recommendation 30 reads :

> The principle of the use of mother tongue speakers in language instruction also merits attention. The provision of support material on cassette from a central resource centre is recommended. (24)

The first sentence represents a classic example of what Michael Young has called "the politics of non-decision making". (25) An even more crucial process is evident in the second sentence, which recommends the use of technology. The point is that while the committee was unable to reach agreement on ends, it was quite prepared to make recommendations regarding the means - technology. The use of such technology is apparently regarded as non-problematic, and this assumption underlies a great many of the recommendations of the Report.

Perhaps the most powerful evidence of a technicist mentality is contained in the following statement from the Report :

> South Africa is a developing country that is changing more rapidly than most developed countries. Modern science, technology and management skills, which are the most powerful resources that man has ever had at his disposal to enable him to change his environment, are not yet the cultural assets of significant sectors of our population. (26)

Progress is seen in terms of technological growth, modernization and "development", which itself is defined, somewhat tautologically in terms of economic development.

> .... the aim of development, namely provision of skilled manpower with the value system, insight and skills necessary to contribute to the development of a country. (27)

Moreover, "modern science, technology and management skills" are together seen as "the most powerful resources that man has ever had at his disposal to enable him to change his environment" and are seen as "cultural assets" which it is assumed must be acquired by "significant sectors of our population". The modernizing society is taken uncritically as the status quo to which man must adapt, just as the modern school is regarded as a given for which a child must be made "ready":

> Pre-primary education offers the child a wonderful opportunity to move over easily (from an affective - social point of view) to the formal education of the primary school; in doing this it achieves more than school readiness and provides a wider readiness for life. (28)

Systems management and a systems approach to educational problems emerge as the basic "neutral" ground on which all members of the Main Committee were able to reach consensus :

> Educational technology enhances and enriches the quality of education in the classroom. It brings the outside world of education into the classroom thus enriching learning activities. The use of the systems approach which aims at establishing specific goals and using the most appropriate media, enables accurate evaluation to be carried out. The accent therefore shifts from the teacher as the only source of information, to the teacher as manager in the teaching-learning situation. (29)

The primacy of the technicist mind-set is reflected strongly

in the language used; an extended technological metaphor is used to describe the new "educational structure":

> Canalization mechanisms are means by which the 'inlet', 'flow' and 'outlet' of learners are regulated in the educational structure.
>
> These mechanisms can be built into, as well as added to the educational structure. However, the essence of the matter is that the mechanisms function between two points, namely inlet and outlet, and can be used in various ways to the advantage of the individual and the manpower needs of the country. (30)

Another important technicist feature is the subtle way in which a hierarchy of knowledge is implied in the recommendations. First, the committee itself is composed largely of "experts". When all else fails, recommendations are passed for the use of more experts:

> .... it is recommended that a committee or committees of expert teachers and/or educational planners representative of all educational services together with other interested parties be appointed to work out the aims and objectives for English and Afrikaans. (31)

Despite a passage regretting the fact that "the abstract world of ideas" is valued over the practical world (and this is offered as a reason why there is often a tendency to look down on manual work and practical skills), the proposed education structure by which pupils are systematically "canalized" into industrial training implies a none too subtle hierarchy of knowledge in that only those pupils who remain in Grade 0 and Grade I "grades of difficulty" are retained in the schools.

The treatment of social issues as technical problems open to technical solutions, the componential thinking implicit in the division of "education" into eighteen separate "areas", the ahistorical approach and the orientation to the future all serve to rule out consideration of how schooling has been used to further political and economic ends. Knowledge is seen in terms of skills, with an "appropriate value system" serving to legitimate the differentiated acquisition of such skills.

The technicist features of the Report reflect an ideology that is deeply embedded in western cultural patterns, such that many of the "structuralist" criticisms of the Western

model of schooling also rest on technicist assumptions, particularly those which ignore the dialectical nature of the social process and talk in terms of domination/submission, of "doer" and "done to". Likewise, much of the praise and criticism for the Report itself rests on a futile attempt to evaluate the document "on its own merits", abstracting it from its socio-historical context.

