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The Influence of Progressive Teachers' Unions in the Formation and Implementation of Outcomes-Based Education in South Africa.

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A research Report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree (History).

Supervisor: Clive Glaser

Declaration:

I declare that this report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted to the University of the Witwatersrand for the partial completion of Master of Arts degree in History. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Signature of Candidate

Date

ACRONYMS

AATO	All African Teachers' Organisation
ANC	African National Congress
AZASO	Azanian Students Organisation
ATASA	African Teachers Association of South Africa
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BED	Bantu Education Department
DETU	Democratic Teachers' Union
DoE	Department of Education
C2005	Curriculum 2005
CATU	Cape African Teachers' Congress
CAYCO	Cape Youth Congress
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CNE	Christian National Education
EdCC	Education Charter Campaign
ECTU	Eastern Cape Teachers' Union
EDASA	Education for a Democratic and Aware South Africa
HSRC	Human Science Research Council
ICNO	Instituut vir Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys
NECC	National Education Crisis/Consultative Committee
NELP	National English Language Programme
NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
NEUSA	National Education Union of South Africa
NP	National Party
NTUF	National Teachers Unity Forum
NQF	National Qualification Framework
NUSAS	National Union of South Africa
OBE	Outcomes Based Education

PTA	Parent-Teacher-Association
PTSA	Parent-Teacher-Student-Association
PTL	Progressive Teachers' League
PTU	Progressive Teachers' Union
SASO	South African Student Organisation
SRC	Student Representative Council
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers' Union
TAB	Teachers' Advice Bureau
TASA	Teachers' Association of South Africa
TUATU	Transvaal United African Teachers' Association
UDF	United Democratic Front
UP	United Party
WCOTP	World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession
WCYL	Western Cape Youth League
WECTU	Western Cape Teachers' Union

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Introduction:

The purpose of this paper is to examine whether the ideas of the "progressive teachers' unions," formed in 1980s South Africa, remained relevant in the post-apartheid era with regards to the implementation of Outcomes Based Education (OBE). The scope of the investigation focuses mainly on the 1980s to 1998. However, contextual information ranging before and after this timeframe is also provided when relevant. The year 1980 is significant as it marked the beginning of the Human Science Research Council's (HSRC) investigation into education policy, known as the De Lange Report.[1] In 1983, the findings within the report was criticised by a "progressive teachers' union", known as the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA). Following the example set by NEUSA, other "progressive unions" formed throughout the decade to challenge apartheid education and to remain vigilant of any false promises of reform.[2] The year 1998 is considered significant because it marked the year in which the democratically elected government introduction of Curriculum 2005 into South African Schools. However, the focus of this research project is on the implementation of South African OBE, rather than an examination of its long- term results.

Two key concepts, "Progressive Teachers' Unions and Outcomes-Based Education," require further clarification as they are central elements in this discussion. The "progressive teachers' unions" were independent organisations which had no official networks with any government structures. All the programs these unions developed to assist teachers and learners operated independently from the government. As these "independent unions" had no official recognition they lacked the bargaining

[1] Human Sciences Research Council. Principles for the Provision of Education in the RSA: Report of the Work Committee: Education Principles and Policy. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1981, ii.
[2] Wits Historical Papers (WHP), National Education Union of South Africa 1978-1986 Collection (NEUSAC), Acc Number: A2294, Box 3, Folder, M1, The Teachers Action Committee: The Establishment of an Organisation of Teachers (Written Report). Cape Town, 1980.

power to secure the labour interest of teachers. Despite this, using available legal resources, they attempted to assist teachers who had been unfairly treated in their place of employment. They were not exactly "labour unions" but rather organisations providing informational programmes, teacher training, support and curriculum discussions. These Unions were led by young educators and academics who were often inspired by elements of Marxism and Marxist thinkers such as Paulo Freire. The largest of these groups was NEUSA which had national influence. Several smaller groups such as the Western Cape Teachers' Union (WECTU) were developed and asserted regional influence.

These "progressive teachers' unions" should be distinguished from older, established unions, such as the African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA) and Transvaal United African Teachers' Association (TUATA). These organisations had a "moderate approach" to politics and received official recognition from the Bantu Education Department (BED).[3] Many educators in the "progressive unions" were critical of these organisations as the had association with government structures. Furthermore, such associations appeared to lack meaningful value as the state of education and the working conditions of teachers seemed in perpetual decline.[4] Despite the suspicions that existed between the "progressive unions" and their older allies, both types of unions had significant influence on one another. In some cases, the established unions had moments of revitalisation as they were inspired to enter the debate about a post-apartheid, democratic curriculum. On the other hand, the "progressive unions" understood that groups such as ATASA or TUATU were much larger organisation that represented the majority of unionised black teacher'. The "progressive unions" knew it was not wise to alienate such a broad base of potential support.

[3] Hyslop, Jonathan. The Classroom Struggle ; Policy and Resistance in South Africa, 1940-1990. Pietermaritzburg : Johannesburg: University of Natal Press, 1999. 111.
[4] Hyslop, the Classroom Struggle. 173.

By 1987 a merger of teachers' unions, both "progressive" and "established" was being considered. A merger between these unions was eventually negotiated and led to the eventual formation of the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) in 1990.[5] For the purpose of this project, SADTU will not be considered a "progressive union" as it was a merger between the independent unions of the 1980s and established unions such as TUATU. Likewise, it had close association with powerful allies such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the African National Congress (ANC), which were strengthened throughout the 1990s.[6] However, many elements of SADTU's history can be traced back to the "progressive teachers unions" and many of the progressive educators still worked within SADTUs structures. SADTU also became the most powerful teachers' in South Africa thus it is an important organisation to examine when considering whether the spirit of the "progressive teachers' unions" was transferred into the post-apartheid era and the role this may have played in the implementation of OBE.

The other key concept, OBE, cemented its position in South Africa in the form of the Curriculum 2005 (C2005) policy. C2005 was to be introduced into all South African schools by 1998. C2005 was described as "An OBE curriculum derived from nationally agreed on critical cross field outcomes that sketch our vision of a transformed society and the role education has to play in creating it.[7]" In other words, C2005 was the name of the policy and OBE was the type of curriculum the policy wished to implement. Policies and document which pre-empted the adoption of C2005, such as the "White Paper on Education and Training," requested that a post -apartheid curriculum should be constructed which was cognizant of allowing learners to demonstrate both academic and practical skills which

[5] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-16, Box 3, Folder I6, National Teachers Campaign: Sixty Days of Struggle (NTUF pamphlet), May 1- June 30.
[6] Chisholm, Linda, and Bruce Fuller. "Remember People's Education? Shifting Alliances, State-building and South Africa's Narrowing Policy Agenda." Journal of Education Policy 11, no. 6, 1996.
[7] Department of Education. Foundation Phase Policy Document, October, 1997, Pretoria: Government Printers. 2007.

could be measured through "outcomes."[8] In 1995 the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) received the task to construct a National Qualifications Framework (NQF). The NQF was completed in 1998 and provided the guidelines needed for qualification in the South African education system. This included the various levels of qualification as well as the fields in which one could qualify. Not all these documents were directly linked to OBE, particularly before 1997, however, they provide clues regarding the direction the South African curriculum was to take.

The link between "progressive teachers' unions" and OBE in this paper is mainly SADTU. SADTU's involvement with the adoption and implementation of C2005 is an important issue as it provides evidence of the influence of the progressive ideals once held by those in the union. To expose these ideals an examination into documents created by the "progressive teachers' unions'" is provided. Focus is given to Paulo Freire, particularly his work, *Pedagogies of the Oppressed.* Freire was the ideological forefather of many radical educators during the 1980s. He argued the case for education as a tool for social transformation especially in societies based on *domination*. Such societies were theorised to consist of the *oppressors* and the *oppressed*.[9] The oppressors used education as a way of perpetuating social norms. For the oppressed to break this cycle they needed an education which was democratic and relevant to the learners. Rather than having an authoritarian classroom in which a teacher would feed information to the learners, a democratic classroom would allow both teachers and learners to participate in the construction of knowledge. This paper demonstrates some aspects of the authoritarian nature of apartheid through documents such as Christian National Education (CNE) and the exclusionary nature of the schooling system.[10] Through this explanation one can understand why a piece of work such as *Pedagogies of the Oppressed* resounded so strongly with educators who wished to see radical transformation in the country.

[8] Department of Education (DoE). White Paper on Education and Training. Pretoria. 1995.
[9] Freire, Paulo, and Myra Bergman Ramos. Pedagogy of the Oppressed: 30th Anniversary Edition, 2014.
[10] Rose, Brian, and Raymond Tunmer. Documents in South African Education. Johannesburg: Donker, 1975.

As has been mention, the De Lange Report may represent an important turning point in the action of "progressive teachers' unions" in South Africa, especially following the scathing attack made towards the document by NEUSA. Interestingly, this document was quite "progressive," especially in comparison to the existing apartheid education. However, young, radical teachers rejected it as they considered it to be advocating reform for the sake of capitalist interests. They argued that the document was suggesting the perpetuation of apartheid as the racial division between education was largely ignored. Progressive teachers wanted to see true transformation through participation, democracy and non- racialism. Worryingly, in the 1990s some observers claimed that curriculum transformation in post-apartheid South Africa, looked eerily like the suggestions made in the De Lange Report. This was mainly because education was increasingly framed within a utilitarian discussion based around economic development. However, in the 1980s multiple independent unions had taken a much more experimental approach to considering what a democratic curriculum could look like. With the founding of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), teachers from multiple unions and various interest groups such as student unions could share their ideas on the future of education.[11] The term "peoples' education" became a phrase synonymous with democratic education and many groups attempted to define the concept, including the likes of ATASA and TUATU. In an effort to encourage unity between these disparate unions the National Teachers Unity Forum (NTUF) was founded and led to the construction of SADTU.

Due to a difference in philosophy and ideology, the unity between these organisations was often uneasy, I In 1991, organisations which had not necessarily agreed with SADTUs direction, formed their own separate organisation, the National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA). SADTU had taken on the structure reminiscent of a trade union and their focus started to

[11] Digital Innovation in South Africa (DISA) Archive. Obery, Ingrid. People's Education: Creating a Democratic Future. Editorial collective. 1986. http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/necc-people%60s-education-creating-a-democratic-future.

shift towards labour issues involving teachers. The union was much more militant than NAPTOSA which prided itself as "professional organisation." SADTU adopted the tactics of trade union, such as strikes and boycotts when mobilising mass action.[12]

The relevance of SADTU establishing itself as essentially a "trade union" is granted importance in this paper as it demonstrates a shift in focus. Unlike the "progressive teachers' unions", SADTU started to concern itself less with matters such as curriculum development and more on issues such as teachers' salaries and employment concerns. This left a vacuum in which important curriculum development was often left to the COSATU and the ANC. Likewise, the close relationship between COSATU, the ANC and SADTU appeared to make it less likely for the teachers' union to reject policies as they did not want to hinder the process of transformation. Even though there were voices of concern within SADTU about the direction in which the curriculum was developing they were often drowned out for the sake of unity. One issue that was expressed was that it felt like curriculum development was being handed over to outside groups such as NGOs. Individuals in the union were worried that the process was being handed over to international groups which were focused on making South Africa a viable investment opportunity.[13]

Questions are also raised about the role SADTU played in the implementation of OBE with regards to the support they offered to teachers. The "progressive teachers' unions" were concerned about issues of participation and believed that teachers themselves played an important part in curriculum development. However, as the education policies were formed it became increasingly clear that it had

[12] Hindle, Duncan. "Blackboard Power: The New Teacher Politics." Indicator South Africa 9: 1, 71-74, 1991.
[13] Soudien, C and Baxen, "Transformation and Outcomes-Based Education in South Africa: Opportunities and Challenges" The Journal of Negro Education. 66, no. 4, 449-459. 1997.

become a much more exclusive process. This strayed from the original vision of progressive educators who believed in democratic decision making rather than "top-down" authoritarian implementation.

In exploring the question of the "progressive unions" influence on OBE policy, a comparison is offered between the Freirean principles and those offered by OBE. It is suggested, that at face value, OBE held some of the beliefs Freirean educators may have agreed with. This included participation of learners in the classroom, the encouragement of activities such as more group work, providing content that was relevant to the children and the merging of both academic and practical skills. However, the OBE curriculum was saturated with business-like jargon which gave it a corporate character. Likewise, its focus appeared to be driven by the demands of the economy.[14] The Freirean approach rejected the concept of education as a tool for the economy. Furthermore, the issues of democratic participation in the classroom seemed to be much more about mutually constructed knowledge according to the Freirean educators. OBE still had a tendency to place the teacher as the arbiter of knowledge, despite the claims by proponents of the curriculum.

In this summary it appears that OBE and it implementation process was not something the "progressive educators" of the 1980s would have necessarily approved. Despite this, OBE was adopted as the curriculum policy in 1998. Thus, this paper examines where the ideas of OBE in South Africa originated from and why SADTU accepted the C2005 policy. Some of the weaknesses of the progressive unions are considered and the nature of SADTU in the 1990s. Through these questions, a picture of whether the progressive ideas persisted after the 1990s or whether the changing political landscape made these ideas irrelevant to the adoption of OBE.

[14] Jansen, Jonathan. "Can Policy Learn? Reflections on why OBE Will Fail." Paper for Centre for Education Policy and Department of Education Management and Education Policy Unit, Seminar Series, Wittersbad University. 1997.

Chapter Outline:

Chapter 1:

Provides an argument that OBE can be considered as an example of "progressive education." However, the "progressive teachers' unions" in the 1980s considered education form a much more radical perspective. The definition of OBE and its principles are outlines as well as a discussion on Paulo Freire's, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* This is juxtaposed with an examination of some principles of education in apartheid South Africa before the 1980s.

Chapter 2:

Context is provided about the increasing crisis in Apartheid education during the 1970s. This culminated in the 1976 Soweto Riots which were in part were, encouraged by student unions such as the South African Student Organisation (SASO). This organisation had taken a keen interest in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and were inspired by its focus on democratically constructed education. The impact of the education crisis during the 1970s on "progressive educators" is considered and an explanation of why these educators initially stemmed from so-called "white-liberal" universities is offered.

Chapter 3:

Explores documents from the "progressive teachers' unions" and explains their interpretation of non-racial, democratic education. The formation of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) and "peoples' education" is elaborated upon. Furthermore, teacher unity and the formation of SADTU is investigated.

Chapter 4:

Discusses the changing nature of liberation groups such as the NECC and their adaptation to post-apartheid politics. OBE is considered from a historical perspective and in relation to the changes caused by globalisation. Examples are provided in relation to OBE in the South African classroom. The changing role of unions such as SADTU seems to indicate a move from “peoples’ education” and curriculum to concerns to that of traditional trade unions.

Literature Review:

This review will discuss the existing literature pertaining to key concepts that are addressed in this paper. The discussion will be divided into thematic categories and the literature will be reviewed based on the relevance it has with the specific theme. Many of these sources contain overlapping information which is helpful to a variety of these themes. However, they have been categorised according to the topics they have most contributed to in this research paper.

Theories of Education:

Two important theories of education that are presented, which include the "Freirean Approach" (as it is referred to in this research paper) and OBE. In P. Freire, *Pedagogies of the Oppressed* (1978)[15], the Marxist educator, Paulo Freire, outlines his interpretation of a democratic pedagogy based on the principles of participation, the construction of knowledge of which is relevant to learners and has the power to transform oppressive societies through a liberating education. The philosophy of Paulo Freire was influential to both student unions such as SASO and "progressive teachers' unions" such as NEUSA and WECTU.

I. Shor and P. Freire, *A Pedagogy for Liberation: Dialogues on Transforming Education* (1987)[16], provides, further insight into Freire's perception on education. The format of the book is presented as

[15] Freire, Paulo, and Myra Bergman Ramos. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed: 30th Anniversary Edition*, 2014.

[16] Shor, Ira, and Paulo Freire. *A Pedagogy for Liberation: Dialogues on Transforming Education*. South Hadley, Mass: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, 1987.

a dialogue in which Shor engages Freire in a conversation about his experiences as an educator and how he practices a "liberating pedagogy" in his classrooms. Furthermore, to understand the Marxist foundation of Freire's philosophy, S. Madan, *Marxism and Education* (1978)[17], clearly demonstrates the Marxist critique of traditional forms of education. Madan explains important concepts such as alienation and how it relates to the separation of knowledge between learners. This alienation was reinforced by the division education systems placed between "vocational" and "academic" education. In Gonzalez, G. *Progressive Education: A Marxist Interpretation*[18], *a* Marxist critique on so-called "progressive education" explains reasons why radical educators would be suspicious of reforms that do not challenge the underlying assumptions of capitalism with regards to the purpose of education.

In terms of OBE, there is a variety of secondary sources available, which discuss OBE in both an international and South African context. W. Spady, *Outcomes-Based Education: Critical Issues and Answers*[19] (1994), outlines the main principles and expectation of an OBE curriculum. William Spady was considered the "father of OBE", although he argued the implementation of C2005 had no connection to OBE, his principles were certainly used in the construction of the South African curriculum. R. Killen, *Teaching Strategies for Outcomes-Based Education*[20], is a useful handbook which explains how the OBE can be applied to the classroom.

<u>"Progressive Teachers' unions" (including peoples' education and the NECC):</u>

[17] Sarup, Madan. *Marxism and Education*. Routledge Education Books. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.
[18] Gonzalez, Gilbert G. *Progressive Education: A Marxist Interpretation*. Studies in Marxism, Minneapolis: Marxist Educational Press, 1982.

[19] Spady, William G. *Outcome-Based Education: Critical Issues and Answers*. Arlington, Va: American Association of School Administrators, 1994.

[20] Killen, Roy. *Teaching Strategies for Outcomes-Based Education*. Landsdowne: Juta, 2000.

The availability of secondary sources discussing the "progressive teachers' unions" of the 1980s is limited when compared to other topics related to this research paper. However, there are available articles which feature related topics and contribute to the discussion on "Progressive Teachers' Unions." P. Kallaway, "From Bantu Education to Peoples' Education" in N. Entwistle (ed.), *Handbook of Educational Ideas and Practices* (1988), outlines the meaning of "peoples' education" as formulated by the NECC. This included, "free, compulsory, unitary, non-racial and democratic system of education." T. Mathebula, "Peoples' Education (for Peoples' Power) — a promise unfulfilled[21]" (2013), provides a brief but informative summation on the meaning of "peoples education" and the goals of the NECC. F. Nekhwevha, "The Influence on Freire's' 'Pedagogy of Knowing,' on the South African Education Struggle in the 1970s and 1980s" in P. Kallaway (ed.) *The History of Education under Apartheid 1948-1994: The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened*[22] (2002), discusses radical and socialist influences such as Paulo Freire, on the liberation movement.

M. Cross, C. Carpentier and H. Ait-Mehdi "Unfulfilled promise: radical discourses in South African educational historiography, 1970–2007 (2009)" discusses the emergence of progressive educators and their ideologies, however, sources which deal exclusively with the "progressive teachers' unions" is limited. Although, a SADTU published books, V. Kumalo and D. Skosana, A History of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU), L. Governder (ed.) (2014)[23], discusses the role of NEUSA in the formation of SADTU. Much of the information about "progressive teachers' unions" are to be found in published work during the 1980s such as W. Cobbet and R. Cohen (eds.), *Popular Struggles in South*

[21] Mathebula, Thokozani. "People's Education (for People's Power) — a promise unfulfilled" *South African Journal of Education.* 33(1). 1-12. 2013.
[22] Kallaway, P (ed.). *The History of Education Under Apartheid, 1948-1994: The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened.* Pearson South Africa. (2002).

[23] Kumalo, Vusumuzi and Skosana, Dineo. *A History of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU)*. Logan Governder (ed.). SADTU. 2014.

Africa[24] (1988), which contains the chapter by E. Molobi, "From Bantu Education to Peoples' education."

The History of OBE in South Africa:

In A. Habib and R Southall, *State of the Nation: South Africa, 2003-2004*[25] (2003), Linda Chisholm contributes the chapter, "the State of Curriculum Reform in South Africa: The Issue of Curriculum 2005," which defines the concept of OBE and explains the appeal of this curriculum in the South African context. Furthermore, her understanding of the different structures that were involved in educational policy development in South Africa is invaluable. Chisholm's work is exceptionally important in this paper as she has contributed significantly to the information available on this topic. In her chapter she explains that, "[it]… is written from the perspective of one who has been simultaneously insider and outsider in the development of Curriculum 2005[26]." Chisholm has held important positions such as the former special advisor to the Minister of Basic Education and the Director of the Education and Skills Development research unit at the Human Sciences Research Council.

In the chapter "The State of Curriculum Reform… " Chisholm, claims, "Curriculum 2005 has its roots and precedence in the social movements around education and curriculum in the pre-apartheid period, but it is also a 'mutation' of those born in a context of social compromise" In later articles

[24] William, Cobbett, and Cohen, Robin. *Popular Struggles in South Africa*. Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press: Review of African political economy. 1988.

[25] Habib, Adam. *State of the Nation: South Africa, 2003-2004.* HSRC Press. (2003)

[26] Chisholm, Linda, "The State of Curriculum Reform in South Africa: The Issue of Curriculum 2005." In Habib, Adam. *State of the Nation: South Africa 2003 - 2004*. Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2003.

Chisholm explores the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS), in "The Making of South Africa's National Curriculum Statement," however, it provides some useful analysis about the processes and reasons for the adoption of OBE.

Another edited book which is exceptionally useful with providing historical background and contextual information is J. Jansen and P. Christie (eds.), *Changing Curriculum: Studies on Outcomes-Based Education in South Africa*[27] (1999). A variety of issues are presented in this book by several academics including both Jonathan Jansen and Pam Christie. Jansen delivers contextual information about the origins of OBE in South Africa in the first chapter, "Setting the Scene: Histographies of Curriculum Policy in South Africa[28]." Furthermore, the book offers a variety of perspectives regarding both the theoretical and practical implications of OBE.

In terms of analysing the historical reasons for the adoption OBE in South Africa, Y. Sayed and J. Jansen (eds.) *Implementing Education Policies: The South African Experience*[29] (2001), contains a wealth of information about the origins of OBE in South Africa. The link between the trade union movement and its impact on educational reform is established. It demonstrates how the concept of labour training and "life-long training" was adopted into the concept of educational reform in South Africa. Such theories were influential in the construction of the National Qualifications Framework (NQF).

[27] Jansen, Jonathan and Pam Christie, eds. *Changing Curriculum: Studies on Outcomes-Based Education in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Juta, Thorold's Africana Books, 1999.

[28] Jansen, Jonathan and Pam Christie, eds. *Changing Curriculum: Studies on Outcomes-Based Education in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Juta, Thorold's Africana Books, 1999.

[29] Jansen, Jonathan and Sayed, Yusuf. *Implementing Education Policies: The South African Experience*. Juta and Company LTD. 2001.

