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Master of Education (MEd)

Research Report

University of the Witwatersrand

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TITLE

The Role that Radical Pedagogy plays in Resistance Movements: A Case Study of the Black Consciousness Movement's use of Paulo Freire's Pedagogy.

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ABSTRACT

The role of education in building political movements and the potential of education to transform society are questions that remain relevant, not only in South Africa but the world over. The aim of this study was to investigate the Black Consciousness Movements (BCM's) engagement with education and specifically critical pedagogy from 1968 until 1973. In this thesis I argue that the BCM understood education to be political and that education formed a central part of the movement. The study establishes that there are a number of tensions but that the central tension seems to be that the BCM really understand that they want to rebuild identity, subjectivity, consciousness, and deal with false consciousness, which is only possible through a sustained educational project. But what emerges is that the political project, of inspiring quick community action to solve-problems and ignite the masses to resist the racial oppressions that are prevalent, trumps the educational project.

DECLARATION

I declare that this Masters (MEd) research report is my own. I submit this research report for the degree of Master of Education at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. This research report has not been submitted before for any other examination or degree at any other University, nor has it been prepared under the aegis of any other body, organisation or person outside of the University of the Witwatersrand.

.....

Leigh-Ann Naidoo

22nd day of March 2013

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CHAPTER 1:
Introduction

Anne Hope, along with Sally Timmel, have been committed to a Freirean inspired project organized from South Africa called *Training for Transformation,* and have been doing community development work on the African continent for over 40 years (Hope and Timmel, 2002a).[1] A few years ago in 2009, I attended Anne Hope's 80th birthday celebration where she reflected on her life's work in education. The part of her story that intrigued me was when she described the time she spent with Steve Biko and a group of BCM leaders in 1972, and recounted how this was the most exciting and challenging educational work she had ever done.

I was compelled to find out about this period and I was interested to learn about Paulo Freire's work and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)[2]. I also wanted to understand why Biko and fellow BCM leaders would approach a young, white, South African woman to teach them about Freire and developing a literacy campaign, during a period when black radicals in the BCM were strongly critiquing white South Africans and understanding them as liberals, who were not truly committed to transforming the racist South African society in which they lived and were privileged.[3] In the recently published book on BC, historian Magaziner (2010) writes in detail about the origins of Black Consciousness and how this thought developed between 1968 and 1977. The book, as the title *The Law and the Prophets: Black Consciousness in South Africa, 1968-1977* implies, focuses mainly on the theological influence of BC but interestingly to me, also briefly recounts the importance of the historical case study that is the initial focus of my

[1]Anne Hope and Sally Timmel have over the years developed four manuals called *Training for Transformation*, which remain the core material for the ongoing Freirean project for community workers that have been run throughout the African continent (Hope and Timmel, 1984 and 1999).

[2] While I will explain in detail the formation of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and it's understanding of the term 'black', I would like to clarify up front that when the word black is used in the context of the BCM it is meant to include all people under apartheid who were considered to be oppressed by the racist white regimes that ruled in what is now known as South Africa since the onset of colonialism. My use of the word 'black' throughout this thesis is meant in the Black Consciousness sense described above.

[3] See Chapter 5: Black Souls in White Skins? in *I Write What I Like*. (1979, pg. 19-26).

research ... “Anne Hope, a Christian Institute (CI) employee spent critical months training Biko, Pityana, and others in radical pedagogy during 1972” (Magaziner, 2010, p. 13).

This was the starting point of my engagement and interest in education, and in particular the more radical and informal types of education. In considering and inquiring about a research project on radical education, I was surprised to find that there were not many courses or scholars working on radical education in the institutions of higher learning I approached. I began searching for current literature written about radical forms of education when I came across critical education, which according to Apple et al. suggests that in “…order to understand and act on education in its complicated connections to the larger society, we must engage in the process of *repositioning”* (2009, p. 3 – original emphasis). Here I seemed to find scholars and writings that were attempting to engage the transformative and radical potential of education. Apple et al. go on to propose a taxonomy of sorts to guide this repositioning of education research and pedagogy, consisting of “eight tasks in which critical analysis (and the critical analyst) in education must engage” (2009, p. 4-5). Below is an adapted summary of these eight tasks, which partly inspired and provided a rationale for my project, but also influenced my orientation to the project throughout the process of research design, proposal writing, through my data collection, analysis of data and the write-up of my thesis.

1. **Bearing witness to negativity** – one of its primary functions is to illuminate the ways in which educational policy and practice are connected to the relations of exploitation and domination – and to struggles against such relations – in the larger society.
2. In engaging in such critical analysis, it also must point to contradictions and to space of possible action. Thus, its aim is to critically examine current realities with a conceptual/political framework that emphasizes the **spaces in which counter-hegemonic actions can, or do, carry on**.
3. At times, this also requires a **redefinition of what counts as “research”.** Here we mean acting as “secretaries” to those groups of people and social movements who are now engaged in challenging existing relations of unequal power or in what elsewhere has been called “non-reformist reforms”.
4. There are serious intellectual (and pedagogic) skills in dealing with the histories and debates surrounding the epistemological, political, and educational issues involved in justifying what counts as important knowledge. These are not simple and inconsequential issues and the practical and intellectual/political skills of dealing with them have been well developed. However, they can atrophy if they are not used. We can give back these skills by employing them to assist communities in thinking about this, learning from them, and

engaging in the mutually pedagogic dialogues that enable decisions to be made in terms of both short-term and long-term interests of oppressed peoples.

5. In the process, critical work has the task of **keeping traditions of radical work alive**. In the face of organised attacks on the "collective memories" of difference and struggle, attacks that make it increasingly difficult to retain academic and social legitimacy for multiple critical approaches that have proven so valuable in countering dominant narratives and relations, it is absolutely crucial that these traditions be kept alive, renewed, and when necessary criticised for their conceptual, empirical, historical, and political silences or limitations. This entails being cautious of reductionism and essentialism. It also involves keeping alive the dreams, utopian visions, and "non-reformist reforms" that are so much a part of these radical traditions.
6. Keeping traditions alive and also **supportively criticising them** when they are not adequate to deal with current realities. This cannot be done unless we ask "For whom are we keeping them alive?" and "How and in what form are they to be made available?" All of the things mentioned above require the relearning or development and use of varied or new skills of working at many levels with multiple groups (for example journalistic and media skills, academic and popular skills, and the ability to speak to very different audiences are increasingly crucial).
7. Critical educators must also ***act*** **in concert with the progressive social movements** their work supports. One must participate in and give one's expertise to movements surrounding struggles over a politics of redistribution and a politics of recognition. It also implies learning from these social movements.
8. Participation also means **using the privilege one has as a scholar/activist by opening spaces** at universities and elsewhere for those who are not there, for those who do not now have a voice in that space and in the "professional" sites to which, being in a privileged position, you have access.

While this project has not allowed me to engage all of the eight points above, a few of them have resonated. While 'bearing witness to negativity' has been less of an issue with my project, it has provided a starting point as the event I am looking at is a historical moment of exposing the connections between educational policy and practices under apartheid and how these were connected to relations of exploitation and domination of the black majority. My project attempts to contribute to the redefinition of what counts as research, as well as a reclamation of a part of South African history that has not been spoken about, in an attempt to keep the radical traditions of informal and radical education alive. These traditions seem to have diminished in terms of the research agenda within the school of education at the University of the Witwatersrand. Reflecting on the BCM, which in many ways was the start of a particular radical education tradition, seems to me to be a good starting point.

Critical reflection or looking back into history is a key component to re-imagining the possibilities that exist for the present and future. This research project will provide a narrative of history by examining the relation between the BCM and education, their engagement with a particularly radical pedagogical practitioner (in Paulo Freire) during one of the key moments in the South African resistance to apartheid, and how their education project evolves. In particular, and as a starting point, the study will describe the six-month period of training for fifteen of the BCM leaders in Freirean pedagogy by Anne Hope for the purpose of developing a literacy campaign. There will also be a systematic engagement with the rich archival documents of the relevant organisations over that period.

My study is of a qualitative nature and can further be defined as a historical case study that looks at a specific historical period and a particular movement's relation to education and radical pedagogy. The overall intent of this case study is of an interpretive nature. The historical case study spans 1968 to 1973 in South Africa, beginning with the formation of the South African Student Organisation (SASO), tracking its development from 1968 to 1973. I will pose the following questions: - (1) What was the relation between the BCM and education; (2) how do the BCM recruit from Freire's concepts; and (3) what happens to their education project?

The case study period includes the 5-month period in 1972 from where the Freirean literacy training took place as week-long sessions once a month over a five month period. There were 10-15 participants selected as the national leaders of the BCM (that is from different geographic regions of South Africa). These included but were not limited to Steve Biko, Barney Pityana, Strini Moodley, Saths Cooper, Jonny Issel, Bokwe Mafuna, and Harry Ngwenya.[4] The study will not have a specific geographic site and as this happened over 40 years ago there are only a few of the people who were part of the participant group who are still alive. The person who facilitated the training, Anne Hope, was the first person to be interviewed. I used snowball or network sampling, where "participant's referrals are the basis for choosing a sample" (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006, p.321). The sample size for the study was small and "bounded". The

[4] These names were collated from interviews with Saths Cooper, Anne Hope, Mamphela Ramphela and Bokwe Mafuna, but no-one could give me a finite list of attendees and it became apparent that the group was somewhat flexible and attendance was dependent on peoples' study and work programmes, resources to travel, and so on.

people I ended up identifying as part of my small bounded sample size, and interviewing were easy to find contact details for, as they were mostly prominent leaders or people in the public eye. This made the task of finding contact details for them easy but meant that I needed to wait a bit longer than usual to secure interview appointments because of their busy schedules. The sample was also spread out across the country in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Kleinmond.

Case study research in education often draws on other disciplines like sociology, psychology, history, etc. for techniques of data analysis and collection as well as for theoretical orientation. As mentioned earlier, I have oriented my research design within the discipline of history and sociology. The data collection technique I used was individual in-depth interviews. These were semi-structured interviews with a focus on peoples' careers and involvement in education and the BCM, and the particular literacy training. This entailed spending at least an hour with each interviewee (Anne Hope, Sally Timmel, Saths Cooper, Bokwe Mafuna and Mamphela Ramphela) and a follow-up interview with Anne Hope.

I ended up using archival sources relating to the history of the BCM, more than I originally expected to. This was because of the rich material on the BCM that I collected from the ALUKA Online Archive. These consisted of resistance documents, including reports, minutes of meetings, pamphlets, memo's newspaper articles and so on, from the period 1968 to 1976. In addition to this, the rich documenting of the history of African politics by Karis and Gerhart (1997), *From Protest to Challenge Volume 5* covering 1964 to 1979, which includes speeches, personal letters, minutes, reports, memorandums and newspaper articles. The ALUKA Online Archive (ALUKA) also included the five *Black Review* books, which are a rich annual report of sorts on black life in South Africa from 1972 to 1976. The other rich archival source I engaged was over 600 pages of the court transcripts stored digitally in the Historical Papers Digitised Archive at the University of the Witwatersrand of Steve Biko's testimony in the 1975-76 SASO/BCM trial.

As one of the methods of collecting data was in-depth interviews, it was expected that there would be rich material for analysis. The interviews were audio recorded with the permission of the interviewees and then transcribed verbatim. These textual transcripts form a small part of

the focus of the analysis, but they are less of the focus than I first imagined. This was as a result of the interviewees not remembering as much as I was hoping they would as well as some of them not wanting to speak at all about the period in question.[5] The processing of the collected archival materials included paraphrasing, identification and characterisation of recurring themes. This made up the bulk of the empirical data and therefore analysis.

Ethical approval for this project was obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee, in the School of Education, at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. The completion of the aforementioned body's ethics application was done with a view to ensuring that the values of transparency and respect are adhered to. These values were translated into action by ensuring careful preparation of briefing procedures for all interviewees as well as the use of well designed consent forms detailing the nature of the study and covering all the necessary details for participant consent. Once completed, the results of my study will be filed in the university library system to be consulted by the academic community. It will also be made available, where there is interest, to all the interviewees in the study.[6]

Emile Durkheim was first to position education as "eminently social in its origins and its functions" (1956, pg. 114) and hence argue that education should be understood sociologically. This notion was furthered by Basil Bernstein's (2000) work that exposed education as unable to be neutral and therefore developing an understanding of pedagogy as political. Positioning pedagogy as political meant identifying it as a socio-historical process, which is constituted under particular socio-political and historical conditions with particular projects and particular power relations that underpin it. Bernstein (2000) has pointed to the fact that education always plays a distributive role in that it distributes consciousness, it distributes access to knowledge, and projects what is thinkable and unthinkable. I will argue in this thesis that the BCM understood education as political and realised that it was playing a distributive role by deciding,

[5] Bokwe Mafuna is a case in point. While I spent three hours interviewing him, there was very little of this time spent on talking about Freire or the literacy campaign planning process. He also did not sign the consent form for audio recording although he agreed that I could record the interview. The interview has therefore not been transcribed.

[6] I will endeavour to present my research findings at relevant conferences or seminars, and an academic article, based on the research findings, will hopefully be accepted for publication in an accredited journal following the completion of the research report. I will be submitting an abstract to present under the theme of 'Education and Liberation' at the conference planned for July 2013 in celebration of Neville Alexander's life and work.

through the apartheid education policies and practices, who had access to what kind of knowledge and what kinds of consciousness was being distributed. I will discuss in Chapter 2 how the BCM critiqued what was being projected as the thinkable and in Chapter 3 and 4 how the BCM tried to give access to what apartheid education deemed to be the unthinkable.

Neville Alexander (2010), who was a radical educationalist and one of the voices that has been critical of the "new" South Africa, likens the "revolution" experienced in South Africa in the early 1990's as a "regime change", described as…

> certain fundamental changes in the form of rule and of the institutions of the state machine [that] are brought about without, however, a concomitant change in the fundamental power relations at the level of the economy and of the management of the repressive apparatuses of the state.

Alexander (2010) is making the claim that even though there has been a regime change in South Africa, which has resulted in certain changes within the State apparatus, there has not been a sufficient change of consciousness in South African society. Gibson, in his book chapter called *The pitfalls of South Africa's liberation,* details this mere "regime change" by emphasizing that "… South Africa's Black population is surprisingly worse off after the end of apartheid, with the Black working class, and especially the poor, being the biggest losers" (2011, p.73). What is important about Alexander and Gibson's claims are that they both agree that there has not been a significant change in South African state and society, which has resulted in the lives of the black majority remaining dire.

Alexander (2010) also points to evidence of this "regime change" and makes interesting suggestions that could help us "…find new ways of seeing the struggle for another world and another South Africa". The appeal of his call is very inspiring and seems to be suggesting a different sort of transformation of State and society, of which the driving force is education. The broad vision that he proposes (2013, p. 197):

> …in the domain of education, where the state and other public institutions can legitimately intervene - the content, orientation and delivery of the curriculum at all levels of the system would be changed fundamentally. The psychological, pedagogical, ideological and emotional revolution implied by an approach that does not glorify individual or group domination while allowing for the full development and flowering of the potential inherent in each and every human being can be imagined and extrapolated very easily.

Gibson using Frantz Fanon's (1967b) term of 'intellectual laziness' makes the claim that "the lack of concrete links between the radical intellectuals and the masses of people" (2011, p. xiv) is one of the reasons why a radical alternative was never realised as part of the revolution and formation of a 'new' South Africa after apartheid. The Black Consciousness Movement, I will argue in this thesis, may be a moment in the resistance to apartheid, where education is placed centrally to the project of political struggle and the fight for freedom. Also, a moment where radical intellectuals tried to create more concrete links between themselves and the masses of people, and more importantly, where there was a systematic engagement with peoples' consciousness and the development of a process of conscientisation.

Paulo Freire

As described earlier, I came across this interesting reference that connected Anne Hope, Paulo Freire and the BCM and I was really intrigued. A large part of my starting point for this research was who was Freire and what is his theory? I am therefore going to briefly outline his theory as that was in fact my starting point and it framed a lot of my questions. My study is concerned with the theory of 'Critical Education' developed around the ideas and concepts of Freire. Freire, according to Gandin, "sometimes refers to the principles of critical education as 'liberating education' because he is interested in going beyond the moment of critique; his whole theory is deeply connected with the ultimate goal of impacting and transforming not only education but society as a whole" (2009, p.341-342). The status and role of critical education in building political movements for resistance has been much debated and researched.[7] What is missing from this body of knowledge is an engagement with radical pedagogical practices and

[7] See Anyon, 2009, Compton and Weiner, 2009; Kang, 2009; Sandler, 2009, respectively.

cases that existed at the height of the internal anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. The theory of critical education was predominantly a (radical) pedagogy that understood that consciousness, the social, and the political were inherently connected. That is to say that there is a connection between the individual, society and power. It is important to note that Freire's radical pedagogy and critical education are essentially overlapping frameworks, as Freire developed his radical pedagogy with a detailed methodology, and this thinking has contributed broadly to the field of critical education.

While Paulo Freire's theory of radical pedagogy was developed in Brazil specifically, but also South America more generally, it was taken up globally and resonated with people in many places, who were focused on responding to oppressions of varying sorts. This was because it was a theory of education that understood oppression to constitute consciousness in particular ways and was therefore relevant to the oppressive colonial situations that existed on the African continent and in the specific case study I am working with, of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa. By 1968, Freire published *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which was translated into English in 1970. He took up a six-month position in 1969 as visiting professor at the Harvard University's Centre for Studies in Education and Development.

In 1970, he was appointed as a special consultant to the Office of Education at the World Council of Churches in Geneva, where he operated as an educational counsellor for Third World governments. This meant that his thinking and methods spread to places further afield than South America. Freire, with a group of Brazilian exiles founded IDAC (Institute for Cultural Action) in 1971, which was a research and educational institution. This institution's aim was to contribute towards developing a pedagogy for the oppressed by directing its attention and work towards concrete situations. IDAC was inundated with requests to run seminars about this radical pedagogy, which they did for the first few years. IDAC then took up an opportunity to work in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which they took on completely and understood themselves as being part of the revolutionary change happening there. Freire's most influential work in Africa was therefore the three years between 1975 and 1978 spent in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau with IDAC, working with Mario Cabral the then Minister of Education, on a

national literacy scheme. He remained at the World Council of Churches for 10 years until he was allowed to return to Brazil in 1980, having being exiled for a total of 15 years. While in exile he also worked in Angola, Mozambique, Peru and Tanzania.

Many people the world over have glowing things to say about Freire's work in education, through which he encouraged a belief that the world could be transformed into a more just place for people who suffer from one form of oppression or another. Freire published a number of books and articles, which have been the subject of many reviews and have inspired further inquiry and articles as well as educational projects around the world.[8] Glass provides an apt summary of Freire's work and its impact …

> Freire's theory about the relationship between liberation and education has inspired and informed countless efforts to make life more humane for those oppressed by economic and ideological structures that denied them their dignity, rights, and self-determination. The ideas in Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1970) have been applied on every continent, in projects ranging from grassroots basic literacy programs to national educational policies. Many people engaged in progressive struggles for justice - teachers, students, community organizers, workers, movement activists, and citizens from every walk of life - who read Freire found reflections of their own thinking; many who heard Freire speak found shape for their own words; many who studied his work discovered practices worth translating into their own contexts. (2001, p. 15)

Freire's early writings did not however translate easily into the context of a growing feminist movement and the more general consciousness of patriarchy and the empowerment of women the world over. The oppression of women was taken more seriously by Freire (1996) in his later

[8] See Cummings, 1971; Gerhardt, 1993; Kidd and Kumar, 1981; Hederman, 1982; Thampi, 1973; Giroux, 1979; McLaren, 1993; Rikowski, 2001; Teodoro, 2003; to name a few. For a review of Freire's work over 40 years and a summation of the various critiques of his critical pedagogy see Au (2009, p. 221-231). Au's review is of particular interest because it focuses on how Freire's work has been contextualised outside of Brazil.

work. An interesting reference to this critique can be found in the work of bell hooks (1994), where she critiques Freire, who was her mentor, by referring to his sexist language and his assumed gender hierarchies. Freire (1996) himself had later written about always being open to reflecting on ones assumptions and assumed hierarchies, and particularly by doing so through dialogue or listening to what others had to say and being in conversation with them.

Freire's key concepts

I will now look more closely at some of the important concepts Freire developed during his life's work while creating his theory of education. Freire's political and theoretical orientation can be described as being Christian and Humanist-Marxist. Freire was influenced from a young age by his mother who was a Christian, and he remained committed to a progressive Christian agenda influenced also in the 1960's and 70's by the Christian socialist movement. In commenting on how Freire managed merging these viewpoints Gadotti posits that as "…a left-wing thinker, Paulo Freire believes that being a Christian does not mean being a reactionary and that being a Marxist does not mean being an inhuman bureaucrat" (1994, pg. 64).

So what was this critical pedagogy, the essence of which has more recently become a field within education called 'critical education'? Freire coined the term 'critical pedagogy', which has come to be known, as suggested by Apple, et al. as, a "reconstruction of what education is for, how it should be carried out, what we should teach, and who should be empowered to engage in it" (2009, p. 3). In the opening lines of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire names the central concern of humankind as the problem of humanisation. This problematic is derived from his understanding that in the world, there exist both the possibility for dehumanisation and humanisation, with the former taking place through exploitation, oppression and injustice. The later act of humanisation Freire believes "… is the humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well" (1970, pg. 26).

Oppression results, according to Freire, in what he calls 'prescription' where the oppressed have a prescribed behaviour, which follows the guidelines or prescripts of the oppressor. This results in the consciousness of the oppressed being transformed to conform to the oppressors' consciousness. In order for the oppressed to confront the oppressor, and in so doing become

more fully human, they need to confront themselves. This is Freire's theory of consciousness that points to the duality established in the inner most self of the oppressed, where s/he is both her/himself as well as the oppressor. Freire draws on Frantz Fanon's (1967b) description of horizontal violence where the colonised oppressed person strikes out at their brothers and/or sisters as a way of striking at the oppressor internalised inside them. Fanon (1967a)also speaks of the internalised oppression of the oppressed, which Freire agrees with. Freire also uses Hegel's master-slave dialectic (1977), where the slave recognises that s/he is the masters anti-thesis and that the master exists in dialectic relationship with the slave. According to Gadotti, the "…dialectic between the Master and the Slave, developed by Hegel, can be considered the principal theoretical framework of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*" (1994, pg. 74).