The technicism in the Report operates as an ideology because it serves to buttress the status quo by undermining the dialectic of human potential and will thereby denying the possibility that human beings can construct their own reality and can alter that reality in the face of domination. For this reason technological rationality has been incorporated into the ideology of those elements of the ruling elite which, in the face of the realities of the "politics of survival", have chosen to seek to modernize and streamline apartheid. This is not meant to suggest a conscious conspiracy to adopt technicism as a new instrument of oppression; rather is is argued that the technicist features of the Western mind-set which underlie the technological revolution and the ethos of modernization so serve the power interests of significant sectors of the dominant groups that they are accepted uncritically as "rational" or logical.

What is perhaps more difficult to understand is the way in which technicism remains unseen or is accepted uncritically by those whose interests are apparently not served by it. Crucial to an appreciation of this is an understanding of the way technological rationality has become the prevailing hegemony. The language of modernization and the logic of technology constitute a powerful psychological and material force. The daily routine of our lives is already structured to some extent by the demands of the technological revolution. But above all the language of technology and the categorical mode of thinking inherent in it serve to deny the vocabulary and the conceptual tools, such as historical consciousness, with which to critique the prevailing belief systems.

There is, inherent in this argument the danger of an over-deterministic view of hegemony, such that we are left with a feeling of helplessness and despair in the face of the extraordinarily powerful forces of technology and modernization. Such despair itself reflects a categorical mode of thinking which ignores the dialectical nature of the social process. Wherever there is an hegemony, there is the possibility of a counterhegemony. Hegemony as a mode of control is not simply a question of projecting the ideas of a dominant elite into the minds of the oppressed. Moreover, it has to be constantly reinforced and adapted to

accommodate changing historical circumstances and new forms of resistance.

The technicism which the De Lange Report reflects can and must be countered. But it cannot be critiqued with the language and conceptual tools of the technological mode of reasoning. What is urgently needed is an abandonment of the categorical mode of thinking that cannot tolerate ambiguity and avoids or conceals conflicts in the search for consensus. A vital element of this process is the raising of awareness of the role of language and metaphor in the process of social control, and the provision of the necessary vocabulary with which to critique the manifestations of the technicist mind set. Equally important is the need to develop historical consciousness and to re-learn our history. This may enable the de-reification of the structures which have come to wield such influence over our lives. Only when their human authorship is acknowledged can their vulnerability to change be recognised. We must reaffirm the potency of experience in relation to theoretical or abstract knowledge so that the status of the "expert" can be seen in perspective.

Above all we must seek to raise the status of ethical and moral debate so that it holds at least equal status with technical and efficiency "talk". Until we as educators tackle these challenges, documents such as the De Lange Report, despite the rhetoric of "reform" and "change", will continue to constitute powerful instruments for the maintenance of the status quo.

Notes

(1) I am aware that the dichotomy between process and product is a false one which itself reflects the categorical mode of reasoning against which I am arguing. The device is used here merely to deflect the reader away from a consideration of the Report in isolation, towards a more realistic view of it as part of an historical process.

(2) Manfred Stanley The Technological Conscience : Survival and Dignity in an Age of Expertise, New York : The Free Press, 1978.

(3) Henry A Giroux Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling, London : The Falmer Press, 1981, p 9.

(4) See Henry A Giroux "Schooling and the Culture of Positivism: Notes on the Death of History" in Educational Theory, Fall 1979, Vol 29, No 4, p 275.

(5) CA Bowers "Curriculum as Cultural Reproduction: An Examination of Metaphor as a Carrier of Ideology" in Teacher's College Record Vol 82, No 2, Winter 1980, pp 267-289.

(6) Michael Apple Ideology and Curriculum, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1979, p 107-9.

(7) CA Bowers "Ideological Continuities in Technicism, Liberalism and Education", Mimeo : Centre for Education Policy and Management, University of Oregon. 1979.

(8) Peter Buckland "The HSRC Investigation: Another Brick in the Wall?" A paper presented at the Kenton-at-Glencairn Conference, November 7, 1981. Published in Proceedings of the Kenton-at-Glencairn Conference 1981, Cape Town: EMS forthcoming.

(9) Ibid.

(10) H Giliomee "The Nationalist Party and the Afrikaner Broederbond" in RM Price & Rosberg (eds) The Apartheid Regime: Political Power and Racial Domination. Cape Town: David Philip, 1980, p 33.