Critiques of OBE in South Africa:

Frequently cited material regarding this theme originates from Jonathan Jansen. According to the journal article by Mandivavairia Maodzwe and Michael Cross entitled, "Johnathan Jansen and the Curriculum Debate in South Africa: An Essay Review of Jansen's Writings Between 1999 and 2009[30]," Jansen was responsible for penning the "seminal thesis" which launched the OBE debate into the public and professional consciousness of South Africa. This "seminal thesis" was first published in 1997 under the original title of "Why OBE Will Fail." It can now be easily accessed under the title of, "Curriculum Reform in South Africa: A Critical Analysis of Outcomes-Based-Education.[31]" On its initial release, the paper caused a great deal of controversy which Jansen recounts in the article, "Can Policy Learn? Reflections on Why OBE will fail[32]." He outlined the three points he made in the original paper. This included his scepticism towards "overstated" claims stating the curriculum would create social transformation in the classroom and assist in the economic growth of the country. Secondly, he believed that the complex nature of the curriculum vocabulary would not translate well into the classroom. Following from this point, he claimed that the classroom environment in South Africa was unprepared to adopt the new complexities of the OBE curriculum. The debates surrounding the complexity of implementing OBE has been fleshed out in many publications such as Jonathan Jansen and Pam Christie's, *Changing Curriculum: Studies on Outcomes Based Education in South Africa*[33]

[30] Maodzwe, Mandivavairia and Cross, Michael. "Jonathan Jansen and the Curriculum Debate in South Africa: An Essay Review of Jansen's Writings Between 1999 and 2009." *Curriculum Inquiry.* 42:1. 126–152. 2012.
[31] Jansen, Jonathan. 'Curriculum reform in South Africa: a critical analysis of outcomes-based education', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, vol. 28, issue 3. 321-331. 1998.
[32] Jansen, Jonathan. "Can Policy Learn? Reflections on why OBE Will Fail." Paper for Centre for Education Policy and Department of Education Management and Education Policy Unit, Seminar Series, Wittersbad University. 1997.
[33] Jansen, Jonathan and Pam Christie, eds. *Changing Curriculum: Studies on Outcomes-Based Education in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Juta, Thorold's Africana Books, 1999.

(1999). Additional information is found in the book J. Jansen and Y. Sayed, "Implementing Education Policy: The South African Experience.[34]" (2001).

Further critiques have also been documented with regards to the way OBE was implemented. In the Journal article, C. Soudien and J. Baxen, "Transformation and Outcomes-Based Education in South Africa: Opportunities and Challenges[35]" (1997), the lack of transformation is South Africa's post-apartheid education structures are examined. The struggles of implementing a new curriculum into the fragmented and ineffective education system left behind by the legacy of apartheid is considered. Of importance to this research paper, is the discussion of the players involved in the implementation of OBE and whether it could have been considered a participatory process. The article argues that the implementation of OBE had become an exclusionary process.

The Trajectory of South African Education Policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa:

L. Chisholm (ed.), *Changing Class: Education and Social Change in Post- Apartheid South Africa*[36] (2004), contains several edited chapters by various authors explaining the challenges involved with curriculum and policy reform as well as how these factors influenced the direction of post-apartheid educational development. Another Journal article by L. Chisholm and B. Fuller, "Remember Peoples' Education? Shifting Alliances, State-Building and South Africa's Narrowing Policy Agenda[37] (1996),"

[34] Jansen, Jonathan and Sayed, Yusuf. *Implementing Education Policies: The South African Experience*, Juta and Company Ltd, 2001.
[35] Soudien, C and Baxen, "Transformation and Outcomes-Based Education in South Africa: Opportunities and Challenges" *The Journal of Negro Education*. 66, no. 4, 449-459. 1997.
[36] Chisholm, Linda, *Changing Class: Education and Social Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa.* HSRC Press. 2004.
[37] Chisholm, Linda, and Bruce Fuller. "Remember People's Education? Shifting Alliances, State-building and South Africa's Narrowing Policy Agenda." *Journal of Education Policy* 11, no. 6, 1996.

opens with the statement, “Following the 1994 democratic election, education policy in South Africa has moved from collective and transformational priorities, salient during the 1980s period of resistance, to a centrist and pro-human capital position.” In other words, the transformative ideals of the 1980’s which manifested in organisations such as the “progressive teachers’ union,” the NECC and student unions was side-lined as in the 1990s. This was due to the post-apartheid government adopting policies which were less radical and based on the needs of economic development within the country. S. Valley, “From Peoples’ Education to Neo-Liberalism in South Africa[38] (2007)” agrees with the assertion stated about the changing direction of educational policy after 1994.

This change in attitude between the hopes of radical transformation in the 1980s to the moderate stance taken in the 1990s is a key concern in the research paper. Multiple sources exist which explain various factors which influenced this outcome. A. Fataar, *Education Policy Development in South Africa’s Democratic Transition 1994-1997*[39] (2001), breaks-down the role “global” demands played in the minds of curriculum developers. Such themes are also available in J. Jansen, “Importing Outcomes Based Education in South Africa: Policy Borrowing in a Post-Communist world.” In D Phillips (ed.) *Educational Policy Borrowing: Historical Perspectives*[40] (2004).

Another key concern is the role SADTU played in curriculum development and implementation. Amoaka, S, “Teachers’ Unions in Political Transition: The South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) and the Dying Days of Apartheid, 1990- 1993[41] (2014)” J. Seekings, “Trade Unions, Social

[38] Vally, Salim. “From People's Education to Neo-Liberalism in South Africa.” Review of African Political Economy. 34:111. 39-56. 2007.
[39] Fataar, Aslam. *Education Policy Development in South Africa’s Democratic Transition 1994-1997*. Saarbrücken, 2011.

[40] Phillips, David, (ed). *Educational Policy Borrowing: Historical Perspectives*. Oxford Studies in Comparative Education.
[41] Amoako, S. “Teacher Unions in Political Transitions: The South African Democratic Teachers’ Union (SADTU) and the Dying Days of Apartheid, 1990-1993.” Journal of Asian and African Studies 49: 2, 148–63. 2014.

Policy and Class Compromises in Post-Apartheid South Africa[42] (2004)" and L. Govender, "Teacher unions' participation in policy making: a South African case study[43] (2013)" contribute to the discussion of SADTU's position during democratic transformation.

1.1. Chapter 1: OBE, Paulo Freire and Pedagogies of "Liberation" or "Oppression."

During the 1980s in South Africa, a new movement for democratic education was emerging. This development had been spurred on by the proliferation of school-student uprising during the 1970s. The most famous rebellion being the 1976 Soweto uprising. The apartheid governments response to the demands of the school children, teachers and parents was widely ineffective. Great disparities in the quality and access to education still existed between the racial groups. As a result, the question of education was firmly embedded in the liberation struggle. In the 1980s, the "progressive teachers' unions" led academic discussions which dared to consider what a liberated education might look like. However, by 1997 the newly formed, democratic government of South Africa had decided to adopt the OBE based Curriculum 2005. The decision was met with considerable controversy and indeed many of the "progressive" educators of the previous decade were cynical about the government's decision. Such a reaction occurred despite the fact OBE can be considered a "progressive" curriculum.

According the Gonzalez[44] a distinction can be made between progressive and Marxist education. The "progressive approach" has been criticised for making reforms which fit into the structures of a

[42] Seekings, Jeremy. "Trade Unions, Social Policy and Class Compromises in Post-Apartheid South Africa." *Review of African Political Economy* 100, 299-312. 2004. 302.

[43] Govender, Logan, "Teacher unions' participation in policy making: a South African case study." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education.* 45:2. 184-205 2015.

[44] Gonzalez, Gilbert G. Progressive Education: A Marxist Interpretation. Studies in Marxism, Minneapolis: Marxist Educational Press, 1982.

capitalist-based society. On the other hand, Marxist educators take a more radical approach in denying the existing assumptions of capitalism. However, this should not be confused with the self-proclaimed "progressive teachers' unions" as they certainly demonstrated a favour towards radical educational reform.

1.1. Not So Radical: The Principles of OBE.

The OBE curriculum gained popularity in the early 1990s in several countries such as the United States, New Zealand and Australia. OBE presents a framework in which curriculum, assessment and classroom practices can be established. Most literature seems to agree that OBE is not based on definitive rules. This allows it to be adopted in multiple contexts and adjusted according the management needs of a school. However, the framework it provides can be used as a tool to ensure OBE is being practiced. As the name suggests, the framework was concerned with "outcomes." William Spady, the influential American proponent of OBE, particularly in South Africa, claimed that outcomes needed to be, "…clear learning results that we want students to demonstrate at the end of a significant learning experience."[45] Learners working through a course were expected to demonstrate certain skills at the end of a specific module. This demonstration of skills constituted the "outcome" of the learning experience. This approach considered the final- outcome as key importance. The person designing a module needed to ensure that all activities were geared towards helping the learner achieve the desired outcome. To achieve this goal, the module designer could construct her course by working backwards from the final-outcome. From here all the desired skills and abilities needed for the course could be deconstructed and formed into activities.[46]

[45] Spady, William G. *Outcome-Based Education: Critical Issues and Answers*. Arlington, Va: American Association of School Administrators, 1994. 2.

[46] Spady, *Outcome-Based Education,* 2.

Spady argued that all OBE courses needed to clearly express desired outcomes. This would provide learners with a "clear picture" of what was expected of them. All instructions and assessments were to be directly associated with their class activities. He pointed out two key features of this process 1) "Developing a clear set of learning outcomes around which all of the systems components can be focused." 2) "Establishing conditions and opportunities within the system that enable and encourage all students to achieve that essential outcome."[47] The concept of "encouraging all students to achieve" was an important element of OBE. It recognised that all children do not learn at the same pace and therefore a flexible approach to assessment was recommended. This included avoiding finalised marks until the last assessment. This would give children the opportunity to develop their abilities without being held down by grades. Once a child had performed their final task it is considered better to mark them on their overall ability.[48]

An article released in 1998 by the Human Science Research Council[49] explained how OBE assesses learner competences. It claimed that competencies generally referred to actions which were explicit or measurable. Therefore, an assessment of these actions could be made by comparing them to other performances. For example, an essay writer's competency may be assessed on their final product. Their performance would be measured based on observable standards such as content, grammar and spelling. However, the final product only represents a fraction of the processes which were involved

[47] Spady, *Outcome-Based Education*. 1-2.

[48] Spady, *Outcome-Based Education*. 6.

[49] Human Sciences Research Council, "Ways of looking at Competence" in Lubisi, Cass, Ben Parker, Volker Wedekind (eds), and South African Institute for Distance Education. Understanding Outcomes-Based Education: Teaching and Assessment in South Africa. Cape Town: South African Institute for Distance Education and Oxford University Press, 1998. 63.

in producing the paper. The writer engaged in multiple mental processes which were informed by his experiences, feelings and understanding.[50]

These mental processes all contribute to a person's overall performances. Thus, the article formulated overall performance as, *knowledge + understanding+ skills + values/attitudes = performance.* These processes all operated in conjunction with one another. Therefore, knowledge could not be the only measurement of performance. OBE provided the opportunity to consider the other factors. Performances could be measured holistically through the consideration of language, body language and tone of voice. Schools traditionally separated the performance and the processes that led to its creation. Conducting deeper evaluation was a difficult task. However, adopting such an approach would allow all an assessment of all dimensions of an outcome.[51]

Unlike "traditional" approaches to teaching, OBE was based on clearly defined outcomes, but assessment and classroom practices could be adjusted to achieve the best possible demonstration of outcomes. According to Spady, traditional approaches relied on defined curriculum and assessment but often did not present a clear objective. Furthermore, content and assessment were considered as final objectives rather than the foundation of skills. Therefore, after an exam, learners could forget the knowledge as it would not be integrated further into the course. OBE was also said to allow flexibility in terms of time allotted to activities. Within reasonable limits, children who worked at a slower pace could be accommodated. In traditional classrooms, all activities were limited by time and did not consider the work-pace of individual learners. The flexibility of OBE was assisted by its non-competitive approach to marking. It was not based on bell-curves or quotas. Therefore, children would

[50] Human Sciences Research Council, "Ways of looking at Competence" 63.

[51] Human Sciences Research Council, "Ways of looking at Competence", 63-64.

be marked purely on their abilities. Allowing more time for children to catch up on work meant that everyone had the opportunity to succeed.[52]

Including an assessment of values was important for OBE, as there were certain principles it wished to impart on learners. At this point it was generally agreed that education could never be value-free. Therefore, it seemed the construction of curriculum policies had little reason to mask their intentions. Spady's interpretation of OBE did not want to limit its influence on the learners' school years. It was also concerned with moulding children into good citizens. A diversity of outcomes was to prepare children for the "life roles" they would perform in society. These roles included parenthood, employment and leadership positions thus it was important to instil learners with social skills.[53]

OBE certainly displayed some progressive elements by proposing a curriculum which would be beneficial to all children regardless of their innate academic ability. Likewise, the dichotomy between academic skills and practical skills were to be narrowed thus creating a holistic approach to learning. However, the framework for this curriculum appeared to be a reaction to global economic demands rather than a radical challenge to the prevailing political structures of society. The 1990s saw the emergence of a "globalised" world economy. The fall of the Soviet Union, advances in technology, supranational alliances and trade deals bought the nations of the world closer together. This was the era of the "information age" which Spady argued caused the job market to become more complex and technologically driven. The traditional, "industrial age" style of teaching was no longer sufficient. Such approaches inhibited the success of all learners and lacked relevancy in terms of creating skills. It used meaningless symbols, labels and grades which were assigned to learners. Such assessment did not effectively demonstrate if the learners had acquired knowledge. Furthermore, societies had become

[52] Spady, *Outcome-Based Education,* 6.

[53] Spady, *Outcome-Based Education,* 56.

increasingly multicultural and the demand for schools to produce a higher standard of education escalated. Spady believed that an OBE curriculum could give potential employers and universities a much better idea of the competencies of selected candidates due to its focus on what learners could do rather that what they simply remembered from a text book.[54]

OBE was conceptualised in terms of the challenges of a globalised society. It seems that such a society valued education in terms of the economic potential of the schooling system. Thus, learners needed to be technologically adept, capable in a variety of skills and value the multicultural nature of the global community. Despite the claim of OBEs adaptability into a range of contexts it seemed to fit naturally into a capitalist framework into which children were trained to fit adequately into the job market. For more radically minded teachers this acceptance of the capitalist foundation of a society would prove disturbing. It did not harness the potential of education to bring true transformation into society.

In 1997, Spady toured South Africa and presented his concept of OBE to South African educators across the country. However, by 2007 he stated, "I would encourage my South African colleagues to stop referring to OBE in any form. It never existed in 1997 and has only faded further from the scene since.[55]" Perhaps Spady was referring to the "type" of OBE which was implemented. He made three distinctions regarding the way OBE has transformed throughout the decades. In the 1970's "traditional" OBE emerged which focused on "content specific outcomes" which meant subjects were taught in isolation from one another and specific outcomes were required for specific content. A more integrated approach emerged in the 1980s with "transitional OBE" which sought more integration in

[54] Spady, *Outcome-Based Education*, 48.

[55] Spady, William. "It's Time to End the Decade of Confusion about OBE in South Africa." *South African Journal for Research and Technology."* 2007. https://edulibpretoria.files.wordpress.com/2008/08/spadyobeconfusionpaper.pdf. 11.

the learning process and instructional teaching. By the 1990s the preferred approach was "transformational OBE" which Spady described as "future focused" and creating the foundations of "life-performance.[56]"

Spady claimed he was uncomfortable with the direction of C2005 as he believed it was establishing a curriculum akin to "traditional" or at most "transitional" OBE. He believed curriculum developers had confused the concept of transformation to refer to the change from apartheid and democracy.[57] Thus, there was a misunderstanding of the nuanced meaning of a "transformational" OBE curriculum. He argued that the South African adoption of OBE resembled a "curriculum-based outcome" which worked within the context of traditional academic topics and conventions. This meant that separate subjects were more focused due to the specific demands of "outcomes" however the learning process would remain atomised. Teachers continued to teach traditional concepts and had no incentive to change their teaching style. Learners were still required to demonstrate their knowledge in traditional ways such as exams and assessments. They would have the task of assimilating and retaining knowledge which were demands similar to traditional schooling. In 2007, Spady argued that this was much like process South African Matrics were subjected to.[58]

Despite Spady's reservations about OBE in South Africa, this paper will follow the example of existing literature and use the term OBE with regards to curriculum development. Furthermore, it will be argued that Spady's key concepts or principles were significant in the "type" of OBE South Africa adopted.

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[56] Spady, William. "It's Time to End the Decade of Confusion about OBE in South Africa." South African Journal for Research and Technology. 2007. https://edulibpretoria.files.wordpress.com/2008/08/spadyobeconfusionpaper.pdf. 4.
[57] Spady, William. "It's Time to End the Decade of Confusion,"2007.
[58] Spady, William. "It's Time to End the Decade of Confusion,"2007.

1.2. South Africa's Progressive Educators' and Paulo Freire:

Before OBE dominated educational reform in South Africa, throughout the 1980s many progressive educators studied the doctrine of Paulo Freire. During apartheid many "progressive educators" in South Africa had sympathies with Marxism. They believed that fundamental changes in society were needed. There was a wide debate in many countries between Marxists and "progressive" or liberal educators. Even though many progressive educators agreed that capitalism may cause problems in education, some Marxist scholars were critical of "progressive" reforms. They felt progressives were unwilling to change the structure of society as they were intent on creating stability for the interests of capitalism. Any acceptance of trade unions and welfare were simply seen as measures to subdue the working class.[59] Marxists rejected the notions of neutrality and believed "scientific" intelligence testing was a way to divide labourers and ensure the reproduction of labours. Schools were a tool to perpetuate the conditions of society.[60] The progressive educators in South Africa were aware of these critiques. As a result, they attempted to find ways to form a truly transformative curriculum. The ideological forefather for many within progressive unions was Marxist educator Paulo Freire. Within his work it was believed that education could change society and be used as a tool for liberation.

In 1968, Brazilian Marxist educationalist, Paulo Freire released a book entitled *Pedagogies of the Oppressed.* It was translated to English in 1970 and became influential throughout South and North America. In 1980s South Africa, the Freirean theories influenced many anti-apartheid independent teachers' unions and educationalists. The parallels between apartheid and Freire's analysis on oppressive states was clear. Freire argued that oppressive societies were divided between the

[59] Gonzalez, *Progressive Education,* 139.
[60] Gonzalez, *Progressive Education,* 143.

oppressors and the oppressed. In South Africa, this may have referred to the capitalists and the workers, or the "whites" and the "blacks." In such societies, the oppressed were dominated in every sphere of society by the oppressors. Such spheres included culture, employment and education. Freire outlined a way to create an alternative system through education which was not based on oppression. This involved removing knowledge from the domination of the elites which could be achieved by imparting knowledge to people within their own cultural contexts and ensuring it related to their own lived experiences. Therefore, knowledge could no longer be alienating as students would be able to internalise and use the information they gathered.[61]

Pedagogies of the Oppressed, represents a structuralist theoretical analysis on society and education. Freire identified as a Marxist and was largely concerned around matters of class.[62] However, within the book he briefly considers issues around race, ethnicity, gender, language and how these features contribute to the oppression of certain groups. Today this type of theoretical analysis is popularly known as intersectionality. Freire's later works would pay more attention to such concerns, however *Pedagogies of the Oppressed* concerns itself predominantly with a class analysis.[63] The theoretical framework of the book seems to follow a Marxist analysis in the method of critical or conflict theory.

Freire's theory in *Pedagogies of the Oppressed* was broadly in favour of ensuring the voices from below were heard. He believed that cultural aspects which existed in communities needed to be considered. Thus, his theories borrowed from several fields such as anthropology and psychology. These aspects were not to be forgotten as he laid out his argument for a pedagogy of liberation. Freire's argument for this pedagogy involved recognising the dichotomy between the oppressed and the oppressor.[64]

[61] Freire, Paulo, and Myra Bergman Ramos. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed: 30th Anniversary Edition*, 2014.
[62] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 13.
[63] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 14.
[64] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy.*

The oppressed were regarded as having lost their humanity due to their subjugation in the form of exploitation, oppression, injustice and violence. This had been orchestrated by elite and dominant forces which were wealthy and politically powerful. Freire felt that a society which existed on domination was fundamentally flawed. The oppressors also lost their humanity in such a situation as they could not identify with their people. If the oppressed liberated themselves from the system, it would necessarily entail the liberation of the oppressors. However, liberation needed to be driven by the oppressed. The oppressors benefitted from the system and thus had little incentive to relinquish their privilege. The oppressed, on the other hand, had the opportunity to discover their humanity and yearn for their freedom. Freedom could only be realised in a just and non-exploitative society.[65]

Freire cautioned that the path to liberation could not be established on the terms of punitive justice. Such methods were regarded as "tools of the oppressor" and inherently linked to a dominating society. Likewise, the use of propaganda, coercion and populist rhetoric needed to be discarded in favour of democratic principles. The opinions of ordinary people needed to be heard through participation and dialogue. Furthermore, Freire warned against the false generosity of the ruling class. To stabilise their society, they would engage in false reforms such as welfare to silence the demands of the exploited. True generosity only existed in those who were willing to fundamentally change the nature of society. Members of the privileged classes who were truly willing to help needed to understand that it was the exploited who were best suited to guide the liberation. They were welcome to join the liberation movement in solidarity if they did not impose their dominant nature and "checked their privilege". Oppressed people needed to be recognised as possessing their own agency and their own voice.[66]

[65] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 47.
[66] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 64.