All of this is to say that oppression acts to alienate consciousness and as explained above create a dual consciousness that sees the oppressed internalising the oppressor. Part of the fight for liberation is a fight for humanisation, and it is imperative then to include consciousness in the understanding of any action towards transforming the world. In addition to the duality created by oppression, there is also the resultant objectifying of oppressed people, seeing them as mere objects in a fixed or natural system. An important step towards liberation identified by Freire, is the realisation by the oppressed that they are not merely objects in a naturally occurring world that is fixed, but rather that they are Subjects with the power to act on the world to transform it. Freire clarifies this understanding of people as Subjects, when he describes humans as distinct from animals because of their ability to reflect on the world by seeing it as an objective reality. He distinguishes between animals which are atemporal, acritical and singular, existing in a world that they are immersed in and responding to physically, and humans who exist in time, are able to be critical of the world, develop a plurality of responses to questions and ultimately can create distance between themselves and their reality such that they have the potential to transform it (Freire, 1985).

Underpinning Freire's thinking is the dialectical perspective, which is the concept that something and its opposite are necessarily in relationship with one another for its existence. The concept of the dialectic, as described earlier, originates from GWF Hegel (1902) and is extended by Karl Marx (1963). A range of thinkers, including prominent thinkers from the 'global

South' like Frantz Fanon and Steve Biko, engaged and applied variants of this concept to their analysis of their local contexts as well as the broader global world, in the discourses proposing a way out of the oppressions of the time. Freire develops a number of his arguments dialectically. The first of these I will discuss is the dialectic between the subjective and the objective, which holds the tension between the subjective reality and the objective reality in which one lives (Freire, 1970, p. 32). For Freire, "…'consciousness of' and 'action upon' reality are, therefore, inseparable constituents of the transforming act by which men become beings of relations" (1985, pg. 68). What he is doing is pointing towards the unmistakable relationship between the psychological (subjective) and the socio-political (objective) and that both these are vital for creating conditions for change.

Praxis is another key dialectical relationship put forward by Freire between reflection and action, or the practice of action and reflection. (Freire, 1970, p. 33). For Freire, it is the practice of critical reflection that informs actions. A famous and well used quote of Freire describes this well, "…reflection without action is mere verbalism. Action without reflection is pure activism" (1970, p. 87). What praxis is tackling is the idea that certain people are able and meant to think while others are meant to do and that these roles are usually assigned according to ones class position or as a marker of ability to move between classes. Freire's proposition is that in order for people to become more human, we all have to engage in praxis, both thinking and doing. Marx spoke of a *philosophy of praxis*, which is the reaction of man through productive praxis or the ability to insert yourself in production, and revolutionary praxis, which is the ability to transform society (Gadotti, 1994, pg. 166). Praxis in the pedagogical Freirean sense, is the understanding that knowledge is never divorced from the reality in which it is created and lives. Giroux has critiqued versions of radical pedagogy and in so doing has drawn attention to the problematic dichotomy between theory and practice. He however uses Freire's idea (shared by Karl Marx, Frantz Fanon and Neville Alexander) of radical praxis as an example of the uniting of theory and practice (Giroux, 1979).

When engaging consciousness, Freire understood that it was critical consciousness that needed to be nurtured, and he proposed that this was best done through the method of conscientisation. Freire posited that "…conscientisation refers to the process in which men [sic],

not as recipients, but as knowing subjects achieve a deepening awareness both of sociocultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality" (1985, pg. 93), or as Magaziner put it, "... was based on the idea that the oppressed needed to develop their own critical faculties rather than have some vanguard force an ideology upon them" (2010, p. 127).

Conscientisation is therefore the development of self-awareness and then awareness of the world or as Freire would put it, awareness of self and world. Building on that would be the awareness of the word and the world. This could be attained according to Freire through an emphasis on literacy and then a development of the process of dialogue. Literacy was historically and politically important because in many parts of the world poor people who were illiterate were denied a range of things including the possibility of voting. In addition to this, Freire pointed to the complexity of the concept of literacy, and how a misunderstanding of this concept leads to programs and methods of teaching literacy that are mechanistic. In placing literacy as central to developing critical consciousness through conscientisation, Freire is developing the means for people to name their world and reality from a distance. This creation of space between peoples' reality and their reflection on their reality is central to the possibility of developing peoples' consciousness of the world.

Freire criticised how people were taught to read and write, when he exposed the schooling system as well as literacy campaigns as being mechanistic, coining the term 'banking education'. This is when learners are regarded as empty vessels, who are to be filled mechanistically with knowledge by teachers. In this understanding of the process of teaching and learning, the principle of praxis is ignored because there is no connection between the theoretical (word) and the practical (world). Fischman claims that the reason why Freire remains relevant and a discipline such as 'critical pedagogy' vital, is because "...the shortcomings of the banking system[9] are the norm and not the exception; and because even today there are more teachers willing to commit and affirm that other school experience, more democratic, more open, more tolerant, and even, more creative, is not only achievable, but

[9] The concept of banking education is unpacked further on in this chapter.

necessary" (2009, p. 238).[10] Freire, through the critique of banking education, also developed a way of engaging the role of the teacher that required the teacher to acknowledge that they too were in need of learning and would indeed learn from students in a more reciprocal learning process. What this proposition took as its basis was the understanding of (all) human beings as incomplete and striving towards being more human. That by engaging power, and the dynamics that this inevitably brings into a teacher-learner relationship, one could develop a more beneficial and humanising way of learning and teaching. Part of Freire's literacy method was an engagement with learners' real life experience to steer the development of the content of the learning process. This was done through the development by the learners of 'generative themes'. This again worked against the notion that the teacher and leaders of the literacy programme could come with content (word) that was not connected to the learners' experience (world).

In exposing banking education as domesticating, Freire developed problem-posing education that is humanising, as the type of education to be practiced in the quest for liberation or transformation. He understood oppression to be about overwhelming control and domination, and recognised banking education as acting in the interest of oppression (Freire, 1970). Freire sees these two educational concepts and their practices as conflictual. Below is an excerpt from *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* that shows these contradictions in tabular form (1970, pg. 64-66)

Problem-Posing Education	**Banking Education**
Sets itself the task of demythologising	Attempts to conceal certain facts which explain the way human beings exist in the world by mythicising reality
Regards dialogue as indispensable to the act of cognition which unveils reality	Resists dialogue
Makes them critical thinkers	Treats students as objects of assistance
Bases itself on creativity and stimulates true reflection and action, thereby responding to the vocation of persons as beings who are authentic only when engaged in inquiry and	Inhibits creativity and domesticates (although cannot completely destroy) the intentionality of consciousness by isolating consciousness from the world, thereby denying people their ontological and historical vocation of becoming

[10] For a review of a current "other school experience" as described by Fischman, the Citizen School Project in Brazil is notable. (Gandin, 2009).

creative transformation	more fully human
Problem-posing theory and practice take the people's history as their starting point	Banking theory and practice, as immobilising and fixating forces, fail to acknowledge men and women as historical beings
Accepts neither a "well-behaved" present not a predetermined future – roots itself in the dynamic present and becomes revolutionary	Emphasises permanence and becomes reactionary
Presents men's situation to them as a problem	Directly or indirectly reinforces men's fatalistic perception of their situation

Now that I have discussed the background, rationale, methodology of this study, introduced critical education, and sketched a picture of Paulo Freire's radical pedagogy concepts, I can move in Chapter 2, to tracing the formation and development of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and its relationship to education, with reference to the Bantu Education Act and the Extension of Universities Act.

CHAPTER 2:

History of Radical Education: SASO as the originators of Black Consciousness

In the previous chapter, I argued that education is political. The aim of this chapter is to argue that the BCM was formed through student politics at universities and that the movement develops as a reaction to what is happening in education in South Africa in the mid-1960's. While the BCM does develop a critique of politics in society, it is always engaged and grounded in education, at the level of schools, universities, community development projects of an educational nature, and leadership training. I will present evidence supporting this argument by providing detail on the political context, the educational context and the role of students in resistance politics. I will then move to detail the roots of SASO, its critique of education, and understanding of the function of formation schools, literacy programmes and publications such as the SASO newsletter and the *Black Review* books.

The BCM is described by many as the key driver of political revival in South Africa after the low point of political resistance that was the 1960's. A closer analysis of retrospective perceptions, by both activists and academics of the BCM's contribution to the overthrow of apartheid, show consistently contradictory analysis. People using a class based analysis describe BC as inadequate for the task of revolution in South Africa. Some see it as an instance of popular organising by elite student types. Others see it as the basis for the 1976 student uprising and the emergence of the radical youth politics of the 1980's. Gqola discusses in detail the BCM's inability to pay "meaningful attention to the gendered nature of Black experience" (2001, pg. 148). The gender blind spot raised by Gqola is described as being in line with some of the black writers and thinkers that the BCM were reading and engaging with at the time like Frantz Fanon, Aime Cesaire, Julius Nyerere, Mao Zedong, Antonio Gramsci, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Leopoldt Senghor, Stokely Carmichael, and also included is Paulo Freire. Not many of these reflections have focussed specifically on the BCM's understandings of education and the role it played in building the movement and in particular the pedagogical processes selected, recruited and adhered to. This is in part because it is taken for granted that the BCM and the resultant programmes had to have placed an emphasis on knowledge and learning

because it was started and largely led by university students. This assumption may be part of the reason why a research project of this kind has been absent up until now.[11]

Almost everyone who writes about BC in South Africa consistently describes Steve Biko as the father of this very important philosophy and movement, the history of which is well known and documented[12] (Stubbs, 1978; Ranuga, 1960; Hirshmann, 1990; Mzamane, et al., 2006; Mngxitama, et al**.,** 2008; Magaziner, 2010, to name a few spanning four decades). In a book review titled *Three Portraits of a Revolutionary*[13]*,* Gerhardt describes BC and Biko's role in its emergence as, " ... the new variant of African nationalism known as Black Consciousness [that] grew from the germ of an idea in the mind of one dynamic individual into a mass movement that swept an entire generation of black youth" (1979, pg. 60). When re-engaging BC leaders it became clear that while Biko was a driving force and often an instigator for questioning and debating ideas, much of his writings are reflective of the communal conversations and debates that were being had by the core group of BC leaders at the time.[14]

[11] Daniel Magaziner's (2010) book *The Law and the Prophets: Black Consciousness in South Africa, 1968-1977*, looks broadly at the notion and process of conscientisation in the building of the BCM, and so provides a valuable confirmation, and some of the only published writing on Anne Hope's time working with BCM leaders training them in the radical pedagogy of Freire in 1972.

[12] There are many accounts of varying lengths of the history of the BCM. Further to the ones noted above, and quoted from the notes of Mzamane, Maaba and Biko (jnr) "Some useful studies on the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in South Africa include Gail M. Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); N. Barney Pityana and others (eds), *Bounds of Possibility: The Legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1991); and Thomas G. Karis and Gail M. Gerhart (eds), From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1979, Volume 5, *Nadir and Resurgence*, 1964-1979 (Pretoria: UNISA Press, 1997); Millard Arnold (ed.), *The Testimony of Steve Biko: Black Consciousness in South Africa*, (New York: Granada Publishing, 1979); and Aelred Stubbs (ed.), *I Write What I Like: A Selection of His Writings* (London: Heinemann, 1984), provide the philosophical underpinnings of the BCM" (2006, p. 99).

[13] This book review looks at three books written about Steve Biko - Millard Arnold, ed., *STEVE BIKO: Black Consciousness in South Africa*. (New York, Random House, 1978.). Steve Biko, *I WRITE WHAT I LIKE: A Selection of his Writings* edited with a personal memoir by Aelred Stubbs C. R. (London, Bowerdean Press; San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978. Donald Woods, *BIKO*. (London, New York: Paddington Press, 1978)

[14] Interviews conducted with Saths Coopar (2012), Bokwe Maphuna (2012) and Mamphela Ramphela (2012)

Black Consciousness is explained concisely by Biko (1978, p. 68, my emphasis)…

> The call for Black Consciousness is the most positive call to come from any group in the black world for a long time. It is more than just a reactionary rejection of whites by blacks. The quintessence of it is the realisation by blacks that, in order to feature well in this game of power politics, they have to use the concept of group power and to build a strong foundation for this. Being a historically, socially and economically disinherited and dispossessed group, they have the strongest foundation from which to operate. The philosophy of Black Consciousness, therefore, expresses group pride and the determination by the blacks to rise and attain the envisaged self. At the heart of this kind of thinking is the realisation by the blacks that *the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed.*

Biko is writing here about what he and the rest of the BC leaders believed were necessary to change the status quo and overthrow the apartheid state, which was purporting racism against black people. The dialectical underpinning of BC was therefore to confront the thesis of white racism head on with the anti-thesis of black consciousness, to result in a synthesis of non-racialism. There was also a second level of dialectical thinking where the BCM linked the importance of psychology and education in developing a theory of consciousness, as well as a method of conscientisation to counter the destructive psychology of racism and the destructive pedagogy of Bantu Education and Bush Colleges. I will discuss this second level of the BCM dialectic, the thesis of false-consciousness – anti-thesis of critical consciousness – synthesis of an active subject willing and able to transform society, in more detail in Chapter 3.

In order to start sketching a picture of the socio-political context I will briefly explain the rise of the apartheid state. South Africa was first colonised in the seventeenth century by the Dutch and the English. South Africa gained independence from Britain in 1910, which resulted in more institutionalised discrimination against the black majority. The system of apartheid was implemented in 1948 when the Nationalist Party came into power. Apartheid comes from the word ‘apartness’, and was a system that enforced the separation of the population by crude understandings of race, which created the racial categories of African or Bantu, Coloured,

White and Indian. Social, political and economic institutions were used by the state to implement and enforce a range of discriminatory laws and practices based on the false racial hierarchy created. There is a long history of the resistance to colonisation and apartheid, and the repressive and violent response to this from the state.[15] The apartheid system continued until 1990, when political parties were unbanned and notably Nelson Mandela was released from prison.

If one looks back to the period of the late, 1960's and early 1970's anti-apartheid struggle, which is the focus of my research, one will find that this was a time when there was a re-grouping of resistance politics that saw many more people, particularly students[16], motivated to fight against the injustices of the apartheid state. Black Consciousness was a key ingredient to this re-awakening and is a case that provides historical evidence of a time from 1968 when radical intellectuals (notably BCM leaders) were trying to work closely with masses of 'ordinary' people. There is broad consensus that "the BCM emerged in the mid-1960's in the political vacuum that followed the jailing and banning of the ANC (African National Congress) and PAC (Pan-African Congress) leadership after the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre" (Mngxitama, et al., 2008, p.4).

Education in South Africa

> The peoples... of South Africa were not simply conquered in a military sense; did not only lose their political independence; were not simply divorced from an independent economic base; were not just drawn into new systems of social and economic life as urban dwellers and wage labourers [but were culturally dominated with massive ideological transformation of which the education system was one of the most important agents]. (Kallaway, 1984, pg. 2-3).

Both the colonial and the apartheid education systems were designed to maintain the unequal status quo that had prevailed in South Africa since the beginning of the colonial period. The

[15] For a detailed historical reflection an analysis see Karis and Gerhart's *From Protest to Challenge*, Volumes 1 to 5, 1882 to 1979.

[16] By students I mean primary, high and university students

Bantu Education Act of 1953[17] was a key driver in ensuring that black education would remain dire and would cement the segregation of education in South Africa on the basis of race (Abdi, 1999). According to Hyslop (1999), Bantu Education was a system of mass schooling designed to control urban youth more effectively as well as respond to the pressures from industry for a greater degree of education of labour in order for people to take up semi-skilled work. Bantu education was meant to be an extension of the separate development policies of the time with Dr. Vervoed, the Prime Minister and architect of the system of apartheid, claiming that education "…must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life" (ALUKA, SASO Leadership Training Archive, December 1971, pg. 3 of 11). What one recognises here is that education in apartheid South Africa played a pivotal role in maintaining oppression, and that education more generally but higher education in particular, controlled and distributed unevenly across racial groupings, consciousness, access to knowledge, and what was thinkable and unthinkable, which translated into defined career and life opportunities.

Resistance to the state education policy that was the Bantu Education Act was originally driven by teacher organisations, where more radical teacher leaders were emerging.[18] There was also a campaign against Bantu education led by the ANC, which emerged as a school boycott in 1955 and 1956, and expanded to include 'cultural clubs'. These clubs were set up through a body called the African Education Movement (AEM) and were an attempt to create an alternate school system.[19] By the end of the 1950's the resistance that had emerged in the early part of the 1950's was over, partly due to state repression but also because of tactical and strategic issues within the AEM and ANC. In 1959, the Extension of Universities Act was passed barring admission of blacks in English-speaking, "non-racial" universities and allowing for the establishment of racially segregated universities for Indians, Coloured and Blacks (further segregated linguistically into Xhosa, Zulu, etc.). These institutions were called the "bush"

[17] For a fascinating study on how the Bantu Education Act came into being and a tracking of the intellectual development of one of Apartheid's idealogues W.W.M. Eiselen, who developed this policy to encourage separate development of the apartheid identified racial categories, see Kros, Cynthia (2010). *The Seeds of Separate Development: Origins of Bantu Education.* Pretoria: Unisa Press.

[18] For a more detailed account of resistance to the state education policy see Chapter Two: Teachers and the Crisis, in Hyslop, J. (1999). *The Classroom Struggle: Policy and Resistance in South Africa 1940-1990*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press

[19] Ibid. for a more detailed account of these 'cultural clubs' and the ultimate failure of the school boycott and the development of an alternate school system.

colleges or universities and were originally planned by the apartheid state to incubate a new level of compliant and slightly more privileged class of blacks. The staff was largely white and predominantly Afrikaans-speaking providing another opportunity for sheltered employment by the state for poor whites (Karis and Gerhart, 1997). The notions of separate development and divide and rule ringed true in these institutions as well. How faculty and students were allowed to engage in the various operations and social life of the university was hierarchised and mimicked the apartheid policies that governed life in society more broadly. This meant that there was another layer of hierarchy to the usual one present between teachers and students. Life at these institutions were heavy handedly controlled to ensure that there was little space for political organisation on campuses. In fact the creation of Black colleges and universities did not initially create a space for reflection and critique but this atmosphere of a controlled and depoliticised university space did not last long.[20]

After the calculated banning and imprisonment of almost all of the black leadership of political movements in South Africa and of black political organisations (ANC and PAC in April 1960), there was an attempt by young black student activists in the early 1960's to keep alive some of the traditions of these liberation movements through organisations that were student-based (Karis and Gerhart, 1997). These included the ANC inclined African Students Association (ASA); PAC inclined South African Students Union of South Africa; and the Non-European Unity Movement inclined Durban Students' Union, Cape Peninsula Students' Union and the Society of Young Africa. All of these politically aligned student organisations suffered a similar fate of being extinguished by the mid-1960's because of a lack of funding and resources and the consistent harassment and surveillance of its members by the security police (ALUKA, SASO Pamphlet, February 1971, pg. 5 to 7 of 10). The continued repression of political activity by the security police plus the fear of politics and resistance that existed in the 1960's resulted in a period where parents and teachers did not speak about "dangerous" knowledge", which included the history of "past confrontations with the state" (Karis and Gerhart, 1997, pg. 107).

[20] The 1960's was a decade of economic boom in South Africa, which was one of the reasons why the Apartheid state pursued its education policy, but there was also further state repression of popular movements. The education system was however not meeting the needs of industry for skilled labour, which undermined the possibility of economic development (Hyslop, 1999). The education policy changes that were made in the early 1970's, according to Hyslop (1999), set the stage for the student uprisings of 1976.

This created a metaphorical space (or vacuum) from the resistance history of earlier political movements to imagine a new role and modus operandi for students, and youth more generally, to develop towards the end of the 1960's.

The most established university student organisation was the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), which was formed in 1924 as a platform for dialogue between white Afrikaans and English-speaking students and by extension their universities. By the 1960's the English-speaking more liberal part of the membership led the organisation into a more radical direction, thus attracting more black students into the organisation. NUSAS, because of the failure of black university student organisations and because of the organisation later being led by more liberal students, became the non-racial student organisation where black student's, even though in the minority, engaged in organised student activism.[21]

Formation of SASO

In 1966, Steve Biko then a first year medical student at the University of Natal Non-European Section (UNNE), attended a NUSAS leadership training seminar and was present at their 1966, 1967, and 1968 annual July national congresses. It was during this period that Black students engaged within the white controlled student organisation and experienced firsthand the inability of black students within NUSAS to influence the agenda, discussions and decisions of the organisation. Added to this was the inability of the rank and file NUSAS white students to align themselves with issues that affected black students. Partly as a result of this, and partly as a result of their political analysis, Biko along with a few other black student leaders started planning the formation of a blacks-only organisation, with an initial meeting in Stutterheim in July 1968, followed by a consultative meeting in December 1968 (Karis and Gerhart, 1997, pg. 459 - 462)[22], and the SASO launching conference in July 1969 at Turfloop (ALUKA Minutes of 1969 SASO Conference, 1969).

[21] For a more detailed overview of the history of NUSAS see page 65 to 72 in Karis and Gerhart (1997).

[22] Document 38 – Communiqué by SASO, July 1969.

In 1969, the first year of its existence, SASO projected that its focus was on self reflection followed in the second half of 1970 by the organisations expose of the reliance of black students on their white counterparts to lead the way to transforming South African society to one where blacks would be more free. This all formed part of SASO's ultimate goal of liberation through revolution, which needed to be carefully communicated so as not to overstep what would be considered by the authorities as illegal (Karis and Gerhart, 1997, page. 99). The first definition of BC was publicised in the SASO Policy Manifesto of July 1971, with the opening point explaining that "SASO is a Black Student Organisation working for the liberation of the Black man first from the psychological oppression by themselves through inferiority complex and secondly from physical oppression accruing out of living in a White racist society" (ALUKA, SASO Policy Manifesto, pg. 3 of 4). It goes on to clearly position Black Consciousness as a concept that is logically the main driving force towards creating black awareness, which in turn frees the black majority from the chains that confine them as servants to white society. Black Consciousness according to SASO's policy manifesto is "an attitude of mind, a way of life".