(11) Kurt Danziger "Modernization and the legitimation of social power" in H Adam (ed) South Africa: Sociological Perspectives, London: Oxford University Press. p 285.

(12) HSRC Report of the committees for differentiated education and guidance in connection with a national system of education at primary and secondary level with reference to school guidance as an integrated service of the system of education for the Republic of South Africa and South West Africa. Part One, Report O-1 of 1972, Pretoria: HSRC.

(13) Apple Ideology & Curriculum, op cit, p 111-112.

(14) HSRC South African Plan for Research in the Human Sciences Pretoria: HSRC, 1980, p 1.

(15) ibid

(16) HSRC Provision of Education in the RSA: Report of the Main Committee of the HSRC Investigation into Education, Pretoria HSRC, 1981. p 7.

(17) Apple Ideology and Curriculum, op cit, p 119.

(18) ibid p 114.

(19) J Karabel and AH Halsey, Power and Ideology in Education New York: Oxford University Press, p 6.

(20) ibid p 6.

(21) HSRC Provision of Education, op cit p 87.

(22) H Giroux, "Schooling and the Culture of Positivism", op cit p 267.

(23) ibid.

(24) HSRC Provision of Education, op cit, p 32.

(25) Michael FD Young, Knowledge and Control: New Directions in the Sociology of Knowledge, London: Collier Macmillan 1971.

(26) HSRC, Provision of Education, op cit.

(27) ibid p 109.

(28) ibid p 28.

(29) ibid p 50.

(30) ibid p 127.

(31) ibid p 145.

HOW A COMMUNITY RESPONDS

DE LANGE AND THE AFRIKANER VOLKSKONGRES, 18.3.82. - 20.3.82.

Joe Muller

"In hierdie ernstige tyd waarin... die Afrikaner in die besonder hom bevind, 'n tyd waarin die onderwys, die kerk en die tradisies van die Afrikaner die teiken van die vyand geword het, is dit van rigtinggewende belang dat die geskiedenis... sonder pretensie as die rigsnoer aan die opkomende geslag voorgehou word". (1)

1 Huismoles en broedertwis; divisions and traditions in Afrikanerdom.

The NP has, since 1948, represented an alliance between Afrikaner petty bourgeosie, workers and domestic agriculture, as well as manufacturing and finance capital (2). This alliance is precarious because the economic and political interests of these groups are potentially in conflict. One can also see superimposed on this alliance a cultural domain composed of the influential Afrikaner churches, politico-cultural organisations and, increasingly, the military, having a largely coherent understanding of 'volk', 'vyand' and the national interest. A picture then emerges of a ruling block economically divided but culturally unified.

This situation gives rise to two factions: a 'conservative' faction (farming, worker and petty bourgeosie) and a 'reformist' faction (finance capital and manufacturing). Economic developments have recently accentuated the incompatibility of the interests of these two factions, with the 'reformist' faction prevailing at present. The resulting re-alignments are being bitterly negotiated in the cultural domain, and the unity of the ruling block is now in serious question. (See (3) for a good account of this process.)

One can incline towards one of two views here: to the State-Monopoly Capital view, which sees the re-alignments as necessitated by the falling rate of profit and the emergent state/finance capital monopoly requiring more and better trained semi-skilled and supervisory labour; or to the Poulantzian view, which sees the re-alignments motivated by an economy moving towards intensive rather than extensive exploitation and the need for an expanded, intensified and diversified control over labour power (4).

Either way, the emerging (total) strategy would seem to require a far-reaching reform of black education, in the form of De Lange heralding two major threats to the ruling block as presently constituted. The first is an economic threat to

the worker/petty bourgeosie faction, primarily in the form of competition. The second is a cultural threat to the whole notion of Afrikaner identity which has always defined itself vis-a-vis its psycho-social distance from 'the black man'. The approaching re-alignment in the economic base described above is being strenuously resisted by the 'conservative' faction in terms central to the cultural domain; indeed, the 'conservative' faction has 'always selected as its chosen terrain of struggle, and as the best means to defend its interests, its claim to constitute the authentic voice of the "Afrikaner volk"' (5).