The fundamental goal of a liberation movement, from Freire's perspective, was to transform the nature of objective reality. It may be tempting to consider Freire as a cultural relativist due to his cultural sensitivities. He encouraged the democratic participation of people from multiple backgrounds and contexts. However, he firmly believed that objective truths existed in societies such as the oppressive relationship between the oppressed and the oppressors.[67] Liberation could only occur if people recognised the true nature of society. Therefore, it was the responsibility of the liberator to create "critical awareness" within the society. This would promote praxis, a term which describes the ability of people to change their social reality by critically understanding society and taking deliberate action to transform its conditions.[68] Creating such conditions is not an easy task as the oppressors attempted to "submerge the consciousness" of the oppressed so they would accept their position in society. The creation of myths and rationalisations were used as tools to convince the oppressed they were lazy, stupid and undeserving of a higher station. Such narratives needed to be "demystified" through a process of concientization.[69] This involved raising awareness about such myths and critically analysing them to disprove the narrative. As Freire explained, "Freedom is not an ideal located of man, nor is it an idea which becomes myth. It is rather an indiscernible condition for the quest of human completion."[70]

Freire, constructed his pedagogy of the oppressed, based on the above analysis of dominating societies and the methods required to liberate such societies. A liberating education was crucial to transforming the nature of society. Furthermore, after liberation was achieved, such an education would secure the continued existence of a free society.[71] Freire analysed the classroom of domination through the dichotomy of the oppressed and the oppressor. The teachers were represented by the

[67] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 52.
[68] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 54.
[69] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 54.
[70] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 49.
[71] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 57.

role of the oppressor. They possessed all the knowledge, which they lifelessly narrated to learners. The learners represent the oppressed and were expected to unquestioningly absorb the information divulged by the teachers.[72] They were expected to simply "record, repeat and remember" without truly engaging with knowledge. The learners were considered empty vessels to be filled with information. Thus, Freire referred to this method of teaching as the "banking approach." Students were considered to possess no knowledge and therefore it was the responsibility of the teacher to deposit all the information. This discouraged class discussions and participation, rather learners had to behave passively and quietly. The only active participant is the teacher who dominates the classroom, the knowledge and the learners.[73] Freire argues that such a pedagogy is ineffectual as learners are not engaged in "authentic thinking." They do not have a genuine understanding of the material presented to them and their own thoughts are being discarded in favour of the teachers' interpretations. Simply put, they are not encouraged to think for themselves. Freire believed that "authentic thinking" could only occur in an environment conducive for communication which encouraged the dialogue between teachers and students. The teacher could not be considered the sole proprietor of knowledge as learners had the ability to participate in the creation of knowledge. The teacher also needed to learn from the students and allow the children an opportunity to express themselves. Thus, the dominating nature of the classroom could become increasingly democratic.[74]

Freire named the pedagogy based on these democratic principles, the "problem-posing" approach. It was to encourage learners to understand the reality of their world. This could not be achieved in alienating classrooms that practiced a "banking approach." They needed to be cognitive participants and critically assess the world around them. A teacher within the liberation movement could use this opportunity "concientize" the students by encouraging them to express themselves in terms of their

[72] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 77.
[73] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 78.
[74] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 84.

own lived experiences thus resulting in an awareness of their circumstances.[75] Tensions between teachers and learners would be resolved as the teacher would no longer represent an imposing authority figure. Freire explains, "the former (banking approach) attempts to maintain the submission of consciousness, the latter (problem-posing) strives for the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in reality."[76] Therefore, the "problem-posing" approach encourages critical thinking and allows new ways of thinking. It was considered important to allow learners the opportunity to acquire knowledge which related to their realities. This would make the information useful to their lives and afford them the opportunity to explore solutions with regards to their lived experiences.[77]

Pedagogies of the Oppressed also pays attention to explaining the way learning material should be constructed. The principles of open dialogue, participation and mutual learning remained fundamental to this process. It was recognized that people came from a multitude of backgrounds and it was difficult to create standardized learning material which would cater to everyone's needs. Thus, he encouraged the participation of anthropologists and psychologists to participate in the process. The needs of multiple "cultures" had to be understood with regards to beliefs surrounding issues of ethnicities, religions and class.[78] Freire uses a hypothetical scenario to explain how learning materials may be produced in a manner which is sensitive to these needs. He described an adult literacy campaign in a poor working-class village. The occupants of the village had limited access to education. The literacy campaign was initiated by searchers and professionals who came from outside the community. Thus, it was important that they understood the concerns and needs of the local villagers. This could only succeed if the values and aspirations of the community were identified through "meaningful thematics". The process entailed posing questions to villagers through materials such as

[75] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 86.
[76]Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 88.
[77] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 87.
[78] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 121.

visual aids. The villages would give interpretations of the material and thus reveal clues about their perceptions and experiences.[79]

Once “meaningful thematics” were identified they needed to be processed through “decodification”. This process referred to a critical examination conducted by both researchers and local volunteers. They would analyse all the information gathered and consider the holistic impact it would have on the investigation. Through discussion and dialogue, a “real consciousness” would develop regarding the needs of the community. Thus, biases and judgements would not guide their campaign rather it would be led by the experiences of the community. Real empathy and understanding would allow the creation of relevant learning material. [80]

A number of “Progressive Teachers’ Unions” adopted these Freirean ideals and attempted to adapt them to the South African context. South Africa was perceived as a society of dualities in which the whites represented the oppressor and people of other races represented the oppressed. Whites held the dominant cultural position in society which shaped politics and education. Therefore, it was recognised that knowledge needed to be wrestled away from the oppressors. This could be achieved by validating knowledge which existed in diverse cultural contexts and acknowledging the lived experiences of various communities. This would challenge the assumptions and control of knowledge that was held by the oppressors. It was understood that South African society under Apartheid was inherently flawed and that the oppressors held a privileged position in society. Therefore, the oppressors had no desire to change the structure of society. As a result, it was only the oppressed and those who identified with the oppressed who could usher in changes. Thus, the struggle needed to

[79] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 121.
[80] Freire and Ramos. *Pedagogy,* 126.

take place at grass roots level, not from the elite. It was believed that the tools to be used in the struggle needed to happen in a democratic fashion which included participation and dialogue.

The Freirean ideology also matched the analysis provided by academics who understood apartheid from a Marxist perspective. The system of apartheid theorised as a system which benefitted white capitalist interests. Black people were exploited as cheap labour to feed the demands of capital. This was demonstrated through the fact that blacks were excluded from skilled labour and thus prevented from upward mobility. Education played a crucial role in this process as whites had access to quality education while black education was deliberately undermined. Indeed, the nature of Apartheid education was exclusionary and nationalistic. Examining some key points of Apartheid education demonstrates its position as an oppressive education. The foundation of education in South Africa was one which the "Progressive Teachers Unions" wished to transform.

1.3. Christian National Education: A Pedagogy of Domination:

Christian National Education (CNE) provided an ideology which justified some of the functions of South African education during apartheid. It assisted with entrenching "white capitalist interests" based on racist ideology. Furthermore, it perpetuated white supremacy and advocated Afrikaner national identity. CNE was bought into public attention by a document released by the Instituut vir Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys (ICNO) or the Institute of Christian National Education. The document claimed outlined an education system, mainly for Afrikaans children, however suggestions for different demographics were also provided. As the name suggests, CNE was based on Christian principles, particularly a staunch brand of Calvinism. CNE never became official state policy however it appealed

to the National Party (NP) sensibilities. Several educational policies adopted by the NP during the apartheid era resembled the suggestions laid out by the ICNO document. [81]

The first article of this document described CNE as a system which encouraged the, "love for everything that is our own, with special mention to our country, our language, our history and our culture.[82]" Thus, Afrikanerdom was considered as a group of people with one common identity. To preserve this group certain principles were to be incorporated into all spheres of schooling. This ranged from the school syllabus to discipline.[83] Such principles were based on Calvinism as it was the most predominant religion in the Afrikaner demographic. This ideology has serious implications for the classroom. Based on the Calvinist principles of CNE, the teachers' authority was absolute and ordained by God. Questioning or challenging the teacher could be considered a sin. As education was considered a moral endeavour any misbehaviour from the children could interpreted as straying from the path of God. Innocent mistakes such as failing a test or forgetting homework could lead to shame and punishment. Such an environment would breed unquestioning passive learners. This would encourage a teaching methodology based on rote learning and repetition. Perhaps the epitome of Freire's "banking approach."

The 1989 book by Wally Morrows entitled *Chains of Thought* discusses the concept of "doctrinaire thinking." Morrow believed this type of thinking was prevalent within the South African education system. The analysis was conducted long after the initial formation of CNE. However, he explains how

[81] Rose, Brian, and Raymond Tunmer. *Documents in South African Education*. Johannesburg: Donker, 1975.

[82] Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereenigings, Instituut vir Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys, Belied, Johannesburg 1948 in Rose, Brian, and Raymond Tunmer. *Documents in South African Education*. Johannesburg: Donker, 1975. 120.

[83] Rose, Brian, and Raymond Tunmer. *Documents in South African Education*. Johannesburg: Donker, 1975. 120.

such a system can affect the way a society comprehends knowledge and forms ideologies. CNE can be understood through the concept of "doctrinaire thinking" due to its ideological rigidity. Morrow identifies such thinking based on several characteristics. Firstly, it relies on the unshakable belief in specific "truths." Furthermore, the accuracy of such "truths" will never be questioned. Secondly, these "truths" will mould the thoughts and ideas of a society. Often, they will be disassociated from their historical context and stitched together to create a specific narrative. If one challenges this narrative, he may be silenced as those protecting the narrative will resist intellectual debate.[84] Thirdly, the justification of the narrative may rely on sacred texts which are vague and open to interpretation. Those who question the validity of these texts may be dismissed as ignorant or arrogant. These texts are considered infallible in their promotion of the narrative. If they are interpreted differently it is the reader who is at fault. Debates about ideology are acceptable between those who believe the same narrative as they feel it adds validity to their arguments. However, they often avoid debates with those outside of the narrative. Lastly those who practice "doctrinaire thinking" have a self-righteous attitude due to the certainty of their "truths." They believe they occupy the moral high-ground and represent a principled perspective. Detractors are immediately considered incorrect and dialogue is rejected.[85]

Segregation was another key principle in CNE. It argued the state should give white English and Afrikaans children access to primary and secondary schools. The parents of these children needed to be involved in the schools to ensure the values of their community were upheld. CNE was suggested for Afrikaans children and the character of English schools were to be established based on the faith of their communities. It was emphasised that different groups were to respect one another and develop according to their own values.[86] This relativist approach did not extend to other "racial"

[84] Morrow, W. E. *Chains of Thought: Philosophical Essays in South African Education*. 1st ed. Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, 1989. 56.

[85] Morrow, W. E. *Chains of Thought.* 57.

[86] Rose, Brian, and Raymond Tunmer. *Documents in South African Education*. 125.

groups. The ICNO document believed that Afrikaners had a responsibility to provide black and coloured education. These "races" were believed to be in a state of "cultural infancy." Furthermore, they needed to be educated about God. They had to be encouraged to create their own national identities which would be assisted by learning in their own mother tongue. However, they needed to learn one of the two official languages, English or Afrikaans. The document was wary of state intervention in white schools but believed other "race" groups would benefit from direct control of the state.[87]

Several elements of CNE asserted themselves in the Bantu Education Act of 1953. For example, children were to be taught in their mother tongue and the funding of African schools would come from the state however, not at the expense of white education. African cultural identities were to be preserved through the guidance of Christianity. In reality this, segregation created conditions which restricted Africans from accessing the skills and opportunities reserved for whites. White supremacy was to play a paternalistic role in preparing African communities for a life of exploitation.[88]

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s additional legislation was added to education policies which entrenched segregation. The National Advisory Education Act and Laws created separate education administrations for coloured and Indians. The 1967 Education Policy Act was considered to realign the NP to its commitment to CNE. It claimed that all South Africans would benefit from an education with a CNE framework.[89] It could be applied to all state and provincial administrations however it promised

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[87] Rose, Brian, and Raymond Tunmer. *Documents in South African Education*. 127.

[88] Enslin, Penny. "The Role of Fundamental Pedagogics in the Formulation of Educational Policy in South Africa" in Kallaway, Peter, ed. *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984. 140.

[89] Rose, Brian, and Raymond Tunmer. *Documents in South African Education*. 128.

to respect the religious belief of the parents and the schools.[90] In reality, apartheid education was one of "domination." From the curriculum to the distribution of educational resources, it was geared towards the continued oppression of marginalised groups.

2. Chapter 2: The Crisis in Apartheid Education, 1970s Student Uprisings, Reform and the Response of "Progressive Teachers Unions."

2.1. The Crisis Facing the Apartheid State and School- Based Resistance in the 1970s.

The 1970s laid the foundation in term of education emerging as a key issue in the liberation struggle. In 1972 Prime Minister Voster introduced policies to expand secondary schools and training facilities in urban areas.[91] The expansion of secondary urban schools increased the school going demographic of the black community at an unprecedented rate. The supply of well-constructed schools could not meet the demand. Many of the facilities were built rapidly within a meagre budget. The pre-existing schools were falling apart due to neglect. The learners were placed into overcrowded classrooms in poorly resourced schools. These issues also affected primary schools as the reforms encouraged more children to enter primary schools. Underqualified teachers took posts in these schools which contributed to a further decline in the quality of education. These types of conditions were not conducive to learning and the relationship between learners and teachers deteriorated. Ill-discipline

[90] Rose, Brian, and Raymond Tunmer. *Documents in South African Education*. 129.

[91] Hyslop. *The Classroom Struggle.* 144.

occasionally led to severe punishment such as beatings. A sign that teachers had lost control of the classroom.[92]

The government's policies did little to help this environment. It was decided that in the year 1976, primary education would no longer consist of five years and secondary education would no longer be eight years. Rather both phases of schools would be based around six years. Thus, in 1975 children who passed either standard five or standard six would be entering high school at the same time. This essentially doubled the number of children who were entering the first year of secondary school and created more pressure on under-resourced and overcrowded schools. Additionally, it added to the frustration shared by many teachers and students.[93]

By 1974, Voster had handed education over to the "verkrampte" members of the NP, to ensure the deeply conservative elements of his party remained loyal. The hard-liners in the party had adopted the cause of revitalising Afrikaner tradition. They believed BED was not effectively promoting Afrikaans in black schools.[94] The general rule in black schools was that English and Afrikaans were used as languages of instruction on a fifty-fifty basis. Furthermore, the learner decided in which language he would prefer to write his exams. In practice, most schools preferred using one of the official languages. In urban areas, such as Johannesburg, the preferred language was usually English.[95] By 1974, circulars were being distributed to schools indicating they needed to effectively implement the fifty-fifty rule. This was widely unpopular amongst teachers and students. In most Johannesburg schools, learners and staff only understood English.[96] In 1976, Voster, replaced his "moderate" Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration with staunch conservative, Andries Treunicht. Unsurprisingly, Treunicht was a

[92] Hyslop, *The Classroom Struggle.* 151.
[93] Hyslop, *The Classroom Struggle.* 152.
[94] Hyslop, *The Classroom Struggle.* 159.
[95] Hyslop, *The Classroom Struggle.* 158.
[96] Hyslop, J*The Classroom Struggle.* 160.

strong advocate of the fifty-fifty policy. On the 11 of June 1976, five schools were denied permission to overlook the policy despite the fact their children were already on strike. This rigid approach to language policy provided a focal point that learners could rally around to express the multiple grievances they had with the education system. On 16 June 1976, masses of school children flooded the streets of Soweto to protest both education and the state.[97]

The learners' frustrations were also fuelled by the poor economic conditions of the country which did not guarantee prosperity after school. In many cases, they were facing perpetual poverty. At an ideological level, some of the children were influenced by the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). This ideology developed in urban secondary schools and black tertiary institutions during the 1960s. It directly opposed the narrative of white supremacy and centred around positive black identity which included Indians and coloureds.[98] As BCM rejected the tools used by the state to make blacks subservient, it makes sense that it opposed the sub-standard education system. The extent of BCM's impact on the Soweto riots had been open to debate. The movement has been considered disorganised and elitist due to it connection to black university students. However, many young black teachers in Soweto had been imbued with BCM during their time at university. They advocated its principles in their classrooms thus spreading new ideas to their students.[99]

The impact of the Soweto Uprising was felt throughout the country in the 1970s. It politicised many young people within black communities. Young men and women were encouraged join military camps in neighbouring countries. Grassroots activism made a resurgence as organisations focusing on labour, health and education issues sprung up within communities. Importantly, education emerged as major

[97] Hyslop, *The Classroom Struggle.* 162.
[98] Hyslop, *The Classroom Struggle.* 154.
[99] Hyslop, *The Classroom Struggle.* 154.

arena in the struggle against apartheid.[100] Furthermore the states heavy-handed response to the uprising drew international condemnation.[101] For almost a year after the initial protests, learners continued to direct hostilities to the apartheid government. Within their own communities they attacked the offices of the Urban Bantu Councils and the beerhalls as they were directly associated to apartheid structures. Many of the councillors had to flee the townships. Only at the end of 1977 did the unrest start to subside.[102]

Throughout 1976 and 1977 the state responded to the uprising with an increased wave of repression. There were expulsions, school closures and arrests of both teachers and learners. Groups associated with BCM such as the South African Students Organisation (SASO) were banned. Many schools remained closed throughout 1978, but the tactics seemed to subdue much of the unrest. However, the NP realised it was facing a crisis and had to respond by allowing some reforms. The department with the widely hated name, the Department of Bantu Education, was changed to the Department of Education and Training (DET). The state agreed to increase spending on schools and raise the salaries of qualified black teachers. Additionally, more emphasis was to be placed on providing industrial training facilities.[103]

In 1979 the NP replaced the Bantu Education Act of 1955 with the Education and Training Bill. The responsibility of education policy was handed to the Minister of Education and Training. Furthermore, he would have the power to promote or discharge teachers. It was decided that education should continue to have a Christian nature and that mother tongue instruction should persist. Compulsory

[100] Cross, Michael and Linda Chisholm, "The Roots of Segregated Schooling in Twentieth-Century South Africa." in Nkomo, Mokubung, ed. *Pedagogy of Domination: Toward a Democratic Education in South Africa*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press. 1990. 61.

[101] Davies, John. "Capital, State and Educational" 346.
[102] Hyslop, *The Classroom Struggle.* 167.
[103] Davies, John. "Capital, State and Educational" 351.

education would be extended with the cooperation of parents. However, if the parents resisted they would be penalised. Once again, the government tried to get parents on board with the schools by "encouraging their participation." A black teachers' council was also established which required all teachers to register.[104]

By the end of the 1970s it appears that apartheids experiment with schooling was failing. Despite the best efforts of a segregated schooling system designed to subdue most of the country's population, people were not buying the narrative. Even black people who appeared to be benefitting off the system and entering the "black middle class" were unhappy. Evidence for this was seen in the BCM with roots in elite tertiary institutions.[105] Young people were still feeling alienated from the education system and thus willing to turn their backs on capital and the government.[106] Therefore, it appears that the superficial reforms made after the Soweto Uprising would not be enough to quell the tide of dissatisfaction. At the start of 1980s it recognised that the system needed an update.

2.2. The Impact of the 1970s Education Crisis on "Progressive Educators:"

According to Valley, organisations such as the South African Student Organisation (SASO) played an important role in the spreading of information which would build towards the concept of "peoples' education" which became influential during the 1980s. Paulo Freire's, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* was believed to have entered black universities as early as 1970 and found recognition in groups such as SASO. Despite the state's attempt to ban this work, many illicit copies were created and distributed by students. The anti- capitalist and community driven nature of the book appealed to many involved

[104] Davies, John. "Capital, State and Educational" 351.
[105] Davies, John. "Capital, State and Educational" 348.
[106] Davies, John. "Capital, State and Educational" 349.

in BCM inspired organisations. Many BCM groups were involved with "grassroots" initiatives and community projects echoed Freire's insistence of democratic principles. Of concern to these democratic principles was the insistence of community involvement. Thus, groups such as SASO insisted that the education system needed to establish Student Representative Councils (SRCs) and Parent-Teacher-Student Associations (PTSAs).

Cross, Carpentier and Ait-Mehdi, claim that the resurgence in political action caused a shift in liberal academic circles, particularly amongst members of historically white and English-speaking universities such as the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of Cape Town and Rhodes University. Several key events such as the visibility of the conflict surrounding education, the growth of BCM, the 1976 Soweto Uprising and the continuation of school boycotts in the 1980s introduced new discussions into academic circles. Within the "liberal" institutions both academics and students of education started to challenge the liberal establishment upon which these universities were based. The more "progressive" minded academics had grown tired of educational theory that had been popular in the 1960s and 1970s. The new radical resistance adopted by black students within the townships had resuscitated life into the theory of education. Academics began to explore the histography of education through a Marxist perspective. Cross Cross, Carpentier and Ait-Mehdi refer to this as a "neo-Marxist framework" which emerged in the early 1980s within the institutions through the introduction of the Marxist Political Economy theory.[107]

English speaking universities were at an advantage, with regards to producing a movement for progressive educators. The History of Education was a course available at many tertiary institutions

[107] Cross, Michael. Carpentier, Claude and Ait-Mehdi Halima "Unfulfilled promise: radical discourses in South African educational historiography, 1970–2007." Journal of the History of Education Society. 38:4. 475-503. 2009. 485.

by the 1970s. In the English Universities, the History of Education was taught through the examination of educational ideas and institutions. This encouraged the questioning of ideas and the exploration into Marxist theory. Such luxury was not afforded to Afrikaans and Black universities as the History of Education continued to be taught in the frame-work of Afrikaans orientated philosophies. This included an emphasis on "fundamental pedagogics" and the assumption that education was as an exact science.[108]

Therefore, it is not surprising that NEUSA launched an immediate and scathing attack on the "Liberal" transformation proposed by the De Lange Report. Despite being wholly rejected by the "Progressive Teachers' Unions," there has been an argument that the De Lange Report had certain similarities to the OBE curriculum which was to be implemented in the following decade.

2.3. The De Lange Report: The States Response to the Ongoing Education Crisis:

As the education crisis deepened in the early 1980s, the NP commissioned the Human Science Resource Council (HSRC) to research new education policies. The investigation was headed by the rector of the Rand Afrikaans University, J.P De Lange. Thus, the finding of the report became colloquially known as the De Lange Report.[109] The government tasked the HSRC working group to "create a feasible education policy" which included all levels of education, from primary to tertiary. Such policies needed to ensure that all South Africans could fulfil their potential. They were to promote economic growth to improve the quality of life for all people in the country. To achieve these

[108] Cross, Michael. Carpentier, Claude and Ait-Mehdi Halima "Unfulfilled promise: radical discourses in South African educational historiography, 1970–2007." Journal of the History of Education Society. 38:4. 475-503. 2009. 485.
[109] Human Sciences Research Council. *Principles for the Provision of Education in the RSA: Report of the Work Committee: Education Principles and Policy.* Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1981, ii.

goals new structures and financing models had to be developed. Furthermore, “a programme for making available education of the same quality for all population groups” was encouraged. Such changes needed to be considered in the current context of educational needs in South Africa. This included the ability of the national economy to incorporate and accommodate these changes.[110] The HSRC’s first meeting on the project was held in August 1980. A few “guiding principles” were drafted. These were recorded in the findings document entitled, “Principles for the Provision of Education in the RSA.”[111]

A summary of the principles is provided below:

1. Equal opportunity and standards in education for all races, colours, creeds and sexes would be the goal of the state.

2. Education would provide positive recognition of all “groups” in the country with regards to their diversity and commonalities. This included aspects such as religious, cultural and linguistic practices.[112]

3. The Education Policy would be aware of individual choices as well as those of parents and social organisations.

4. Education would be provided in a way which benefitted the needs of the individual, society and economic development. This would entail consideration for the labour needs of the country.

5. Relationships would be built between formal, non-formal and informal sectors of education within schools, society and family.