SASO posited in a pamphlet that the reason it was formed was out of the need identified by a caucus of 40 black student leaders at the University Christian Movement conference in July 1968, representing the main black centres of higher education, to be in contact and communication with one another across the bush or university colleges (ALUKA, SASO Pamphlet, February 1971, pg. 6 of 10). This was in order to counter the physical as well as intellectual isolation imposed on these students by the system of racialised tertiary education. SASO critiqued the university college system for breeding pseudo intellectuals who would not criticise the powers that be and suggested that there needed to be interference with the state's "programme of indoctrination and intimidation so effectively applied at all South African Universities" (SASO Communiqué, in Karis and Gerhart, 1997, pg. 460). This interference took the form of a systematic training of black student leaders and youth outside of the school and university system, which I will discuss later in more detail. Biko, the first president of SASO alludes to this 1969 when he writes that "it seems sometimes that it is a crime for the non-white students to think for themselves" (Biko, 1978, pg. 4). There was also a conscious move by SASO to refuse the use of the word non-white or non-european and a decision to use the word black in its place ratified at the SASO National Conference of 1970 (pg. 6 of 6, and ALUKA,

SASO Newsletter, August 1970, pg. 7 of 27). There was also a conscious push to include coloured and indian under the umbrella of the term black, united mainly by the commonality of different variations of oppressions by whites.

SASO founding members were mostly connected to the struggle histories prior to the 1960's clampdown, through having been exposed to it via older family members. This gradually started to change as SASO developed its ideas and positions towards the end of the 1960's and into the 1970's, with a proactive engagement between SASO members and some political veterans. This provided content for study and debate by SASO at their many late night discussions,[23] but the absence of an easy and clear connection to older political movements meant that there was a space created, without the overbearing history of the big, then banned organisations of the ANC and PAC (Karis and Gerhart, 1997). SASO although internally quite critical of the older political organisations, were mostly supportive of these organisations as there were many older people in black communities with allegiances there. SASO however adopted the notion that there was no ANC and PAC to hold on to, just the struggle. This formed part of Biko and the BCM's political strategy of trying to bring together as many of the black resistance formations, political and other, as possible.[24]

There was a crisis at black universities by 1972 when university authorities clamped down on vocal dissent from its students. Many students were expelled or voluntarily left their studies to return to the townships where they grew up, to take up teaching positions at local township schools. This was made possible by the Bantu Education Department allowing local heads of schools to control their own teacher hiring processes, creating an opportunity for some of the radical SASO members returning to their communities to use the space of the classroom for

[23] Interview with Mamphela Ramphela (2012)

[24] Student Representative Council's (SRC's) at the university colleges were boycotted in the early 1960's as these were ultimately under the strict control of the rectors of the various university colleges (Biko, 1978, pg. 10). By 1970, the SRC at a few black campuses were still being boycotted (ALUKA, SASO Newsletter, July 1970, pg. 7 of 27). SASO's strategic support for the reinstatement of SRC's and a national collective of such SRC's at the bush universities allowed for easier flow of communication and provided more meeting time and space across universities. It also allowed for some physical space and finances to be gleaned from the university administration for SRC offices, stationary, duplication of materials, meeting opportunities at sporting and other planned social events, and so on. As a result of consensus building by SASO, all bush universities had elected SRC's by 1973. The apartheid state, believing that SASO could be a model of separate development that could later spill over into the intended homeland system, gave SASO space to develop and only later started clamping down on the organisation and its leaders (Karis and Gerhart, 1997).

conscientisation.[25]

As mentioned earlier, the first discussion by a group of 40 black student leaders that resulted in the formation of SASO, took place at the annual conference of the UCM. SASO managed under the direction of Biko, to create a pivotal relationship with the non-racial University Christian Movement (UCM),[26] and more specifically with some of the more radical student leaders of the UCM.[27] The UCM had, for one thing, a larger portion of black students, and there were later some employment opportunities that were taken up by three black students into fulltime UCM positions. It was noted in the SASO Newsletter of July 1970, that the UCM's specific value was the welfare programmes they were outlining, dependent on whether these were advantages to improving black communities and led by the black student majority that made up the UCM membership (ALUKA, pg. 10 of 27). This, plus the added financial support and expanded access to political literature and overseas networks that came with the link to the UCM, helped to establish SASO as a national student movement.[28] In 1970-1971, Colin Collins circulated Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* within the UCM and SASO (Karis and Gerhart, 1997, pg. 116). The UCM were influenced by Freire through the Christian Institute (CI), and used many of his concepts in their welfare programmes especially their literacy campaign. Anne Hope was also first introduced to Freire as a member of the UCM and CI.[29]

Karis and Gerhart, from conversations with Biko and other BCM founders, posit that when "SASO began designing its organisational strategy in 1968-69, it applied one clear lesson of the preceding political era by adopting an emphasis on the systematic recruitment and training of future leadership" (1997, pg. 112). If one operated from the vantage point that the state security were experts at detaining and killing political leadership to render the mass of their followers unable to think and act strategically, then it made absolute sense as a political strategy to ensure that you had an efficient system of political education that trained activists to be leaders,

[25] For a detailed account of this university crisis including which universities and what the crisis points were, see page 125 to 128 in Karis and Garhart (1997).
[26] UCM was formed in 1968 in Grahamstown.
[27] This is true of a few radical leaders of NUSAS as well.
[28] SASO developed its own links with international funders but were also given the remaining literacy and black theology project money that remained when the UCM disbanded in 1972, as well as their office space in Durban (Karis and Gerhart, 1997).
[29] Interview with Anne Hope (2011)

creating a mass of leadership that would be harder to wipe out or detain. This is also in line with Freire's notion that everyone has the capacity to be active in the journey to freedom through transforming society, and more specifically challenges the idea of a small group of leaders being followed by less knowledgeable followers. SASO had seen NUSAS train student leaders and adopt rotational policies around leadership positions that accommodated the high turnover of student leaders who graduated from institutions of higher learning within three years of starting. SASO strategists also seemed clear that BC as a 'way of life' needed to have a continued life span outside of SASO, so that if SASO were to be banned then the BC way of life would continue in other organisational forms.

Biko explains the significance of the BCM originating in a student movement in this excerpt from his court testimony (Biko Testimony, AD1719, Volume 81, 02, pg 5 and 6 of 31): -

> Judge: - Do you see any significance in the fact that the Black Consciousness movement originated in a student movement rather than some other sort of movement?
> Biko: - Yes. I think there is a lot of significance.
> Judge: - Yes, could you expand on that?
> Biko: - I think: it is similar in many instances to redevelopment of many philosophies. They either start with the so-called intellectual class within a society, or alternatively where this is not a strong section of a society they start within the student world. I think liberalism for instance as a concrete philosophy started within the intellectual class in Britain especially, I think the doctrine of Marxism if you look it, started within an intellectual class in the German universities, and so it goes with most philosophies. Now in our given society we do not have an unlimited number of so-called intellectuals within the Black situation, and certainly those who are there often are embroiled in the whole problem of existence, so we do not have researchers, we do not have people with free time to look at problems of the Black people and to evolve ways and means of cutting out our problems. But on the campus you do get a little bit of free thinking and experimentation, and this is why Black Consciousness evolved from there.
> Judge: - Would you agree with me that students generally speaking are the most

easily and effectively mobilised group in a society?

Biko: - I think in most self-sufficient societies students can be, you know, a pretty wishy-washy group, but I think students in this kind of context see themselves as playing a very serious role in the evolution of a way out of the morass in which we are right now.

Biko is reflecting here on the importance of space and time to think, reflect, analyse, critique in order to develop a consciousness that responds to the context in which it is developed. He also points to the important task of the redevelopment of philosophies, another way of explaining the recruiting of ideas and concepts to be relevant to the context in which it finds itself. Most importantly, he is acknowledging the central role of students and education in the BCM.

While SASO understood that its organisational life span had a limited time span which relied somewhat on the state's ambivalence as to what its political role actually was, they also understood at least in the early years from 1968-1970, that time was important in building a critically conscious student, and youth, and adult movement. Education played a central role in the planning, implementing and documenting of SASO's organisational life span. One of the aims of SASO as stated in its Constitution was to "…project at all times the Black Consciousness image culturally, socially and educationally" (ALUKA Online Archive, SASO Constitution, pg. 6 of 22). There was also an appreciation by the BCM as represented by SASO, for the growing urban black population who were literate and engaging in the written word more consistently through print media like daily newspapers and magazines published for a black readership. SASO spent time and energy mobilising black journalists and pressuring the white owned (but not state controlled) press, to start projecting images of black life that was less negative and stereotypical. SASO also ensured that it developed its own print communication with the publication of the SASO newsletter, with Biko as its editor from 1970. Ravan Press[30] helped Black Community Programmes (BCP)[31] to produce its own publications,

[30] Started by the Christian Institute (CI) and Spro-cas in January 1973

[31] The BCP grew out of a Christian Institute (CI) research programme called Spro-cas (Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid South Africa) under the guidance of Benni Khoapa who was hired by Spro-cas to develop a programme of community action for blacks. This is discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

most notably the BCP's directory of black organisation, the *Black Viewpoints* series of booklets and the *Black Review* published annually from 1972-76.

SASO's Critique of the Education System

A portfolio on education set up by SASO published a 7-page report in 1971 dealing mainly with the status of education in South Africa including quoting figures of bursaries and bursary types available, enrolment numbers, graduate numbers, type of degrees and diplomas awarded, and subsidies per student at different universities, all separated according to the apartheid racial categories. The report also identifies education as the most important weapon for bringing about change in society, both psychologically and physically. It points to the potential danger that education can create if controlled by the wrong people for purposes of maintaining an unequal society. It describes this negative role of education, instead "…of bringing about awareness it will create a delusion of satisfaction, harmony and progress" (ALUKA, SASO: Portfolio of Education 1971, pg. 3 of 9). The historical analysis of how blacks were introduced to education exposes the underlying ideological messages sent, when it describes how being educated meant having access to a passage to becoming a "civilised person" and how this was structurally supported by allowing exemptions for educated blacks from Poll Tax and the restricted liquor laws of the time. There is also an analysis and critique of the idea of "open universities" and the inferior education provided by these institutions of learning.

This understanding of the status quo of higher education informed the belief that what black students were receiving at these bush colleges was inferior education, structured to create a slightly more educated black class but certainly not a critical thinking student/young adult with the necessary tools to understand the society and world that they form part of (ALUKA, SASO Leadership Training, December 1971, pg. 4 of 11). It makes sense then that SASO understood the need to develop its own system of education using various methods and tools to encourage critical reflection, thinking and action. In December 1971, SASO compiled a document detailing a part of their action programme called the Leadership Training Programme, which for SASO was "… the training ground and nursery school for future black leaders who relate very intimately with the black community and will be capable of assessing and directing attitudes,

goals and aspirations of the oppressed society…" (ALUKA, SASO Leadership Training, December 1971, pg. 3 of 11).

SASO's analysis of the educational situation and its effects on the black population included an analysis at the personal level that placed "feeling[s] of fear" and an "absence of adventure and discovery" as by-products of formal education analysed to be "… education provided by the state for the Black people [which] was never meant to develop those instincts that will cultivate critical faculties and let the educated take their place as the true leaders of their people" (ALUKA, SASO Leadership Training, December 1971, pg. 3 of 11). Inherent in this statement is the belief that true leaders need to be educated and able to think critically. It also points to a critique of what Apartheid education projected as thinkable for blacks at university, with a suggestion of what needed to be afforded blacks through alternate education, in order for them to access the unthinkable that the formal education system denied them.

The SASO Leadership Training Programme document further analyses the type of education received at the bush colleges as promoting Western ideals of individual achievement of economic status and attempting to break black solidarity "by tribal divisions and by promoting other black groups towards the realms of white privilege" (ALUKA, SASO Leadership Training Document, December 1971, pg. 5 of 11). Importantly the reflection in the document also has an element of self-critique when it posits that students had failed to respond appropriately to the educational situation and therefore needed to take the lead by redefining their role as leaders in directing the people "towards consciousness, self-reliance and self-help" which are seen as "all [the] basic tenets of nation-building and community development" (ALUKA, SASO Leadership Training Document, December 1971, pg. 5 of 11). The SASO leadership training was therefore central to the educational project of the BCM, and from the outset of the organisation was developed into what was called formation schools for university students, as well as leadership training seminars for high school students, youth outside of the formal schooling system as well as community members.

Formation Schools

"The idea behind a "formation school" is to allow the participants the chance of self-development through participation in discussions and other group projects. In a way this offers also training in leadership qualities. The subject matter usually does not really matter. Rather it's the manner in which one takes part in the discussions that matter" (ALUKA, SASO Report on First National Formation School, 1969). In developing its leadership programme, SASO borrowed from the NUSAS organisational model, specifically the models of leadership recruitment and training. Formation schools were critical reflections on a range of topics, originally meant to be not specified by SASO, but then taking the form of discussions in commissions chaired by a specific SASO representative (often an executive member), around a topic. Two of the first regional formation schools were held in the Natal (5-7 September 1970), and Transvaal regions (19-20 September 1970), and were attended by around 25 people each. The main objectives reported to have been achieved at these formation schools was the creation of a core group of students who understood in detail what SASO was about and were prepared to do the work of the organisation on their campuses. The second objective was to create a core group of students who were "fully conversant" in the BC approach adopted by SASO, where students are aware of their important role on campus and in their broader communities (ALUKA, SASO Newsletter, September 1970, pg. 10 of 25). Leadership training was therefore in service of building the organisation as well as spreading the idea of BC.

The first national SASO formation school took place in Durban in December 1971, and started with a brief introduction to what a formation school was (as quoted above), followed by an address by the then president Biko about the role, significance and future of SASO as an organisation. The rest of the formation school focused on commissions on the following topics – Local Organisation; Fundraising; Fieldwork by SASO; NUSAS Reorganisation; Publicity and Publications and Fresher Reception, which meant that most of the time of the formation school was spent on dealing with organisational development (ALUKA, SASO Report on First National Formation School, 1969). In reflecting on the value of the leadership training programme, SASO noted that it prepared the participants to be committed, to be effective and influential in their "home towns", to increase their own effectiveness by using the skills provided by the seminar,

and to organise groups to function properly and with direction (ALUKA, SASO Leadership Training Programme, December 1971, pg. 10 of 11). It was however difficult to assess how useful the graduates were, either at their universities or in their home towns, in galvanising action and recruiting others to commit to the cause. Specific notice was taken of what is described as black students' lack of drive, originality and initiative. While reflecting on the programmes that had been run thus far, SASO identified that there was a lack of coordination of training programmes leaving little scope for building a trainee properly.

As a result of these and other factors, SASO formulated a much more standardised scheme or programme that ensured that trainees went through a set course with a timeframe that required trainees to complete the full programme by the time of the annual SASO conference in the trainees third year of study. What is evident from the reports of these early formation schools (1968-1971), is that the leadership training taking place at formation schools focused on two things, (1) organisational reproduction or development and (2) conscientisation or consciousness-raising. These earlier formation schools in fact seem to focus more on organisational development and to a lesser degree on consientisation, and when the later schools do focus on conscientisation they do this through a pathway of quite a standardised or systematised programme of education. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

BCM's emphasis on the importance of books, reading, ideas

Gerhardt provides an illuminating glimpse into the ideas of Biko when she interviews[32] him in October 1972. Biko talks in this interview about the importance of books and ideas and the influence that people like Frantz Fanon (p. 23) and student organisations like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from the South in the United States of America (p. 24), had on him and the BC leaders. Mngxitama et al., add to this list of influential thinkers "... Senghor, Malcolm X, James Cone and Paulo Freire" (2008, p. 2). What they also elaborate on here is how Biko understood texts and reading "not [as] a passive activity but a philosophical action grounded in practical necessities" (2008, p. 2) Strini Moodley, another of the BC founding

[32] For the published transcript of this interview see Mngxitama, et al. *Biko Lives: Contesting the Legacies of Steve Biko*. New York, 2008, p.21-42)

leaders confirms this view in the last interview[33] before his death, which again makes the point about engaging with the texts (and therefore ideas) of radical thinkers, as being an active pursuit of tools to engage in the struggles of one's life (in Mngxitama et al., 2008, p. 269). With these understandings of the importance of engaging texts and also by implication literacy, there was an explicit commitment by the BCM not only to the material and the personal or what Bernstein (2000) called the mundane, thinkable knowledge class situated in the material world, but also to the philosophical and theoretical or esoteric, unthinkable knowledge class of the transcendental world. These ideas about the relationship between theory (thinking, ideas) and practice (the doing, the empirical) are deeply Freirean but they also place education centrally to the pursuit of liberation. SASO and the BCM were fostering the feeling expressed by black South African students in the 1970's that "students were no longer willing to allow their schooling to stand in the way of their education" (Karis and Gerhart, 1997, pg. 106).

The importance and influence of Frantz Fanon[34] and Paulo Freire[35] on Biko and the BCM is traceable not only through the interviews and literature already cited but also through the very clear engagement with key concepts from these two thinkers. Both Fanon (1967a) and Freire are connected with the BCM through their engagement with the concept of dialectical materialism[36]. Although their exact interpretations of this theory may well differ (Duarte, 1999; Mngxitama, et. al., 2008), it seems to be the form of analysis used during the historical period by the aforementioned radical thinkers in different parts of the world. Freire and Fanon (1967a; 1967b) brought another interesting concept to bear on Biko and BCM in their emphasis on psychological and cultural liberation. According to Hook, "Biko's view of Black Consciousness called for the psychological and cultural liberation of the black mind as a prerequisite for political freedom" (2004, p. 105). While Fanon dealt with these in the language (and field) of psychology and through an engagement with the ideas of consciousness, Freire did so through a proposed

[33] Mngxitama, et al. (2008). *Biko Loves: Contesting the Legacies of Steve Biko*. (p.267-274)

[34] See Biko, 1978, p. 19; Ranuga, 1986; Magaziner and Moodley, 2006, p. 4; and Mngxitama, et. al., 2008, 2008, p. 137, see also his note 21.

[35] Magaziner (2010); Moodley, 2006, p. 12; Mzamane, et al., 2006, p. 126

[36] See the following for writing on dialectics - Steve Biko, I WRITE WHAT I LIKE: A Selection of his Writings edited with a personal memoir by Aelred Stubbs C. R. (1978, p.90); Nigel Gibson's (2004) *Black Consciousness 1977-1987; The Dialectics of Liberation in South Africa;* Eduardo Manuel Duarte. Conscientizacion y Comunidad: A Dialectical Description of Education as the Struggle for Freedom. In Studies *in Philosophy and Education* 18: 389–403, 1999. Kluwer Academic Publishers. Printed in the Netherlands, 2000

pedagogy and in the field of education through the method of conscientisation. As an example, where Fanon (1967a; 1967b) talked about the importance of consciousness, Freire (1970) talked about the importance of conscientisation. The BCM recruited parts of these concepts and developed a programme of conscientisation, which I will look at in more detail in Chapter 3.[37]

The 1970's was a time in South African history when black South African intellectuals were critically selecting, analysing, critiquing and developing a home grown version of BC, which resulted in an outpouring of political writing by black people. This process and time had seen the shaping of mass thinking happening quickly and broadly, partly also according to Karis and Gerhart (1997) because the media had been reflecting this changing self image of blacks, preparing the groundwork for further shaping through the ideas of the home grown BC. SASO founders were also able to draw on the writings of other African intellectual activists such as Julius Nyerere, Amilcar Cabral, Kwamre Nkrumah, etc. and were witnessing African states to the North gain independence from colonial rulers. Fanon's (1967b) influence, notably his new definition of violence for revolution, ascribed an important new perspective on the anger and hatred felt by the oppressed, as a healthy response to being treated as sub-human (Karis and Gerhart, 1997).

SASO and the BCM were selecting and reading a Pan-African canon including literature coming out of the Black Power movement in the United States. A systematic engagement with this canon allowed for the BCM to develop concepts from South Africa, relevant to the particular context from which they were writing building the basis for a critique of apartheid education and developing further ideas and understandings of the role that education could play in the fight for liberation.

When considering the role of education in resistance Freire asks,...

> If the implementing of a liberating education requires political power and the oppressed have none, how then is it possible to carry out the pedagogy of the oppressed prior to the revolution? This is a question of the greatest importance. One aspect of the reply is to be found in the distinction between systematic

[37] This is referenced and explained throughout *I Write What I Like* and is analysed by Magaziner (2010) from page 127.

> education, which can only be changed by political power, and educational projects, which should be carried out with the oppressed in the process of organising them (1970: p. 36).

What I am pointing to is that Freire made a proposition to take education out of the hands of the oppressors, which in the 1970's South African context meant the apartheid government and the white minority, and place them with the oppressed, who were the black disenfranchised majority. This proposition, I will argue was heard and taken seriously in South Africa by a group of university activists and BC leaders, in an attempt to "reignite resistance to white minority rule" (Magaziner, 2010, p. 4 and 7). According to Gibson (2011) who has worked in and written about South African social movements, Frantz Fanon emphasized the idea that liberation (or a liberatory ideology) "...cannot be applied from without" (p. xii), through the church or education, but rather "... emerges out of what might be considered a creative communing, with invisible threads linking the often *subjugated histories and thinking* of freedom movements" (p. xii, my emphasis). Here, Fanon and Freire seem to agree to the underlying fact that the oppressed and the movements formed in order to attain freedom, have the ability to think for themselves and by reflecting critically about themselves and their position of oppression, are able to contribute to a transformation of this position. This is a point that the BCM seemed to be attracted to and tried to espouse in the BCM in the context of 1970's South Africa, by starting the BC movement through a process of self-reflection, and by systematising these reflections into a range of pedagogical projects that I will now introduce and unpack in more detail in Chapter 4.

BCM Education Projects

While SASO continued to grow its black-only organisation and philosophy through its leadership training programmes, it was also engaging concurrently in the UCM, which had two blacks-only projects, one promoting literacy, and the other trying to popularise black theology. SASO spent some time engaging the ideals of black theology, including Biko's writings on the subject, but eventually realised that while a few black clergymen were open to these ideas the majority of the church institutions were not interested in popularising them (Karis and Gehart, 1997). Magaziner (2010) takes a different view, arguing that black theology played a central role in the

development of BC thought. My interest and assertion is that education, more generally and critical education more specifically, was central to the development of BC thought and the building of the BCM.

Literacy

When looking at radical education projects internationally, projects outside of what Freire called systematic education, seems the platform most used for conscientisation to take. In particular, projects focussing on literacy training[38] as this was both tackling illiteracy as well as creating platforms for encouraging critical reflection and thinking. The BCM was introduced to Freire's literacy methods and critical pedagogy as early as 1968 when many of the SASO leaders and members were also involved in the UCM that was strongly influenced by Freire. The BCM was so intrigued by Freire's propositions that in early 1972, Bokwe Mafuna approached Anne Hope, to consider training a group of SASO leaders in developing a literacy campaign and understanding better Freire's critical pedagogy. Anne agreed to do so but only on condition that they understood that she would not be imparting these methods to them but rather that they would be in a process with her as co-learner and facilitator. The process would be slow and would require the group to meet every second month for a year, for five days at a time (Anne Hope Interview, 2011). The group consisted of about 12 attendees of which a core of the group remained constant with others coming in and out as their work and study schedules allowed (Saths Cooper Interview, 2012).