It is in this context of the 'struggle for reform' that De Lange should be seen, and the terms of issue at the Volkskongres (VK) understood. For although the re-shuffle in the economic domain seems to be well in progress, which faction can claim the authentic voice of the 'volk' is still hotly disputed.

The above analysis would suggest that the 'conservative' faction must go all out to block De Lange by emphasizing its potential threat to the essence of Afrikanerdom. More interesting was the 'reform' strategy required to win sufficient consent for De Lange at the VK. It would have been very difficult to counter the 'conservative' faction on its 'chosen terrain'. It would also have been foolhardy to introduce too many 'non-volks' arguments, since these could all too easily have been labelled as 'foreign to the Afrikaner'. What was called for was an intricate process of consent- construction, (6) while beginning to nudge Afrikaner common-sense thinking about education into line with the changing dispensation. A new kind of discourse had, in other words, to be forged which would somehow absorb the surfacing contradictions without completely rupturing the accord that was essential for a reform policy to be passed and a reform practice to be implemented.

The current common-sense thinking about education has been enshrined in the Eiselen Commission report, which was to the 1948 alliance what De Lange is to the new dispensation. It was primarily concerned to protect 'conservative' interests/ identity by using education to block black advancement.

> No proposal for a plan of Native education would be likely to commend itself to the sense of the great majority of the (white) people of this country that did not contemplate the ultimate place of the Native as that of an efficient worker... (7)

It was this tenaciously held tenet of common-sense that had somehow to be shifted at the VK for De Lange to even get a hearing. This was a formidable task, considering that the assembled cultural spectrum of Afrikanerdom - including the churches, teachers organisations, labour organisations, women's organisations, and politico-cultural organisations like the Voortrekkers and the Rapportryers - were all still anchored, to a greater or lesser extent, in the 1948 alliance. Nevertheless, some 1 621 delegates packed into the UOFS'S Callie Human Hall to generate Afrikanerdom's response to De Lange. This paper will examine the machinery of consent-construction that gave shape to the course of the VK. This event will be examined from two points of view: first, the regulations and structures built into the organisation of the congress itself; and secondly, the processes of discursive struggle and transformation waged at the heart of the debate in Bloemfontein.

2 Organisation of the VK.

(i) Level of control

There were three distinct levels of control at the VK. There was first of all the steering (reelings) committee chaired by Ds DJ Viljoen (NGK) with three deputy chairmen: Prof H Maree (president of the TO), Mr H Sloet (former president of AHI) and Dr JT van Wyk (affiliation unknown). It was their job to set regulations for the smooth running of the congress - from telling the 1 621 delegates not to turn their programme pages at the same time so as not to deafen the speaker, to setting the limits for speaking time. At the second level was a resolution (besluite) committee, whose job it was to transform the multiple motions of delegates into 'representative' motions designed for mass approval. On this committee sat Prof F vd Stoep (De Lange executive committee from Pretoria University), Mr K Steyn (general secretary of the TO) and Prof HB Kruger (affiliation unknown). The overall congress chairman was Prof W Mouton whose main job was to act as a super-rapporteur, summing up the main opinions of the congress on the final day.

The most noteworthy point about these control mechanisms is that they predominantly represent the academic sphere, with one from the business sector and one from the churches.

(ii) Composition

It is not clear who performed the job of deciding which organisations composed the cultural constellation, or how many delegates each organisation could send. This was

crucial since the 'voice of the volk' was to be decided by computer ballot. Differences at this level were well hidden to begin with by appealing to the old common factor in familiar, reassuring terms. The vote was reserved, therefore, for the 'blanke Christen-Afrikaner wat die volks - en kultuurwaardes wat daarmee saamgaan onderskryf'.

The proportion of delegates from two of the groups is noteworthy: the second largest group, representing about 20% of the delegates, was the teaching profession. It was remarked that very little contribution came from them. TO delegates, in particular, kept a low profile. The largest number of delegates, 55% of them, came from the Afrikaner churches, 40% of them from the NGK. The AGS, a minor church, had the next largest number of delegates, and the HK the least. The NGK and the HK have been major forces in the formation of the cultural and political aspirations of Afrikanerdom, especially during the pre-war depression. It was these churches who introduced the notion of 'volkskongresse', becoming major spokesmen 'on educational and social matters of an economically destitute, politically immature and relatively powerless people' (8).