[110] Human Sciences Research Council. *Principles for the Provision.* i.
[111] Human Sciences Research Council. *Principles for the Provision.* 138.
[112] Human Sciences Research Council. *Principles for the Provision.* 138.

6. The task of providing formal education was to be handed to the state, however there was a responsibility of individuals, parents and communities to assist in the access to schooling.
7. Both the private sector and state were to hold an increased responsibility in providing formal education.
8. A provision was to be made for the establishment of both state and private education systems.
9. Reorganisation and functioning of the education system was to be centralised or decentralised per the needs of the system.
10. There was to be a recognition of the professional status of teachers.[113]
11. The needs of the education system would be provided under the guidance of continuing research.[114]

These principles seem remarkably "progressive" when compared to the existing state of apartheid education. However, it is evident that the report did not envision an equal education system for all. It was willing to create policies within the framework of a segregated system. Therefore, it needs to justify its definition of an equal education within a divided society. The report defines equal education as "… all comparable members of all population groups, will have access to those educational facilities needed for full development of their personalities and potential."[115] Furthermore, "By 'comparable members of all population groups' is meant that an infant is compared with an infant, an adolescent with and adolescent, etc.'"[116] This seems to imply that equality can exist *within* "population groups" but not *between* "population groups." [117]

[113] Human Sciences Research Council. *Principles for the Provision* 139.
[114] Human Sciences Research Council. *Principles for the Provision*. 140.
[115] Human Sciences Research Council. *Programme for Equal Quality.* 4.
[116] Human Sciences Research Council. *Programme for Equal Quality.* 4.
[117] Human Sciences Research Council. *Programme for Equal Quality.* 14.

The issue of segregation had major implications for the types of curriculums which were taught. The De Lange Report stated, "An education system that is designed to transmit knowledge, impart competencies and establish attitudes almost by necessities creates differences. It is inherent in the recognition of individual differences that there will be differences in the curriculum content to provide for different abilities and objectives."[118] It was recognized that some children may prefer an academic education while others preferred vocational training. However, these differences had to be justified in terms of "population groups" as each education department possessed its own curriculum. It was stated that South Africa was a "multi-cultural" or "plural" society as it housed many "cultures." Thus, it was important that the curriculum encouraged understanding and appreciation amongst a variety of people. It was to encourage no discrimination based on race, class, gender and religion. A good curriculum would nurture a common identity of South Africanism. Such an education was expected to produce a harmonious society. In terms of curriculum selection, it was advised that, "It should offer equivalent service to all departments of education to enable them to select syllabus and curriculum content suitable for their particular needs."[119] The concept of "equivalent service" refers to different curriculums between the departments. Thus, once again there was no attempt to standardise conditions between "race groups."

The report never denied that the access to education was vastly different throughout the country. It also recognised that the goal of equal education would take time to develop. However, there were measures that could be implemented in the immediate future.[120] It was suggested that, "At the level

[118] Human Sciences Research Council, and HSRC Main Committee for the Investigation into Education, eds. *Report of the Work Committee, Curriculum Development*. Report of the Work Committee 6. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1981. 60.

[119] Human Sciences Research Council. *Curriculum Development*. 165.
[120] Human Sciences Research Council. *Curriculum Development*. 62.

of technical and vocational education, it was recommended that some form of compensatory education should be introduced to raise the present standards of maths, science and language for Black and Coloured applicants for apprenticeships."[121] This recommendation was directed towards capitalist interests. The private sector was still desperate for skilled workers. Black and coloured workers were still considered the best source for cheap labour. The De Lange report was concerned about improving the economic fortunes of South Africa thus many of its suggestions fell in line with capitalist interests. However, this was threatening to any reforms the policies may have presented. The report was not offering genuine equality, rather it was offering reforms within separate education departments. There was a danger that different syllabuses would be designed to increase labourers instead of providing quality education. For example, poor black communities could be provided with vocational skills directly related to the labour market. This would continue to restrict upward mobility in an inherently unjust society.[122]

The De Lange report findings were presented in the 1983 White Paper on the Provision of Education in the RSA. The response from the NP was hardly enthusiastic however some policies were implemented. [123] However, by 1984 the realisation of a truly equal education still seemed unlikely. Prime Minister P.W Botha introduced the racially segregated Tri-Cameral Parliament to give coloured and Indians "representation" in governments. Their suggestions would still have to pass through white members of parliament. Black people were still denied a place in parliament as they had "control" in

[121] Human Sciences Research Council. *Curriculum Development*. 63.

[122] Human Sciences Research Council, *Report of the Work Committee, Innovational Strategies in Education*. 123.

[123] Nasson, Bill "Modernisation as Legitimization" 160.

the homelands. Such superficial reforms were being rejected and the 1980s would witness a huge wave of mass resistance.[124]

2.4. The Resonance of the De Lange Report in Post-Apartheid South Africa:

Comparisons have been drawn between the De Lange Report and post-apartheid educational policies of the 1990s. It has been highlighted that both approaches focused heavily on the economic utility of education. According to Skinner, the democratically elected government of 1994 wished to achieve real transformation in post-apartheid South Africa. However, the hopes of transformation started to rely heavily on economic goals. This was clearly demonstrated in the 1995 White Paper on Training and Education. Jansen considered this paper as particularly important as it was, "the first basic policy framework within which subsequent education policy was to be understood.[125]"

The paper explains why both "education" and "training" had been used within the document. The Department of Education was attempting to link the terms together in to construct an "integrated" approach to learning. It was hoped that the "artificial" gap between academic knowledge and applied skills would be narrowed. By recognising "theory" and "practice" as equally important, it was believed that the social divisions which existed based on this division of knowledge would be reduced. Such divisions perpetuated racial division and limited opportunities to marginalised communities.[126] For example, the white population generally had access to high standards of learning and academics opportunities. Other races may have had more experience with vocational work which was not

[124] Nasson, Bill "Modernisation as Legitimization: Education Reform and the State in the 1980s" in Nkomo, Mokubung, ed. *Pedagogy of Domination: Toward a Democratic Education in South Africa*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990. 159.

[125] Department of Education (DoE). White Paper on Education and Training. Pretoria. 1995.
[126]Department of Education (DoE). White Paper on Education and Training. Pretoria. 1995.

recognised in formal academies. By allowing for the formal recognition of these skills, racial groups which were discriminated against could integrate into the economy. It was stated that a curriculum for the newly democratic South Africa would preferably take into consideration the need to develop both theoretical and practical knowledge. This "integrated" approach was presented as an important step towards human resource development. According the white paper, "successful modern economies require the elimination of artificial hierarchies,[127]" and citizens who have strong foundational knowledge. People equipped with foundational skills and knowledge were more likely to cope with the constant changes of the modern world. They would adapt to the "post-industrial" society which bought with it ever-changing technologies and career paths.

The white paper encouraged a curriculum to be developed which was cognizant of an "integrated" approach to learning and one which would be beneficial to South Africa's economy. Based on these recommendations it seems that the adoption of OBE was a suitable choice to meet these demands. The focus on "outcomes" meant that skills were incrementally acquired, and one could work from basic to complex skills. Furthermore, OBE promised to provide citizens the tools to thrive in the "global economy" thus ensuring the prosperity of their country. The commonality between the De Lange Report, the 1995 White Paper on Education and Training and OBE was the preoccupation of theorising education in terms of economic potential. In other words, these documents do not consider knowledge and education to be a "good-in-itself." Rather, children are taught knowledge and skills which can contribute to the country's economy. The White paper demonstrates its emphasis on the economy by expressing concern for subjects such as science, technology and commerce which all provide skills needed for a market economy.

[127] Department of Education (DoE). White Paper on Education and Training. Pretoria. 1995.

Both the De Lange report and the White Paper encouraged changes in educational structures which had to be enforced by the government and formal institutions. An assumption was made that expanding the skills of South Africa's population would channel individuals into the formal work sector. It is not certain that this approach would be successful as much of the work which was available in the country often required unskilled, non-permanent labour. Thus, much of the work fell outside of the formal economy due to South Africa's economic underdevelopment.

In the 1990s the principles of the White Paper and OBE would be accepted into South African policy by the democratic government. However, in the 1980s the progressive teachers' unions mounted a critique of the De Lange Reports "top-down" approach to educational reform. Likewise, they challenged the notion of education being taught for economic ends. Using the principles of Freirean ideology, they envisioned an education which would be inclusive for all South Africans.

3. Chapter 3: The "Progressive Teachers' Unions" of the 1980s:

3.1. The National Education Union of South Africa: A Non-Racial, Democratic Union.

Individuals within the "progressive teachers' unions" drew heavily on the works of Freire which helped them to envision, what they believed, would constitute as a democratic education. It should be remembered that Freire's work was based on his philosophy and experience as an educator. He was immersed in Marxist ideology and most of his experimental teaching was practiced in adult education. Unlike a curriculum framework such as OBE, Freire did not create documents about how education should be implemented. Rather he considered the practice of teaching to be experimental, context specific and flexible. Thus, there was no doctrine or guidebook to outline the implementation of Freirean education. Furthermore, no prior example of a Freirean curriculum had been implemented in any other country, thus progressive educators had no real reference point. However, following in the tradition of Freire, the documents created by the "Progressive Teachers' Unions" display an experimental approach to both teaching and curriculum formation. Many different ideas and discussions were shared between teachers. Likewise, there was a clear desire to use education as a tool to over-throw oppression. The unions also held a deep suspicion of "liberal" reforms which NEUSA demonstrated in their denunciation of the De Lange Report.

NEUSA, which was formed in 1980, fundamentally rejected apartheid and any mechanisms used to divide the people of South Africa. In an early publication by the union, "De Lange… Marching to the Same Order," they criticised the report. It argued that it focused too heavily on industrial and technical training. They believed that such an approach would not transform the nature of South African

society.[128] Instead it would entrench the inequalities between race and class. Only a selected group of individuals would be able to enter the middle class thus creating a narrow elite who possessed all the political and economic power. As capital required a workforce which lived close to industrial centres most of the educational reform would be focused in these areas. Therefore, rural areas would be neglected and only a small pocket of rural workers would filter into the economy. NEUSA concluded that true equality and opportunity could only be acquired if all South Africans benefited from educational reform.[129]

Fundamental to equality was the rejection of all racial segregation. Thus, the group referred to itself as "non-racial." It advocated for a single education system which included all races.[130] These two principles became a common cause for all progressive teachers' unions in the 1980s. The moderate reforms of the previous decade had not narrowed the inequalities still present in the education system. There was a major divide in terms of school funding and the availability of qualified teachers. White children had four separate provincial departments, the Cape, Transvaal, Natal and the Orange Free State. Matriculating students received their senior certificates from their respective provincial department. Coloureds, Indians and blacks generally received their certificates from the joint matriculation board. Separate departments were responsible for the different racial groups. These consisted of the Administration of Coloured Affairs, the South African Indian Council and the Department of Education and Training for blacks. In terms of funding there were gross inequalities which existed between these groups. White children received the highest government spending per

[128] Wits Historical Papers (WHP), National Education Union of South Africa 1978-1986 Collection (NEUSAC), Acc Number: A2294, Box 3, Folder, M3, Gardiner M, *NEUSA and the educational issue of 1983*.

[129]Wits Historical Papers (WHP), National Education Union of South Africa 1978-1986 Collection (NEUSAC), Acc Number: A2294, Box 3, Folder, M3, Gardiner M, *NEUSA and the educational issue of 1983*.

[130] Wits Historical Papers (WHP), National Education Union of South Africa 1978-1986 Collection (NEUSAC), Acc Number: A2294, Box 3, Folder, M1, The Teachers Action Committee: *The Establishment of an Organisation of Teachers.* Cape Town, 1980.

capita while black children received the lowest.[131] NEUSA believed such inequalities could only be remedied if racial segregation was abolished and the apartheid system was dismantled.

NEUSA was not only concerned about the education structures and financial inequalities of schooling. They also focused on the role education could play in creating a democratic society. In 1980 a paper was released by the Teacher Action Committee in Cape Town. It outlined the principles of a non-racial teachers' organisation. Many of the principles were incorporate by NEUSA. The document describes the role of education in a very specific way, "Education is the instrument used by the ruling class in that society to perpetuate its dominance of that society."[132] It recognised that the teacher was a tool that transmitted knowledge which justified and perpetuated dominance. In South Africa, the most obvious expression of this dominance was found in the inherently racist education system. The only way to overthrow the dominance of the system was to insert a "truly democratic" education. The proposals of the De Lange report were considered a way for the state and capital to continue an oppressive governance rather than an attempt to create real change.[133]

The paper offered a very Freirean approach to understanding the structure of South African society and the role teachers had to play in creating democratic reform. White capital and the state were considered the oppressors while those outside the elite circles were considered the oppressed. The

[131] Wits Historical Papers (WHP), National Education Union of South Africa 1978-1986 Collection (NEUSAC), Acc Number: A2294, Box 3, Folder, M15, *Structure of Education in South Africa*. Circa 1985.

[132] Wits Historical Papers (WHP), National Education Union of South Africa 1978-1986 Collection (NEUSAC), Acc Number: A2294, Box 3, Folder, M1, The Teachers Action Committee: *The Establishment of an Organisation of Teachers.* Cape Town, 1980.

[133] Wits Historical Papers (WHP), National Education Union of South Africa 1978-1986 Collection (NEUSAC), Acc Number: A2294, Box 3, Folder, M1, The Teachers Action Committee: *The Establishment of an Organisation of Teachers.* Cape Town, 1980.

oppressors always acted in a way to benefit their needs. Therefore, any reform they implemented would ultimately be an attempt to preserve the status quo. As education was used as a tool to maintain oppressive societies, teachers would receive benefits to ensure they remained satisfied with the status quo. Because of these benefits teachers would move into the middle-classes and have relatively comfortable lives. They would become disconnected from the impoverished masses even if they too belonged to an oppressed group. Their comfort would make them forget their oppression. They would become less critical of the state and consider capitalism as a useful phenomenon. Therefore, they would not teach children about the true nature of their oppressive society.

In *Pedagogies of the Oppressed*, Freire argues that a person's perception of their oppression can be distorted. In fact, they may not even be aware that they are oppressed. This prohibits their ability to seek true liberation. Rather they start to identify with their oppressors and adopt many of their traits. They become individualistic, lack class consciousness and are preoccupied with acquiring material wealth. For example, a teacher from a working-class background may gain material benefits and, in the process, can no longer identify with the children he teaches. Perhaps he will start acting in an authoritarian way reminiscent of his oppressors. The Teacher Action Committee paper therefore encourages teachers to denounce middle class aspirations as it leads to alienation. The manufacturing of alienation was considered as intentional by the state. This could clearly be seen in the creation of racial and tribal divisions.[134]

Teachers needed to realise they were an oppressed class before they could work towards a democratic education. Likewise, a democratic teachers' union needed to assist in the struggle via democratic

[134] Wits Historical Papers (WHP), National Education Union of South Africa 1978-1986 Collection (NEUSAC), Acc Number: A2294, Box 3, Folder, M1, The Teachers Action Committee: *The Establishment of an Organisation of Teachers.* Cape Town, 1980.

means. Such unions were not concerned with attaining economic privileges or protection for their members. Nor were they to be ruled through executive authorities. Instead each teacher was to take responsibility within their own communities rather than awaiting the command of union authorities.[135] Such organisations may differ from the usual understanding of a "union" as they were not concerned about securing wages, increases and financial benefits. For example, the early form of NEUSA appeared to adopt a naïve commitment to ideology rather than pragmatic concerns. This could partly be due to youthful enthusiasm however, as NEUSA did not have formal recognition from the government it was unlikely that any demands related to financial issues would be addressed. Therefore, they established other structures to help teachers such as the Teachers' Advice Bureau (TAB). The bureau offered services such as legal advice and assistance to teachers which were unfairly dismissed from their jobs.[136]

The Teacher Action Committee paper explains the main goals of a non-racial teachers' unions. They were to strive towards a single, non-segregated education and raise the critical awareness of their students. Key to these processes was to expose all the racist and prejudiced features of the education system. Furthermore, a new progressive outlook for teaching needed to be developed.[137] NEUSA's early objectives followed such principles. They understood that transforming education in South Africa was not simply a matter of supplying children with the same facilities and infrastructure. Transformation required a complete breakdown of the apartheid system for all race groups to benefit from education. This could only be achieved through a democratic alliance involving communities, students, workers and organisations invested in real social change. It needed to be acknowledged that

[135] Wits Historical Papers (WHP), National Education Union of South Africa 1978-1986 Collection (NEUSAC), Acc Number: A2294, Box 3, Folder, M1, The Teachers Action Committee: *The Establishment of an Organisation of Teachers.* Cape Town, 1980.
[136] Wits Historical Papers (WHP), National Education Union of South Africa 1978-1986 Collection (NEUSAC), Acc Number: A2294, Box 3, Folder, M3, Gardiner M, *NEUSA and the educational issue of 1983*.
[137] Wits Historical Papers (WHP), National Education Union of South Africa 1978-1986 Collection (NEUSAC), Acc Number: A2294, Box 3, Folder, M1, The Teachers Action Committee: *The Establishment of an Organisation of Teachers.* Cape Town, 1980.

education was fundamentally linked to politics thus the fight for democratic education could not occur in isolation from the broader struggle against apartheid.

In 1983, an overview of NEUSA's progress was documented. It claimed the NEUSA's radical approach to transformation had limited their mass appeal. By 1982 they were still struggling to gain membership. Their influence was still limited to a small academic sphere. However, with the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) a new era of mass resistance started to form throughout South Africa. This changed the fortunes of NEUSA as they started to affiliate with the UDF and other associated groups such as the Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) and the Congress of African Students (COSAS). This afforded the teachers' union an opportunity to reach a broader audience.[138] They managed to work with groups based around mass mobilization. For example, as the education affiliates of the UDF they worked on an education charter campaign with the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). The charter was completed in 1984 and called for an education framework based around democratic principles and united opposition against all forms of oppression. Such programmes allowed NEUSA to work with other liberation groups and build closer alliances.

3.2. Regional "Progressive Teachers' Unions:"

By 1985 several new progressive teachers' unions were emerging. They were similar in character to NEUSA and dedicated to the aim of a non-racial democratic education system. For example, the Cape Town based, Education for a Democratic and Aware South Africa (EDASA). This organisation was started by a small group of teachers concerned about the governments implementation of the state

[138] Wits Historical Papers (WHP), National Education Union of South Africa 1978-1986 Collection (NEUSAC), Acc Number: A2294, Box 3, Folder, M6, *Critical Evaluation: NEUSA,* 1985.

of emergency. They were opposed to this political tactic as it allowed a military presence to exist within communities and around schools. The organisation consisted predominantly of white teachers who decided to carry an anti-apartheid message into white classrooms. The tactic was to expose white learners and teachers to the reality of apartheid. In addition, they held workshops which discussed educational methodology and ideas pertaining to the creation of democratic classrooms. The intention was to challenge the authoritarian nature of apartheid education and delegitimise the military presence at schools. They were open to working with other progressive entities such as NUSAS and the Black Sash education group.[139] 1985 also witnessed the growth of the Western Cape Teachers Union (WECTU), which demanded a "unitary, non-racial, non-sexist democratic and free education." They were strongly opposed to any collaboration with state departments. Instead they wished to establish democratic methods to work within communities and schools. This involved the creation of democratically elected structures such as Parent-Teacher-Student Associations (PTSAs) and Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs).[140]

With the proliferation of many different progressive organisations since the 1980s and the variety of issues they addressed it is unsurprising that they did not always agree with one another. The Western Cape Youth League (WCYL) was disillusioned by what they considered an infiltration of middle class organisations in the liberation struggle. They felt the involvement of these groups was a distraction from working class issues. The WCYL consisted of a conglomeration of several student associations which were primarily focused on the conditions of students and the working class. They were particularly critical of the Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) which was accused of lacking the ability to form mass mobilization. Furthermore, they were not effectively addressing the matters of class-based problems. The WCYL felt CAYCO's leadership was not addressing certain "intellectual" issues with their

[139] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-23, Box 3, Folder J4, *EDASA Brief History* (written report) July 1985.

[140] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-28, Box 4, Folder L3, *WECTU Constitution* (pamphlet).
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members because they doubted their capacity to understand difficult concepts. Thus, they possessed an elitist leadership which was not working on democratic principles. Likewise, the leadership chose to speak for the students despite not acknowledging their concerns.[141]

The WCYL claimed its members were being "victimised" and "shunned" due to its working-class principles. They decided it was "unprincipled" to associate with groups which had ties with the ruling class including their "sons and daughters." Therefore, they rejected the predominantly white groups such as NUSAS and the UCT "left" in general. They opposed one of the binding principles of the progressive teachers' unions which was the commitment to non-racialism. Anti-racism was considered as preferable because it acknowledged the inherent issues of being black in South Africa and this approach could rectify the circumstances. The WCYL said it was willing to discuss these matters with other organisations but claimed many of their constitutions restricted them from associating with WCYL. They cited the reason for this alleged behaviour, "… we can only conclude that this is to prevent leadership from being exposed in the eyes of their members."[142] These statements seem to involve typical left-wing accusations and rhetoric however, they certainly raise some serious points about inclusion. In Freire's theory, the position of predominantly white and academic teachers' unions in South Africa would have been formed from the elite strata of society. This would be acceptable if they were fully dedicated to transforming society and did not speak over the voices of the oppressed classes. By 1985 it seems unlikely that many of the progressive movements, especially the teachers' unions, would have intentionally been trying to silence the voices of the oppressed. However, it is also

[141] Wits Historical Papers (WHP), National Education Union of South Africa 1978-1986 Collection (NEUSAC), Acc Number: A2294, Box 3, Folder, M9, *The Role of the Youth*. Circa 1984-1985.

[142] Wits Historical Papers (WHP), National Education Union of South Africa 1978-1986 Collection (NEUSAC), Acc Number: A2294, Box 3, Folder, M9, *The Role of the Youth*. Circa 1984-1985.

unlikely that theoretical purity can be maintained in situations that have real-life consequences. As the teachers' unions matured they would have to make pragmatic decisions.

3.3. Formally Recognised Teachers' Unions:

The relationship between the progressive and established teachers' unions certainly required some pragmatism. They both had very different histories but could see the benefits of associating with one another. ATASA was created by the merger of the four-dominant provincial teachers' union. Such as the Cape African Teachers' Union and the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association (TUATU). These established unions possessed a moderate tradition when it came to challenging BED. However, increasing state oppression and the banning of radical organisations in the 1960s made ATASA a reasonable union for many teachers to join. These conditions changed teachers' resistance to apartheid from mass-based opposition in the 1950s to more "realistic" expectations such as the requests for improved teacher salaries. However, ATASA seemed incapable of achieving any demands.[143] Their usual tactic was lobbying BED to draw attention to these issues, but they were often ignored. ATASA willingly worked within the official structures of the government although this tactic often failed to produce any advantages. Despite being rather ineffectual they remained one of the largest unions even as they continued to lose members throughout the 1970s.[144] However, they still had a large membership and influence among many black teachers compared to the independent unions. However, their role in education reform could not be denied and in 1985 they attended the first National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) conference. At the event a call for "Peoples' Education" was expressed and provided a rallying point for both progressive and established teachers' unions.