While much of this time was described by Anne Hope to be very exciting and rewarding, and the attendees to be very committed and motivated, the political agenda of the BCM leaders often drove the process rather than the information gathered through listening exercises and engagement with people to develop generative themes (Magaziner, 2010, pg. 132). From this it would seem that the Freirean method of being open to content development by 'ordinary' people was not followed by the BCM leaders working to develop content for their planned

[38] For a list of at least a dozen literacy projects in South Africa that were based on a Freirean vision and methods, see Nekhwevha, Fhulu (2002). The Influence of Freire's "Pedagogy of Knowing" on the South African Education Struggle in the 1970's and 1980's, in *The History of Education Under Apartheid, 1948-1994: The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened*, Kallaway, Peter (editor). Cape Town, SA: Pearson Education South Africa., pg. 138.

literacy programme. This gives us an indication of how the BCM leaders after 1972 became more and more driven by their own political agenda, rather than having the pedagogical agenda lead the process of education and conscientisation.

SASO Newsletter

The SASO Newsletter was imagined as the official organ of the SASO Executive and was first published in August 1970, with Biko as editor. In the editorial note it is explained that the purpose of the newsletter is for it to firstly be informative as what is called "communications media", and secondly, to be educative with articles of a high quality on interesting and general enough topics (ALUKA, SASO Newsletter, August 1970, pg. 5 of 27). The first issue also announces that there will be an Africa Series that will consistently have written pieces on continental issues and various African states. This was said to be necessary because of the critique of mainstream South African and more broadly Western media sources. This was a conscious commitment to analysing and understanding the broader continental context of which South Africa and the BCM formed a part, with an emphasis on attempting "in-depth explorations of their [African states] history, heritage, present state and prospects" (ALUKA, SASO Newsletter, August 1970, pg. 14 of 27).

There were also interesting quotes from African leaders,[39] emphasising the power and uniqueness of Africa as opposed to Western colonial powers, as well as a few selected poems by African poets.[40] Here one can see clearly an engagement with various writers from the continent, which ensured a Pan African influence on the movement. Financial sustainability was given considerable space in the first newsletter as self-reliance and sustainability were stressed as well as the knowledge of the financial failings of previous attempts at organising black students. This is another indicator of the importance placed on organisational development by SASO.

The most well known part of the SASO Newsletter series was the section entitled I Write What I

[39] The first issue has a quote from Kenneth Kaunda.
[40] The first issue features two poems by Senegalese writers Leopold Senghor and David Diop

Like, which was authored by Biko under the pseudonym of Frank Talk.[41] The first article by Frank Talk exposed the role of the white liberal whereas the second article looked at the black community. This piece seems to tie into what had been discussed amongst the group of students who debated and decided on the formation of SASO. This indicates that the Frank Talk section of the newsletter was Biko's reflection and popularisation of key debates that had taken place in SASO leadership spaces. He wrote these reflective opinion pieces under a pseudonym because of the organisations commitment to ensuring that popular leaders were not followed blindly, and in so doing encouraged readers to engage the ideas and propositions in the writing. From 1971, the SASO Newsletters were numbered as Volume 1, No. 1 in May, with four issues[42] being published in that year.[43] The SASO Newsletter and other publications were important educational tools to ensure that reading was encouraged and that particular voices and stories were made available. It was also a record of the thinking within the organisation, which was seen as an important part of the reflection-thinking-action process that was being favoured, as well as part of developing the organisation.

Community Development Programmes

Another major part of SASO and the BCM's emphasis on education was the community development programmes it ran. SASO first officially discussed, according to the SASO archive, community development in a formation school commission called 'Fieldwork by SASO' (ALUKA, Report on 1st National Formation School, 1969, pg. 10 of 17). In this commission, work in communities are identified and envisaged as the primary occupation of SASO, broadly described as health projects, educational projects and physical labour projects. In 1971, SASO develop a more systematised understanding of how community development projects should be planned, implemented and reported on, when they develop a document recruiting from a model

[41] Selections of the I Write What I Like Columns were published after his Biko's death with Aelred Stubbs as editor.
[42] These including issues in June, August and September of 1971
[43] From 1971, there was a more explicit communication of what the SASO Newsletter set out to do on the last page of every issue from this point on, which included: - (1) to establish proper contact amongst the various black campuses and between black students and the community at large; (2) to stimulate discussion amongst blacks on current matters of topical interest; (3) to make known black opinion on matters affecting blacks in South Africa; (3) to make known the stand taken by students on matters affecting their lives on and off the campus; (5) to examine relevant philosophical approaches to South Africa's problems; and (6) to contribute in the formulation of a viable and strong feeling of self-reliance and consciousness amongst the black people of South Africa.

of community development called 'Action Training' (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Programme, 1971). By 1972, Action Training has been selectively recruited into what is called 'Community Action and Development', with some key adjustments being made to the original concept, that I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 3.

SASO and BCM were part of creating what was called the Black Community Programmes (BCP), which grew out of a Christian Institute (CI) research programme called Spro-cas (Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid South Africa) under the guidance of Benni Khoapa.[44] By 1973, BCP became independent from both the CI and Spro-cas and had raised its own funds from within and outside South Africa. BCP had a number of objectives, some achieved and others aborted, but of interest and relevance was the emphasis placed on educated and professional black people to take leadership roles in black communities. Much like the class suicide committed to by SASO leaders and members to ensure that black people looked to other black people for leadership and also to encourage a connection between the small class groupings within the black community to remain connected and committed to the upliftment of the broad black population. This view was expressed in the report of the Edendale Formation School which stated that "blacks with education had to shoulder responsibility for changing the future of all blacks" (ALUKA, 1971, pg. 113).

Leadership Seminars for Local High School and Youth Groups

In mid-1972, through a collaboration between Biko as youth activities organiser at BCP, and Harry Nengwekhulu SASO's National Organiser, leadership training seminars for local high school and youth groups were organised. These were based on SASO's formation school model and resulted, in addition to influencing the youth who attended, in the formation of regional youth organisations and the National Youth Organisation (NAYO) in May 1973. The South African Students' Movement (SASM) was formed by 1974 and had regional structures in the then Transvaal, which attempted to link with then Natal and Eastern Cape groupings (Karis and Gerhart, 1997). Even though many still play down the role of the BCM through SASO and

[44] Benni Khoapa was hired by Spro-cas to develop a programme of community action for blacks. BCP's office space was in the same church building in Durban as SASO's office space. Khoapa was appointed as BCP director in January 1972 and Biko joined as youth activities organiser in August 1972.

the BCP's in developing a critical youth that formed part of the youth uprising in 1976, it is evident in the archive of plans, minutes and reports of SASO and BCP that young people were being engaged in a systematic programme of conscientisation.

What all of this initial activity from 1968 to 1972 suggests is that SASO and the BCM collectively endeavoured to understand the educational landscape and was also clear on a new role for students, who were seen as leaders and teachers of the broader communities. Selection of content was initially seen to be not so important, but it soon became clear that there needed to be more focus on building the student and BC movement, and this required discussion and decisions about organisational issues. The formation schools were therefore seen as spaces for critique and dialogue but also for building systems that would contribute to the sustainability of the organisation and movement as well as institutionalise reflection and recording of the various processes and developments over time.

BC was therefore started in SASO, and then later became a "way of life" that was adopted by other black organisations therefore becoming a BC movement. The BPC was the explicitly political organisation formed out of SASO and other BC-inclined people in mid-1972. While I will not focus on the BPC, it is relevant to mention that it was the political organisation of the BCM and that it failed to gain any significant mass following for a number of reasons.[45] The BCM therefore started inside an organisational form that described itself as not overtly political, spread into schools and youth groups via leadership programmes and then into broader black communities through the various community development projects, the BCP and then the explicitly political BPC. The BCM was therefore in many people and places and not easily ascribable to any one formation, although clearly a lot of the thinking and organisational development for the later movement came through the work of SASO.

As raised in Chapter 1, Bernstein (2000) exposed education as playing a distributive role, distributing consciousness, access to knowledge, and projecting what is thinkable and unthinkable. I will argue in this thesis that the BCM understood education as political and realised that it was playing a distributive role by deciding, through the apartheid education

[45] For an analysis on the formation of the BPC see Karis and Gerhart (1997) as well as Magaziner (2010) pg. 140-148).

policies and practices, who had access to what kind of knowledge and what kinds of consciousness was being distributed. In this chapter I have introduced the Bantu Education and Extension of Universities Act as the educational policies leading to the period under investigation. I have detailed the development of the BCM starting with the origins of SASO and student politics of the time, then detailed their engagement ideas around education and how this developed further into a philosophy and movement in support of Black Consciousness. While there is an emphasis on the BCM's contribution to the struggle against apartheid by the explicit incorporation of psychology or consciousness around race, for me the valuable contribution that the BCM made was its engagement with consciousness at the level of education, which is central to understanding the BCM.

CHAPTER 3

Consciousness and Conscientisation

Introduction

In Chapter 1, I established that Freire's political and theoretical orientation was that of a Christian, Humanist-Marxist. I discussed his belief that the central concern of humankind was the problem of humanisation, and that in the world and through education, one is either occupied with acts of a humanising or dehumanising nature. I discussed Freire's theory of consciousness as it relates to oppression, and his understanding of people being Subjects who develop critical consciousness through conscientisation, and have agency to change their life conditions. He works within a dialectical framework especially when it comes to understanding praxis, the dialect of theory and practise, as well as the dialectic of the subjective and the objective. Freire also exposed banking education as dehumanising and suggested problem-posing education instead. In Chapter 2, I detailed the establishment of the BCM in general, and more specifically, the central place of education in the movement and that they theorised this quite well. Now what I am going to do in this chapter is to go deeper into the issue of consciousness and conscientisation. What this entails is an understanding of the dialectical thinking at work in the BCM as well as some the concepts of Freire.

Dialectical thinking is an explanatory form developed by Hegel (1902) and taken up by various thinkers, such as Freire and thinkers in the BCM. Dialectical thinking involves a thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis model of explaining the transition from one form to another. The BCM was well known for understanding race through the thesis of white supremacy, confronted by the antithesis of black consciousness, transforming into the synthesis of non-racialism. This could be described as an analyses and intervention into the objective reality or the socio-political realm in South Africa at the time. While this is one level of the dialectical thinking of the BCM, another level of interest discussed in this chapter is the dialectic of consciousness at a subjective level, where the thesis is understood to be ones previous state of consciousness (at the time described as a false consciousness), the antithesis of engaging social and political consciousness (described as developing critical consciousness through conscientisation), which makes possible the transformation at the individual level, to a synthesis of a person who

is critically conscious and motivated into political movement out of the state of one's previous consciousness. This describes the dialectic at the more internal, subjective or individual level (consciousness) and at the more external, objective, collective level (Black Consciousness), that was prevalent in BCM thinking.

Defining and understanding consciousness is challenging because of the large variety and forms of consciousness that have been developed and written on for a number of decades, and because of the diverse set of meanings it could invoke. While the original and most commonly used definition of consciousness is understood to be that of a person who is self-aware, there have been a range of writings, which explore consciousness in the realm of philosophy and politics. While this large body of work on consciousness discovers, interprets, expands and complexifies ideas on consciousness, there remains something fundamental that all forms of consciousness have. Consciousness according to Seagor (2007),

> …is distinctive for its subjectivity or its 'first person' character. There is 'something it is like' to be in a conscious state and only the conscious subject has direct access to this way of being. There is nothing it is like to be a rock, no subjective aspect to an ashtray. But conscious beings are essentially different in this respect.

Consciousness is therefore at its core about awareness of oneself and ones subjectivity as well as an awareness of the world and one's ability to be an active subject in the world. There are a few forms of consciousness that I will touch on briefly in this chapter as types of consciousness that the BCM were engaged in thinking about or influenced by, namely national consciousness, socio-political consciousness, false consciousness, student and worker consciousness, and critical consciousness. By choosing certain forms of consciousness and excluding others, I hope to paint a picture that illuminates specifically what the BCM's engagement with, and understanding of consciousness was, and how that led to an understanding and development of Black Consciousness.

I will not deal with the vast archive of writings on the unconscious, even though from a psychoanalytic point of view it is necessary, even imperative, to engage the unconscious when dealing with consciousness. The BCM does engage the idea that there is a large part of consciousness that is hidden or rather misled but they seem to me to have dealt with this by framing it as false-consciousness. False-consciousness is a concept developed by Karl Marx (1963), which understands the consciousness of people in subordinate roles to believe in the story that bosses, leaders or governments (people in control or power) tell them against their own interest or hopes. What this meant was that where someone was unaware or "not-yet-conscious" it was understood that becoming aware or conscious was achieved by engaging with the socio-political or communal / group consciousness, of for example workers, students, racial groups, in the realm of the social or political, rather than looking at the individual makeup of the human mind, which according to many, would need to be considered through an engagement with the unconscious part of the mind in order to understand how this influences human behaviour.

When O'Leary talks about the entangled concepts of nation, national identity, nationality, national consciousness and nationalism he posits that "…[t]here may have been talk about nations, and indeed national consciousness, before nationalism, but, so to speak, there was no nationalist talk of nations and national consciousness before nationalism" (1997, pg. 208). These are admittedly overlapping ideas but of importance for me is defining nationalism and then relating it to national consciousness. Nationalism was a formulation of self and other, developed in the case I am looking at, during the fight against colonialism. Nationalism was therefore a force that helped unify a nation against colonisers who were the oppressors of the time on the African continent. National consciousness on the other hand precedes nationalism and is the awareness of that positioning of self to other.

During apartheid South Africa, the idea of the nation was distorted to mean racial "nations", the white nation, the coloured nation, the black nation further divided according to ethnicity into the Zulu nation, Xhosa nation, and so on. There was therefore an explicit attempt to develop national consciousness around racial and ethnic identities within the broader nation state of South Africa. State education policy from the advent of Bantu Education, "…tried to generate

divisive ethnic identification with African cultural and linguistic groups, by emphasising the use of African languages in schools. The aim of such practices was to create a political consciousness that would accord with the ethnically divided bantustan system"[46] (Hyslop, 1999, pg. 51). Black Consciousness was in effect an attempt to counter the divide and rule strategy of apartheid and its education system through the development of peoples' consciousness on the level of the subjective and objective realities. It was a move that tried to unite the divided oppressed of South Africa by opposing the variety of "national and political consciousnesses", which in South Africa had a particular connotation, and towards the solidarity of the black majority through Black Consciousness. "A leading trend in Black awareness was the growing practice by Blacks of seeing Black Consciousness as a relative rather than absolute manifestation of National Consciousness. Black Consciousness had become differentiated" (ALUKA, *Black Review*, 1971, pg. 170-171).

In a sense BC became differentiated from national consciousness because of its 'pedagogy' for the oppressed and its engagement on the individual and the collective levels mentioned earlier. In engaging, researching, analysing, writing and reflecting on black life in 1970's South Africa, BC was working and thinking in relation to the context in which it operated. In identifying and believing white supremacy as being the thesis of its analysis, the antidote or antithesis of Black Consciousness, was developed as what was necessary at that specific time and space, to transform society into a non-racial one. The content of black was different to the content of nation. Apartheid was regarded by many as colonialism of a special kind, therefore BC needed to be different from the usual national critique because of the racialised context in which it was developed.

BCM leaders had read Frantz Fanon's (1967b) *The Wretched of the Earth* and in particular the chapter called *Pitfalls of National Consciousness*, which was a thorough critique of national liberation movements, and the road that these movements chose to take post-colonialism, but more importantly it also provided some antidotes to the problems that nationalisms were festering into. Some of the warnings that Fanon (1967b) signalled in this chapter were against

[46] The Bantustan System was developed by the apartheid state and set aside demarcated territories within South Africa as homelands for particular ethnic "nations", with limited self-governance allowed.

thinking that a single leader or party would be able to drive people towards freedom and that in order for freedom to be achieved, the most important mechanism was the raising of peoples' consciousness through education.[47] Freire similarly put the relationship between the teacher and the student, or the leaders and the people, as central to any pedagogy of the oppressed. This was because he believed that the humanising project could only take place if the oppressed were able to reflect on their material conditions and to think beyond these physical conditions to overcome their dehumanisation. And in the realm of banking education, the teacher's role was one that dehumanised their students, treating them like empty vessels to be filled with knowledge. Even though many BCM leaders were students, they saw themselves and the community perceived them, as leaders because of the fact that they had access to further education. They seemed to be aware and cautious at least in the early years, because of Fanon and Freire's influence on their thinking, to engage fellow students and broader community members with the respect they deserved, by adopting a critical pedagogy and working to expand the consciousness of the black community in general.

Fanon (1967b) was also clear that a narrow form of nationalism could easily spiral into forms of tribalism that was another dangerous variant of racism. It was important according to Fanon, to move quickly from national consciousness to social and political consciousness to ensure that a nationalism was not hardened into a set identity or programme, which would likely then lead to further oppressive behaviours as in the case of "foreign" africans being attacked through xenophobia, or zulu speaking people clashing with xhosa speaking people. He therefore describes the form of nationalism that was essential to the development of post-colonial states as well as describing nationalism as (1967b, pg. 163).

> …that magnificent song that made the people rise against their oppressors, stops short, falters and dies away on the day that independence is proclaimed. Nationalism is not a political doctrine, nor a programme. If you really wish your country to avoid regression, or at best halts and uncertainties, a rapid step must be taken from national consciousness to poetical and social consciousness.

[47] See especially pages 145, 146, 149, 151, 154, 157, 158, 159, 163.

Freire was also clear that what was dangerous was a fixed programme or identity - in the pedagogical realm fixed or preselected content - that would be unable to respond creatively to the context and challenges that it needed to engage. I will discuss later in this chapter how engagements with Paulo Freire provided an opportunity for the BCM to develop a strand of national consciousness in the BCM that incorporated social and political consciousness with the ultimate goal of critical consciousness on the level of the individual and non-racialism on the level of society. Another of the very clear suggestions by Fanon is that "in an under-developed country the young people represent one of the most important sectors" (1967b, pg. 162). I therefore, do not think it a coincidence that the BCM was a student movement that focused its attention on students at universities and on young people more generally, those in school as well as those outside of it.

BCM'S Understanding of Consciousness

According to a SASO Leadership Training Seminar Report consciousness "... must start with a knowledge and awareness of the SELF". (ALUKA, December, 1971, pg. 10 of 16, original emphasis). Here consciousness is being spoken of as firstly an endeavour for knowledge, and in particular knowledge of oneself. Black Consciousness was clearly positioned as an awareness of oneself (consciousness) but also as awareness of oneself as black (black consciousness). This is a consciousness on the level of the self or subject(ive) reality as well as on the level of society or objective reality. Freire (1970), expressed very clearly in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, that subjective reality was always in dialectical relationship with objective reality. If one agrees with this idea, as the BCM seemed to have, then it would make sense to see the importance of engaging the reality of an individual subject as well as their context or objective reality. Fanon (1967a), alluded to this in *Black Skin, White Mask* when he said "…there are inner relationships between consciousness and the social context" (pg. 72). Steve Biko placed consciousness as central to developing a programme of conscientisation for liberation when he pointed out that the "…interrelationship between consciousness of the self and the emancipatory programme is of paramount importance" when thinking about Black Consciousness (Biko, 1978, pg. 49). Up until this point, consciousness was understood in radical circles as being something that was influenced by the social context. The shift that

Freire, Fanon, Biko and the BCM were initiating was a shift to understanding the person or self as a much more integral piece of the consciousness puzzle. What this meant was that people's individual agency, or ability to shape the social, was being recognised more and more and therefore mobilised in the fight against oppression.

While the origin of consciousness for the BCM was the psychology of the individual, there was an understanding of the influence of the context in which people lived that was always influencing ideas of self. In the 1960's and 1970's, South African society remained divided and organised according to race, which meant that race was seen as the major analytical lens to look at South African society through. While race and class historically and in contemporary analytical debates in South Africa compete for primacy, and there were later very convincing arguments made for why these two categories of analysis could not be seen as separate (Marks and Trapido, 1987), the BCM identified race as important for dealing with the phenomenon of white supremacy that it identified as the main cause of the inequality that continued to persist in South Africa. A major critique of the BCM was that they did not develop a clear enough political programme that spoke to the class needs of South African society.[48] Through understanding education as the basis for engaging with the world in order to transform it, the BCM undertook to build an educational agenda that influenced black people's consciousness. Starting from the self and the building of self-esteem and then programmes of self-help, to the awareness of oneself as black, and working towards understanding what it meant to be black at the time in South Africa by researching, thinking, reading and writing about black life. This educational programme, as introduced in Chapter 2, included positioning knowledge through education and the nurturing of leadership as central to the possibility of attaining liberation. The details of this programme will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 , but it is important to note that knowledge of oneself as well as knowledge of one's condition as black under apartheid formed the basis of the BCM's earlier ideas and programme.

As described in Chapter 2, the BCM systematically built an alternate education system to counteract the Bantu Education that was provided by the apartheid state and before it the

[48] There have been attempts in the last few years to reconnect the BC agenda to a socialist one. See Mngitixama et al. (2008), *Biko Lives: Contesting the Legacies of Steve Biko.* New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

colonial rulers, in order to influence black peoples' knowledge of self and knowledge of the society they lived in. The BCM analysis that underpinned this alternate system, undertook to place *power* and *consciousness* at the heart of understanding the black condition with a view to building confidence in black people to change or liberate themselves from the oppressive reality that they had been bound in for centuries. This consideration of power and how it operates, combined with a consideration of the inner workings of the individual through consciousness, was a very important moment of dealing with power outside of the usual class analysis. Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* provided pedagogical ideas about how to develop such an alternate educational system both for school and university going people, as well as the broader population, who had missed out on the chance at a decent education when they were younger.