In this time of renewed upheaval in the Afrikaner ranks, it is the churches who have again come forward to heal the breach in terms of trans-political and predominantly old-alliance cultural imperatives.

This probably accounts for the reduced number of delegates from the HK, a church which has traditionally been theologically and politically conservative, and has often openly identified with the 'conservative' faction. The case of the NGK is more ambiguous, and it is seen as more 'neutral', although certain allegations from church circles have recently linked the NGK to the 'conservative' faction (9). A small signal of the hidden struggle for votes came from the AGS who rose to speak on one occasion only - to thank the steering committee for the unexpectedly large number of delegates allocated to them, and to appeal to the teaching profession not to discriminate against them, a sure sign of their marginal status in the constellation.

The 'voices' heard most frequently were therefore those of the academics and the dominees. Business of the day centered around prepared papers delivered predominantly by academics. There were six papers delivered in all, and each paper was further given two discussion-introductions, again mostly by academics. Thus the 'voice of the volk' on the distaff side of the rostrum was powerfully sandwiched between prepared motions from the academics and the opinion-moulding function

of the resolution committee. They were allowed to speak from the floor, to vote and to pass member's motions, though these, it was made clear, would form no part of the official response of the VK to De Lange.

A powerful mechanism of voice management had been set up, and some of its operations bear scrutiny.

(iii) Voice Management

What could and what could not count as a valid voice at the VK was very carefully managed. At the outset it was going to be left to Prof Mouton to articulate his version of the 'opinion of the congress', an articulation he had prepared before the final computer count on the motions. He also went onto national TV the same evening with substantially the same story, claiming to represent the congress' opinion.

Illuminating too, was the way the organisers handled the dramatic events of the first evening; briefly, the 'conservative' faction made a strenuous effort to create a 'voice' from the floor. They did this in two ways - first, by Ds Louw opposing the computer vote on Prof Landman's paper on the grounds that the motion was not yet formulated in a 'volks' way; and secondly, by passing numerous motions from the floor in a tone laden with nostalgia for the old values and the old accord. They received overwhelming support on both counts, amid tumultuous, emotional applause. The resolution committee was hastily convened and sat up most of the night, to emerge the next morning with the following: the motion passed to stall the computer voting system was adjudged a matter of opinion (meningspeiling), not a vote (stemming) binding on congress. There would from now on be limited speaking time after each paper. The local press had also picked up the names of the conservative speakers, and the Friday morning's Volksblad listed them all, branding them "rebels" and "hijackers". Ds Louw took no further part in the VK, and later left.

It must be said that this in no way implied a victory for the 'reformists'. There were two imperatives for the VK, the first being simply that they must offer a unified opinion to forward to the Minister, the second being that they must at least support the Cabinet's White Paper on De Lange. The task at hand was not to counterpose a 'reformist' ideology in place of a 'conservative' one. When this was done, as for example by an academic from UPE, he was greeted by a stony silence. Indeed, it is difficult to frame an account which does not incline towards a theory of 'conspiracy'. The point is that once a discursive unity is breached, it

takes much discursive wrangling to forge a new unity and to win consent for it. In the meantime, the old unity must not be too decisively contradicted, since this would only lead to polarisation and to a flight back into the familiar common-sense. The struggle in the discourse is therefore a slow and unobvious one, but it is here that the work of popular re-alignment takes place.

3 Discursive conflict and its transformation

(i) The 'dual repertoire' (10)

The discursive task for the VK was to bind the 'conservative' discourse of 'harking back to the old alliance' (11) - including appeals to history, tradition, the unity of the thirties, 'ons volk glo mos nie aan dié ding nie' (12) and so on, into a 'relation of precarious congruence' (13) with the regulative and technical requirements of De Lange. This meant incorporating the 'dual repertoire' into a unitary voice, by transmuting and deflecting the grossest contradictions via certain discursive strategies. This was to be essentially a holding operation, as much a prevention of dissent as a winning of whole-hearted consent.