[143] Hyslop, The Classroom Struggle, 111.
[144] Hyslop, The Classroom Struggle, 111.

3.4. The National Education Crisis Committee (NECC).

The NECC originated from the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) which had formed as a response to the ongoing education crisis in Soweto.[145] Black children, had been engaged in nationwide boycotts and refused to return to school. They were inspired by the principle of "liberation before education" and anyone wishing to return to school was branded a "sell out." Many of the teachers were viewed with suspicion and labelled as "sell outs" which created tension between teachers and learners. Competing student organisations engaged in violent clashes as they fought over ideological differences. Communities descended into chaos as property was destroyed and accusations of betrayal divided the residents. Furthermore, generational conflict emerged as older, moderate teachers, grew concerned about the radicalisation of the youth.[146]

In 1985 the SPCC held its first national Crisis conference at Wits University. One hundred and sixty concerned groups participated in the conference. Officials from these groups formed the basis of the NECC. The committee focused on achieving the demands of, "peoples' education, for peoples' power, in peoples' schools." In short, this meant a participatory and democratic education. Thus, the committee believed in establishing structures of "peoples' authorities" such as PTSAs to exist parallel to the states authority. The SPCC conference of 1985, was generally considered the first meeting of the NECC. According to an information booklet on the event, "Delegates to the conference were representatives of parents, students and teacher organisations. There were also observers from trade unions, youth and other organisations. This broad spectrum of people from all sections of the

[145] Digital Innovation in South Africa (DISA) Archive. Obery, Ingrid. *People's Education: Creating a Democratic Future. Editorial collective*. 1986. http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/necc-people%60s-education-creating-a-democratic-future. 8.

[146] Hyslop, The Classroom Struggle, 173.

community reflected the seriousness with which the crisis in education was understood.[147]" It claimed that the event attracted 1200 people and 200 organisations. Several participants represented progressive unions such as NEUSA. Members of ATASA and UTASA were also present. However, it was not only teachers and educationalists in attendance as a variety of interest groups used the event as a democratic platform to address their concerns in education.[148] The NECC attempted to bring different organisations together including the teachers' unions, student unions, parents and community members. It provided a platform for all these actors to voice their concerns particularly with regards to the disagreements between learners and parents.

At the second NECC meeting held in Durban, on the 28th – 29th March 1986, the committee made some important strides towards ending the school boycott. The strategy of the boycott was assessed to evaluate its effectiveness. It was found that there was no organisational strategy concerning the boycott and no decisions about how long the children would stay out of school. In addition, no one could be sure when the "revolution" was going to occur and therefore the children could be out of school indefinitely. After the assessment, the resistance groups agreed that it would be beneficial for the children to return to school for the time being. The decision made at the NECC was given more credence thanks to the support it received from the ANC. The blessing from the ideological spearhead of the resistance movement convinced many children to return to school.[149]

It has been noted that the national structures of the NECC started to come into full effect after the Durban Conference. In April 1986 the executive positions of national chairperson, national treasurer

[147] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-4, Box 1, Folder C, Jacobs J, Report on the Second National Consultative Conference: Durban 29-30 March. The National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), Khotso House, Johannesburg. 1986.
[148] SAHA, , *Report on the Second National Consultative Conference: Durban 29-30 March*. 1986.

[149] SAHA, Report on the Second National Consultative Conference: Durban 29-30 March, 1986.

and national secretary was filled. Regional offices were to be established in which information could be shared amongst organisations. There were to be discussions about alternative educational courses and resources such as textbooks. There was also interest in re-examining and deconstructing “bantu education” as well as identifying which subjects had still had value and what elements of the South African curriculum(s) needed to be adjusted or discarded.

The NECC was also crucial in establishing the concept of “peoples’ education” as a discussion point for the teachers’ unions. Principles of a “peoples’ education” included a unified, democratic and non-racial education system. Michael Gardiner, who became president of NEUSA in 1981, explained how resolutions reached at the first and second NECC provided some structures which could be used to implement a democratic education. These structures included Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs), Parent-Teacher-Student Associations (PTSAs) and Student Representative Councils (SRCs). Such associations would be democratic and represent the community. Members of these groups would be democratically elected by the community and provide a platform for mass-based mobilization. Furthermore, such associations would provide resistance against the oppressive nature of the apartheid regime. It was important that the groups were as inclusive as possible by ensuring the participation of the working class.

These democratic structures were considered an important tactic in eroding the hierarchical nature of apartheid education. They allowed the participation of most people to express their demands and opinions. An education which combatted racism and apartheid was also needed. The principle of non-racialism was considered vital to abolishing the states racial, cultural and ethnic categories. Through the democratic associations a new curriculum needed to be delivered which challenged the inherently racist and authoritarian education. This “curriculum” was to be based on “peoples’ education.” The NECC stated that such an education did not mean providing all children with the equivalent of white

education. The white curriculum was one of domination. A "peoples' education" needed to benefit all South African children. It would be used to liberate children rather than train them to be tools for industry and commerce. According to the NECC, "To be acceptable [peoples' education], every initiative must come from the people and must advance the mass of students." Thus, schools, would be transformed from institutions of oppression to places of progressive peoples' power.[150]

3.5. The Search for "Peoples' Education:"

The term "peoples' education" was a powerful and motivating concept for teachers' unions in the quest to develop an alternative curriculum. Despite the basic principles outlined by the NECC the true meaning of "peoples' education" remained elusive. There was no clearly defined pedagogy, philosophy or curriculum assigned to "peoples' education." The only certainty was that such an education needed to be fundamentally different to apartheid's approach. Thus, the unions explored many options and discussed a wide variety of approaches. Even historically moderate unions such as ATASA joined the discussion. In a 1986 ATASA newsletter, it was reported that the NECC had opened the debate surrounding the type of education that would be "appropriate" for a democratic South Africa. The newsletter expressed interest in the Montessori Model of Education which was discussed at the "International Education Conference: To Educate Human Potential." The publication testified that the Montessori Model allowed teachers to be trained in less time than was required with traditional approaches. Likewise, it also needed fewer teachers. Montessori encouraged children to actively participate in their learning. [151] The Montessori Model was not officially endorsed by ATASA but serves as an example of the growing interest around alternative pedagogies.

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[150] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-4, Box 1, Folder C, Jacobs J, *Report on the Second National Consultative Conference: Durban 29-30 March*. The National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), Khotso House, Johannesburg. 1986.

[151] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-28, Box 4, Folder L4, *ATASA NEWSLETTER*, Volume 1, Issue 2, May 1986.

NEUSA's approach to an alternative curriculum was heavily influenced by Paulo Freire. In their 1986 publication of *NEUSA NEWS*, the preamble to one of the articles discussing teaching methodology states, "This is the first in a series of articles on a "new" process for learning. It is "new" because it is fundamentally different from what we ourselves experienced at school and possibly even from what we as teachers use in our classroom." This "new process of learning" was considered a potential path to "peoples' education." According to the article, "peoples' education" needed to be based around participation in the classroom. This required dialogue within the classroom which could only be encouraged if the teacher created a trusting environment. This was extremely import as true participation meant that children were using their own "voices", thoughts and ideas. They would only have the courage to express themselves if they felt comfortable. Part of this comfort would be created if the teacher adopted a Freirean approach to knowledge. This entailed the recognition that no one possess complete knowledge nor is anyone completely ignorant. In this case the child may have knowledge which the teacher does not possess. In such circumstances the teacher would be learning from the child and the classroom would be a place of mutual learning for all participants. As knowledge was not being held captive by an authoritarian figure there was no need for the learners to worry about expressing a "wrong" opinion. [152]

One method of encouraging participation was group-work. This gave learners the opportunity to actively address questions by making decisions and recommendations.[153] Teaching group skills was

[152] The South African Historical Archive, Johannesburg (SAHA) The Progressive Teachers' League Collection 1986-1990 (PTLC), Acc Number 92-005-26, Box 4, Folder L1, *NEUSA News*: 'Isolation or Participation.' December 1986.

[153] The South African Historical Archive, Johannesburg (SAHA) The Progressive Teachers' League Collection 1986-1990 (PTLC), Acc Number 92-005-26, Box 4, Folder L1, *NEUSA News*: 'Isolation or Participation.' December 1986.

considered important as it helped learners develop their self-confidence so that they would be comfortable to make contributions. In such situations children needed the freedom to discuss points they felt were relevant. It was argued that these skills were important to develop individuals into active citizens. They would be comfortable engaging with their communities and able to express their opinions. This would create major changes in South Africa which had been silenced by the culture of oppression due to the forces of colonialism and capitalism. Therefore, group-work was believed to develop a culture of democracy amongst the learners. Such tasks would encourage them to be sensitive to the needs of their peers. This created the foundation of an awareness of the wider community as they learnt they could be agents of change and their actions affected those around them. [154] No pretences of "neutrality" were offered by NEUSA with regards to the purpose of education. They believed education was an important component in the realisation of a democratic South Africa. Therefore, classroom practices needed to contain principles which would contribute to this vision of a new society.[155]

It was noted that facilitating group work was a difficult task for teachers. They had to be aware of the needs of the learners to ensure they did not lose focus or become bored. To prevent such circumstances, it was suggested that classes were divided into small groups. This would give the opportunity for all group members to talk and listen. The content of the group activity needed to be relatable to students and preferably concerned with real-life circumstances. This would motivate learners to tackle the task. The activity needed to provide clear instructions. Perhaps questions for the activity could be formulated with the help of the leaners. Each group member would be assigned a

[154] The South African Historical Archive, Johannesburg (SAHA) The Progressive Teachers' League Collection 1986-1990 (PTLC), Acc Number 92-005-26, Box 4, Folder L1, *NEUSA News*: 'Isolation or Participation.' December 1986.

[155] The South African Historical Archive, Johannesburg (SAHA) The Progressive Teachers' League Collection 1986-1990 (PTLC), Acc Number 92-005-26, Box 4, Folder L1, *NEUSA News*: 'Isolation or Participation.' December 1986.

responsibility through democratic consensus. Once the group activity commenced, the teacher was to play a guiding role rather that instructing authoritarian demands.[156]

In 1987, the second instalment in this series of articles was published. This piece discussed ways to make an effective learning environment in the classroom which was conducive to participation and dialogue. Such an example included seating learners in circles rather than in traditional rows. Further strategies were discussed such as encouraging groups to "brainstorm" and allowing them to engage with visual and written materials such as newspapers. Teachers were reminded that time played an important factor in successfully executing an activity. There needed to be enough time for all group members to contribute and discuss their points of view.[157]

Another noteworthy document was released in 1987. This was the ANC's education policy. It stated that education needed to prepare "cadres" for "national struggle" and "political takeover." In addition, they needed to be prepared for the challenges of post-liberation. Learners were to be educated in education, science, politics and economics to ensure that all individuals would possess the opportunities to enter all spheres of society. In response to this document, NEUSA committed to advancing scientific knowledge from all progressive cultural traditions whether they were local or international. They pledged to abolish the "artificial separation" between arts and science. Such a statement exemplified the type of critique offered by critical theory regarding traditional western education. In traditional liberal or certain progressive classrooms, a separation existed between types of knowledge. Generally, speaking a distinction was made between "vocational" and "academic"

[156] The South African Historical Archive, Johannesburg (SAHA) The Progressive Teachers' League Collection 1986-1990 (PTLC), Acc Number 92-005-26, Box 4, Folder L1, *NEUSA News*: 'Isolation or Participation.' December 1986.

[157] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-26, Box 4, Folder L1, *NEUSA News*: *The Newsletter of the Johannesburg Branch of NEUSA.* April 1987.

knowledge. However, many progressive teachers' unions believed that all knowledge was equally valuable. Apartheid education had also used the separating knowledge of knowledge as a political tool This was evident in the disparity in the "quality" of education assigned to black learners as opposed to whites. Blacks were required to learn the bare minimum to meet the demands of white capital.[158] As NEUSA rejected all forms of segregation, the separation of knowledge needed to be eradicated as it could be used as a tool for division.

The discussions surrounding an alternative curriculum appeared to share a common principle. They all expressed an interest in "democratising" the classroom. Knowledge would no longer belong to a powerful authority. Instead it would be created through dialogue and participation. This principle mirrored the expectations of a democratic society. Within the progressive teachers' unions these ideas seemed to inspire a sense of independence and experimentation. A WECTU article described a meeting between a group of English teachers. They met one afternoon to think of strategies that would help learners successfully manage writing assignments. They concluded that they needed to inspire children to want to write. This could be done by allowing them to write about topics which were relevant to their lives. In this case, they would be able to express their personal feelings and thoughts which would engage them in the activity. Considering learners were likely to express sincere feelings in these circumstances it was important that they did not fear having "wrong" opinions. It was recognised that some children may not be comfortable with expressing their "inner-feelings." Therefore, the teachers decided upon some techniques to assist with the creative process. They suggested subjecting the learners to Pink Floyd or any other "haunting" or "soothing" music. The learners would be instructed to listen to the music then think, feel and write. Furthermore, they could use illustrations and drawings to help articulate their stories. Suggested topics for these activities included writing a letter to a detained family member or any other person struggling within their

[158] Cross, Michael and Linda Chisholm, "The Roots of Segregated Schooling", 51.

community. They could also write letters to a publication such as a magazine or create a diary entry.[159] Such experimentation shared ideological similarities to Freire's pedagogy. In *A Pedagogy for Liberation,* Freire expressed his dedication to a creative approach to education, "I learned that beauty and creativity could not live with a slavish devotion to correct usage. This understanding taught me that creativity needed freedom. So, I changed my pedagogy as a young teacher towards creative education."

However, the teachers' unions never managed to place forward a viable replacement for the apartheid curriculum. Although the main principles of a new education system were well established the implementation and character of a curriculum suitable for these principles was never fully recognised. The idea of "peoples' education" remained a vague concept with multiple interpretations as has been demonstrated above. In 1987 the "progressive teachers' unions" pushed towards the formation of a single unions. Unification was considered an effective tactic as it would allow the organisations to mobilize and represent a united front against apartheid. Through unifications concepts such a South African "national culture" could be defined and conditions could be created for implementation of these ideas. The teachers' unions all agreed on the core principles of a single, non-racist and democratic education. They were all in favour of democratic structures such as PTAs and SRCs to ensure students and parents had democratic participation in education. There were still tensions between the progressive unions and so-called "reactionary" unions such as ATASA and UTASA. However, they were also invited to unity talks. [160]

Unification, however, did not mean that a "peoples' education" would automatically be agreed upon by factions in the unification. The question on curriculum was never fully resolved. Based on the

[159] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-33, Box 4, Folder L3, *WECTU* (newsletter), "Teach Writing: A WECTU Workshop." issue 10, September 1987, 5.
[160] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-27, Box 4, Folder L2, *PTU News, "National Unity Talks"*, Volume 2, Issue 1, April 1988.

available archival material at SAHA, the unification of the Unions became a major concern for the organisations. A shift is seen from ideas about curriculum and teaching to organisation of the union. Within the process the smaller unions were absorbed by larger organisations such the Progressive Teachers Union (PTU) which was dissolved shorty after its founding. These organisations dealt with grassroots issues within their communities, such as support for politically banned colleagues. The unique ideas and often quirky nature of such unions were lost within unification. Furthermore, the proponents of unification were heavily interested in affiliation with trade unions such as Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). This would later cause the interest of teachers' unions to lose focus on curriculum development and increase attention on the workers' rights of the teacher.

3.6. Towards Teachers' Unity:

In 1987, the Progressive Teachers' League (PTL) newsletter reported on NEUSA's growing interest in unification. NEUSA had requested all progressive teachers' unions to affiliate with trade unions particularly with COSATU. In the 1990s COSATU would play a major role in the eventual adoption of OBE. They proposed a policy of Competency- Based Education (CBE) in the National Training Strategy Initiative (NTSI). The focus of COSATU was on the labour and training sector, however this proposal became the framework on which curriculum and assessment was based upon. Ironically it was a trade union rather than a teachers' union which lay the foundation for South Africa's democratic education. Furthermore, during the unification process the teachers' unions themselves were attempting to adopt the character of a trade union.

In 1987, the idea of the teachers' unions affiliating with trade unions had sparked a debate surrounding the status of teachers. The question was asked whether teachers were to be considered workers or professionals. NEUSA argued that teachers were workers. They were subject to the

demands of inspectors and heads of departments. The content they covered in the classroom was dictated to them by the authorities. Despite training for three years they did not hold any managerial status over their work. The long-time moderates TUATU disagreed with this assertion. They believed teachers possessed rare skills which awarded them professional status. In the context of these discussions TUATA felt the need to justify its continued alliance to the education department. They argued that working within the educational structures was an effective way to create the foundations of a democratic society. However, they had no objection to NEUSA's request for trade union affiliation. At the 1987 NEUSA national conference it was suggested that progressive unions adopt the Freedom Charter and affiliate with the UDF. The organisation also encouraged the unification of the teachers' unions to form one national union.[161]

At a national conference hosted by the Progressive Teachers' Union in October 1987 the discussions surrounding unity continued. In attendance were representatives from WECTU, DETU (Democratic Teachers Union), EDASA, NEUSA and the PTL. It was decided that a "steering committee" needed to be formed to establish coordinating structures between organisations. The committee would consist of one representative from each union. Other organisations such as the NECC and COSATU would be consulted about the process. It was decided that regional groups should start working closer together. For example, PTU, NEUSA and PTL would start coordinating closely in the Transvaal region. It was agreed that "peoples' education" would play an instrumental role in transforming South Africa and that an effort was needed to popularise the concept at all levels of society. In addition, alternative text books were to be produced which contained relevant content and syllabus. It was recognised that a definitive definition of "peoples' education" had not been established therefore the unions needed to work together to finalise the concept. In terms of ideological matters, even though NEUSA's had

[161] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-8, Box 2, Folder G1, *The Progressive Teacher* (PTL newsletter), "Teachers: Professionals or Workers?", vol. 1 no. 4, October 1987.

adopted the Freedom Charter it was not considered a requirement for all unions. The Freedom Charter may have caused ideological conflict amongst some groups thus it was decided that any divisive issues should be minimized for the sake of unity.[162]

The establishment of a single trade union would only be realised in 1990. However, these unity talks were already changing the nature of smaller organisations. The PTU was a union from Eldorado Park which was founded in 1986. It was created by a small group of teachers after one of their colleagues was detained. The focus was to assist their fellow-teacher however the group soon started to diversify. They created a forum for teachers to discuss their concerns about South African education and to develop possible solutions. The PTU described itself as a non- affiliated organisation. It had no ties to political groups or outside organisations. However, they were willing to support other organisations which shared similar principles and aims. They subscribed to the principles of non-racialism but recognised that avoiding segregation could be difficult. Their membership was based in the so-called coloured areas of Johannesburg such as Ennerdale, Newclear and Coronationville. This severely limited racial integration. [163]

The independent approach of the union and its commitment to non-affiliation was debated. Some members felt that association with groups such as the UDF would be beneficial. On the other hand, some members argued that the union encompassed a variety of ideological beliefs. Therefore, affiliation with other organisations could cause disruption within the union.[164] It was initially agreed

[162] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-27, Box 4, Folder L2, *PTU News, "National Unity Talks"*, Volume 2, Issue 1, April 1988.

[163] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-27, Box 4, Folder L2, *PTU News* "Merger Talks", Volume 1, Issue 3, April 1987.

[164] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-33, Box 4, Folder L2, *Progressive Teachers' Union: Some Questions about The Progressive Teachers' Union.* Circa 1986-1987.

that a non-affiliation approach was preferable, but they would work with different unions despite any ideological differences. However, not long after the union had committed to its sovereignty the unity talks between other organisations started to emerge. Discussions soon started to surround the merger of the PTU and PTL.[165] A merger between these groups made sense considering they were situated around Johannesburg. The PTL was active in areas such as Lenasia and Bosmont. A question may be asked regarding the concerns raised by members who had initially opposed affiliation. To what extent did affiliation limit ideological diversity? South African resistance groups were facing a massive struggle against the apartheid government thus it was reasonable that a unified resistance was considered favourable. However, circumstances would be different after liberation.

3.7. The National Teachers' Unity Forum:

In April 1988, the quest for unity started to gain momentum. At a conference in Harare the National Teachers Unity Forum (NTUF) was created. The forum consisted of the recognised unions, ATASA, UTASA and TASA as well as progressive unions such as NEUSA, WECTU, DETU, PTU and PTL. Between these groups they represented 150 000 South African teachers. The forum was formally recognised by the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP) and the All African Teachers' Organisation (AATO) which gave it international credibility. Representatives from the ANC and COSATU were also present. COSATU had been given the mandate to preside over the discussions surrounding the established of the NTUF and the eventual development of a united national teachers' union.[166]

[165] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-27, Box 4, Folder L2, *PTU News* "Merger Talks", Volume 1, Issue 3, April 1987.

[166] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-33, Box 4, Folder L3, *WECTU* (newsletter), "Harare Report Back" number 12, June 1988.

WECTU published the feedback of the conference in their newsletter. The article noted some of the main points which had emerged from the forum concerning a national union. Firstly, there were discussions regarding the nature of the union. This included whether it was to be a professional body, an association or a trade union. Most of the representatives appeared to favour a trade union. However, the matter had to be discussed with the constituents of the participating organisations. Secondly there were discussions around ideology. Some members insisted on adopting an anti-imperialist and anti-apartheid nature. Others believed a union was not a political party and teachers needed to be accepted regardless of their political leanings. Thirdly, was the debate about non-collaboration which was particularly contentious considering the presence of ATASA and UTASA. A clear definition of non-collaboration was formulated. It was defined as a refusal to support any organisation or individuals which wished to maintain the structures of the status quo. Finally, the role of "peoples' education" was considered. A clear definition of the concept had still not been decided. A request was made to clarify the issues. [167]

However, by 1990 a single teachers' union had not been created. The political landscape was drastically changing. It appeared that liberation would be achieved through negotiation rather than revolution. South Africa was about to enter a negotiated transition of power. The teachers' unions acknowledged this trend and became willing to negotiate with the education department. In February, a report was released by the NECC which seemed to indicate some tension between the NTUF and the NECC. From the NTUF's perspective the NECC was displaying a "casual involvement" in the unity forum. However, the NECC executives agreed to support the NTUF's new stance on negotiations despite their traditional opposition to any engagement with official government structures. They gave their blessing to a proposed meeting between the NTUF and the Minister of Education. However, the

[167] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-33, Box 4, Folder L3, *WECTU* (newsletter), "Harare Report Back" number 12, June 1988.