If education is about influencing consciousness, it would be imperative to unpack the different forms of consciousness introduced earlier, that the BCM engaged in, in order to better understand their modus operandi. These different forms of consciousness reflected in the writing and thinking of the BCM were social and political consciousness, which was a position that acknowledged and analysed the social and political reality that influenced people's understandings of themselves and their identity. The Marxist idea of false consciousness and Fanon's (1967a) notion of internalised oppression, which was deployed as a useful theory to understanding why black people at the objective or societal level, were so demotivated and fatalistic and unable to imagine a way out of the oppressive way of life that they were in. Biko alluded to this when explaining what Black Consciousness was at a leadership training programme when he said that we "… are aware of the terrible role played by our education and religion in creating amongst us a false understanding of ourselves" (1987, pg. 52.) What the BCM recognised was that false consciousness was manifested at two levels, the societal or objective level through schools and religious institutions but also at the level of the individual or subjective using Fanon's (1967a) concept of internalised oppression discussed later. Freire also wrote about how important it was to tackle false consciousness, believing that one could not mechanistically transform a false understanding of reality but in order to create a less and less false consciousness of reality, one has to pose this false consciousness as a problem (1970, pg. 110). The BCM engaged in transforming false-consciousness by developing at one level a layer of leadership through their leadership programmes and at a broader level, community

development programmes to transform black peoples' false-consciousness through self-help programmes.

The BCM acknowledged that a large part of the identity of black people under apartheid, was either forms of worker consciousness and then later also student consciousness. In other words, what was the thinking of groups of people, in this case black workers and students, and how did this influence the development of their identities and consciousness, as opposed to understanding consciousness with an emphasis on the unconscious of individuals. There was however a systematic effort to try and understand how the individual consciousnesses of black people were formed and how this consciousness influenced black peoples' ability to rebel against the dire conditions under which they lived and had lived for centuries since the arrival of the colonisers. Fanon's writings were a major influence on understandings of colonised consciousness, especially extending the idea of false consciousness by understanding how, in a colonial context, people had internalised the oppressor/coloniser and so housed the oppressor inside themselves. So the self-hatred felt by colonised people were described as partly a result of housing the oppressor inside themselves, with desires to become like the oppressor. And that the high levels of violence in colonised communities were as a result of people seeing the oppressor in themselves and their fellow community members.

Critical consciousness is defined as the ability to understand one's own position in relation to the broader socio-political conditions in which one lives. As a result of developing this understanding, one is able to be critical of the status quo as well as feel empowered to act on the world that one lives in to transform it. The thesis is false-consciousness confronted by the antithesis of critical consciousness, resulting in the synthesis of political action, movement or will to transform. The ultimate focus when developing critical consciousness was to develop the ability to identify problems through a process of research and dialogue, and through analysis and reflection to solve such problems for one's self. These are deeply Freirean notions that the BCM made central to their work in the early years from 1968 to 1972.

Black Consciousness was focussed on understanding the situation of black people such that there was a clear focus on the internal forces of oppression as well as the more obvious

external forces of oppression. Biko spoke often about the institutionalised oppression that was apartheid South Africa, but more uniquely the internalised oppression raised by Fanon and echoed by Biko, of a self hatred or feelings of inferiority (Biko Testimony, AD1719, Volume 77, 01, pg 47 of 73 or 4362). Black Consciousness was, at a more practical or subjective level, an attempt to recreate black identity such that there was no longer space for feelings of inferiority and apathy. Abdi describes the formation of the BCM as "…a response to the crisis of identity and psycho sociological alienation that were plaguing the lives of South African Black youth" (1999, pg. 156). What I have tried to unearth in this chapter is how this was not all that Black Consciousness was doing. They were also working at the level of the socio-political, in order to get to the synthesis or a position of critical consciousness, which I will now discuss in a bit more detail.

The concept of critical consciousness was developed by Freire and is focused on creating or nurturing an in-depth understanding of the world that one lives in. In particular, understanding social and political conditions and how inequality is produced and maintained in order to confront and transform those conditions. Critical consciousness is therefore a process of learning that was called conscientisation, which is the process of becoming aware of one's position in the socio-political system and critical of the system, with the ultimate goal of changing it. The BCM identified the building blocks towards a critical consciousness as including what black student consciousness, worker consciousness, and colonised consciousness was, in conjunction with the development of a socio-political consciousness.

The BCM put individual consciousness on the table for serious investigation and also placed an emphasis on the ability of individuals to counteract the perceived false consciousness that the social, political and colonial terrain had incubated. What this meant was that in trying to understand the condition/state of one's own consciousness, one had to understand the context in which one was living. This was done in the BCM through a positioning of education as key to liberation, and an explicit and systematic programme of conscientisation as a way of developing critical consciousness in order for people to be motivated into political movement.

What will become clearer in Chapter 4 is how the BCM in the late 1960's and early 1970's, seemed to be operating more closely with the Freirean concepts we have been discussing, and in particular the understanding and in relation to content. But that from late 1972 onwards, one starts to see how the thesis – antithesis operating in the development of black identity formation, starts pushing more and more specific content by presenting particular sets of readings for analysis. Readings that are concerned with consciousness and specifically BC and a newsletter that becomes more and more structured with the intention of creating new forms of consciousness and identity. We are unable to gauge how much this dialectic is pushing the methods they are using so we have to assume that the BCM starts to move into a period where they are pushing content more than form.

Conscientisation

Freire posited that it "… is absolutely essential that the oppressed participate in the revolutionary process with an increasingly critical awareness of their role as Subjects of the transformation" (1970, pg. 108). It makes sense if he believed this, that he worked to develop a pedagogy to develop critical awareness or consciousness that was called conscientisation. The term conscientisation was popularised in Brazil in the 1960's by the Bishop of Olinda and Recife Helder Camara. According to Torres and Teodoro (2007, pg. 158):

> Conscientisation is not only a process of social transformation. Conscientisation is also an invitation to self-learning and self-transformation in its most spiritual and psychoanalytical meaning. A process in which our past may not wholly condition our present. A dynamic process which assumes that by rethinking our past, we can fundamentally gain an understanding of the formation of our own self, the roots of our present condition, and the limits as well as the possibilities of our being a self-in-the-world, reaching the 'inedito viable'[49], that powerful concept elaborated by Freire in the sixties.

[49] This is a key concept of Freire's translated by Myra Bergman Ramos as "untested feasibility". According to Schrugurensky it "refers to the possibility of attempting something that was never tried before" (2011, pg. 74).

The BCM seemed to take up the invitation of conscientisation and planted the seeds of the most significant *inedito viable* in South Africa's history of fighting apartheid.

Freire worked dialectically, as mentioned earlier, emphasising the relationship between subjective reality and objective reality. Relevant to understanding concientisation, is the understanding of Freirean praxis, as he put it 'reading the world and the word', or action and reflection, in order to better understand the complexity of the world. If conscientisation is the methodology for developing critical consciousness, then it must also be understood as a process of individual and social conscientisation, which sees agency (the individual or subject) in dialectical relationship to structure (the social or political). According to Gerhardt (1993, pg. 11):

> 'Conscientization' was defined as the process by which people achieve a deepened awareness, both of the socio-cultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality. It involves praxis, understood as the dialectic relationship of action and reflection. Freire proposes a praxis approach to education in the sense of critically reflective action and critical reflection based on practice.

Conscientisation can be explained as an ongoing process of movement towards critical consciousness, that differs from consciousness raising. One of the differences between the two being that consciousness raising usually involves preselected knowledge for a determined outcome.[50] And the ongoing process of movement towards critical consciousness through conscientisation, allows for the opposing of false-consciousness, which allows for oppressed people to feel able to propel political movement.

Conscientisation towards critical consciousness, according to Freire, is not a fully predetermined process with an absolutely definitive outcome. Freire posits the identification of "generative themes" as the beginning point of selecting content for literary programmes. These literary programmes are never only about learning how to read and write but intricately bound together with the development of critical consciousness. What Freire is emphasising with this point is that the content of education or developing of knowledge and awareness, is not

[50] From the glossary of Arlene Goldbard's 2006 book *New Creative Community*.

something that comes completely from outside a context and that the starting point of such a process is unique to the people and the place where it is taking place.[51] Freire was however clear that one's personal experience and reality or what Bernstein (2000) called the thinkable, even though it is an important starting point, is not the end point and that it is vital to see oneself within the various contexts that one exists in. Moving from the concrete or practical to the abstract, from the household, to the town, city, province, country, region, continent, and so on.

One of the three major themes found in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, according to Gerhardt, is "the dialogue and co-operation between vanguard and masses in order to maintain the spirit of the revolution" (1993, pg. 8, my emphasis), with the other two being conscientisation and revolution. The relationship between students and teachers is another important point that Freire presented for consideration while trying to understand conscientisation as a process and methodology. The revolution is not enacted by leaders on behalf of the people but is a process of learning of both the leaders and the people, and in the educational realm by both students and teachers, called student-teachers and teacher-students by Freire. "The revolution is made neither by the leaders for the people, nor by the people for the leaders, but by both acting together in unshakable solidarity" (Freire, 1970, pg. 110). One could easily assume from this that what is being advocated for is that there is no need for specially trained teachers. This would be a misinterpretation of what Freire is trying to get at. He is not saying that there is no role for teachers and leaders but that people in such positions of power need to be more confident in the ability of those they lead or teach and that this process becomes one of mutual learning and toiling.

BCM AND CONSCIENTISATION

There is no doubt that the BCM and its leaders were unique in their endeavour to work towards a liberated South Africa, firstly by their engagement with the psychological or the individuals role in the liberation process but also, their commitment to understanding themselves and

[51] I have come across a number of friends and colleagues who have critiqued this as encouraging a ghetto-isation of poor people because of the assumption that what poor people are able to bring to the table is not good enough.

nurturing new leaders into a way of being that saw them try to operate *with* the most marginalised of the oppressed people. One of the original critiques made, that resulted in the formation of SASO, was of white liberals who tried to lead on the road to a form of "revolution" that was not communally engineered but rather taking place on behalf of blacks. In a sense, the same criticism could have been laid at the foot of SASO's door if they were not prepared to walk the road with their "constituency", as co-creators of the path. The endeavour of the development of a new type of revolutionary leader meant that there was an attempt to set up communication between the oppressed and mostly uneducated black masses in South Africa, and less oppressed more educated black elite-in-training, or more simply put the leaders and the people. Freire (1970, pg. 112, his emphasis), suggests that a radical revolutionary leadership group:

> …either identifies itself with the oppressed state of the people, or it is not revolutionary. To simply think *about* the people, as the dominators do, without any self-giving in that thought, to fail to think *with* the people, is a sure way to cease being *revolutionary* leaders

The BCM in its early days had already awakened to the fact that a revolution could not be carried out by an elite group of black students alone. It was in some way doing what Freire had hoped would be done to his pedagogy of the oppressed, that conscientisation would take the shape of what was contextually necessary at the relevant point in history and situation. Of course some of the key components of a Freirean radical pedagogy for liberation would need to be present, that is (1) praxis of critical reflection and action, of both leaders and the people, as opposed to the dichotomy of leaders doing the thinking and the people doing the doing; (2) engaging in a process of reflection in order to understand ones (and in the BCM's case Black) reality critically; (3) creating critical consciousness through actioning community projects (BCP's); (4) through this process demystifying or working towards undoing peoples' false consciousness of reality; (5) posing the current reality as a problem; and (6) in so doing awakening the individual self to inhabit the world as Subjects and actors in transforming the/ir world.

What was the shape of conscientisation in the BCM then?

"SASO's primary theme is Black Solidarity, and the word conscientising is the operative word" (ALUKA, Commissions presented at the 3rd General Students Council, 1972, pg. 3 of 28). SASO and the BCM engaged in a process of conscientisation that incorporated a range of things namely a literacy campaign, various community projects later called the Black Community Programmes (BCP), a range of leadership training programmes, and made use of forms like drama, art, poetry and music. SASO encouraged students to be active in the areas around where they lived and/or studied by "… help[ing] students in high schools with their own subjects and in the process conscientise the students and make them aware of the proper outlook towards education", and to get "…students or recommend to them suitable and relevant literature" (ALUKA, Commissions presented at the 3rd General Students Council of SASO, 1972, pg. 15 of 28).

Literacy

Biko speaks about Paulo Freire in his testimony during the SASO trial of 1976 explaining how he was schooled in methods of literacy training, including a strong research component at the start of developing a literacy campaign or programme that took place in local communities with listening exercises. He describes the process of research or listening exercises as well as the concept of generative themes. The testimony shows clearly that there was an engagement with Freire's ideas and methods but of interest is what and how BC recruited from Freirean thinking, and how they understood what a process of conscientisation was. According to a SASO memo, there was a realisation early on "…that education is the mainstay of any community both as a means to an end, and as an end in itself", and that this was particularly true in black communities in South Africa where illiteracy rates were high and the education system was poor and under-resourced (ALUKA, Community Action and Development, 1972, pg. 8 of 9). This explicit turn to education would see a number of radicals around the 'third world' seek out Freire's radical pedagogy, which was at its core a pedagogy with its primary interest in the liberatory possibilities of education and consciousness.

As detailed in Chapter 2, the BCM was largely started and developed by students and was clear that their contribution to liberation was understanding their role as students (or educated teachers) differently. Both from the Freirean perspective of valuing students/learners/less educated persons as contributors to the process of learning and the ultimate transformation this process allows for, as well as thinking critically about the role that the apartheid state had imagined for a small black elite of university educated young people and potential leaders of the various black communities (with the hope that they were also Bantustan leaders in the making). SASO identify 'Community Action and Development', which were described as 'inherently liberating concepts', to provide a framework, to ensure that the whole community, from the educated leaders to the illiterate workers and the high school and university students, work together towards the development of a better reality for all. Community organisation formed the basis according to the SASO memo, for unifying people as well as for progress and improvement of the conditions of black life. Freire's section on organisation in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* ends with the clarification that "…organisation is, rather, a highly educational process in which leaders and people together experience true authority and freedom, which they then seek to establish in society by transforming the reality which mediates them" (1970, pg. 159-160). If one understands community organisation as educational in nature, and as the building blocks to the continued process of transforming society towards freedom, then one clearly sees the radical intent of this type of self-help programming.

An understanding and practising of praxis as a pedagogic process, reflection/thinking and action/doing, provided a basis for a way of engaging in the world, and in particular in black communities that were described in a number of SASO documents as being 'fatalistic', in a way that sought to encourage, enliven and fan peoples' willingness to resist. The basis for working with the ideas of community organisation and development was the creation and building of community projects, starting with research to search as a community, and discover what the needs of the community was and then to develop a plan of action to address these needs. Community education was seen as the process of developing, through an educational process, "…the ability of the people to identify their community needs and to improve techniques for group action" (ALUKA, Community Action and Development, 1972, pg. 5 of 9).

SASO originally (1971) identified *power* and *consciousness* as the two focal points of the action programme they were developing. They further detailed this action programme to include a methodology with an action-reflection cycle defined as having planning, acting and reviewing stages (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Programme, 1971). What the SASO Leadership Training Programme's (1971) 'Action Training' programme suggests is that power needs to be taken seriously and understood as an important piece of the puzzle of change that is trying to be encouraged. While there is an indication that the concern is about indigenous control and taking back power for the powerless, this could also be read as an argument towards power being decentralised to people at community level. The context of 1970's South Africa, with a State that was highly centralised, bureaucratised and geared towards white interests, there was no way to have power decentralised in black communities, although the Bantustan system was a warped version of decentralisation that results in what Mamdani (1996) called the bifurcated state.[52]

An engagement with power is further described as being aware of the various kinds of power, in particular the kinds available to the people, and then importantly the strategies of powerful institutions to maintain such a power imbalance. It was suggested that there were three interlocking ways of dealing with power in terms of community action namely through (1) *participation* – emphasising the ways in which people can influence decisions through existing agencies and institutions; (2) *control* – emphasising the skills and arenas through which people can gain power to control decisions which effect their urban environment; and (3) *encounter* – emphasising the necessity of confrontation of systems from without, while using ingenious and flexible strategies (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Programme, 1971, pg. 7 of 11). The language used in the document detailing Community Action seems to me to be taken from an organisational development model of dealing with power in institutions.

[52] This is where the colonial state sets up a system of indirect rule in the rural areas of the country, giving the impression of self-government through a decentralised structure but in fact the system is flawed by phony leaders in the pockets, and acting as a proxy of the centralised state.

In 1972, SASO wrote a document called Community Action and Development, where they use the model and thinking they had done a year earlier, to extend and develop their understanding of the concept of community action through the same two nodes of *power* and *consciousness,* only now power and consciousness feature as the focal points of liberation of communities from slavery and not merely as part of the action training section of the programme of leadership training. This is how, in 1972, action training is purported to assist in handling power through community action, (1) in *participation* - the emphasis is on ways in which people **are made to involve themselves in the problems of their community**; (2) *control* – the emphasis is on skills and arenas through which people can gain power to **effect change**; and (3) **encounter** – encounter **or confrontation** the emphasis is on the necessity of confrontation of the system from **within** (ALUKA, Community Action and Development, 1972, pg. 7 of 9, the bold emphasis is mine to show the modification from 1971 to 1972). The modifications seem to me to indicate a commitment to conscientisation through emphasising problem-posing education as suggested in the extension of understanding of what *participation* means. Also, the modification of understand why *control* is important, specifically to be able to effect change. Lastly, the step of *encountering* being more clearly identified as confronting the system now from within rather than from without, as a move within education at least, to see the space of the university as well as the classroom (even though these are institutions of State), as space for confrontation by presenting alternative narratives through critically conscious teachers as example.

The consciousness that is spoken about in relation to community action is one of 'consciousness in the process of involvement'. While community action was about developing consciousness amongst black community members (workers, students, youth), it was also part of a process of developing the consciousness's of black student leaders, through observation, analyses and involvement in the 'slum concerns of the black community'. Consciousness therefore implied a "… sensitivity to the human elements freed up by change and vision to create alternative models or programs to prevent dehumanizing structures of the society" (ALUKA, Community Action and Development, 1972, pg. 8 of 9). This engagement with the 'slum concerns' of black society and the power that is at play in maintaining conditions such that these concerns are not resolved, is a step towards the development of social and political

consciousness.[53] It is a dual process of conscientisation that is understood to take place both with the people in the process of community development as well as with the leaders involved in the community action. SASO posited that "… the objects of our Community Development Projects is to develop self-reliance, to develop Black Leadership, and to conscientise, to move towards liberation of Black People (ALUKA, Commissions presented at the 3rd General Students Council of SASO, 1972, pg. 16 of 28).

SASO selected questions of education, as the key research to be carried out, and further elaborated this into three research agendas detailed below[54]: -

1. The adequacy, relevance or otherwise of the present system of education to the needs of black community as designed for the Black man by the White man;
2. The area, scope and relevance of a literacy campaign and adult education in the Black community because SASO believes that while the need for sensitizing the Black youth continues to be emphasized there is a growing awareness that a community-wide campaign of adult education must be vigorously carried out to mobilize and galvanize all the human resources of the Black community and in particular, to reach unschooled adults, drop-outs and push-outs to involve them more actively, directly and productively in the drive for community action and development.
3. The relationship between primary education and high school education, and between high school education and university education.

One can see from this research agenda that there was work being done that deepens the analysis and complexifies the understanding of education as it influences black life, starting with the system as a whole, inquiring about the relationship between the whole and the parts (primary, high and university education), and addressing the dismal results of Bantu Education manifesting in very high rates of drop-out, push-out and illiteracy. There was also a commitment to extending the learning's and insight gained from this research through the publishing of an

[53] This is linked to a Freirean philosophy of working against dehumanisation
[54] ALUKA, Community Action and Development, 1972, pg. 9 of 9.

annual book, *The Black Review*, in order to document black life but also to assist in creating connections between the range of black organisations that existed, and to create an archive of black life. In addition to this, there is the development of a theoretical framework (this term is used in the document), to frame how community action can be evolved. It takes the form of ten distinct steps (a 10-point programme of a different sort), and according to the memo (ALUKA, Community Action and Development, 1972, pg. 6 of 9):

> …for an effective programme of making the Black Community conscious and aware of the problems that bedevilled it, we have to be actively involved in sensitizing it through a well-planned and efficiently executed educational programme and action training of Black leaders.

This seems to relate to Freire's philosophy of conscientisation through problem-posing education. Below is an extract of the memo detailing each of the ten steps (ALUKA, Community Action and Development, 1972, pg. 5&6 of 9):

> Step One
>
> **Consciousness of Needs:** Some person, either within or without the community, expresses the need which is later represented by the definite project.
>
> Step Two
>
> **Spreading the Consciousness of the Need:** A leader, within or without some institution or group within the community convinces his/her group or a portion thereof of the reality of the need.
>
> Step Three
>
> **Projection of the Consciousness of the Need:** The group interested attempts to project the consciousness of the need upon the leadership of the community; the consciousness of the need becomes more general.
>
> Step Four
>
> **Emotional impulse to meet the need quickly.** Some influential assistance is enlisted in the attempt to arrive at a quick means of meeting the need.
>
> Step Five
>
> **Presentation of other solutions:** other means of meeting the need are presented.

Step Six

Conflict solutions arise: Various groups lend their support to one or the other of the various solutions presented.

Step Seven

Investigation: It appears to be increasingly customary to pause at this point and to investigate the project with expert advice.

Step Eight

Open discussion of the issue: A public conference is held at which the project is presented and the groups with most influence attempt to secure adoption of their plans or project.

Step Nine

Integration of compatible solutions: the various solutions presented with an effort to retain something out of reach in the practicable solutions.

Step Ten

Compromise on basis of tentative progress: The means selected for meeting the need are not satisfactory to all groups, but are regarded as tentatively progressive.

These ten points give us a sense of what the BCM community development programme could look like. If one looks just at the bold summary describing what the step is meant to entail, one can easily make the mistake of assuming that the process follows a Freirean philosophy – for example, focussing on consciousness of needs in Step 1 and 4, and processes of reflection and dialogue in Steps 7 and 8. But on closer examination, reading through the more detailed description of the step it becomes clear that these are ideas of conscientisation that are anti-thetical to Freirean method. Take as an example Step 2, where it is stated that a leader of an institution or group "convinces his/her group… of the reality of the need". Also step 3, that is meant to "project the consciousness of the need upon the leadership of the community". This form of conscientisation, involving convincing and projecting particular agenda's, acts to further a political programme rather than an educational process of reflecting on ones needs. What they are suggesting is that community development is an opportunity to drive with their political project, which means they forget more and more about the educational project. What seems to

be driving these ten steps is quick action, which points to it being geared more to the political than the educational.

