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Perspectives in Education

VOLUME 13 No. 2 Winter 1992

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- From the Mandela Delegation to the NEC
- Education Policy in Southern Africa
- McGregor's Education Alternatives
- Training for Transformation

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Editorial Policy

The policy of the editors of *Perspectives in Education* is to promote rigorous critical discussion and debate about education (in the broadest sense of the word), particularly in the context of Southern Africa, through the publication of academic articles based on original theoretical and empirical research and analysis. *Perspectives in Education* attempts to reflect the variety of perspectives current in the field, and publishes both discipline-based and inter-disciplinary research. In order to ensure all articles are of the highest quality all contributions are submitted to at least two referees before acceptance for publication. Decision to publish is based on their recommendations.

The editors affirm their unequivocal rejection of all discriminatory principles and practices in education, and in particular their rejection of the racist and discriminatory features of the South African system. They furthermore express their commitment to a single non-racial education system to be established by the democratic participation of all South Africa's people which will provide for the development for their full potential.

Perspectives in Education, 1992, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1-26

Gender in the Transformation of South African Education

Robert Morrell
University of Natal, Durban

In the past very little, if anything, has been done to correct gender bias and to eliminate gender discrimination in the South African education system. The current transformation of education in this country offers opportunities to tackle such discrimination. Will these opportunities be realised? This paper evaluates the state of gender research in education and assesses the extent of sexism in schools. It raises some questions that need to be addressed in order to inform educational policy which will tackle sexism. It also examines how best these policies could be implemented and suggests that state intervention would, by itself, be inadequate and should anyway not be expected. The paper concludes by proposing that women's organisations will have to take the lead to prevent other demands from eclipsing the claims for a sexism-free system.

Introduction

In the past two years the "new" South Africa has begun to take shape. In the realm of education the process has been awkward, the direction unclear. Yet, in times of transition, there are undoubtedly opportunities to develop new ways of doing things, to correct historical inequalities and injustices. In short, to put into place a fairer, more egalitarian vision of education. This article attempts to assess the place of gender in such a period of transition. It asks a number of questions. What do we know about gender relations within the education system? How does sexism affect education in South Africa? What sorts of issues should be addressed to begin to tackle gender-related inequalities? How can gender-sensitive policies be implemented and who should lead the implementation of such policies? What are the prospects for improving gender relations within education?

The consideration of gender and education in this article occurs against the backdrop of great fluidity in local education. The state has not responded decisively to the crisis in education. A series of *ad hoc* measures have been introduced which have served to ameliorate conditions in certain limited areas but have, in other cases, exacerbated the crisis. Struggles, with their origins in the state of emergency period, continue at ground level with interested parties ranging from students to

teachers contesting form and content of education. Apart from state-initiated changes on the ground, there have been important developments in policy making. The Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) document coordinated by Dr. J. Garbers made its appearance in mid 1991. At the same time, a major effort was being made by educators broadly aligned with the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and specifically linked to the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC) to develop alternative policy options. This was the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI). The gender aspects and implications of these developments will be examined below

This article concentrates on the interests, concerns and experiences of black women in formal education. The evidence used comes predominantly from the Natal region.

Research on Gender and Women

In the last few years there has been major growth in the study of gender in South Africa. Research has been intensified and many universities are beginning to offer courses in Women's Studies.[1] Yet despite the recent advances there remains a large backlog. Development Studies, Religion and economic geography are just some of the areas where researchers have specifically bemoaned the lack of gender scholarship. Even in South African history writing where gender-sensitive scholarship has flourished in the last decade indications are that irrevocable advance in conceptualizing the past has not been wrought.[2] Research on sexism and gender discrimination in education is in its infancy.[3] Advances made in other disciplines are only now beginning to inform research questions and to have an impact on research output.