NECC made it clear that the future of education should not only be decided by teachers. They advised that any delegation to the minister was to deal only with the general principles regarding an alternative curriculum. The NTUF committed its allegiance to the NECC and insisted it was an "invaluable ally." They noted that the line between the NECC and NTUF membership was often blurred. However, it was vital that the NTUF was given space to develop and operate. If the NECC was to dominate the educational arena, then it would undermine the development of the forum. The NECC clarified that all its affiliates were autonomous. However, they did express concern about the slow pace of teacher unity. They cautioned the NTUF that the political tide was changing and if unification took too long then the project would become irrelevant. They concluded that the NTUF's value in the political struggle of education would only be determined if a strong and united teacher's organisation was established.

As it turned out 1990 became a defining year for the NTUF. Reported in the *Progressive Teacher,* a national teachers campaign was initiated in Cape Town by the NTUF on the 22 April. The campaign was due to commence from 1 May to 30 June. All participating organisations would conduct a programme of action to draw the governments attention to the ongoing crisis in education. During 18-20 May mass rallies were held throughout country. They provided a platform for unions to receive demands and formulate a mandate for the NTUF.[168] A memorandum was produced and sent to the education minister. It claimed the national government was solely to blame for the crisis due to its attempt to maintain power relations. Thus, it was the responsibility of the state to provide free education to those in need. All forms of privatisation and localised solutions were rejected in favour of a single non-racial education. Immediate attention had to be paid to numeracy and literacy. A demand was made to remove all education administrations from prevailing apartheid structures such

[168] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-8, Box 2, Folder G1, *The Progressive Teacher* (PTL newsletter), vol. 4 no. 2, June 1990.

as the tri cameral parliament and the "homelands." Attention was also to be given to mass over-crowding in schools, the distorted teacher-student ratios, lack of facilities and resources. This was particularly important in rural areas.[169]

The memorandum contained a section dedicated to conditions of service. This indicated that the national teachers' union would have the character of a trade union. It demanded that teachers needed a salary based upon a living wage whether they were qualified and regardless of their experience. It was noted that many teachers in rural areas were "unqualified" and were being exploited. The memorandum wanted the recognition of democratic structures such as SRCs and PTSAs. This would entail the participation of these structures in education negotiations. All bureaucratic controls such as inspections were to be immediately suspended and teacher harassment was to end. The recognition of the Teachers Bill of Rights was demanded.[170] A draft of this bill outlines the teachers' rights to free political affiliation, freedom of speech, expression and the right to protest. It demanded the right to unionise, participate in collective bargaining, strikes and sympathy protests. They could resist bureaucracy, hierarchy, privatisation and elitism in education while opposing all forms of discrimination. Democratic participation was vital in matters concerning policy budgets, allocation and spending.[171] The NTUF gave an ultimatum to the education department stating that if these demands were ignored or not satisfactorily addressed they could reconsider participation in apartheid education and partake in mass action. One representative from each NTUF organisation was to meet the minister and take the response back to a mass meeting in June to organise their next move.[172]

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[169] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-16, Box 3, Folder I6, *National Teachers Campaign: Sixty Days of Struggle* (NTUF pamphlet), May 1- June 30.

[170] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-16, Box 3, Folder I6, *National Teachers Campaign: Sixty Days of Struggle* (NTUF pamphlet), May 1- June 30.

[171] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-13, Box 2, Folder I3, *Draft: Bill of Rights*.

[172] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-16, Box 3, Folder I6, *National Teachers Campaign: Sixty Days of Struggle* (NTUF pamphlet), May 1- June 30.

When the Minister of National Education and the NTUF met in June, it seemed to result in a constructive discussion. In a joint statement, it was revealed that critical issues were dealt with in an open environment allowing for a commitment to find solutions. Both parties agreed that there should be a minimum living wage and job security for qualified teachers. The minister promised to address the existing disparity in the pay between men and women. The minister reaffirmed the government's commitment to end apartheid and all forms of discrimination. He also claimed that he opposed all forms of teacher harassment. The NTUF was to submit specific cases of harassment to the department for immediate investigation. The NTUF would also approach the department for formal recognition and both parties agreed to work towards an equitable system of evaluation and inspection. They agreed to further discussions in the future.[173]

3.8. The South African Democratic Teachers' Union:

Following this momentum, the NTUF finally achieved its goal of launching a single non-racial national teachers' union on 6 October in Johannesburg. This was the birth of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU). The occasion was marked by an address by Nelson Mandela. In an article entitled "SADTU: The union has arrived: the education arena will never be the same again" it was reported that the structure of SADTU differed from the top-heavy bureaucracy found in many professional bodies. Rather it focused on internal democratic structures and accountability of members. It showed a fierce commitment to protecting the interests of its members. Furthermore, it solved grievances in a collective manner by making teachers lodge complaints to a SADTU

[173] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-8, Box 2, Folder G1, *Joint Statement by the Minister of National Education and the National Teachers Unity Forum after A Meeting Held on 5 June 1990 in Cape Town*. June 1990.

representative rather than a school principle. The SADTU representatives rule resembled that of a shop steward on the factory floor demonstrating the trade union approach of the organisation.[174]

Since 1988 it appears that the focus of the teachers' unions was moving away from the ideals of "peoples' education." This once unifying concept becomes increasingly omitted in the interest of the NTUF. The NECC still demonstrated some interest in "peoples' education", however they were struggling to create a unifying foundation for its implementation. The Peoples' Education Committee claimed the meaning of the concept was diverse and there were overambitious expectations regarding its implementation. These problems stemmed from its lack of influence at grass roots level. There were worries that the curriculum would become too complicated and create "over-professionalization" of skills. There needed to be an initiative to try to popularise the concept. Significantly, the nature of state and capital was moving away from oppression to one of co-opting peoples' education. A new type of rhetoric was emerging regarding democratic education.[175] Their seemed to be a vacuum left by the teachers' unions concerning the discussion of "peoples' education."

The unification of the teachers' unions appeared to side line the initial emphasis on "peoples' education." The merger between the unions in the NTUF and the final emergence of SADTU occurred during a time of rapid political changes in South Africa. The transition into post-apartheid South Africa was headed by negotiations. The NTUF recognised these changes and became willing to discuss concerns with official structures. This was a change from oppositional politics to tactics which were

[174] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-28, Box 4, Folder L3, *WECTU Constitution* (pamphlet).

SAHA, The Progressive Teachers' League Collection 1986-1990 (PTLC), Acc Number 92-005-25, Box 3, Folder K, Sanger M, *The Union Has Arrived: The Education Arena Will Never be the Same Again* (Photocopied paper article).

[175] SAHA, PTLC, Acc Number 92-005-20, Box 3, Folder J1, *Restructuring of the NECC*: *Peoples' Education Commission* (report). Circa 1990.

to be useful in post-apartheid South Africa. It is also important to consider that SADTU adopted the characteristics of a trade union. Thus, concerns about protecting the working conditions, salaries and benefits of their membership become the primary focus. The concept of "peoples' education" was not completely forgotten but in some cases the founding principles were compromised.

After 1994 the relationship between SADTU and COSATU increasingly led to changes within the teachers' union which diminished the initial character of the early "progressive teachers' unions." In the 1996 paper, "Remember Peoples' Education", Linda Chisholm acknowledges that the General Secretary of SADTU, Thembelani Nxesi, took issue with the fact the Education Department continually place the importance of education within the framework of "human capital benefits." Thus, still demonstrated the suspicions of progressive educators who as early as 1980 rejected the idea of considering education in economic terms. Nxesi insisted the attention still needed to be paid towards true democratic reform through establishing suitable pedagogy and encouraging teacher commitment to professionalism. However, SADTU ultimately agreed with COSATU's initial call for CBE and placed its support behind OBE. Furthermore, the adoption of OBE and policy was largely shaped by SADTU and the union became heavily invested in its implementation.

3.9. Where was SADTU in Relation to the Implementation of Curriculum 2005?

This lack of visibility of Teachers' Unions, particularly SADTU, was not due to lack of influence or power. In a 2004 an article by Jeremy Seekings, "Trade Unions, Social Policy and Class Compromise", it is explained that SADTU had close ties to the ANC and was instrumental in the formation of policies. Since 1994, the ANC had attempted to transform the state allocation of funding from rich areas to poor areas. Considering the history of disproportionate spending on different race groups by the apartheid government such a move would have made sense. Seekings claimed South Africa was

spending large amounts of funding on public education. Despite all the financial support the government gave the education sector the achievements of the sector continued to perform poorly. Instead the post-apartheid era continued inequalities which undermined economic growth. A study of failing schools revealed that they were poorly managed, teachers engaged in ineffectual classroom methodologies, the learning environment was under sourced and lacked necessities such as text books. Many teachers seemed to lack subject competence and a large amount of absenteeism from both children and staff existed in the schools.[176] As Seekings explains, teachers are vital to the achievement of quality public education however they also cost the state the most amount of money in the education sector due to their salaries. The South African government's attempts to shift resources from wealthy schools to poor schools resulted in money being shifted to the teachers. Thus, salaries were increased for teachers working in poor areas however this money was not distributed to the schools. Many of the teachers probably deserved an increase but there were many who were incompetent and did not perform their jobs in a satisfactory manner.[177]

Such conditions were made more difficult by the teachers' unions such as SADTU which had vested interests in protecting the conditions of its members. As it had a powerful influence it had the ability to stifle educational reform. Teachers made up a large sector of South African society. Seekings noted, that in 2000 the percentage of adult employment in teaching had reached approximately 3%. Of that 3% many would belong to South Africa's largest teachers' union which was SADTU. The influence of SADTU was buoyed by its links to the ANC which it supported in elections, if the ruling party supported a pro-SADTU strategy.[178] Members of SADTU represented a rather affluent and educated group within

[176] Seekings, Jeremy. "Trade Unions, Social Policy and Class Compromises in Post-Apartheid South Africa." *Review of African Political Economy* 100, 299-312. 2004. 302.

[177] Seekings, "Trade Unions", 303.

[178] Seekings, "Trade Unions",

the ANC which gave them some influence in civil society. Furthermore, former SADTU leaders had been absorbed into ANC parliament where they could present a strong influence on education policy.[179]

In 1996 an agreement was made between the ANC and SADTU with regards to allocation of funds to poor areas. As has been mentioned, such an approach simply channelled funds to the teachers.[180] Teachers' themselves were already earning more than all other categories of workers. However, despite the increased funding from the government teachers were still performing poorly. In some cases, this was beneficial as the most poorly paid teachers benefitted the most and saw a steady increase in wages from 1993 to 1997.[181] Such circumstances kept teachers relatively happy and agreeable. However, the country was spending a huge percentage of its GDP on teachers' salaries compared to other countries with similar GDPs. This created a burden for tax payers. The protection SADTU provided for its members also affected the conditions of schools. Members were protected from retrenchment and allowed to conduct lobbying for wage increases. Unionists sought smaller class sizes to reduce the teacher to learner ratio and thus create more demand for teachers. However, the high salaries were making it difficult for the state to be able to afford more teachers.[182]

In 1997, Jonathan Jansen had a public disagreement with SADTU as he felt they were not paying enough attention to curriculum policy. While responding to criticisms of article "Why OBE will fail?," he took the opportunity to express his feeling about SADTU. According to Jansen, the worst criticism

[179] Seekings, "Trade Unions",

[180] Seekings, "Trade Unions",

[181] Seekings, "Trade Unions", 303.

[182] Seekings, "Trade Unions", 304.

of his article came from SADTU officials. He believed they had lost leadership credibility due to their unwillingness to critique state policy on behalf of the teachers they represented. In fact, Jansen called them "brazen policy sycophants" and accused them of supporting OBE simply because it was different to Apartheid education, rather than having a true belief in curriculums effectiveness. [183] Despite the shortcomings of the new policy proposals they seemed to believe it needed to be implemented anyway. Jansen felt that while engaging with ordinary SADTU members many teachers felt apprehensive about the new curriculum and how it would affect classroom practices. Despite these real concerns SADTU insisted on uncritically pushing the policies which Jansen believed attested to political alliances and political interests rather than classroom realities. The article did congratulate SADTU's successes in terms of securing salaries but expressed that the union had not yet come to terms with the importance of state curriculum policies. Thus, the potential for a strong pedagogy was being undermined by the most progressive teachers' union in the country. This created a vacuum in the curriculum sphere which could be a breeding ground for conservative teachers' bodies.[184]

Such a verbal attack on SADTU was not ignored and a representative of the union responded to Jansen's criticisms. It was argued that SADTU members had played an important role at national conferences around the country to promote an understanding of the curriculum and iron out important issues. Referring to "Why OBE will fail", it was argued that Jansen had underestimated teachers in South Africa by inferring that they cannot come to terms with a new theoretical understanding of education. Another criticism was that OBE's very nature could be anti-democratic which confounded SADTU and they claimed the curriculum had involved the participation of all stakeholders. This response was due to Jansen's claim that OBE was potentially undemocratic as the outcomes limited further possibilities of learners. However, SADTU believed the learner-centredness

[183] Jansen, Jonathan 'Professor stands by his OBE paper: SADTU answers criticism', The Teacher, vol. 2, issue 9, p. 8 1997.

[184] Jansen, 'Professor stands by his OBE paper", 8.

meant that the teacher was no longer dominant and taking on the role of facilitator which would be instrumental in developing democratic classrooms.[185]

However, SADTU's influence appeared to further hinder the ANC on several levels. The ANC could have attempted a few options to redistribute wealth to poorer schools such as redeploying teachers from "over-sourced" schools to low sourced schools. They could have allocated funds to schools based on the number of pupils and schools which could afford higher quality teachers would be provided with posts. However, this implied a decentralisation of power as creating provisions for posts would depend on provincial policies. The union did not want this decentralisation as they feared it would undermine their bargaining power. In 1998 a three-day strike was carried out to refuse these proposals and the government succumbed to the pressure.[186] At the same time the unions protection of teachers and principals limited their accountability to performance standards. This restricted the government's ability to monitor the quality of teachers and management. The inspectorate system had collapsed in the early 1990s due to SADTU's "No to Inspectors Campaign." This deeply eroded the authority of schools as there was no external measures to make them accountable.[187] However, it should be granted that there was long standing resistance towards the inspectorate system from many in the teaching community. Some reforms were introduced by government despite the opposition of SADTU such as the increased involvements of parents running the schools in the form of the School Governing Bodies (SGBs) although it still did not hold teachers to account. The South African Council of Educators was also established to make a code of conduct. Only in 1998 after seven years of negotiation was there an agreement that new performance appraisals for teachers would be implemented.[188] Considering that democratic features such as community involvement had been a

[185] Jansen, 'Professor stands by his OBE paper", 8.
[186] Seekings, "Trade Unions",305.

[187] Seekings, "Trade Unions",305.
[188] Seekings, "Trade Unions",306.

core principle of “peoples’ education,” the fact that SADTU started to reject outside community input is indicative of their shifting focus.

4. Examining the Extent to which the Ideas of the “Progressive Teachers’ Unions’” Influenced Post-Apartheid Curriculum Development:

4.1. SADTU’s Role as a Teachers’ “Trade Union” and the formation of the National Professional Teachers’ Organisation of South Africa.

To understand the position SADTU adopted in the early 1990s, it is useful to examine the schism which appeared between disparate teachers’ organisations. The NUF’s attempts in the 1980s to ensure the unification of teachers’ unions was already unravelled by 1991 with the formation of the National Professional Teachers’ Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA). SADTU and NAPTOSA disagreed on issues such as the political role of teachers and whether a unified organisation should adopt a unionist or professional character. SADTU certainly held more militant beliefs in the right for teachers to organise and to partake in strike action. NAPTOSA believed that learners had the right to be educated without interruptions and thus opposed union action which would disrupt the school term.

Despite being a representative of SADTU, Duncan Hindle, provided some useful information with regards to NAPTOSA. In an article, he explained that after the launch of SADTU in 1990, NAPTOSA was quickly assembled in 1991. Hindle expressed concern that unions such as NAPTOSA could create a schism between teachers and hinder the process of educational reform. He traced the tensions felt between teachers back to the 1980s when radical progressive unions felt suspicion towards recognised unions such as ATASA. He claimed such divisions were artificial but paved the way for a political dichotomy to develop. He argued that such divisions were common throughout the world and

manifested in the debate surrounding the status of teachers. The argument queried if teachers were "workers" or "professionals".[189] As South Africa's apartheid legacy provided foil for unified resistance, the divisions between teachers was kept to a minimum. However, the development of a new political climate caused a resurgence in of these types of divisions. Hindle noted, "As teacher's organisations move from 'constitutional debates' into equally political terrain of educational debate, the knife of ideology will initially be sharpened and cut deep."[190]

Not every teachers' union in South Africa had signed the unity forum such as the Natal Teacher Society (NTS) and the Transvaal Teachers' Association (TTA). There were several reasons for the refusal, however much of it appeared to stem from the militant and political charter that the NTUF was developing. NAPTOSA incorporated some of these unions who had not affiliated to the NTUF or SADTU. NAPTOSA also claimed to be committed to a non- racial future and represented a diverse collection of groups. Hindle pointed out that the organisation had an Africanist leader, but the deputy was a conservative Afrikaner. The NTS and TTA represented liberal interests but were in jeopardy of being marginalised by the Inkhatha aligned Natal African Teachers' Union (NATU). The alleged strategy of NAPTOSA was based on the diversity which mirrored its constituents and it favoured the devolution of power to local communities.[191] Hindle argued, control would be paid by increased parental contributions which would involve privatisation and decentralisation. This would not provide redistribution to those who had been deprived of education. It was claimed that their approach to education was likely to take on a technicist approach to educational solutions, focused on issues of multi-racial classrooms and resource shortages.[192]

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[189] Hindle, Duncan. "Blackboard Power: The New Teacher Politics." *Indicator South Africa* 9: 1, 1991. 71-72.

[190] Hindle, "Blackboard Power: The New Teacher Politics", 73.

[191] Hindle, "Blackboard Power: The New Teacher Politics", 74.

[192] Hindle, "Blackboard Power: The New Teacher Politics", 74.

Hindle claimed that NAPTOSA had tried to reinforce the contradiction between "professionals" and "workers" by adopting the label of professional. In early press statements, they were hostile to towards politics and unionism. Their disdain for unionism implied they were not willing to partake in mass industrial action. NAPTOSA stated they were more concerned about the children than political activity. However, most teachers appeared to favour SADTU which received international backing and had close connection to organisations such as the NECC. Hindle boasted that since the launch of SADTU it had become a major force in the NECC with the two groups working towards a shared goal. He also reported that SADTU received the most mass support.[193] However, at the time of writing this article, SADTU still did not have official recognition from the government. NAPTOSA appeared to have received early recognition due to its a-political nature. They appeared to pose little threat to the NP. SADTU was desperate to get state recognition as it would give them right to engage in salary negotiations, conditions of service and defence of members against victimisation and harassment. Only after a series a mass industrial action and threats of more militant action was the DET forced to recognise them on 10 August 1992.[194]

The debate about teachers being characterised as "professionals" or "workers" is not of key importance in the context of this paper. Rather the importance lies in the fact that SADTU essentially considered itself a trade union. As a result, SADTU's character differed from many of the "Progressive Unions" which had been absorbed into its structures. This is not to say that unions such as NEUSA would have been opposed to mass teacher action. Instead it was the focus of the teachers' union which differed from the initial intentions of unions like NEUSA. Instead of mounting a challenge to

[193] Hindle, "Blackboard Power: The New Teacher Politics", 74.

[194] Amoako, S. "Teacher Unions in Political Transitions: The South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) and the Dying Days of Apartheid, 1990-1993." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 49: 2, 148–63. 2014. 155.

curriculum and policy, SADTU became increasingly concerned about representing teachers' interests with regards to issues such as salary. Despite SADTU's unionist concerns it was a powerful and influential organisation by the early 1990s, however its close associates, COSATU and the ANC appeared to take the lead in terms of education reform. Jansen explains that leading up to the 1994 election, COSATU and the ANC had been working since 1993 on a "framework for life-long learning." This "framework" became a key feature in the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) and mirrored some of the expectations of an OBE styled curriculum. The discussions about education between COSATU and the ANC were somewhat one sided. COSATU, were understandably interested in more practical skills and had time to develop and process their definition of effective or desirable training programs. The ANC tried to enter education into these discussions on training in a way which was not fully cognisant of the needs of formal education. According to Jansen, "it came down to education inserting singular lines about schooling in an already elaborate policy on training.[195]"

As for SADTU, the strong connection with the ANC and COSATU provided them with an immense amount of influence as union. They had a large membership and the power to secure the interests of teachers with regards to labour concerns. However, SADTU's political influence in terms of participation in defining the OBE curriculum appears less clear. One SADTU member commenting on the adoption of OBE explained, "...[W]e had a big debate in our SADTU delegation when we met for the first time in Pretoria. We [decided to have] a caucus, and we said we are bound to the process because we are in alliance with the government. But the concern was also there that ... the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund [are] pulling the strings over here ... that the country is becoming an international role-player and therefore we must fall in line with the rest of the world..."

[195] Jansen, Jonathan and Sayed, Yusuf. Implementing Education Policies: The South African Experience. Juta and Company LTD. 2001. 16.

4.2. The Evolving Nature of Educational Democratic Movements.

By 1990 it was not only the teachers' unions that were changing direction. The National Education Crisis Committee also had to adapt to changing political conditions. In a report outlining the restructuring of NECC, it was acknowledged that the organisation needed to take on increasing political responsibility. This new direction was expressed in a name change. The organisation was rebranded as the "National Education Coordinating Committee". They no longer identified themselves as a crisis structure. They rededicated themselves to challenging the state's power over education and creating the conditions to implement "peoples' education." Furthermore, they would coordinate with other organisations to focus on the education struggle. This required the establishment of local, regional and national structures. These would represent teachers, academics, high school students, tertiary students, the youth, parents and workers. Thus, the NECC would not simply be a collection of multiple organisation but was establishing itself as its own entity. However, the only permanent members would be the national and regional secretaries.