Leadership Training

The other more explicitly educational programme that was developed by SASO as part of its 'action plan' and used in building the BCM philosophy, was the leadership training programmes on regional and national levels called formation schools for university students, and leadership seminars for high school youth. This is already introduced in Chapter 2 but I now want to look a bit closer at how these formed part of the BCM's conscientisation process. While the first formation schools were meant to recruit and spread the philosophy of SASO and BC, an important function that these formation schools also played was to provide a container for rigorous discussion and debate amongst comrades within the SASO movement. The formation schools, as with the meetings and other group gatherings held by SASO, were efficiently organised and structured, with preparation going into designing a programme or agenda for each gathering, as well as meticulous minute taking, which allowed for the development of the organisations archive. It also provided continuity with regards to the discussions that were being held of topics and concepts over an extended period of time.

In the document detailing SASO's leadership training programme (ALUKA, 1971), there are two primary reasons stated for the need for such a programme. Firstly, the description of black people in South Africa living as defeated people bonded by both internalised psychological oppression (false-consciousness influencing subjective reality) and external physical oppression (objective reality), and therefore in desperate need of re-awakening to their creativity and potential for development (the synthesis I suggested earlier). Freire's notion of praxis, could simultaneously put on the agenda these two things: psychological oppression (thinking and feeling) and physical oppression (action and doing), to transform the oppressive situation. Secondly, to cultivate the thinking capabilities of black people in spite of the terrible education that they are subjected to under Bantu Education, in order for black people to lead the process of development and transformation (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training

Programme, 1971). The second aim indicates the focus on the need to build an alternate education platform.

The analysis of the role of black leaders led SASO to posit that the (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Programme, 1971, pg. 5 of 11):

> …black leaders, can be ascribed the fact that South Africa knows no mass or people's movement with a strong grass roots base. The students must redefine their leadership role taking heed of the situational aspects of the people and direct them towards consciousness, self-reliance and self-help all basic tenets of nation-building and community development.

In developing further the rationale of the programme, the author of the document uses President Tubman of Liberia's ideas on the importance of creating a national identity and a national consciousness, as important building blocks to achieve greatness as a nation. Future leaders are described as needing to be able to (1) discover the souls of black people; (2) identify common ideals and aspirations; (3) destroy feelings of inferiority and slave mentality and foster pride and confidence; (4) and build more self-reliant human beings.

The leadership training programme, following the philosophy of praxis, was clearly divided into a theory-oriented section and an action-oriented section, with the former being emphasised as the starting point of the training of young leaders. It was emphasised that before any acting can take place there has to be a thorough analysis of a theoretical base, which was seen as vital in order to define ones intellectual commitment. Worth was placed on the amassing of knowledge and widening of one's awareness in conjunction with having an interest in the conditions of the people. In true BC fashion, a step was taken back, to remind that any leader needed to start, even before starting at the level of theory, at the level of the personal. The learning's about oneself was positioned as necessary, but was also pointed to as a constant reflection point when relating and interacting with others, which was something that a leader needed to do often. The suggestion was that one is at once both reflecting inwards and outwards starting with self-reflection, extended into reflecting on how one relates to other individuals and then

extended further to understand and become more effective in groups or teams through group-dynamics training.

Further to what one is required to do for yourself (personal reflections), there was a structured programme made up of in-depth analysis of the general theme of black experience presented by various people (theoretical reflections). There was then explicit 'extraction of optimum participation' of all the members present in a training (reflective action). Not unlike the format of an academic seminar, papers were prepared and presented on a range of selected topics of relevance.[55] This process was seen as immersing future black leaders in the society they exist in, and would operate through deepening their involvement and understanding in the social, economic and political issues of the people. Critique of this part of the training was raised by the presenter as being the possibility of 'verbalism', a Freirean concept meaning mere talking without an engagement with the practical. Also, it was understood that even while an atmosphere of trust was necessary for people to share and think freely, it was very difficult if not impossible to guarantee that there were no security branch informers in the room at any given time.

Again, this indicates that the BCM is torn in two different directions. While they start off from 1968 to 1971 quite strongly with ideas and programming for self-development, self-awareness and self-empowerment, from 1972 onwards one gets a sense that the main focus shifts to community empowerment, which is less about self-awareness. The leadership programme and the community development programmes become more prescriptive and it seems that the BCM is no longer doing things with the community in the originally intended way. There seems to me to be a shift from and education programme for empowerment and liberation, to a programme for political action for political liberation.

I have in this chapter, unpacked ideas of consciousness as they relate to the development of Black Consciousness, as part of the well known BC dialectic of white supremacy, confronted by Black Consciousness, transformed into non-racialism. I have added to this the important and

[55] For example, goals and priorities of student involvement, black consciousness, values and concepts of the black society, culture and redefinitions of history, and so on.

less focussed on BC dialectic of false-consciousness, confronted by critical consciousness, transformed into a re-awakening of the creativity and potential for development and transformation of black people. Simply put, this conceives the emergence of politically active agents of change (revolutionaries). I have attempted to unpack the concept of conscientisation and related it to what the BCM built as their programme of conscientisation. I have also drawn attention to the BCM's engagement with both consciousness and power as vital to fostering possibilities for revolution. Through this chapter, it becomes clearer to see the value of the BCM, extended beyond the debate around its racial or class-based significance to the South African revolution, to the centrality of the pedagogical processes that initially contributed to a re-awakening of people and communities. I think the tension of a movement trying to "face both ways" – understanding its agenda in the early years as reclaiming identity, reclaiming self, and reclaiming humanity through education and developing critical consciousness. And then later on, being influenced more strongly by a political agenda in response to the socio-political context that they found themselves operating in. The BCM programmes often have evidence of both these agendas, the educational programme and the political programme, with the scale tipping after 1972 in favour of the political programme, which required quicker fixing of problems, as opposed to sustained and slow development of consciousness through education, which privileges content and compromises on process or form.

CHAPTER 4:

Critical Education vs. Political Education

> The essential argument lies in the definition of education. From the Nationalist perspectives for education to serve the purpose of domination, the institutions must of necessity follow the model of the larger society. In this sense, the university, is nothing more than a microscopic representation of Nationalist aspirations, ideals, values. Accordingly there is a hierarchical arrangement of teaching staff, mirroring societal designations. The quality of education, especially methods of instruction reflects as well as cements the surrounding racial structure (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Programme, 1971, pg. 2 or 4 of 11).

It was clear to SASO and the BCM that education in apartheid South Africa was not neutral. The Bantu Education Act and the Extension of the Universities Act, were indications that apartheid education was oppressive education. The BCM rationale for developing their own leadership training as well as envisaging a 'Free University', revolved around their analysis that Bantu education and the bush colleges were designed to ensure continued domination of the white minority over the black majority. Freire believed that education was either for the purpose of domination or for the purpose of liberation and that there was a fine line between these. The BCM were recruiting from Freire's philosophy in order to develop and implement critical consciousness for the purpose of liberation. Previous chapters have painted a picture of how the BCM developed and what their philosophy of education was, pointing to the complex contradiction within the BCM about whether they were engaging in critical pedagogy or a more political education programme. This chapter will look more closely at what the BCM systematically designed and implemented as their programme of education, recruiting at times from Freire and critical education, to be relevant in 1970's South Africa and to oppose the oppressive education sponsored and enforced by the apartheid state. This includes the BCM Leadership Training Programme made up of leadership seminars and schools designed for different people, from Black university students, to Black youth, to Black community leaders.

Also, the plans for a 'Free University' and the implementation of a range of Community Development projects including a literacy programme.

The First Leadership Seminars, 1968 - 1970

The SASO archive indicates that the first form of leadership seminar of black student leaders took place at Marianhill, Natal in December 1968. While this seminar was a type of leadership seminar, its main aim was to reflect on black students' role in black life in South Africa, especially in the educational and political realms. It was out of deliberations at this seminar that SASO was formed. The first document that speaks about formation schools was a SASO report on the inaugural formation school that took place a year later from the 1st to the 4th of December in 1969, at the Black Section at the University of Natal. The first two paragraphs of this report make a very important point about the content of formation schools. Firstly, that the purpose of the leadership school was to provide a platform for self-development and training in leadership qualities, which would take place through participation in discussions and various group projects, and that the *subject matter or content did not really matter,* but rather the way in which one participated in discussions did. This emphasised that method or form was deemed more important than content, which speaks to Freire's notion of method being key to unlocking the critical potential of people. Content, according to Freire, needed to be relevant to peoples' lives and importantly it was not to be selected by leaders and forced onto people, but rather a process of leaders with people or teachers with students, needed to be engaged in order to determine relevant content. Again the process or method of selecting content was clearly defined by Freire's philosophy. While the opening points of the formation school report indicate a consistency with Freire, it does not follow a clear, systematic and transparent process of developing content with participants, at least not at the level of the leadership programme.

Secondly, that even though the underlying understanding was that the selection of particular content was not imperative, it was *necessary at this stage to choose topics that were relevant* to a growing organisation. This statement explains how what was being created was a platform for future leadership, who were at this stage also new members of the organisation, to input through discussions to the ideas about how the organisation should be run. This contradiction points to the fact that there was from the outset, a belief that content was not to be pre-selected

and supposed for these leadership programme curricula, yet because the need at the time was to grow and develop the organisation, a choice of content was made that would ensure, that while young leaders were being developed, they were also feeding into the ideas, policies and running of the organisation. While the BCM acknowledged in theory that they were keen for people to be active subjects, involved in identifying and solving the problems that they face, they were also recruiting this understanding and applying it the context they found themselves in, which required them to work to build a BC movement.

At this stage in 1969, the formation school programme or curriculum consisted of (1) an address or talk by an executive member, in this instance the president of SASO Steve Biko, addressed the school about the role and significance of SASO; and (2) various commissions that were established and led by executive members to (a) reflect on a topic, (b) identify the problem to be engaged, (c) discuss and debate the various solutions, (d) develop a plan to address the topic of the commission with action, and then (e) complete an evaluation of the process described from a to d above. The report of the first formation school in December of 1969 had amongst others a commission called 'Fieldwork by SASO'. In this commission it was posited that work "…among the people should be one of the primary occupations of SASO", and three projects were suggested in the fields of health, education and physical labour (ALUKA, Report on Formation School, 1969, pg. 10 of 17). It was also decided at this very early stage that a permanent organiser should be employed to coordinate SASO's fieldwork programme, as it was central to the organisations work. All the other commissions dealt with important parts of SASO's organisational development and sustainability, from local organisation, to fundraising, publicity and publications, and fresher reception. This indicates clearly to me that the imperative of organizational development was present from the formation of SASO.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the methodology of SASO was one that began with a theory-oriented training and then proceeded to include an action-oriented training. The action-oriented section was an action programme that developed into what became known as a Community Action Programme, made up of a range of community self-help programmes. The Leadership Training Programme formed the other major part of the action programme.

In making explicit the rationale for the SASO Leadership Training Programme, it was explained that a large percentage of the black population was uneducated and that those that did complete some schooling did not in fact experience this process as one that prepares them to be creative or to think critically, which is what was deemed necessary in order to develop leadership from black society. This analysis was furthered by a discussion of the extension of the Bantu Education University Act, as an attempt by the State to take control of university education for Blacks in a more systematic way and in-so-doing close down the space for dissent that was being developed at the liberal 'non-racial' universities. There was a self-critique levelled at black students, claiming that they have turned away from the grassroots and have been seduced by the slight privilege afforded them by a university education, even a poor one. The Leadership Training Programme therefore tried to develop black student leaders who were concerned with community development and saw themselves as an integral part of the broader black community. It was also meant to help people to "…become more self-reliant human beings by assisting them to develop their abilities, potential and capacity to deal with their problems" (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Programme, 1971, pg. 3 or 5 of 11).

In 1970, there were two regional formations schools held in the Transvaal and Natal regions. There were two reasons given why these were held on a regional basis, (1) to give more people an opportunity to participate in leadership training and (2) to be able to emphasise local issues and problems. The second reason for regional formation schools points to the attempt to have the issues or content of the schools be more closely linked to problems faced locally in order for it to be possible that more of the participants in the school were able to contribute and feel motivated to engage in the discussions. The discussions that took place here were therefore described as covering mainly matters of topical interest. This is another example in the earlier years, of how content was not meant to be pre-selected and general but rather related to the region in which it was being discussed. It was also noted that the "attitudes of black students were concretized and formulated" (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Programme, 1971, pg. 9 of 11). This implies that there was a preferred attitude, the BC attitude of self-reliance and self-worth that was being promoted to student participants.

Leadership Training Programmes, 1971 - 1972

In April 1971, there was a regional formation school in Alice in the Eastern Cape that took place over a weekend. Over 30 students were in attendance and the aim of the school was to discover the issues, which hinder the development of black people. The discussions covered topics like “Black society, its values, systems and concepts, ways and means of redefining and resurrecting these traditional values as a means towards nation building”. It is also noted that a discussion was held on SASO’s role in the body politic and that this led to thinking towards a “very original formulation of the concept of ‘black consciousness’” (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Programme, 1971, pg. 9 of 11).

A month later in May 1971, a national formation school was held in Wilgespruit Transvaal, attended by forty students from all the university centres affiliated to SASO. The programme of this seminar was such that there was emphasis placed on issues that were likely to arise at the annual SASO conference (the GSC in July). The seminar also discussed possible new directions that SASO could take and made recommendations that would be tabled at the organisation’s annual national conference. Here we see that the curriculum of the formation school was becoming more closely tied to the programming of the organisation. This was seen as making the work of the conference easier and also ensuring that all participants at the national conference understood the new policies of the organisation, which was perceived to ensure a deeper commitment to these policies. While there was meant to be close liaison with communities around the community development projects that the BCM would engage in, there was definitely a strategic decision from the BCM to concentrate on a few selected types of projects. The engagement between students/student leaders and community members was meant to be open and supportive, allowing for community members to contribute to the process of community development within the framework set by the BCM. There was also a strong commitment to a project methodology that structured and systematised the community development intervention to make it more likely for such projects to be successful and therefore sustainable. Here again was the indication of how fine a line it was between doing things for the community, the way leaders best thought it to be done, and supporting communities to be

building awareness and self-reliance to solve their own problems and develop their own communities. This is also an indication of the continued commitment to systematic thought and intervention.

A National Formation School was held from the 5th to the 8th of December 1971, at the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre in Pietermaritzburg. The emphasis of this formation school was built around the idea that students needed a clearer understanding of the philosophies of black consciousness in order for these students to be able to expand these philosophies. It was also noted that even though there were many who had clarity around the theoretical concepts, this didn't guarantee that they were able to implement the self-reliance projects that were planned in various communities. This was an acknowledgement of the need for better preparation for implementing the envisaged SASO community development programmes, including training in particular models of action training. It was also pointing to the dissonance between theory and practice, which SASO, influenced by Freire, believed was meant to be in a dialectical relationship with one another. The seminar was therefore planned to show the interrelationship between the concepts of black consciousness and community development in an attempt to promote the praxis that they were developing.

The seminar was from this point on structured more explicitly to run over four days with morning, afternoon and evening sessions. The four-day programme was divided into four phases detailed below.

> Phase I – Dealt with the rationale behind Black Consciousness, the definition of Black Consciousness and the practical application of the ideology of Black Consciousness.
>
> Phase II – Dealt with Community Development and the various approaches to a successful project.
>
> Phase III – Examined student leadership and discussed the importance of and necessity for the student to develop strong and harmonious links with his community.
>
> Phase IV – Stressed the importance of planning. Here the students were given situations, which related to all three phases and were asked to plan them.

During Phase I, trainees were divided into four groups of just over 15 trainees, and were given a situation to discuss and then asked to report back to a plenary session. The type of scenarios posed for group discussion were, (1) a group of militant young blacks from America were interviewing the group and asked them to give the rationale behind BC in South Africa, and (2) explain to an old politician why SASO had chosen BC and not any of the ideologies of the old political movement. Once the groups reported back to the plenary session, the question of the definition of BC was engaged. This was done by reading three papers with interpretations of BC namely *Blackness and Nihilism* by Adam Small, *African Cultural Concepts* by Steve Biko and *Black Souls in White Skins* by Frank Talk. There was then a debate around the issues raised by the papers and some positions were put forward by the plenary group. The evaluation process that was completed by the trainees indicate that people found the group discussions fruitful as it allowed for in-depth discussion and for many voices to contribute whereas the format of the plenary discussion was found to entertain only a few peoples' point of view.

The last section of Phase I of the training dealt with the practical application of the BC ideology. It seems that there was a presentation of what this practical application was meant to be, which was divided into four parts (1) Directive Politics, (2) Infiltrative Politics, (3) Orientation Projects, and (4) Self-Reliance Projects. I will briefly describe what each of these parts of the practical application of BC was described as being because it explains again how the popularisation of BC was imagined and set up. It also points to the shift to an explicitly more political agenda and programme.

(1) **Directive Politics** implied the direct involvement and use of every available platform including at grassroots level, for trainee leaders to engage with the students and the community by vocalising BC as the only viable means to deal with the existing white problem. The idea was to speak to five or six people at a time in a community, "making them thoroughly conversant with BC", and then "sending them out into the community to speak to other people". Another step in Directive Politics was the "organisation of Black groups, by blacks and for blacks", and there was an emphasis placed on the use of "publicity stunts, slogan and emotional images",

which were described as vital in the “propaganda of Black Consciousness” (ALUKA, SASO: Report of Leadership Training Seminar, Pietermaritzburg, 1971, pg. 5 of 16).

Directive Politics was a commitment to the conscientisation of black students and the broader black community. While this was a process of creating critical awareness through developing an awareness of the dehumanizing effects of apartheid, colonialism and slavery, it was however strongly favouring the BC ideology. The use of propaganda mentioned above indicates that the BCM was using conscientisation to spread BC ideology. What is interesting is that they were doing this in the political terrain but not for the purpose of building a political party, at least not in the first few years. This meant that there was a move away from the idea that content was not the most important factor in working towards critical consciousness and ultimately liberation. Yet, there was always a sense that there should be a valuing of people at grassroots community level. The emphasis in the period 1968 to 1971 remained one that was about popularizing BC and allowing for the voices of black students and communities to help develop the theory of revolution as well as the methodology for organizing this revolution.

(2) **Infiltrative Politics** was seen as probing the possibilities of infiltration and re-orientation of various platforms to adopt the BC approach. The type of platforms that were discussed were “tribal platforms”, which were for example the platforms created by the apartheid state for black people to self-organise. Infiltrative Politics was suggesting a strategy that would take conscientisation into organisations and groups in order to try to re-orient them. Here again there is an emphasis on popularising BC. The issue of tribal platforms and Bantustans became a key arguing point for the differing opinions on engagement with apartheid-state apparatus. While they were Black run institutions, they were seen as extensions of the apartheid state and the merit of ‘infiltrating’ to re-orient these type of institutions was continually debated.

(3) **Orientation Projects** were meant “to re-examine educational, cultural, religious and economic facilities, needs and aspirations of the black man”. There were suggestions that in the field of education, subjects like History, Medicine, Economics and Agriculture amongst others needed to be re-designed by black experts. This was suggested in order to make the content of these subjects more relevant to black students. It was proposed that SASO along with the

relevant specialists design and “establish extra-curricular classes for all students and lay people” (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Seminar Report, Pietermaritzburg, 1971, pg. 5 of 16). In the cultural field, it was suggested that “resource centres, libraries, cultural groups should be encouraged to collect, collate, disseminate and popularise aspects of our culture that reflect the true self of black people” (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Seminar Report, Pietermaritzburg, 1971, pg. 5 of 16). It was later suggested in a commission report, that these resource centres should contain things like (a) records of all vital statistics referring to black people e.g. records of achievement, average wages of areas, etc.; (b) all relevant speeches made by blacks (on tape and paper); (c) cultural artefacts attributable to blacks; and (d) writings by black people (ALUKA, Commissions presented at the 3rd General Students Council of SASO, 1972, pg. 26 of 28).

In the religious field, black theology was sanctioned as “the only relevant approach to religion of the black people” and Christianity was criticised as encouraging the black man not to fight for true liberation. In the last field of economics, black solidarity was encouraged in order for black people to pool their economic resources to strengthen their economic position, for example creating black co-operatives. Orientation Projects are an interesting description of how content at least at a school subject level, is deemed to be important enough to encourage extra-curricula classes with differently oriented content. Again, there is an acknowledgement that in the South African context, black life was systematically written out of importance. In the educational field this meant that the versions of history for example, strongly favoured the dominant parts of society, and in the religious field, the version of the story projected an image that served a repressive function of domestication of black people. Content was therefore important in as much as it was imperative to counter the stories that were told to domesticate and brainwash black people into believing their subservient role in society, and remaining paralysed to the possibilities of revolution or change.

(4) **Self-Reliance Projects** were imagined as community development projects and were ultimately about creating feelings of self-reliance amongst blacks. The Self-Help Projects point to the need for people to find ways to solve their own problems. The commitment showed by BCM to self-reliance and upliftment projects were vital in projecting a faith in the ordinary

persons' ability and power to contribute to change and grow. This programme remains one of the main standout features of what made BC different from other black movements concerned with revolution. The amount of time during leadership trainings and space in written reports given to planning, evaluating and reporting on these projects indicate the strong commitment that the BCM had to valuing communities and their abilities and power, as well as the commitment that leaders needed to remain very close to the masses of people that they were working with to transform South Africa. It also indicates the strong commitment to thinking and working systematically that the BCM was developing.

Phase II of the formation school was a Community Development Seminar, which started with a plenary session to prepare trainees with knowledge of similar community development initiatives in Europe, America, Israel, Pakistan and India, and then compared to ones in the developing nations of Africa. There was an assessment of which individuals present had personal experience in community development projects (there were 11 in total), and which of the seven university centres present had engaged in a community development project. Using this knowledge, participants were then split into groups according to the four university centres, which had experience in projects. Trainees with no experience in projects and who came from university centres who had not yet run projects joined a group of their choice. The sequence of this phase of the training indicates that there was value placed in engaging with existing writings on the topic of interest in order to give trainees a sense of the possibilities that existed and the experience of similar projects from around the world.

Session 2 in Phase II took place in the four university centre groups and involved each group detailing what the project/s were that they were/had been involved in. Session 3 was a report back session where each group was given time to feedback to the plenary on each project, including description of project, motivation, problems encountered, and frustrations experienced. There was then a discussion that was started by the following two questions being posed, what to do with "any anti-SASO elements encountered" and encountering "... the SB (Security Branch), and intimidation and how to reassure the people"? The session ended with a discussion around "the type of things that militate against efficient operation", which allowed for people to reflect on details of the various projects discussed in order to clarify better practice

going forward (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Seminar Report, Pietermaritzburg, 1971, pg. 10 of 16).