The 'dual repertoire' in De Lange took mainly the forms of communality versus diversity, and education as socio-cultural versus education as technical-vocational. The delegates were distinctly confused by the contradictory aims, and they responded in contradictory ways.

Although 53.97% of the delegates believed equal standards would lead to a lowering of white standards, 67.94% voted in favour of the principle of equal standards.

Even though 87.32% felt that commonality should not be stressed above diversity, 77.28% felt that there is not necessarily a conflict between the two.

96.67% wanted the control of white education to remain in the hands of the whites; nevertheless, 53.95% supported the creation of a coordinating structure at the first level (De Lange's 'one ministry').

In the winning words of Prof HJS Stone, 'ons onderwyspaaltjies het nie dwarsbalkies op nie' (14). The persuasiveness of this metaphor lay in the insinuation that the 'bails' (a coordinating structure) would precipitate no alteration in the individual 'wickets' (separate educational structures), a good example of the discursive deflection of contradictions.

(ii) 'politiek-praters' versus the rest

Although every delegate at the VK was probably aware of the 'real' issues, the congress was constantly diverted away from these community-splitting terms towards more 'neutral' and unifying territory. Ds Viljoen launched the VK thus: 'Die toekoms van die onderwys word nie op politieke wyse en vanuit politieke standpunte benader nie, maar vanuit 'n opvoedkundige en Christelike perspektief' (15). Prof C Boshoff was stung to retort that 'a neutral family does not in fact exist, and neither does a neutral education authority' (16). The discursive task was therefore to drive a wedge between the 'politiek-praters' (17) and an undefined rest who would come to form the silent majority of the 'volk' by default, the press playing an active role here. In a burst of alliterative enthusiasm, The Citizen saw 'leftist liberals' as well as 'rightist radicals' (18), but 'uiteindelik het gebalanseerde realisme in hoofsaak geseevier' (19), an implicit ascription of imbalance and unreality to the 'politiek-praters'. Prof Mouton had discovered, by show of hands, that only 35% of the delegates had read the De Lange Report before the VK. This allowed him to speak of 'opvoedkundiges' on the one hand who were not always understood by ''n deel van die gehoor' (20). The press continued this process of conflation and marginalisation (Poulantazas' 'isolation effect' (21), talking of a 'ver-regse groepie' (22), a 'lawaaierige minderheid' (23), and 'onkundige stofopskoppers wat bolangse aandag getrek het', maar...' (het) die deskundiges op die ou end die leisels vasgevat' (24).

Prof Mouton and the SABC continued to naturalise the discursive struggle into the received 'story' of the VK: 'Political moves failed after educationally-motivated arguments were put forward'. 'We had political overtones, but as we moved on, it became an educational conference' (25).

From these few examples it can be seen how the efforts of the 'conservative' faction to bring Afrikanerdom's contradictions to the surface were deflected by the construction of discursive identities which systematically re-routed the debate.

(iii) Cultural cacography

The evident confusions, and the latent rifts in the Afrikaner alliance could not be left in the terrain of identity. The identity displacements were strategically too specific to be lasting. The second step of the discursive transformation was to re-construe the difficulties of the alliance as

difficulties of discourse; to present the rift in the alliance as a lack of discursive closure. Mr. Sloet spoke of the 'tremendous complexity of education provision' (26). A masterly statement came from Prof Mouton: 'Die dilemma vir die Afrikaner is dat die antwoorde wat hy op die probleme ontvang, nie meer so eenvoudig as in die verlede is nie. Meer as een antwoord word deur sy eie mense vir hom aangebied' (27). Differences in alliance, interest and identity are presented as different discursive slots ('antwoorde'), they are problematised ('meer as een' and 'nie meer so envoudig') but the category of identity is left intact ('die Afrikaner' and 'sy eie mense'.)