The research on women within the current education system that has been done in South Africa focusses on two essential problems. The first proceeds from a concern with the economy and the belief that all human resources should be utilised to the full. In two rare articles, Marais and Havenga observe that white girls tend to proceed into gender-specific jobs despite the fact that their talents suit them for employment in other sectors of the economy. They argue that vocational guidance for white female high school students is inadequate.[4] The second problem that has enjoyed attention concerns discrimination against women in education itself. Here professional discrimination (wages, promotion opportunities) and hidden curriculum bias against girls have been identified. While some writers attribute this to accident or deep structural phenomena, Jacklyn Cock has argued that patriarchal power causes girls to be educated for domesticity.[5]

In the history of education, the place of women is better represented. Debbie Gaitskell's work over more than a decade has given us insights into the

experiences of black girls (though not exclusively in the context of schools) and some idea of how they have responded to their situation. In the context of the schools themselves Shula Marks's magnificent study of the experiences of Lily Moya stands out. This is the story of a Xhosa girl who entered Adams College in 1950 in the hope of becoming a teacher. It is a tragic story of a fight against the odds, and a dashing of dreams. While most studies on black women in South African education rightly stress discrimination, Heather Hughes's work on the Inanda Seminary, shows that in some mission schools founded in the 19th century pupils were not slotted automatically into economically subservient positions, but rather were given an elitist academic training.[6]

When the position of educational research on gender is surveyed it has to be said that we have a patchwork. Richer in the earlier period (but even there characterised by big gaps), the coverage is overall very sketchy.

What is really striking about the lack of gender research in South African education is the profusion of such research elsewhere in the Third World, including Africa. In the important Kelly and Elliot collection (1982), for example, there are chapters on Togo, Tunisia, Upper Volta and Zaire, yet nothing on South Africa.[7] This is surprising because South Africa has had an abundance of academic resources and also a long history of political consciousness among women.[8] It is not the purpose of this article to explain why research has not been done in sufficient quantity or quality on gender issues but a few observations can nevertheless be made.

Much of Third World research on gender issues was prompted by United Nations (UN) initiatives. South Africa's exclusion from the UN has indirectly affected gender research within the country. South Africans were not present at the many UN-hosted conferences on women during the Decade of Women from 1975 - 1985. Nor was South Africa apparently included in the many research projects commissioned on women in Africa during this period.[9] This isolation was seriously compounded by the academic boycott. Only recently has this international isolation been broken down, most strikingly at the January 1990 Malibongwe conference, and it is hoped that this will be a spur to gender research and action in the country. Another factor which has affected the construction of research agendas has been the relationship of the liberation or Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) to feminism. Feminist issues do not receive priority and there is apathy if not antagonism in many organisations towards an energetic feminist programme.

Education and the position of women

While the extent of research on gender aspects of South African education is limited, it is possible to sketch a rough picture of the situation. In doing so I will rely

on my own and my students' observations of gender relations in black schools in Kwazulu/Natal. I will also draw on information contained in a number of recent research reports which, although they do not deal directly with the subject, throw incidental light thereon.

Pupils

With the exception of a handful of privileged pupils attending elite private schools, South Africa's black school goers attend co-educational institutions. In an important way this distinguishes black from white pupils. Throughout South Africa, single-sex schools for whites are common though this is more so for English than for Afrikaans speaking communities. For many white schoolgirls, therefore, the experience of school is devoid of many of the classic gender-driven problems found in education. To mention but a few: sexist stereotyping, pressure to achieve in gendered ways, pressure to conform to existing social gender models and to deal with sexual advances from and violations by boys.

Virtually all black schoolgirls have to confront, in addition to the general problems of inadequate facilities and very high pupil:teacher ratios associated with black education, a battery of sexually discriminatory practices.