Session 4 of Phase II was focused on defining what was understood by community development work and discussing how one convinces adults to make changes in developing her/his community. Session 5 was a report back with suggestions to the various groups on the way forward with their projects. Session 6 was a presentation and then discussion on the technique of action training, followed by a discussion on outstanding questions not covered in any of the previous sessions. Phase II ended with an evaluation session to ascertain whether trainees were satisfied with the sessions.

Phase III, which dealt with the dynamics of student leadership was started with an activity or method called a “plunge”, where trainees were split into groups and sent into different areas of the surrounding community of Edendale. The purpose of the “plunge” was to have trainees acquaint themselves with the community, investigate what the problems of the community were and try to ascertain what community members’ political affiliations were and whether they had any ideas about how they would solve the community problems themselves. The plunge method is in a sense doing research into a community to answer select questions. There were report backs from the various groups and the trainers used this opportunity to draw links between the basic principles of the dynamics of student leadership in relation to community development and in particular the role of the students as mobilisers of the community. The trainers then presented an input on the history of black student activism and went on to investigate a definition of leadership and relate this to student leadership and in particular SASO’s policies and the theoretical philosophy of BC. At this point the trainers described what SASO leadership would entail and what potential leaders needed to strive for. The trainers then presented a model of reflection and feedback to be applied to community development projects. Emphasis was placed on effective communication, and the trainees were discouraged from the “imparting of meaningless words”. Phase IV, was the final session and dealt with planning. This involved the trainees being put into “problem solving situations” and there was also an attempt to assess whether trainees had benefited from the school.

The plunge is a Freirean methodology, which encourages an investigation and engagement into what people at a grassroots level are talking about. This activity is an attempt to not pre-select content that would assume to be understood by people as meaningless words. Being put in a problem-solving situation is also Freirean in that one understands and reflects on the world by posing ones world as a problem needing engagement, dialogue and reflection.

By the end of 1971, there was a reflection on the process of leadership training that had taken place up until this point. The assessment found that the programme was not coordinated well enough, and the trainees were left too quickly on their own with little sense of continuity and connection to what others were doing at their universities or in their home towns. As a result of this reflection, a 'more standardised scheme' for leadership training was developed, where trainees needed to go through a set course over three years, starting in a student's first year and ending before the national conference (July) of their third year. The suggested set course or curriculum was broken into three phases over three years. There was a conscious attempt to blend the theoretical and the practical to ensure that the programme remained action-oriented. It was also suggested that a combination of regional and national problems would inform topics for discussion, as well as politics more generally. There was an expectation that the role and input of SASO would be constantly critiqued and reassessed at leadership training schools. Here again politics is becoming more apparent as the underlying basis for the leadership programme.

In addition to the three-phase curriculum there was also a suggested preliminary course developed called the *Leadership Training Course for school leavers*, which was to be held in December or January of the year students leave high school and before they enter university. The leadership training for schools was planned as a national project, which would identify 60-100 school students annually with leadership potential, selected on an individual basis or through schools where principles were responsive to SASO, or through school organisations. These leadership trainings were to be held on a regional basis in order for more schools to participate. The main topics to be covered in the preliminary-course were, (1) the university and the black community, and (2) the dynamics of leadership. The aim of the preliminary course was to "prepare trainees to become aware of their responsibilities as university freshers or in

whatever careers they will undertake soon thereafter" (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Programme, 1971, pg.10 of 11). The scheduling of a preliminary course indicates that there was consideration given to how one needed to sequence a student's progress through the process of leadership training, starting with a preparatory course and then ensuring that the leadership course itself was more sequenced. What this indicates is that more than just the content of leadership training seminars were becoming defined and systematized. The timing of course and how they fitted together was becoming more defined and structured.

The preliminary course would be followed by the suggested three-year leadership training curriculum mentioned above, which consisted of: -

Phase I – The theoretics and philosophy of man, values of black traditional society, student government and student politics, SASO and black consciousness, etc.

Phase II – Group dynamics, simulation games, the politics of the black society, etc.

Phase III – Action training, community development, etc.

By the end of 1971, plans were made to ensure that there were scheduled national and regional formation schools annually, with the national formation schools taking place in the months of May and December every year, and attended by selected students from each campus. The regional formation schools were set to take place once a semester, so twice a year, in the four regions,[56] with members from each of the university centres in the region coming together. All variations and phases of the leadership training schools were to be conducted by the members of the SASO Executive of which two people were to be permanently employed. These members would go through an *Executive Trainers' Programme*, intended to impart training or teaching skills, which attendees could use in their roles as teachers, to teach and train others. All the leadership training schools were to be run 'camp-style' with groups living together over the period of the training.[57]

[56] The four regions were Natal, Transvaal, Eastern Cape, and Western Cape

[57] This had financial implications but SASO planned to cover all costs associated with attending leadership trainings as they believed it formed an important part of building SASO and also ensured that SASO's vision of creating a new black leadership

The following were presented as tools that could be used in varying combinations for action training:

- Exposure / plunge
- Interdisciplinary reflection
- System analysis
- Simulation games
- Action research
- Human relations techniques
- Planning tools
- Evaluation tools
- Traditional tools of lecture-forum-film

Strategies developed in action training may include: -

- Getting control within systems
- Building parallel systems
- Confrontation
- Coalition building

The tools and strategies named are presented as a suggested set of tools at the disposal of the leadership trainees, for use as deemed necessary. It is emphasized that the trainees experience is the starting point for determining the subject matter for problem solving as well as for the selection of tools to be used and strategy to be developed (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Programme, 1971, pg. 8 of 11).

In March 1972, SASO's Permanent Organiser presented a document detailing the planned SASO leadership training programme for black youth groups and schools. This youth leadership training programme focused youth more generally, both in and out of school. As with all SASO programmes, there was a strong rationale and motivation situating the need for such a programme in SASO's organisational aims. The rationale for such a programme was explained as the need to provide:

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was realised.

a. Basic training in the critical examination of the role and relevance of Black Youth groups, clubs and/or societies, school children.
b. To train Black youth in relevant leadership skills, techniques and methods, which could be ploughed back into the Black community in order to bring about social change.
c. To re-orientate the socio-cultural outlook of black youth.
d. To help them isolate, analyse and define their aims, objectives and goals as Black youth in the context of the Black community and its priorities.
e. To develop in them a positive awareness and consciousness of their problems, difficulties and frustrations as Black youth in the context of South Africa.
f. To provide career or vocational guidance.
(ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Programmes: Black Youth Groups and Schools, 1972, pg. 3 of 8).

The motivation for extending the leadership training programme into schools and youth organisations was to broaden the reach of the BCM, but it was also to ensure that the conscientisation and re-education of black youth began from as young as possible and influenced many more black youth than merely the few that plan to attend university. There was also a link drawn between the type of education inflicted on black youth as "designed to inculcate in them a sense of self-hate and feelings of inadequacy so as to perpetuate the socio-economic and political status quo", and the type of education black youth would need to become the new leaders, willing and able to lead the transformation process for Black people in South Africa (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Programmes: Black Youth Groups and Schools, 1972, pg. 3 of 8). The training of black youth was therefore systematically thought of to train, at the individual level, black youth in leadership skills, which would assist them to develop the tools for critical, analytical and positive examinations or reflections of themselves. At a more collective level, their role as youth in the various clubs, groups and societies they were involved in, as well as the relevance of these clubs and societies in the black community. Finally, the black communities' role in changing the status quo in the social, cultural, political and economic realm. This was in line with the understanding of the BCM of the need to develop critical consciousness starting from the individual's self awareness, into the awareness and relations with groups, communities and then entire categories of analysis such as the social, political,

economic and so on. It was also a further sequencing of the leadership training programmes planned for developing black leaders and in this case, encouraging all young black people that they themselves are the ones who will lead themselves and their communities into and through the revolution.

The youth leadership training course was designed to extend over a three-year period and was divided into three phases in order for participants to graduate from one phase to the next. The course was designed as a preparatory course for the more advanced leadership training programme designed for school leavers (called the preliminary course and described in more detail earlier), university students and community leaders. The basic content of each phase is described below: -

Phase I, was designed to "enable the Black youth to comprehend the plight of the Black Community in the make of increased intensified racial oppression and subjugation", that will cover an introductory analysis of (a) the black value system; (b) an analytical exposition of the attitudes of Whites towards Blacks; (c) a systematic appreciation of the danger of glorified tribalism and sectionalism; and (d) an elementary understanding of the place and role of Black youth in the Black community (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Programmes: Black Youth Groups and Schools, 1972, pg. 5 of 8).

Phase II, would deal with an analysis of (a) the role and relevance of Black youth groups in the Black Community; (b) the interrelatedness of Black youth groups and the need for closer coordination, cooperation and/or amalgamation into a national youth group; (c) the organizational and structural problems and/or difficulties that beset many organisations; and (d) an introduction to the theory of financial administration, accountability and budgeting, as well as the theory of the concept of leadership and its manifestations.

Phase III, would introduce (a) the philosophy of Black Consciousness through an understanding of the concepts of Black communalism and self-reliance and Black solidarity; and (b) an advanced intensive course on leadership skills, techniques and methods and an understanding of the relationship between youth groups and other Black organisations. The

third and final phase of the youth leadership training was planned "…as a link-up course between youth leadership training programmes with advanced leadership training programmes designed for University student and community leaders" (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Programmes: Black Youth Groups and Schools, 1972, pg. 6 of 8).

The youth leadership training course was planned to take place annually for three years at three different levels. At the first level there would be four *local seminars* per province in the four provinces, with an expected attendance of approximately 30 participants per seminar. The local seminar would run over a two-day period and there would be approximately 480 participants in total going through this seminar per annum. The second level was where there would be a *provincial seminars* in the four provinces with approximately 60 participants per seminar. The provincial seminar would also take place over two days with approximately 240 participants in total going through this seminar per annum. There would also be two *national seminars* of 150 participants each. This seminar would take place over five days and there would be approximately 300 participants that would go through this seminar per annum. This would mean that approximately 1020 Black youth from across South Africa would attend the youth leadership training over three years.

Because of SASO's leadership training programmes, there was a clear philosophy and implementation of good organisational practice, which entailed that programmes were identified and developed in response to relevant needs as identified by the organisation and within the ambit of the SASO mission. The programmes were well thought through with detailed analysis, rationale and motivation for them. The agenda or action plan for programmes was explicit and detailed and each programme had a clear financial component to ensure its feasibility and sustainability. SASO adopted a plan-act-reflect model of being, thinking and operating, and as a result there was considerable attention paid to planning and implementing evaluation processes. In the case of the youth leadership seminar, the evaluation plan was scheduled to take place at the end of each of the three years of the course as well as an overall evaluation of the programme at the end of the three-year cycle. The examples of organizational development discussed above again point to the emphasis of building an efficient, sustainable organisation as a primary focus of these programmes.

While the youth leadership training programme document written in 1972 is one that encourages analysis, investigation, introspection, and awareness, there is at this stage also talk of "inculcating the Black youth with a positive understanding and appreciation of Black history as seen by Blacks through Black eyes", as well as creating "…a well oriented indoctrination with the Black understanding of religion and his relationship with his natural environment" (ALUKA, SASO: Leadership Training Programmes: Black Youth Groups and Schools, 1972, pg. 5 of 8). Words like inculcating and indoctrinating are ones associated with oppressive education and in the two instances that such words are used in the document under analysis, they are used to describe the need for a response to the identified distortion that is already seen as existing with regards to ideas of Black history and religion. Freire's critical education was meant to work with people to develop a set of tools to analyse, research, investigate, reflect on one's life to identify problems in order to figure out and implement change to solve such problems. The BCM were engaged in a process of developing such a toolkit for Black people, yet they were also challenging the Bantu Education system and its content as a site of struggle necessary to build the self-reliance and defeat the self-hatred deemed to be present in Black people and communities.

From the 2nd to the 9th of July 1972, SASO held its third annual general students council at St. Peters Seminary in Hammanskraal. The overall gist of the annual meeting was to give an opportunity for the national executive, members, employees and affiliated centres and city offices to report back on their activities and progress over the period. Seven university centres presented reports on their activities that took place over the preceding year and the national executive presented an executive report, which stated that the year had been the most "…historic and memorable one marked by confrontations of power between the authorities and the students. According to the report, this "…led to a real reorientation of thinking about education" (ALUKA, Reports presented at the 3rd General Students Council of SASO, 1972, pg. 4 of 71). There were also commission reports presented based on the commissions that had been established to work on various key selected issues. These correspond with the commissions already mentioned that were up for deliberation at the various formation schools.

The education commission, after reviewing the aims and workings of the education system for blacks in South Africa, found:

a. that the system is primarily subservient to the political philosophy of the country.
b. that it is totally irrelevant to the needs and aspirations of the Blacks in the present situation of deprivation.
c. that it aims at localising the mental and physical set up of the Blacks in South Africa
d. that it envisages the subjugation of the black masses.
e. that it awakens self-hate.
f. that it ultimately creates a gulf between the intellectual elite and the people.

(ALUKA, Commissions presented at the 3rd General Students Council of SASO, 1972, pg. 11 of 28).

After analysing and defining what the oppressive education system looked like, the commission moved to define what it deemed to be education that was adapted to the relevance of the black situation. The definition reads:

1. that education has as its aims not only the inculcation of essential knowledge but also and principally the development of all aspects of the personality of the pupil.
2. that the underlying purpose of Education is to liberate people from the shackles of ignorance and frustration, and to further their search for the truth and liberty to provide the talented with opportunities for a further use of their abilities.
3. that Education is a realisation of the peculiar responsibilities due to the Black man's oppressive situation.
4. that Education is the preservation and promotion of what is treasured in one's culture and history.

From this definition of education one sees that SASO and the BCM were interested in education for the purposes of political liberation, their own version of critical education. Further education was also defined as a process where the Black man should:

a. get his learning’s with regard to the world in general and with S.A. in particular;
b. interpret and understand his relationship to S.A. and show his responsibility to the community;

c. begin his physical and spiritual training to meet and eliminate not only the hardships that are common but also try to eliminate planned wrong, concerted injustice and applied prejudice.

In addition to stating its broad definition of education and then defining what further education should look like, SASO also envisaged what it called a 'Free University'.[58] Below is an excerpt from the planning commission report that details the plan for such a Free University.

> **Structure:** Must be run by a committee of experts and committed people with the normal departments that one finds in a real University.
>
> **Lectureship:** Committed and qualified lecturing staff both from inside and outside university, both black and white. These are to be invited by the Secretary-General according to the various disciplines catered for by the scheme.
>
> **Locality:** The scheme must operate in major towns, starting with one in the following provinces, Natal, Cape, Transvaal. The lectures are to be held in available halls/schools/or other buildings in the area. St. Peters has already been offered as a possibly venue by the authorities concerned.
>
> **Curricula:** To cater for both degree/non-degree purposes in popular field.
>
> **Examinations:** Arrangements to be made with well-disposed Universities outside the country for exams to be written under their wing
>
> **Books/Libraries:** Arrangements to be made with some South African Universities for usage of their libraries by students registered with the scheme.

Literacy

A central part of SASO's commission on Community Development was the Literacy and Formal

[58] There was also planning for what was called a "Home University Service", which was an education scheme for "illiterates, correspondence students for J.C. [Junior Certificate], Matric [final year of high school] and degree purposes and vocational training" (ALUKA, Commissions presented at the 3rd General Students Council of SASO, 1972, pg. 26&27 of 28).

Education projects, which broadly consisted of (a) training of people for functional literacy; (b) conscientising through this; and (c) guidance to teachers and correspondence students. Literacy projects were given priority because "…(i) it is the most effective and practical method of conscientising people; (ii) it affords creation of a better rapport with the people; (iii) it does stimulate self-reliance; and (iv) ensures continuity" (ALUKA, Commissions presented at the 3rd General Students Council of SASO, 1972, pg. 13-15 of 28). The priority afforded the SASO literacy programme resulted in the suggested employment of a director of literacy on a permanent basis. Also part of community development and directly involved in education and schooling were the physical projects of building schools or extensions to classrooms in communities.[59]

Besides identifying education as pivotal in the fight for liberation and transformation of South African society, SASO recognised the important role that youth could play in this process as the "live-wire of any community". In order for what it called "systematic discussions" to take place on Black youth, the SASO commission on youth analysed and categorised youth according to their age and their corresponding school standard, proposing what the main educational emphasis of the identified period needed to be. Below is an excerpt from the commission report on youth.

> **1. Pre-school periods - zero to six years.** This is a delicate age at which psychological impressions are fixed most effectively. Parents should use Black names when naming their children. We recommend that, in order to gain access to children, parents/guardians should be made use off. Relevant folklore, songs and games should be taught to children. Full use should be made of kindergartens whose staff is well orientated.

[59] Part of the SASO workers programme was a scheme called Edu-Ploy, which was primarily meant to "organize and orientate workers" but was also meant to support "exiled students" by getting them employed in certain industries so they could gain experience as well as continue to learn (ALUKA, Commissions presented at the 3rd General Students Council of SASO, 1972, pg. 16 of 28). This indicates the multi-faceted approach to influencing and reforming the Bantu education system in South Africa that SASO and the BCM were engaged in.

2. Primary school period - Six to fourteen years. Greater contact should be encouraged between the different sections of the Black community in order to promote Black solidarity, among the youth. Picnics, youth camps and other community development projects should be embarked upon. SASO should create contacts with the teachers teaching these children with the view to orientating the children towards Black-consciousness and rejecting white values.

3. Post-Primary School Period. This is the period of initial political readiness. Use must be made of the already existing dramatic, debating societies and high school organisations. Students should be encouraged to sell SASO Pamphlets and read Black literature in general. These students should also be involved in Community Development Projects. **Vocational Guidance** - It is a matter paramount importance that young people should be given the necessary and proper voc. Guidance.

4. Social Drop-outs. Voluntary group workers and professional social workers and other relevant and interested parties should join in the recruitment of the so-called “Outcasts", towards redirecting their thinking towards Black Consciousness. (ALUKA, Commissions presented at the 3rd General Students Council of SASO, 1972, pg. 15&16 of 28).

Leadership Training Programme, 1973

A national formation school was held at FEDSEM (Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa) in Alice Eastern Cape, over three days from 11 to 13 May 1973. There were nine executive and staff members present who made up the team of facilitators and about forty delegates attended the school. The structure of the school will now be discussed to give a sense of the changes that took place to formation school structure after being in existence for five years. The school was opened by the then acting president giving a thirty-minute address, which welcomed everyone, briefly outlined the nature and purpose of the school, encouraged delegates to participate fully in both plenary and group discussions, and lastly introduced one of the delegates who was to give an one-hour input paper on inter-group relations. The paper was described as not comprehensive but that it “opened up a wide scope for discussion and

exploration" (ALUKA, SASO: Report on National Formation School, 1973, pg. 5 of 17).

The delegates were then split into groups for forty-five minutes, where they were tasked with having more in-depth discussions focused around answering three questions. While the content of these breakaway discussions and the actual questions will be discussed later on, of importance is the structure of the session, which remained largely consistent with previous formation schools – an input paper is presented (60 minutes), then there are breakaway groups that discuss the input either freely or through posed questions (45 minutes), then the groups reconvene in a plenary session where there are report backs from groups and then further discussion (120 minutes). The only difference was that formation schools were originally imagined and planned to be 5-day events, yet the reports of the schools from 1969 until 1972 indicated that they were 4-day events and by 1973, formations schools seemed to be reduced to 3-day events. One reading of this change over time could indicate that there was a sense that time was running out and that there was not enough time to go into as much detail because of the urgency of the political situation.

In this instance the plenary were reported to be unhappy with two of the three breakaway groups' findings or suggestions. The reasons for the dissatisfaction are not mentioned but the two groups are sent back to deliberate further and to reconsider their findings. One can extrapolate what the causes for such dissatisfaction are likely to have been. I imagine that the plenary session may have been dominated by SASO executive and staff members and that there would be dissatisfaction if the groups' findings did not adhere to the principles of Black Consciousness or SASO's organisational development agenda. The findings of the group that was deemed to have done a good enough job was then reported back to plenary and discussed. There was then an evaluation process for 30-minutes. The last part of the programme was an evening symposium on *Education for Self-Reliance*, which was attended by the broader public. There were four speakers at the symposium, three of whom were SASO executive or staff members and one of whom was from the hosting institution.

Day two started with a 2-hour plenary session where the two groups who were asked to revisit their findings reported back and there was further discussion. The person who presented the

initial input ended the plenary with a wrap-up of the session thus far. The delegates were again sent into breakaway groups with the task of answering two questions (2-hours 45-minutes). There was then a 2-hour plenary session to feedback on group discussions. Student counselling was scheduled for 30-minutes followed by two further plenary sessions of 1-hour 45-minutes and 90-minutes that continued the earlier discussions. The second day was a very long day ending with a 2-hour exercise in participation and group relations.

The third and final day of the school was focused on discussing the theme for the 2013 annual conference, which was Black Power: *It's Philosophical Foundations and Implications*. The topic was introduce in a 1-hour plenary session and then there were breakaway groups (3-hours long) that discussed the topic under three headings, (1) Black Power: As a Development of Political Thought amongst Blacks; (2) Black Power: As an Economic Programme; and (3) Black Power: As a Programme for Liberation. The groups then reported back in a plenary session of 90-minutes and there was 90-minutes spent on an evaluation process. The final input was a 30-minute wrap-up of proceedings by the acting-president.

The content planned for discussion on day one related to the input presented on inter-group relations. The three questions that groups were meant to tackle were: (1) How best can Black students effect involvement in the Black community (a) amongst themselves, (b) between themselves, and (c) the Black community as a whole? (2) What is the role of Black groups as agencies in socio-political change? (3) Suggest in detail the type of programmes in which Black groups should involve themselves in pursuit of the Black man's aspirations. While the input delivered on inter-group relations might have been broad, the questions for consideration in smaller groups were certainly more specific and focused. Groups were allowed to approach the questions in a wide variety of ways, with one group deciding that the topic and question, was too vast and needed to be focused. They therefore decided to select education, economy and arts as the boundaries within which to approach question two specifically. Before answering the question in reference to the three identified fields of education, economics and arts, the group suggested that there were two approaches that allow for action as agencies of socio-cultural change namely, the type of society envisaged or that liberation could be the point of departure. The group and the plenary agreed unanimously that "socio-cultural change should be geared

towards the type of society envisaged", and then went further to define that this would be "a society based on self-reliance in which liberation is understood" (ALUKA, SASO: Report on National Formation School, 1973, pg. 6 of 17).