Nevertheless, the political circumstances were changing rapidly and the NECC would once again have to examine its purpose. At the National Congress of the NECC on 7-9 December 1990, the committee launched the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI). A final report was to be produced in August 1992. The purpose of the NEPI was to gather information and evaluate the usefulness or feasibility of different policy options in education for post-apartheid South Africa. It was also designed to stimulate debate around these policies within all sectors of society. The policies which were presented in the reports did not necessarily reflect the views of the NECC, rather they were intended as points for further debate. Such policies could be analysed to add depth to political debates. Working in an environment of open discussion was not usual for the NECC considering the organisation developed in an era of state repression. De Klerk's introduction of liberal reforms on 2 February 1990

meant that many democratic movements had to adjust to the new climate.[196] It was no longer strategically viable for the NECC to submit a series of demands to the authorities. Instead they had to engage in dialogue. As the apartheid government deliberately suppressed free speech and open debate, an environment of mistrust and suspicion developed between opposition groups. Despite these difficulties, the NECC was required to engage with the state and the private sector as all these interest groups would play an important role in the debates regarding education.[197]

The research conducted by the NEPI claimed to be under the banner of "peoples' education." Thus, the principles of establishing a democratic education system were maintained. It also needed to be non-racist, non-sexist, unitary and capable of redressing inequalities. These principles provided the standards on which future policies would be assessed and provided focus for the research. However, the NEPI also learnt about the racial realities of the country. An analysis of NEPI participants included the breakdown of race and gender. NEPI stated, "The decision to categorise people in terms of race and gender was preceded by much debate within the investigation. In the end, the argument that this was the only way in which we could demonstrate accountability to our affirmative action commitment won the day."[198]

Nevertheless, the NECC had another major influence. In the journal article, "Remember Peoples' Education? Shifting Alliances, State-Building and South Africa's Narrowing Policy Agenda" by Linda Chisholm and Bruce Fuller, the ANC traditionally possessed a moderate position on educational

[196] National Education Coordinating Committee. *The National Education Policy Investigation: The Framework Report and Final Report Summaries: A Project of the National Education Co-Ordinating Committee.* Cape Town; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. 7.

[197] National Education Coordinating Committee, *The National Education Policy Investigation,* 15.

[198] National Education Coordinating Committee, *The National Education Policy Investigation,* 54.

reform. Once the ANC was unbanned they took political control of the NECC. This created divisions in the NECC. Some members were loyal to the ANC while others believed the NECC should retain its own identity. In terms of the ANC's approach to education, the leadership was already engaged in high level negotiations with the NP even before Mandela's release from prison.[199] Jansen states that he, in the second half of the 1980s, witnessed negotiations between Mandela and senior ANC officials in exile. In 1987 a trade unionist named Alex Frewin was given the orders to tell other trade unionist to start discussing education policy.[200] Therefore, the discussions on education shifted away from interest groups operating at a school-based level to "high level players." Hence in the 1990s the ANC and NECC participated in negotiations and agreed to compromise with the NP. The grass roots activists and radical educationalists in the 1980s would never have imagined such a change tactics.

The NP still wanted to play a role in the pace and nature of transformation. The apartheid government even constructed its own state policy such as the Education Renewal Strategy and a New Curriculum Model for South Africa (CUMSA). The CUMSA policy argued for an impractical number of school syllabuses, the development of a core curriculum and more emphasis on vocational education. Jansen argues that as "unpalatable" as it may be, some of these suggestions seemed to emerge in post-1994 education policy. This included the designation of specific "learning areas" and linking economic development to technology and science. CUMSA also advocated for less curriculum content. Instead more focus was to be placed on demonstrating skills rather than reciting curriculum content.[201]

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[199] Chisholm, Linda, and Bruce Fuller. "Remember People's Education? Shifting Alliances, State-building and South Africa's Narrowing Policy Agenda." *Journal of Education Policy,* 11: 6, 1996. 72.

[200] Jansen, Johnathan, "Importing Outcomes-Based Education into South Africa: Policy Borrowing in a Post-Communist World." in Phillips, David, ed. *Educational Policy Borrowing: Historical Perspectives*. Oxford Studies in Comparative Education, 2004. 204.

[201] Jansen, Johnathan, "Importing Outcomes-Based Education into South Africa: Policy Borrowing in a Post-Communist World." in Phillips, David, ed. *Educational Policy Borrowing: Historical Perspectives*. Oxford Studies in Comparative Education, 14:.1., 2004. 203.

The private sector also influenced ANC policy. Organisations like the Urban Foundation introduced western business models to deal with aspects such as budgeting. Their approach was to restructure and unify the fragmented education system to ensure it functioned effectively. Initiatives such as the Private Sector Education Council (PRISEC) called for an increased emphasis on vocational and entrepreneurial education. Such an approach was considered beneficial to the needs of the economy. The Education Policy and System Change Unit (EDUPOL) which belonged to the Urban Foundation was influential in ensuring business and corporate interests were considered in education policies. The group argued that the businesses needed to play a prominent role in reformation and could draw attention to key matters concerning educational governance and teacher training. Multiple NGOs such as USAID responded to the challenge of constructing curriculum alternatives. However, these NGO's varied in terms of approach, thus possible curriculums ranged from radical to mainstream. Thus, no consensus regarding curriculum was reached. It is important to note, that at this point no mention of OBE had been expressed.[202]

4.3. Competence-Based Leaning, Life-Long Learning and the Early Precedents of OBE.

According to the NEPI, there was some consensus regarding education policy. There was a general desire for schooling to be compulsory to standard seven, however the approach to education varied. The state and employers favoured a vocational syllabus which could be offered in senior high school and was to be included in the formal schooling system. However, COSATU argued there should be a

[202] Jansen, Johnathan, "Importing Outcomes-Based Education", 203.

strong academic curriculum in schools rather than narrow technical courses. Thus, technical skills should be incorporated within the core curriculum. This would ensure the transmission of both academic and vocational skills which would prepare learners well for the working world. It was argued that such an approach did not require a "vocationalisation" of the curriculum, rather it would complement academic studies.[203] Jansen argues that this approach had roots in the 1980s. It emerged out of labour study courses which were attended by prominent academics such as Duncan Innes at the University of the Witwatersrand. In 1983 a leading proponent of this approach, Adrienne Bird, returned from the United Kingdom and joined these courses. The courses were also affiliated with the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU).[204]

The academics who attended these events formed research and development groups which were offered to workers over a three-month period. Through consultation with the workers an understanding of their aspirations and limitation with regards to education was developed. Bird and her colleagues realised that workers wanted training but needed to pass through the formal schooling systems to be granted access to training colleges and qualifications. This was particularly difficult for older workers as schools were aimed towards young people and based around rigid systems. From these training initiatives, the National Training Board (NTB) was developed. Members started to discuss ideas about creating ways to bridge the gap between formal education and training. Such an approach was intended to provide workers with the opportunity of upward mobility without having to return to school.[205] Further impetus was given to these ideas when the unionist Bernie Fanaroff introduced Bird and her colleagues to an Australian union called the Australian Metal Workers Union (AMU). This Brisbane based union shared several similarities with regards to their approach to workers' education. However, the AMU had a much more developed framework which involved

[203] National Education Coordinating Committee, *The National Education Policy Investigation,* 178.

[204] Jansen, Johnathan, "Importing Outcomes-Based Education. 204

[205] Jansen, Johnathan, "Importing Outcomes-Based Education. 204.

competency-based education and focus on multiple-skills development. The approach was considered useful for allowing workers to enter the economy.[206]

The NTB took inspiration from the AMU. Later the board's connection to COSATU would influence the union's decision to take an interest in the competency-based approach. By 1993 this model for education started to enter mainstream political discussions. The NTB managed to gain full access to COSATU leadership and later produced the National Training Strategy Initiative (NTSI). The NTSI developed many of the structures which would inform curriculum and assessment discussion in South Africa. However, the group's primary focus was still on labour and training. They were attempting to integrate these two features into a single education system.[207] In 1993 Adrienne Bird representing COSATU and Gail Elliot representing the ANC, compiled the document "A Framework for Lifelong Learning" which laid the foundation of a single qualifications programme. It was suggested that "core" and "selected" modules could be studied in a variety of institutions such as schools, training facilities, night schools or via correspondence.

The emphasis of integrating education and training in the "Framework for Lifelong-Learning" (1993) was an attempt to make the acquisition of skills more inclusive. It was considered a way to narrow the gap between the races in terms of social and economic conditions. It was theorised that the integration of education and training would reduce the fragmented nature of the education system and reduce the stress on under-resourced institutions. This implied a restructuring of the labour market in which previously marginalized groups would be included into the economy.[208]

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[206] Jansen, Johnathan, "Importing Outcomes-Based Education. 204.
[207] Jansen, Johnathan, "Importing Outcomes-Based Education 206.
[208] Kenneth, King. "Policy Coherence in Education, Training and Enterprise Development." In Wally Morrow and Kenneth King (eds.). *Vision and Reality: Changing Education and Training in South Africa.* Juta and Company Ltd. 1998. 6.

These ideas were included in the 1995 White Paper on Education and Training as well as laying the foundations of the National Qualification Framework (NQF) which was eventually formulated in 1998. This document also presented the merger of education and training qualifications into a single structure. The principles of the NOF were based off the 1995 White Paper on Education and Training. The eventual formulation of a clear education policy from the ANC had taken considerable time. This could be attributed to the nature of negotiations involving the ANC and NP. Only once negotiations had concluded could officials be appointed, and policies implemented. Negotiations were also conducted with caution. The ANC wished to limit the introduction of "radical" acts which could have potentially alarmed stakeholders.[209] Chisholm and Fuller argue that these conditions of compromise changed the radical direction of education and resulted in a watered-down concept of "peoples' education".[210]

4.4. The National Qualifications Framework:

In *Education Policy Development in South Africa's Democratic Transition 1994-1997*, Aslam Fataar indicates that the policy proposals that were created before 1994 had been marginalised during the formulation of the NQF. He claimed that leading progressive educationalists who were not black had been side-lined and this created a disparity between the pre-and post-election environment.[211] However, based on Jansen's evidence it appears that there were continuities which could be traced back as far as the early 1980s. Although, there were cases which suggested that some pre-election

[209] Fataar, Aslam. *Education Policy Development in South Africa's Democratic Transition 1994-1997*. Saarbrücken, 2011. 112.

[210]Chisholm and Fuller, "Remember People's Education?", 702.

[211] Fataar, *Education Policy Development,* 121.

structures were losing influence. The findings of the NEPI were considered unhelpful as they did not formulate a concrete solution for curriculum transformation.[212]

Regardless of these circumstances, the post- election government adopted the NQF in 1998. It was developed by a ministerial working group which was appointed by the Ministers of Labour and Education. The responsibility of implementing the policy was handed to the Minister of Education. In 1995 the bill was released. Its objectives included the creation of an integrated national framework which was to expand access, mobility and progression within education. It made provisions for training and career guidance. The quality of education and training was to be improved. It was mandated to accelerate the redress of past discrimination which existed within education and training. It claimed that education and training would be used to develop the potential of the individual and improve the overall economic prosperity of the nation.[213]

A teachers' guide distributed by the government explained that the NFQ was focused on addressing past inequalities by lifting the restrictions which existed between different education and training systems. In the past, students could not move between "learning areas." For example, to be accepted into technical college a learner would have to pass std. seven. The new framework would allow learners to accumulate credits, enabling them to enter a different learning area. These credits could be earned outside of formal learning institution such as schools and colleges. The NQF acknowledged that people acquired many skills during informal training. Therefore, the NQF was to provide opportunities for people to demonstrate their skills so that they could access learning areas. This required a structure which would be responsible for awarding credits. Thus, the South African Qualification Authority (SAQA) was formed. This body was responsible for assessing and testing

[212] Fataar, *Education Policy Development,* 121.

[213] Fataar, *Education Policy Development,* 121.

applicants.[214] The proposals of the NQF were supported by the HSRC's assertions that most learning happened outside the classroom. Therefore, it was reasonable for these skills to gain recognition based on national standards. This would best be served through a "learner centred" approach as it would assist upskilling individuals based on their abilities.[215]

It was theorised that the most effective way to assesses competencies was through an outcomes-bases approach. Fataar, argued that this approach led to an overemphasis on testing skills. This marginalised the debate surrounding a broader pedagogy. He also draws parallels between this approach and the De Lange Report with regards to the emphasis on vocational training.

However, the NQF still used the language of democratic transformation and the vision of "peoples' education". Such discourse would also be used with regards to the implementation of C2005. This new curriculum would be implemented within the framework of the NQF. Fataar, concludes that this curriculum had its origins in both emancipatory language and instrumentalism. Linda Chisholm broadly agrees with this assertion, "Curriculum 2005 has its roots and precedents in the struggles of social movements around education and curriculum in the pre-apartheid period, but it is also a 'mutation' of the struggles born in a context of social compromise."[216]

4.5. Globalisation's Influence on Education in the 1990s:

[214] Lubisi, Cass, Ben Parker, Volker Wedekind, *Learning Guide: Understanding Outcome-Based Education, Knowledge, Curriculum and Assessment in South Africa.* Pretoria. South African Institute for Distance Education. 1997. 18.

[215] Fataar, *Education Policy Development,* 121.

[216]Chisholm "The State of Curriculum" Reform in South Africa, 268.

In the early 1990s a new trend was developing globally with regards to the role education was to play in society. It was believed that children had to be equipped with new skills for the changing nature of society. Such debates centred on concepts such as “post- Fordism” and the “digital age.” South Africa was not immune to such influences. These ideas would inform education policy in the country. The term “Globalisation” refers to the internationalising of all aspects of society such as economics, ideology and culture. The global link between these features and the impact of technology created rapid changes in society. For example, financial and consumer markets could interact throughout the world and financial transaction could happen immediately. These conditions changed the nature between labour and production.[217]

The term “post-Fordism” has been used to explain these changes. It refers to the change from large scale manufacturing, such as that found in a car production line, to a focus on smaller items such electronic devices. The production of smaller items required more intricate tasks which meant workers had to possess a wider variety of skills. This entailed an increasing amount of job flexibility. These changes were informed by the “digital age” which demanded an understanding of technology and computers. Therefore, jobs were shifting from specific tasks to a diversity of demands. Globalisation also caused demographic shifts as people migrated or moved between different countries. In addition, national governments were entering the international economy in which their markets would be driven by global processes. These forces weakened the traditional role of the nation state and countries were losing their influence on the political economy.[218]

[217] Fataar, *Education Policy Development,* 37.

[218] Fataar, *Education Policy Development,* 39.

Thus, national governments started to encourage market deregulation to enter trade negotiations and buy into transnational agreements. Despite these deregulations, these national governments did not get "smaller." Instead they had to develop new structures such as regulation bodies, judicial institutions and schemes to aid market resources. Within the global market place commodities were shared across borders. These included knowledge, production and manufacturing. However, this was often a one-way-relationship as developed countries asserted their dominance over developing countries. Thus, ideas were often filtered down from the western countries. Some of the "global" ideas were transferred via media, international conferences and supranational organisations such as the Organisation of the African Union (OAU) and the United Nations (UN).[219]

The NEPI acknowledged the role of these supranational organisations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). In the 1960s the organisation ran an experimental world literacy campaign. However, in 1976 it was announced as a failure. It was argued that the campaign had not been able to combine practical skills with literacy. The NEPI claimed that after integrating the theories of Paulo Freire, UNESCO managed to in re-establish their programme in the 1980s.[220] A UNESCO paper presented as the 1990 World Conference on Education for All stated, "First without an educated population, the developing world cannot hope to overcome economic recession and realise its full economic potential. The educated individual is more productive and basic education acquired through primary schooling, adult literacy programmes and equivalent non-formal programmes, is the foundation that increased productivity."

[219] Fataar, *Education Policy Development,* 35.

[220] National Education Coordinating Committee, *The National Education Policy Investigation,* 73.

4.6. Outcomes-Based Education as an Answer to the Demands of Globalism:

The changes that had occurred under the democratic government was presented in the paper such as the introduction of the NQF and the SAQA in 1995. South Africa's curriculum transformation in terms of OBE and C2005 was discussed favourably. It was considered a key factor in helping the nation develop and restructure itself within a global context.[221] The global environment had changed the needs of education and its role in society needed to be radically rethought. This included examining the nature of teaching, knowledge and learning. The paper stated that apartheid pedagogy was based on memorisation, fact-based (questionable) learning and acceptance, as opposed to the critical engagement of content. In a global arena and democratic country, it is more important to analyse, synthesise and examine new sources of information. Likewise, the need for specific technical skills had to be replaced by the joy of learning. The application of skills such as literacy, numeracy, creativity and lateral thinking were preferable over rote learning. Individual competencies needed to be explored in the context of group work. This would develop social and emotional skills.[222]

4.7. A Comparison Between OBE Practices in the South African Classroom and a "Freirean" Approach to Teaching:

This comparison will be based upon some of the pedogeological practices that were meant to be implemented in the South African Classroom. Examples are taken from *Teaching Strategies for Outcomes-Based Education* which was released in 2000 by Dr Roy Killen who is, "recognised internationally as an expert in OBE and he has worked extensively in South Africa".[223] Thus, he may be

[221] South Africa, and Department of Education. *Education for a Global Era,* 26.

[222] South Africa, and Department of Education. *Education for a Global Era*, 27.

[223] Killen, *Teaching Strategies for Outcomes-Based Education*. Landsdowne: Juta, 2000. Back Cover.

considered as a reliable authority on the subject and committed to maintaining the core ideas of OBE practices. Furthermore, the Grade 8 OBE textbook, *Oxford in Search of Social Sciences* will be used to demonstrate how the principles of OBE were presented to learners. A comparison will be made to the "Freirean" approach to education which will be based on *Pedagogies of the Oppressed* and interpretations provided by "progressive teachers' unions."

It appears that some similarities existed between the principles of OBE and Freire's philosophy. Killen believed participation was an important part of the learning experience. Therefore, it needed to be encouraged by teachers. He recognised that class discussions were important to increase participation in class. This method would require the teacher to use a combination of direct instruction (leading the lesson by ensuring an academic outcome and controlling learner activity) and learner centeredness. This did not entail the teacher asking questions and receiving answers. Rather learners would collectively put forward ideas. In the process, different views would build towards a collective understanding and construction of knowledge. In such activities, the teacher was instructed not to dominate the discussion and allow learners to speak most of the time. However, the goal of such discussions was not to find a correct answer, rather it was to teach learners how to reach a consensus. The teacher needed to ensure that she did not impose her opinion on the learners or sway the conversation in preconceived direction.[224] This approach does not seem to be something a Freirean educator would disagree with. Freire was vehemently against lifeless classrooms in which children only received education and could not think freely for themselves and contribute to the discussion. What is less clear is Freire's opinion on what the main theme of the topic should be. His suggestion on finding "meaningful thematics" based on the context of the learner's experiences seems rather impractical when applying it to a curriculum that needs to apply to an entire country.

[224] Killen, *Teaching Strategies for Outcomes-Based Education*. Landsdowne: Juta, 2000. 32-35.

However, it would be too literal to dismiss Freire for his lack of an established curriculum. The progressive educators explored his principles and saw examples when issues such as classroom participation would be useful to implement in a practical manner. One such example which has been demonstrated is that of group work. Killen seemed to agree with the interpretation of groups that was presented in the NEUSA article. Allowing learners to work with their peers could encourage shy children to participate more effectively than in wide class discussions. In this process, learners could verbalize their ideas and build a stronger understanding of a topic more effectively than if they were working individually. Learners would be less reliant on their teacher and thus had the opportunity to form their own ideas. At a holistic level, they would learn to tolerate other peoples' perspectives.

Although, Killen and the NEUSA article appear to have a slightly different emphasis. Killen states that group-work entailed learners working together to achieve a specific outcome. For this to be successful, the teacher needed to provide clear guidelines that the leaners could use to complete the task. The NEUSA article seems to suggest that children are the ones who need to feel comfortable to discuss what they feel is important to the discussion. Thus clear, step-by-step guidelines would seem less important than the process of making sense of a learner's viewpoints based off their experiences. In fact, a Freirean educator may consider the rigid instructions as an authoritarian approach as the teacher still dominates the classroom rather than allowing for a mutually beneficial learning experience between both learner and teacher.[225]

Killen also advocated for teaching children how-to-think, or "effective thinking". He referred to Edwards de Bono, who had been discussed in TASA's report on "lateral thinking". De Bono argued that

[225] Killen, *Teaching Strategies for Outcomes-Based Education*, 75.

it was important for learners to think about how they tackled problems. This could be achieved by identifying the "types" of ways people think. For example, objectively, emotionally, negatively, positively, creatively or systematically. Asking children to approach questions with a deliberate style of thinking could change their understanding of a topic. This could open their minds to an array of possible thoughts and perspectives.[226] On the other hand Freire discussed what he called "authentic thinking" which was achieved through a dialogue amongst leaners' and their teachers. Rather than telling children how to think or approach a topic, learners would be encouraged to think critically about the world around them and examine their own lived experiences. The Freirean approach appears encourage the learners to form their own style of critical thinking. Unlike "effective thinking" which once again appears to be a more of a "top-down" approach as the teacher demonstrates the "types" of thinking.

It appears that OBE and the Freirean approach to education had some similarities in terms of classroom practices. However, the meaning of these practices seemed to vary. Proponents of the OBE curriculum boasted about its flexibility however, it is clear that it did not grant children the freedom to explore education that Freire desired. The rigid nature of OBE was not necessarily found in the classroom practices but rather in the structure of its curriculum. The South African OBE textbooks ensured that the intended out-comes were clearly stated. *In the Oxford Grade 8 Social Science* textbook, the OBE approach is clearly displayed. In the introduction, *For the Learners,* Social Science was described as an exciting "learning area". The book was not shy with regards to outlining the values it wished to impart, "Dear learner… you are going to learn how the things that happened in the past shaped and developed the world as we know it today. And you are going to think of solutions for the many problems facing the world today, so that we can make the world a better place!"[227]

[226] Killen, *Teaching Strategies for Outcomes-Based Education*, 155.

[227] Bottaro, Jean. *Oxford in Search of Social Sciences. Grade 8,* Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 2006. Preface.

Social Science encompassed both Geography and History and was taught until Grade Nine. Currently this approach is still in practice. Learners would have the opportunity to choose Geography and History as individual subjects form Grade Ten to Matric. However, the division of these subjects in the intermediate phases greatly reduced the time dedicated to these topics. The textbook itself was divided. Geography appeared in the front while history was relegated to the second half of the book. Within the textbook, chapter content was divided into "units" which comprised of different topics within a theme. Learners were to be assessed through activities which covered all the learning outcomes. These outcomes included knowledge, skills and attitudes. An attempt to integrate topics with other learning areas was found in the form of tiny footnotes at the bottom of the page. If a question involved some usage of maths a footnote was added, *Mathematics LO1 AS4: Solves Problems in Context*.[228]

At the beginning of each chapter the learner was introduced to the outcomes they were expected to achieve. This example is from chapter 6, Changing Worlds- French Revolution, "In this chapter you will learn about [what]:"[229]

- The changes the French Revolution brought to the world
- Its relevance and importance
- The causes
- Events

[228] Bottaro, *Oxford in Search of Social Sciences,* Preface.

[229] Bottaro, *Oxford in Search of Social Sciences,* 85.