Keeping this intact depended on two tactics. The first was banging 'the Afrikaner'/'the volk' drum long and loud enough for the traditional massiveness of the singularity to eclipse the latent plurality. The largest 'yes' vote (96.89%) recorded support for a 'Christelike volkseie (nationale) en kultuurgebonde onderwys vir die kinders van Christen-ouers nou en in die toekoms'. (Indeed, who could have dared to vote against it?) And it was left to Prof Mouton to narrate the orthodoxy - which on the one hand admitted discursive differences whilst at the same time asserting that 'as the conference proceeded, we united more and more' (28). The second tactic was to rally 'the Afrikaner' around neutral flags. A motion deploring the dropping Afrikaner birthrate was unanimously accepted, and much discussion surrounded the founding of an Afrikaner 'parents' association'. Amidst all this, the Cabinet's White paper on De Lange was accepted by 87.56%, and the small step forward had been achieved, whilst maintaining some sense of identity and cultural continuity, a formidable orchestration of confusion and conflict into 'a coherent dissonance... a distinct cacography' (29).

4 Resumé

The voting tallies show that the delegates must have voted for mutually contradictory motions. Confusion reigned, but so did a certain essential cultural unity. The re-alignment in the base was not permitted to become a feature of debate at the VK. Again, it must be emphasized that this, 'engineering of consent', is not a conspiracy... it is something that is generated both out of the altered alliances that are being constructed and ... out of the contradictory imperatives of the... apparatus itself' (30). The last words fittingly belong to Prof Mouton: 'Kom ons luister na mekaar, kom ons waardeur mekaar en kom ons probeer saam om oplossings te vind tot eer van ons hemelse Vader' (31).

The 'volk' could only say amen.

Notes

(1) Mondstuk, official organ of the TO, editorial comment, Feb. 1982.

(2) Frank Molteno "The Schooling of Black South Africans" unpublished paper, 1980, see pg 27.

(3) Dan O'Meara "'Muldergate' and the Politics of Afrikaner Nationalism" in Supplement to Work in Progress, 22, 1982, pgs 1-19.

(4) Jennifer Somerville "Poulantzas, Class and Power" in Ideology and Consciousness, 7, 1980, pgs 107-125.

(5) Dan O'Meara ibid, pg 15.

(6) Dan Finn, Neil Grant and Richard Johnson "Social Democracy, Education and the Crisis" in CCCS (ed) On Ideology, London: Hutchinson, 1978, pg 180.

(7) Union of South Africa, "Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951" U.G. 53/1951, Pretoria: The Government Printer, 1951, para 215, p 40.

(8) Dr Jacques Kriel in The Star, 7.4.82.

(9) Prof Ben Engelbrecht in The Star, 28.4.82.

(10) Dan Finn, Neil Grant and Richard Johnson op.cit, p 149.

(11) James Donald "Green Paper : Noise of Crisis" in R Dale et al (eds) Education and the State; Vol 1: Schooling and the National Interest, Barcombe : The Falmer Press, 1981, p 110.

(12) Andries Beyers, HNP MP for Lichtenburg, in Die Vaderland, 20.3.82.

(13) James Donald, op.cit, p 102.

(14) Prof HJS Stone in Die Vaderland, 19.3.82.

(15) Ds DJ Viljoen in Beeld, 19.3.82.

(16) Prof C Boshoff in The Citizen, 20.3.82.

(17) Die Transvaler, 22.3.82.

(18) The Citizen, 22.3.82.

(19) Die Transvaler, 22.3.82.

(20) ibid.

(21) Nicos Poulantzas Political Power and Social Classes, London: NLB Verso Editras, 1978, pgs 130-137.

(22) Rapport, 21.3.82.

(23) Die Transvaler, 22.3.82.

(24) Beeld, 22.3.82.

(25) SATV, 8.00pm news, editorial comment and interview, 20.3.82.

(26) The Citizen, 22.3.82.

(27) Beeld, 22.3.82.

(28) Prof W Mouton on SATV, interview, 20.3.82.

(29) James Donald, op.cit, p 105.

(30) Michael Apple "Common Curriculum and State Control" in Discourse, 2.2.82., p 3.

(31) Prof W Mouton, Beeld, 22.3.82.

Acronyms used were:

NP - Nasionale Party
NGK - Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk
TO - Transvaalse Onderwysunie
AHI - Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut
UP - University of Pretoria
AGS - Apostoliese Geloofsending
HK - Herformde Kerk
HNP - Herstigte Nasionale Party
SATV - South African Television
UOFS - University of the Orange Free State

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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 parenthesis, on the line of the text), and should be listed at the end of the article, as 'Notes'. Titles of papers or chapters cited are to be enclosed in 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.

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