What was illuminated by reflecting on the process of learning espoused in this example was that there was a presentation of ideas on an interesting and relevant topic (inter-group relations). This was then followed up with the posing of relevant questions to allow deeper engagement with the topic. The engagement then took place in smaller groups to allow for more voices to be heard. In these groups delegates set clearer boundaries around the question (suggesting education, economics and arts), but also take a step back to explicate different possible angels to tackle the question (two approaches can be used to influence acting as agencies). Once a choice between the two approaches was agreed on, in this case that socio-cultural change should be geared towards the type of society envisaged, the type of society is then defined according to the BC philosophy. This indicates to me the amount of thinking work or analysis that was done at the formation schools as well as the depth of engagement that was evident through the multiple layers of questioning present. It also points to a systematic engagement with the issues raised as relevant, important and in need of engagement.

The content discussed in the formation school reveals not only what SASO's philosophies and ideologies were but also the methods with which they planned to spread these philosophies. The formation school programme was structured in a way that allowed space for delegates to input into discussions yet the content was carefully chosen to guide future leaders attending the school towards a particular agenda. SASO at this stage was already clear that it was strategically appropriate to work within the realms of education, economics and arts and it is unclear whether these are suggested at the 1973 formation schools by delegates who are aware of this or even by SASO executive or staff members who may have been part of the breakaway groups, or whether these realms were contextually relevant, or whether they were in line with what was instinctively felt.

The question being answered was tackled first in the realm of education where there was clearly Freirean concepts influencing the suggestions being put forward. This is evident when

discussing education the group posits as a starting point that education "…can never be neutral in the sense that education is either for liberation or domestication" (ALUKA, SASO: Report on National Formation School, 1973, pg. 6 of 17). It was suggested that in order to be sure that one could be active agents in changing society into one based on self-reliance and an understanding of liberation, that the education system would need to be defined in order to promote or result in self-reliance being achieved. It is also suggested that once this definition is formulated a method/s for realising the goal of self-reliance would need to be identified. It is proposed that the method adopted by SASO should be "improvised in the Literacy Project", pointing to the belief that literacy forms the basis for self-reliance but also that recruiting or improvisation is required (ALUKA, SASO: Report on National Formation School, 1973, pg. 6 of 17).

In line with the commitment to praxis, the analysis and enquiry referred to in this example is extended to include action or involvement in a number of ways. Again literacy is positioned as central with a suggestion that students and pupils are to be trained as coordinators for literacy. That there should be a concerted effort to conscientise students qualifying at teacher training colleges and to get them to join teacher associations. That theology students, who are understood to be teaching/preaching, "should receive the same attention as other prospective teachers" because they would teach at Sunday schools (ALUKA, SASO: Report on National Formation School, 1973, pg. 6 of 17). It was recommended that the Black Theology Agency should be approached to request them to simplify Black Theology and present this to Sunday School teachers and lay preachers in the form of seminars. It was also suggested that songs, stickers and slogans were important in the attempt to sensitise and heighten the awareness of young people.

The 1973 formation school evaluation claims that the school was a success, but then points to some very interesting things. Described as a disturbing factor, is the "minimal participation by delegates" as well as the inability of groups to accept criticism and the wasting of time by the resultant argument that ensued (ALUKA, SASO: Report on National Formation School, 1973, pg. 13 of 17). I am assuming that this comment was directed at the two groups who were critiqued for not doing a good enough job on one of their tasks and asked to reconsider. The

report suggests that to avoid such an issue at future formation schools, centres/branches should ‘groom’ their delegates in order to prepare them for the school, and that there should be weekly discussions so that members can “grasp the basics of Black consciousness and other philosophies”. This would result in the education of SASO members in order to arm them for confrontation with the Black community. The idea of ‘grooming’ delegates set to attend formation schools makes me think of domesticating, or training people to behave, think and act in a way that is deemed acceptable.

CHAPTER 5:

Conclusion

In this thesis I have argued that education is understood by critical pedagogy and the BCM to be political. I have established Freire's key educational concepts that underpin his philosophy of education in Chapter 1, and have pointed throughout to the BCM's engagement with these concepts and philosophies. I have provided a narrative of the relationship between the BCM and education in Chapter 2, and have argued that one cannot understand the BCM without unpacking and analysing the centrality of education to the BCM project. In Chapter 3 I have looked more closely at understandings of consciousness and conscientisation generally and then specifically the BCM's interpretations of these complex concepts. In Chapter 4 I looked more closely at the content and methods used by the BCM in their educational projects in order to better understand what happens to their educational project.

I have established that there was an orientation in the early stages of the BCM (1968 to 1972) towards a more Freirean aligned educational project that allowed for people or students to lead the process of self-awareness and empowerment. What emerges though is that there is a strange ambivalence between the aim of working to build consciousness, and working to forward the institutional or organisation structure. There seems to always be this tension between the educational project and the political project because the BCM is focused on creating a platform for developing future black leadership of an organisation but at the same time they are also focused and working on developing consciousness.

When understanding the BCM as emphasising and working with Freirean inspired praxis, one has to ask the question what is the theory part of the theory-practise? I have established that the earlier BCM years was a time spent building theory. As an example, the SASO manifesto (ALUKA, SASO: Policy Manifesto, 1971, pg. 3 of 4) makes a point, which was the outcome of a formation school discussion on black power, where the students resolved that in South Africa only black people could create a truly open society, and that this was possible only if they first closed their ranks to be self-reflexive and build a group identity that would allow them to engage

more fully with the rest of the South African society to transform it. This is an indication of how the processes and debates at the early formation schools fed into the beliefs, concepts and policies of the organisation and ultimately meant that black students were creating their own understandings and actions through critical reflection. The later formation schools were much more tightly programmed and it seems that the focus was more on bringing predetermined theory and then discussing this.

The tension that is created is also because on the one hand the BCM do not want to be a vanguardist grouping, and want to be involved and respectful of the broader community, but in effect they later become much more clearer about knowing the way to liberation and use their leadership and community development programmes to lead people to a more predetermined destination.

The BCM uses the dialectical lens through which to frame their resistance politics and of special interest is the BCM description of the thesis (white supremacy) – antithesis (Black Consciousness or solidarity) - synthesis (non-racialism) position. They also project that this is framed by their inter-determinist belief (Magaziner and Moodley, 2006, p. 12), expressed by a much older BC leader Barney Pityana in a 2005 sermon, compelling people to “open their minds and recognise that the quest for true humanity remained ahead of them and that only by embracing their gay sisters and brothers, their political enemies, the poor, the oppressed, the sick – in short, only by facing their deepest fears – might they try once more for the distant horizon” (Magaziner, 2010, p.190). The idea of a strong liberatory vision that is open enough to be identified as inter-determinist (Magaziner & Strini, 2006) is an interesting ideal of the BCM that aligns with Freire’s notion of the oppressed defining and determining a world that is more human. Biko explains this clearly as part of his testimony when asked by the judge to explain how much give and take he imagined could take place if there was to be a bargaining stage between the powers that be and the oppressed people. He explains (Biko Testimony, AD1719, Volume 81, 04, pg 15 of 31 or 4647):

> …[w]ell, this is a historical question. I think it depends entirely on history, it depends on the relevant strength of the various bargaining parties. It depends certainly on things like outside pressure, no-one knows, we cannot prescribe a synthesis, a synthesis happens. What you can prescribe is a possibility of thesis and antithesis coming together, the final result cannot be calculated in fine measurement.

Another of the BCM ideals, inspired by Freire and their attempt at engaging and building a literacy programme for conscientisation, that is not verifiable in the archive of their history and practices, is their ideals about method or process. What we can see is that the BCM had engaged with radical ideals in relation to method but that in actual fact what was most important in the end was content. At this point I would like to point to the limitations of my study. I originally wanted to enquire more about the BCM's methods, which would have been possible through the qualitative data collection of personal reflections of BCM leaders and their personal recollections of processes. The limitation I encountered was that interviewees were not able to speak to process as much as I had imagined. This could partly be because the case study period is over 40 years ago and the interviewees are fairly old and have lost the texture of the time in question. But in some cases it was that interviewees were not interested to talk about process.

Even though my initial triangulation between existing literature, archive and interviews was therefore compromised, I have been able to build a historical narrative and analyse the detailed archival reports, plans, and policies to get a sense of how the BCM developed, its relationship to education, and mainly the content part of their programmes with some indications of process. It is not clear whether the information from 1973/74 onwards ceased or whether the BCM stopped systematically collecting their documents, but it is interesting that after 1973 the detailed cases of the formation schools disappear. I cannot answer this question as yet as this is beyond the scope of my project, so all I can do is speculate.

What becomes clear is that the BCM are caught between two agendas, a deep political imperative and the educational imperative, that should be feeding each other, but they do not

necessarily. Education through problem-posing and literacy training is something that takes time and is a completely different rhythm to political education or banking education for that matter. For Freire literacy is the means to critical consciousness and becoming the subject of the act, whereas for the BCM literacy is not the means.[60] The BCM's means and focus seemed to be the tightly planned leadership programmes and the community development programmes, and the quick fixing of problems. Even though the group of BCM leaders spend a few months learning Freirean literacy methods, they never develop and maintain a sustained literacy programme. The tension remains that they want the one but they go for the other. It must be said though that projects of political education, even if the imperatives are different to educational projects per se, still have educational outcomes, even if these are regarded as secondary to the political agenda. Many people, young and old, learned to read and write and felt empowered by the BCM philosophy, initiatives and programmes.

What the BCM originally wanted was a radical engagement with process but what they ended up getting into more and more was predetermined content. In other words, the BCM started off with a very strong educational agenda, and then as it seemed to gain momentum, they lost the educational project and became driven by the political context, which required them in many ways to drive the project of political education. This critique of the BCM shifting of focus from the educational to the political is made with the understanding that context always shapes action and in this case resistance. Also that the context in South Africa from 1973 onwards became more and more volatile with many activists and leaders being tortured and killed by the apartheid state. BCM leaders were therefore under immense pressure to engage and run BCM programmes and push the BCM agenda, and were also under constant threat from security forces. The context therefore drove activist and leaders with urgency towards political transformation that in some ways was unable to be delayed for much longer. The late 1970's and the decade of the 1980's were the most volatile resistance periods, with the armed struggle (or at least the idea of armed struggle) growing in the minds of political activists. The drive to render South Africa ungovernable also meant that levels of violence inside South Africa increased and the levels of mass organisation were also on the rise.

[60] As an example, the SASO Newsletter, which consists of many written pieces in English, pre-supposes literacy by assuming that the communities meant to read the newsletter are literate.

While there are a number of tensions mentioned above, the central tension seems to me to be that the BCM really understand that they want to rebuild identity, subjectivity, consciousness, and deal with false consciousness, which is only possible through a sustained educational project, but I think that the political project, of inspiring quick community action to solve-problems and ignite the masses to resist the racial oppressions that are prevalent, trumps the educational project. I want to end by going back to Neville Alexander (2013) comments in Chapter 1, about the mere regime changes in South Africa with no fundamental change. He suggest that what we need for fundamental change is an approach that allows "…for the full development and flowering of the potential inherent in each and every human being" (2013, pg. 197). Alexander as well as Freire believed that education would be able to allow for this development. Where the BCM get to in the end cannot allow for this development of potential, which could result in more fundamental changes because they are driving for community action too quickly. The BCM can deal with the kind of awareness of the external and action. But it cannot properly deal with the internal consciousness project, which is ultimately an educational one. So after the first five years of the BCM, the political trumps the pedagogical.

ANNEXURE A:

Participant Consent Form

CONSENT

Please complete, sign and return the form below, indicating whether you agree or do not agree to participate. Also, indicate clearly that you are 18 years or older.

Below is a summary of points detailed on the participant information sheet.

- The research contributes to the degree of Masters in Education at Wits University Researcher details – Leigh-Ann Naidoo will carry out the in-depth interviews
- Title of the research study is **The Role that Radical Pedagogy plays in Resistance Movements: A Case Study of the Black Consciousness Movement's use of Paulo Freire's Pedagogy.**
- The interviews conducted will be audio recorded (please read carefully and sign the audio consent form)
- Since this research project is a historical one, it will be preferable if your real name can be used when writing the research report and related articles for publication. Your name is therefore likely to be used in the research report and finding and any publications that may arise from this research unless you explicitly request anonymity. Permission to use your real name is completely voluntary and you are therefore able to refuse this request, but as mentioned, it would be preferable if you were to allow the researcher to use your real name..
- The data collected as it relates to you will be archived as part of the broader project of archiving South African education histories
- There are no risks in participating in the research project as well as no benefits for you other than that you are contributing to the knowledge production in relation to the topic.
- Time involvement will more than likely be two hours for an interview to be conducted and possibly a follow-up interview, which will be determined and negotiated separately.
- Your participation is voluntary and can be withdrawn at any stage of the research process.

I _____am willing to participate in the research study on the BCM case study of the use of Freirean radical pedagogy, conducted by Leigh-Ann Naidoo.

YES [ ] (please tick box)

NO [ ] (please tick box)

I am 18 years old or older [ ] (please tick box)

Signature: _____Date: _____

ANNEXURE B:

Dear Research Participant

Participant Information and Consent to participate in a research project

My name is Leigh-Ann Naidoo. I am a student at the School of Education at the University of the Witswatersrand. I am currently enrolled for a Masters in Education through course work, of which this research project is a part. I am doing research on the training of Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) leaders in Paulo Freirean pedagogy in 1972.

My research topic is, **The Role that Radical Pedagogy plays in Resistance Movements: A Case Study of the Black Consciousness Movement's use of Paulo Freire's Pedagogy.** Part of my research is to do in-depth interviews with relevant persons in order to find out more about the case study I mentioned above. It would therefore be appreciated if you would be willing to participate.

If you have any concerns about participation, or any questions that you would like to ask about the study please contact me at any time at the email address or cell phone number below.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Since this research project is a historical one, it will be preferable if your real name can be used when writing the research report and related articles for publication. Permission to use your real name is completely voluntary and you are therefore able to refuse this request, but as mentioned previously, it would be preferable if you were to allow the researcher to use your real name. Please feel free to request anonymity if you do not wished to be identified by name.

DATA

Your data will be archived as part of the commitment to the retaining of the history of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), unless you indicate that you would like the data relating to you to be destroyed. The archive is likely to be at the University of the Witwatersrand.

RISKS AND BENEFITS/PAYMENTS

There are no foreseeable risks in participating in this study. You will not be paid for participating in the study. Any information picked up by the researcher during the research will have NO impact on you. Benefits of the project will be a contribution to better understanding the educational implications of the BCM's use of radical pedagogy in the 1970's and to contributing to the archiving of the South African anti-apartheid resistance movement history.

TIME INVOLVEMENT

Interviews will be scheduled to take place at a time and place of your convenience and should take up about two hours. If it is deemed necessary, a follow –up interview could be requested.

SUBJECT's RIGHTS

If you have read this form and have decided to participate in this project, please understand your participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty. If you explicitly request it, your individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study. If you are not willing to participate in the study, every effort will be made to exclude any comments made by you when (e.g. transcribing an audio tape).

Leigh-Ann Naidoo (email) Leigh-ann.naidoo@wits.ac.za (cell) 072-0237271

ANNEXURE C:

Participant Consent Form for Audio Recording of Interviews

CONSENT

Please complete, sign and return the form below, indicating whether you give permission for the interviews that you participate in to be audio recorded. Also, indicate clearly that you are 18 years or older.

Below is a summary of points detailed on the participant information sheet.

- The research contributes to the degree of Masters in Education at Wits University
- Researcher details – Leigh-Ann Naidoo will carry out the in-depth interviews

Title of the research study is **The Role that Radical Pedagogy plays in Resistance Movements: A Case Study of the Black Consciousness Movement's use of Paulo Freire's Pedagogy**

- The interviews conducted will be audio recorded (please read carefully and sign the audio consent form)
- Since this research project is a historical one, it will be preferable if your real name can be used when writing the research report and related articles for publication. Your name is therefore likely to be used in the research report and finding and any publications that may arise from this research unless you explicitly request anonymity. Permission to use your real name is completely voluntary and you are therefore able to refuse this request, but as mentioned, it would be preferable if you were to allow the researcher to use your real name.
- The data collected as it relates to you will be archived as part of the broader project of archiving South African education histories
- There are no risks in participating in the research project as well as no benefits for you other than that you are contributing to the knowledge production in relation to the topic.
- Time involvement will more than likely be two hours for an interview to be conducted and possibly a follow-up interview, which will be determined and negotiated separately.
- Your participation is voluntary and can be withdrawn at any stage of the research process.

I _____hereby give permission for the interviews I participate in, conducted by Leigh-Ann Naidoo, to be audio recorded and for my name to be used in the research report and any other publications that may arise out of the research.

AGREE [ ] (please tick box)

DISAGREE [ ] (please tick box)

I am 18 years old or older [ ] (please tick box)

Signature of interviewee: _____ Date: _____

Signature of interviewer: _____ Date: _____

ANNEXURE D:

Interview Schedule: Facilitator of Freirean Literacy Training Preparation

Pre-Interview

The pre-interview briefing will take place before the interview starts. This will entail the researcher going through the Participant Information sheet attached to this interview schedule. In this pre-interview briefing, the researcher will introduce herself, the degree that the research is part of, what the research is about and so on (as per the Participant Information sheet). Once this process is complete, the researcher will go through the Informed Consent Form, which summarises the key points on the Participant Information sheet.

The researcher will give an overview of the two main themes or parts (pedagogy and context) that the interview will engage namely to tell the story of (a) your personal interest in education and in particular radical pedagogy and (b) the historical period in the 1970's when you were approached and then did the training for the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) leaders.

Interview Schedule

1. How did you get involved in education more broadly and then what was your interest in radical pedagogy and in particular Paulo Freire's radical pedagogy?
2. Did you study or meet with Paulo Freire? And can you describe what this was like or what impact this had on you?
3. When did you become aware of the BCM and how did you feel about the movement?
4. Can you tell me the story about how you were approached to do the Freirean training with the group of leaders?
5. Can you explain what the programme was about and why you think they wanted this particular training?
6. Who was in the room and what kinds of things interested them?
7. What was the radical intent of the pedagogy?
8. How was the training designed to achieve this radical intent (method)?
9. What was the context in which you (and they) thought that Freire would be useful?
10. Did you use an existing course and if so how did you modify it for the specific training and context?
11. Were there any difficult issues that arose around things like language, race, gender?
12. What in your 40 years of working with Freirean pedagogy do you believe are the important critiques of his pedagogy?

Post-Interview

The researcher will end by thanking the interviewee for her time and request that she be in contact if there is anything further that comes up that was not covered in the interview. Also, that there may need to be a follow-up interview. A request will be made at this stage for the interviewee to recommend any further literature that she believes should be read as well as to list the participant names who were part of the training session or that were in some way involved and therefore necessary to interview.

ANNEXURE E:

Interview Schedule: Participants of Literacy Campaign

Pre-Interview

The pre-interview briefing will take place before the interview starts. This will entail the researcher going through the Participant Information sheet attached to this interview schedule. In this pre-interview briefing, the researcher will introduce herself, the degree that the research is part of, what the research is about and so on (as per the Participant Information sheet). Once this process is complete, the researcher will go through the Informed Consent Form, which summarises the key points on the Participant Information sheet.

The researcher will give an overview of the two main themes or parts (pedagogy and context) that the interview will engage namely to tell the story of (a) your personal interest in education and in particular radical pedagogy and (b) the historical period in the 1970's when you were approached and then did the training for the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) leaders.

Interview Schedule

1. How did you get involved in education more broadly and then what was your interest in radical pedagogy and in particular Paulo Freire's radical pedagogy?
2. How did you identify a person who you believed knew enough about Freirean pedagogy to train the group?
3. When did you first become involved in the BCM and how did you feel about the movement?
4. What was the BCM's reason, in your mind, to put education and specifically Freirean pedagogy at the centre of BCM thinking?
5. Can you explain what the programme was about for you and what the lessons were that you drew on, to take with you on the rest of the fight again apartheid?
6. What for you was the radical intent of the pedagogy you were engaging with?
7. How was the training designed to achieve this radical intent (method)?
8. Describe what the context was in the early 1970's in which you thought that Freire would be useful? Why?
9. Were there any difficult issues that arose around the proposed radical pedagogy (things like language, race, gender, method)?
10. How and where did you apply the lessons and methods that you learned in the Freirean training?
11. Explain what parts of this training, if any, did you believe was not applicable to the South African context?
12. What role do you see education and specifically radical pedagogy playing in South Africa today?

Post-Interview

The researcher will end by thanking the interviewee for her time and request that she be in contact if there is anything further that comes up that was not covered in the interview. Also, that there may need to be a follow-up interview. A request will be made at this stage for the interviewee to recommend any further literature that s/he believes should be read as well as to list the participant names who were part of the training session or that were in some way involved and therefore necessary to interview.

ANNEXURE F:

Interview Schedule: Other Black Consciousness Movement Leaders

Pre-Interview

The pre-interview briefing will take place before the interview starts. This will entail the researcher going through the Participant Information sheet attached to this interview schedule. In this pre-interview briefing, the researcher will introduce herself, the degree that the research is part of, what the research is about and so on (as per the Participant Information sheet). Once this process is complete, the researcher will go through the Informed Consent Form, which summarises the key points on the Participant Information sheet.

The researcher will give an overview of the two main themes or parts (pedagogy and context) that the interview will engage namely to tell the story of (a) your personal interest in education and in particular radical pedagogy and (b) the historical period in the 1970's when you were approached and then did the training for the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) leaders.

Interview Schedule

1. How did you get involved in education?
2. What was your interest in radical pedagogy?
3. What are your views on Paulo Freire's radical pedagogy?
4. When did you first become aware of or involved in the BCM and how did you feel about the movement?
5. What in your understanding was the role of education in the BCM?
6. How did you see this role unfolding?
7. What were the radical intentions of education in the 1970's?
8. What is your understanding of the process of conscientisation?
9. What role do you see education and specifically radical pedagogy playing in South Africa today?

Post-Interview

The researcher will end by thanking the interviewee for her time and request that she be in contact if there is anything further that comes up that was not covered in the interview. Also, that there may need to be a follow-up interview. A request will be made at this stage for the interviewee to recommend any further literature that s/he believes should be read as well as to list the participant names who were part of the training session or that were in some way involved and therefore necessary to interview.

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