You will learn how to [skill]:

- Extract information from primary and secondary sources
- Compare and contrast sources
- Classify information in different categories
- Classify long, medium and short-term causes
- Analyse primary and secondary sources
- Identify bias

You will think about and discuss [value]:

- What and why revolutions happen
- The idea of change and how the world is changing today
- How change happens in a democracy
- Whether violence can ever be justified

These outcomes seem reasonable. However, the textbook presents skills and information in a compartmentalised manner. It does not seem to express the principles of an integrated curriculum. OBE had been criticised for its "behaviourist" nature[230], or its focus on observable activities. In the case of OBE, a step by step process was used to build upon demonstrable skills. Such skills could be

[230] Jansen, Jonathan, "Setting the Scene: Histographies of Curriculum Policy in South Africa." Jansen, Jonathan and Pam Christie (eds.) Changing Curriculum: Studies on Outcomes-Based Education in South Africa. Johannesburg: Juta, Thorold's Africana Books, 1999. 12.

considered as indicative of learnt behaviour based on environmental processes rather than internalised thoughts and actions. The textbook also builds upon compartmentalised knowledge. As knowledge is presented as the means-to-an-outcome, all other knowledge considered "irrelevant" to the end goal and may be discarded. Therefore, a broader understanding of the topic is not achieved.

As for the content, there is an attempt to redress the issues of race and gender. A section on the South African War discusses how the topic had historically been written from a European perspective. There is also consistent reference to the role women and black people played throughout history. Although the history of women and black people tend to be presented in their own side sections rather than playing a leading role throughout the narrative. The Geography section considers the issues of gender equity. Unsurprisingly, Geography offered an opportunity to discuss global politics and topics such as "protecting natural sources at an international level" where presented.

If the OBE curriculum was presented to radical members of the early progressive unions in the 1980s they would have likely been startled by its corporate-like character. The language of OBE itself almost took on the tone of business through words stating with "Outcomes", "performances", "learning areas" and "units." Jansen, noted the complexity of the language within the OBE documents to be alienating for many teachers who did not understand these new terms. As a result, the actual meaning of OBE was muddied.[231] Furthermore, it seems that the Freirean educators believed that knowledge should be relevant in relation to a learner's context however, it seemed to be less instrumental. The context in which education existed could be considered a foundation on which more knowledge could be accumulated. OBE on the other hand, worked backwards from predetermined outcomes. Learning happened incrementally and was built towards a final performance. Thus, knowledge was used in a

[231] Jansen, Jonathan. 'Curriculum reform in South Africa: a critical analysis of outcomes-based education', Cambridge Journal of Education, vol. 28, issue 3. 321-331. 1998. 6.

utilitarian manner to achieve a specific purpose. Despite OBE's claim to an integrated approach the learning experience seemed inherently fragmented.

In terms of ascribing values to education, the Freireans and proponents of OBE did not consider education to be "value-free" and they actively sought to instil certain principles. The radical teachers of the 1980s had sought a democratic non-racial education. Considering that apartheid education was disastrous for most South Africans and objectively abhorrent, they had a strong argument for the implementation of their principles. Furthermore, the progressive teachers wished to extend the principles of democracy into the classroom. This was considered an important process in the creation a racially unified and democratic country. OBE had a rather different history, it was considered as a useful curriculum with regards to the changes globalisation had affected during the 1990s. Although it did address issues which were facing South Africa. For example, it understood the challenges of multiculturalism and thus promoted the values of tolerance, good citizenship and social responsibility.

4.8. Teachers' Unions' Loss of Focus on "Grassroots" Educational Support:

It should be noted that despite, SADTU's change of focus, the union still participated in multiple examples of mass protest and resistance. In the early 1990s SADTU facilitated "grassroots" activism aimed at eroding established apartheid structures. Of importance was popular teachers' resistance against monitoring and appraisal. Resistance against inspectors gained momentum in 1989, particularly among black SADTU members who believed teacher appraisal was synonymous with apartheid structures.[232] Inspectors had been assigned by the apartheid government to assess the way in which black teachers were conducting their work. The authority possessed by these inspectors, no doubt, bred as sense of resentment among the teachers. In 1990 SADTU was officially unbanned,

[232] Chisholm, Linda, "The Democratization of Schools and the Politics of Teachers' Work in South Africa" A *Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 29:2, 111-126. 1999. 116.

however the unionists continued to protest the methods of teacher appraisal and refused to allow inspectors into school property. It was clear that teachers had a desire to oversee their work without being hassled by outside authority and thus were in favour of a democratized education system. Chisholm explained that, the resistance against external control of the schools started to develop into a resentment regarding policy. Within policy documents teachers felt they were being targeted as "lazy", incompetent and irrelevant to classroom practice.[233] As a result, teacher appraisal needed to exist to ensure they were performing effectively and could be disciplined when necessary. Once again policy regarding education was starting to insist on the management of teachers, resulting in conflict which was only resolved in 1998.

In 1998, SADTU protested, against the re-distribution of resources and job cuts as the government attempted to save money. The union argued against the downsizing of schools which involved retrenchments which the union claimed disproportionally affected rural schools and that fewer teachers would result in the overcrowding of classes. In the same year, SADTU lead mass protest concerning the lack of textbook delivery in black schools. The textbook became an increasingly significant issue particularly in black schools as it was argued that OBE favoured better-resources and trained teachers, thus black schools were disadvantaged as staff were not as trained to use a variety of sources.[234]

Throughout the 1990s, SADTU became increasingly powerful in terms of its representation of teachers' demands and the role the union played at a national level with regards to developing the principles, guidelines and curriculum of OBE. However, there was a lack of focus on how teachers in

[233] Chisholm, Linda, "The Democratization of Schools and the Politics of Teachers' Work in South Africa" A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 29:2, 111-126. 1999. 123.
[234] Chisholm, "The Democratization of Schools," 122.

schools were to implement these new policies and how they were to cope with the challenges of the post-apartheid classroom. Some unionist members held meetings and discussions based on the pedogeological challenges of multi-culturalism, linguistic diversity and anti-racism, however this topic was not fully explored by SADTU.[235]

Another criticism that has been levelled at the implementation of OBE was that the process lacked broad participation. Soudien and Baxen, explain that there was a lack of representation from previously disadvantaged groups. Furthermore, much of the OBE implementation was driven through old beurocratic apartheid structures which had not yet been transformed. For example, in the Western Cape it was the old Western Cape Education Department (WCED) which took the lead in curriculum reform. However, the province also set-up a Curriculum Management Committee (CMC) which consisted representatives from the provincial education department and teachers' unions such as SADTU and NAPTOSA.[236] Learning Area Committees, which focused on the development of specific subjects, were filled mainly with WCED officials. During the implementation process in 1997 complaints were made by interest groups such as NGOs and various stakeholders. Members of two NGO groups expressed that they felt excluded from the implementation discussions and were constantly having to fight for representation. Another individual described that the organisation they were affiliated with was a significant actor in the provinces curriculum innovation. However, they were later told that only department officials and trade unions could participate.[237]

Jansen pointed out the lack of participation in the formulation and implementation of the OBE curriculum as a key problem thus giving credence to the claims of these disgruntled stakeholders.

[235] Chisholm, "The Democratization of Schools," 122.
[236] Soudien, C and Baxen, "Transformation and Outcomes-Based Education," 453.
[237] Soudien, C and Baxen, "Transformation and Outcomes-Based Education," 453.

According to Jansen the participation, particularly of teachers, was limited during important policy decisions. Only a select number of elite teachers and experts who were often white were leading the structures such as the LACs in which OBE development was taking place.[238] This excluded the majority of teachers, many of whom did not have substantial information about OBE. There were no consistent programs which provided teachers with the opportunity to grasp the concepts of OBE and the new curriculum policy. Once again teachers were side-lined from policy development and were expected to be merely implementers of the new curriculum. Support from the education department was not effectively implemented in many schools and often there was no official support at all.[239]

In 2005 Linda Chisholm, there standing research director of the HSRC released the report *Educator Workload in South Africa.* This report provides first-hand experiences of the teaching condition since the implementation of C2005 and asked teachers to compare classroom practices before and after the introduction of OBE. The findings from this report was based off a pilot study, a survey with closed and open questions, as well as teacher time diaries. The pilot study was carried out between October and November 2004. Based on the information gathered from the pilot study, surveys were compiled and distributed between February and April 2005 in 900 schools across the country.[240] It must be remembered that different schools experienced the implementation of OBE differently, for example, historically black and coloured schools may have lacked the resources necessary to implement OBE as effectively as the "former model C's" which were historically white schools. The schools that had insufficient staff, teachers and learning materials struggled to adapt to the new curriculum.[241]

[238] Jansen, Jonathan. 'Curriculum reform in South Africa: a critical analysis of outcomes-based education', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, vol. 28, issue 3. 321-331. 1998. 6.
[239] Jansen, Jonathan. 'Curriculum reform in South Africa"6.
[240] Chisholm, *etal*, *Educator workload in South Africa.* ix.

[241] Chisholm, etal, Educator workload in South Africa x.

However, several common themes emerged from the report's findings. Teachers believed that their workload had increased since 2000 and their time spent in the classroom was diminishing. The reduction of teaching time was attributed to administrative demands of the curriculum. Teachers had to complete more assessments and record keeping, an issue the school principals also acknowledged. Teachers needed to ensure their learners' portfolios were up to date, as well as marking the increasing number of assessments that needed to be kept on record within those portfolios. Furthermore the "outcomes" which were demanded from the OBE curriculum were referred to as "demanding" and "vague" due to the complex and confusing jargon of OBE. According to the report high school teachers claimed[242], "… they were no longer educators but rather administrators.[243]" This does not only speak to Jansen's assertion that teachers had once again been delegated to mere "Implementers[244]" but the report also revealed that there was lack of support from official structures. Two thirds of the teachers surveyed claimed they were receiving insufficient support from the Department of Education and the government.[245] No mention was made regarding significant support from the teachers' unions.

5. Conclusion:

According to the findings in this paper, the question regarding the amount of influence "progressive teachers' unions" had on the adoption of OBE in South Africa appears to have been compromised. Particularly with regards to what the OBE curriculum entailed in classroom practice and the way curriculum policy was developed and implemented. However, it would be unfair not to recognise that some of the demands of the "progressive unions" were realised. For example, the establishment of

[242] Chisholm*, etal*, Educator workload in South Africa ,129.
[243] Chisholm, *etal*, Educator workload in South Africa, 130.
[244] Jansen, Jonathan. 'Curriculum reform in South Africa," 6.

[245] Chisholm, etal, Educator workload in South Africa , 134.

PTAs and PTSAs were introduced into policy and became a mandatory requirement for schools. This allowed, in theory, the opportunity for teachers, parents and learners to participate in the functioning of their schools. The demand for such structures stemmed back into the 1970s with groups such as SASO. Due to the participatory and democratic implication of PTAs and PTSAs, the "progressive unions" were happy to champion the cause.

The formation of SADTU, could also be considered a moment of success for the "progressive teachers' unions." Although it marked a change in direction for many teachers' unions, it truly became a powerful organisation which represented the majority of unionised teachers. Whether one agrees with SADTUs focus on securing salaries for teachers, their disdain for school inspectors and their tactics such as school boycotts and strikes, it cannot be denied that they were effective in achieving their demands. Nevertheless, there were weaknesses within the "progressive teachers' unions" and SADTU which limited their impact in the implementation of OBE.

In terms of curriculum development, the "progressive teachers' unions" which adopted a Freirean approach were already on shaky ground. Not necessarily because their source material lacked value, rather there was distinct lack of what could be considered as a "Freirean curriculum." Likewise, when the NECC popularised the term "peoples' education," multiple unions were exploring their own definitions of the concept. Thus, there was no clear vision with regards to what a democratic and non-racial curriculum would like. The dismantling of apartheid arrived faster than many of the unions may have anticipated and they seemed to runout of time with regards to solidifying an alternative curriculum. On the other-hand, COSATU had been working with CBE labour related training which was

a more defined concept and had a stronger foundation. Therefore, in the race for a new curriculum, COSATU managed to gain the advantage in defining the new education.[246]

The unification of the "progressive teachers' unions" and its allies did not solve the question of the type of curriculum SADTU imagined. In the 1990s the union began to take on the role of a trade union rather than one focused on educational development. Although unity among the unions brought strength, one may also question whether this came at a cost to dissenting voices. Numerous smaller teachers' unions were absorbed into SADTU structures thus limiting the amount of independent voices available to give critiques or encouragement. It can be argued that NAPTOSA provided a critique to SADTU, however this organisation existed within the moderate tradition, thus it was not a voice of "progressive" dissent.

The relationship between SADTU, the ANC and COSATU also led to an uneasy uniformity in thought surrounding OBE. There were individuals within SADTU who questioned the validity of OBE, but the official union line appeared to be an acceptance of the ANCs policies as the union did not want to disrupt the process of transformation. In fact, some in the union became very protective over the implementation of OBE. When Jansen released his paper, "why OBE will Fail," he noted the hash criticisms he received by some union members. He was accused of being opposed to the democratisation of education and failing to present any viable alternatives.[247]

The democratic government however seemed unwilling to acknowledge viable alternatives generally as they were rushed into implementing a new education into a system to swiftly change the nature of

[246] Jansen, Jonathan and Sayed, Yusuf. Implementing Education Policies: The South African Experience. Juta and Company LTD. 2001. 16.
[247] Jansen, 'Professor stands by his OBE paper."

South African education. Apartheid had created huge inequalities due to racially segregation and the unequal funding of public schools. OBE was considered a way to deal with these problems as it preached the concepts of dealing with multi-cultural classrooms and the utilisation of content which could be relevant to the lives of learners.[248] Furthermore, OBE was very light on content as it focused more on the skills learners acquired rather than what they remembered. Thus, it was figured that this could allow teachers the opportunity to spend more time engaging in lessons rather than reciting information to the learners. However, it turned out that requirements to assess learners and capture their process lead to an increase in time spent on administration task and less time on teaching.[249]

Before the practical implications of OBE in the South African classroom became an observable reality, there were already reservations regarding how the curriculum would be successfully distributed within the schools. Due to the policies of apartheid, the quality of schools within the countries varied substantially. Generally, white schools were well resourced with trained teachers, who often felt that the OBE curriculum encouraged a teaching style that they were already familiar with. They believed that they already conducted engaging classes which encouraged the participation of learners. It has been argued that this attitude stemmed from the fact that OBE had not been clearly defined at the fundamental level of schools. Thus, teachers had very little perception of the principles OBE wished to ascertain.

Furthermore, Jansen argued that OBE was an exclusionary curriculum as it alienated many teachers who worked in under resourced schools and who may have lacked quality teacher training. No concerted effort was made either by the education departments or teachers unions to help implement

[248] South Africa, and Department of Education. Education for a Global Era.
[249] Chisholm, L. Hoadley, U. wa Kivulu, M. Brookes, H. Prinsloo, C. Kgobe, A. Mosia, D. Narsee, H. Rule, S. Educator workload in South Africa. HSRC Press, 2005.

the OBE at a grassroots level. On top of the lack of support for teachers, the complex jargon of OBE policy made it particularly difficult to define and implement. As Jansen reflected on the matter, "I still find the maze of jargon and tortured definitions intimidating. For this reason alone, the language of OBE and its associated structures are simply too complex and inaccessible for most teachers to give these policies meaning through their classroom practices.[250]" This meant that many teachers would simply practice their profession in a way they felt comfortable, thus the curriculum had a limited impact in transforming actual classroom practices. However, OBE introduced continuous assessments that teachers had to ensure their learners completed. This allowed the education department to keep track on the "outcomes" being achieved in the schools. Such policy requirements lead to an increasing bureaucracy and control of schools by the provincial education departments.

Surely, the "progressive teachers' unions" of the 1980s would have been concerned about the lack of grassroots support during OBE implementation. These unions had believed strongly in community participation with regards to creating a relevant education for the learners. However, the way OBE was established appeared to be a very "top-down" process in which teachers were simply supplied the curriculum without much involvement. From a "Freirean" perspective this would have undermined the core principle of a democratic education. Although, one can imagine the difficulties of taking such a participatory approach to establishing a curriculum for an entire country. Rather, OBE represented the desire to design a curriculum that matched the values of a newly democratic of South Africa in which education would be valuable across racial divides.

OBE offered some appealing characteristics that seemed to compliment this desire. For example, the integration of both academic and practical skills would encourage versatile learners. The amount of

[250] Jansen, Jonathan. 'Curriculum reform in South Africa,"3.

content to learn was also significantly reduced to focus more on what children could do with their knowledge rather than just recalling information. In theory this allowed for a diverse classroom in which learners could participate in class discussions and groupwork instead of the teacher having to divulge large quantities of content. Time could be afforded to relating the content to the experiences learners faced in their own communities. Unfortunately, the narrowing of content did not take cognizance of the fact many teachers, particularly in previously disadvantaged communities lacked experience and suitable training. This meant that many teachers lacked the ability to communicate the ideas of their subject in flexible manner. To cope with the lack of understanding of their subject they often relied heavily on a textbook to present a lesson. The slimming down of content and lack of support regarding the demands of OBE, these teachers were ill-equipped to carry out the needs of a transformative curriculum.

The lack of grassroots support from SADTU appears to betray the unions progressive and independent roots. This paper, proposes that SADTU occupied the roll as a trade union for teachers. Thus, the focus of SADTU shifted from that of the “progressive unions” which constituted its formation. Rather, the concern started to focus on the rights of teachers, securing their salaries and discarding old apartheid apparatus such as the inspectorates. This left much of the actual curriculum development and implementation to the likes of COSATU and the ANC government. This is not to say issues directly affecting teachers would have been foreign to the “progressive teachers’ unions.” They certainly would have wanted labour rights for their teachers, however discussion of a democratic, “peoples’ education” seemed to diminish substantially.

Another feature of OBE and the proposals in documents such as the 1995 White Paper on Training and Education was its emphasis on the economic potential a curriculum which met the demands of a market economy. “Progressive educators” in the 1980s would have been suspicious of capitalist

interests due to their Marxist leanings. They may have envisioned the democratic transformation of South Africa in more radical terms rather than the so-called “neo-liberal” direction the ANC increasingly adopted as the government clearly expressed interest of being able to compete in the globalised world. It seems that Freirean philosophy considered capitalism to be a root cause of the oppressed verse oppressor dichotomy. However, in the early 1990s it seemed unlikely that South Africa was heading for any type of socialist revolution. However, more importantly, the focus on the economy with regards to education, differed from the values “progressive educators” prescribed to schooling. The “progressive teachers’ unions” believed that education should be a holistic experience in which learners could become valuable citizens as they would display independent thinking and awareness about the issues concerning their community. On the other hand, OBE seemed more focus on equipping learners to enter the job market, thus as emphasis on subjects such as science and business.

Jansen argued the emphasis placed on OBE’s potential for economic displacement was misplaced. He states that seems to be a lack of evidence to suggests that changing the national curriculum in schools has any meaningful effect on national economies. In developing countries, this appears even more likely as the state of the economy seems to be affected by other such as political and social challenges, for example, unemployment due to lack of job creation.

Lastly, it can be demonstrated, that the OBE was not compatible with many of the “progressive teachers’ unions” conceptualisations about a democratic curriculum. OBE promised an integrated approach to education but has often been identified as behaviourist in nature. In other words, small incremental steps are rewarded, however it does not guarantee a holistic understanding of the

subject.[251] Even the participatory opportunities of the OBE classroom could be considered as a "top-down" practice due to the clear specificities OBE demanded. This entailed the information was still not formed in an environment of mutual participation. Rather the topics of discussion were simply distributed by the teacher who remained a figure of authority.

Although, the policies, implementation and adoption of C2005 appears to have differed from the vision of the "progressive teachers' unions" of the 1980s core principles persisted into the 1990s. The new democratic government wished to achieve the goals laid out by the "progressive union." Namely, an education system which was democratic and non-racial. In theory the education policies promised these transformations, however, in practice such ideals were difficult to attain. The gap between previously white and black schools remained an immense challenge. Poorly resourced schools continued to struggle as training teachers' in the new curriculum was unevenly distributed. Likewise, many teachers in previously advantaged schools believed OBE classroom practices were techniques they had already adopted as "good teaching" strategies. Thus, the poorest schools with the most disadvantaged children continued to struggle, while wealthier schools continued with relative success.

Even though the policies of the ANC government were explicitly "anti-racist," the South African education system, to a large extent, continued to be divided along racial lines. Thus, despite OBE's promise of economic development, many children still did not have access to quality education. This recalls NEUSA's early criticisms of the De Lange Report, which warned against reforms which simply channelled learners into the job market, especially when there was division between the quality of education children were receiving. Without true transformation the previously disadvantaged groups

[251] Jansen, Jonathan, "Setting the Scene: Histographies of Curriculum Policy in South Africa." Jansen, Jonathan and Pam Christie (eds.) Changing Curriculum: Studies on Outcomes-Based Education in South Africa. Johannesburg: Juta, Thorold's Africana Books, 1999. 12.

would likely to continue entering vocational lines of work, either because of the poor quality of education they received or because they simply could not afford to spend time or money working for a degree. Thus, many socio-economic factors existed with regards to education and its ability to change the nature of the South African workforce. Simply changing policy was not enough to deal with the structural problems of South African society.

That being said, finding a curriculum which would please everybody in post-apartheid South Africa was always going to be a near impossible task, especially considering the deep divisions which persisted into post-apartheid society. There was certainly a desire to ensure that a curriculum was swiftly established which could replace the old apartheid curriculum, however it has been discussed that often the structures of the provincial structures of the apartheid education departments were not fully transformed. Therefore, even apartheid-era education officials still played a hand in curriculum development. Despite all these faults in the implementation process of OBE, SADTU still considered it necessary to back the ANC and COSATU in to ensure the transformation process could proceed unhindered.

It is clear SADTU compromised some of the principles its “progressive teacher union” forbearers had established. And indeed, the trade union character of SADTU and its affiliation to the ANC and COSATU, attracted mass membership and formed it into a very powerful player in post-apartheid South Africa. However, in terms of continuing the spirit that was established in the 1980s unions, it did not play a suitably conductive role for such ideals. Certainly the “progressive teachers’ unions”, the student unions and the NECC had laid down the case that post-apartheid education needed to be democratic and non-racial. However, in the actual shaping of the OBE curriculum and its implementation had very little to do with what most radical educators had envisioned. OBE was a curriculum which was created outside the context of South Africa, although it was adopted with South

African circumstances in mind. Therefore, it was not developed from a grassroot community participation that a “peoples’ education” may have required. Though it should be considered that practicalities that were needed within South Africa after apartheid appeared to have restricted the ability to create such an education.

Groups that had been instrumental in conceptualising “peoples’ education” such as the “progressive unions” and the NECC started to take on very different roles and characters. No longer were these entities resisting the apartheid government, instead they had to discard their identity as resistance groups to ones which had to support the post-apartheid government. The process required compromise and pragmatism which minimised the impact of idealistic ideas such “peoples’ education.” Although, much of the spirit of the independent unions were lost, there influence was still felt throughout the 1990s with the formation of SADTU. However, if a radical teacher in the 1980s’ was told the outcome of post-apartheid education with regards to C2005, they would not recognise it as a curriculum they had envisioned.

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