Little subject choice is permitted in the syllabus. While this might act to equalize gender differences forcing boys and girls to do the same subjects, historically powerful patterns still have influence on choices which are permitted. In the late nineteenth century, for example, all African school girls took sewing. A similar tendency can still be discerned today. An Higher Diploma in Education (HDE) student at Natal University, speaking in her capacity as both an "old girl" of the bantu education system and as a trainee teacher, stated that "Girls do domestic work and boys do woodwork and other manual related labour". Beyond this, there are other common trends. Girls take social science, biology and commercial subjects in large numbers though the effect of this is unclear.[10] Ironically, a major problem confronting girls in Britain - that they are steered away from technical and scientific subjects - is less of a problem in South Africa. This is because this particular difficulty confronts all black school goers. The provision of scientific and vocational training for all black pupils is pitifully inadequate, in some instances laughably so. A standard eight scholar at a rural school said that the quality of teaching in maths was so bad that he taught the teacher! Not surprisingly there are nationally less than 1 000 black matriculants a year who are eligible for university courses in science-oriented degrees.

The sexual division of labour in black schools is also very strict. Girls are expected to tidy the premises before the school day commences. In class, boys are given the manual tasks, such as moving tables and desks, and are generally

encouraged to answer questions, though occasionally bright and animated girls (often younger than their male peers) steal the limelight. All in all, "the school is more harsh to boys than to girls. Girls do not exchange words with boys and are expected to be servile. They must be clean, disciplined and emotional".[11]

Despite the rigidity of sexual role ascription, girls do not automatically enjoy the sometimes dubious benefits that this conventionally bestows. Whereas in most white schools "respect" for girls is enshrined, for example, in exempting them from corporal punishment, no such privilege is extended to girls in black schools. Girls are beaten regularly and often viciously. In a 1987 study, 100 per cent of black female respondents in a sample of first year University students reported having been physically punished at school despite this being illegal. In a particularly infamous case in 1982, a twenty one year old Soweto schoolgirl was held to a table by six pupils and flogged on her back and buttocks until she lost consciousness.[12]

The constant possibility of sexual harassment, rape and unwanted pregnancies are another worrying feature of a girl's school experience. Figures are hard to come by, but a recent Kwazulu/Natal study found that the high school careers of 2.7 percent students were disrupted by pregnancy. It should be noted that wherever possible families attempt to prevent pregnancies from disrupting schooling so the percentage cited above indicates the minimum number of pregnancies. Impressionistic evidence suggests that the problem has greater dimensions. A Kwazulu nursing sister interviewed in 1990 claimed that "About half of all first babies are born to girls still at school".[13] From the evidence available it seems as though a significant percentage of school girls are already mothers. Their own mothers look after their children allowing them either to continue their studies or to go out in search of work.

Rape is common in the townships and schoolgirls are major targets. Jackrolling, the abduction and gang rape of women under twenty six, has, after becoming a feature of Soweto life, been exported to other urban centres. Schools are not physically safe places. In Durban secondary schools there have been incidents in which boys hide in female toilets and then gang rape the unwary users of the facility.[14]

The political turmoil of the last decade has not improved gender relations at school despite the rhetoric of equality and democracy that has generally accompanied struggles from below. The comrades, for example, most of whom are of school-going age though many of whom are not actually attending schools are overtly sexist. Both Mary de Haas and Clive Glaser, commenting on youth politics in different contexts, stress the macho (and sexist) side of adolescent and post-adolescent male gangs. There are numerous instances where girls are not

allowed to participate in school politics, are excluded from meetings and are not eligible for election to Student Representative Councils (SRCs).

> Meetings are called by the SRC and only the boys are invited to those meetings. When you question why the girls are not there, the boys will say it's because the girls can't keep important information to themselves ...

On the rare occasions when Council of South African Students (COSAS) took up gender issues, such as teacher harassment of female students, it was as much out of concern for the students as out of male anger that teachers were poaching on their sexual territory.[15] The way in which gender inequalities are perceived, justified and opposed is witnessed in the responses of African matric pupils at a Durban School. In April - May 1990 Laura McNeil, an HDE student at the University of Natal, Durban, conducted a survey amongst African matriculants studying at the Durban Finishing School. This is a school which offers African matriculants who have failed their final examination a second chance at passing. The respondents were aged between eighteen and twenty four and all had failed matric the year before. She asked them the question: "Should Boys and Girls receive the same education?"

Amongst most of the male respondents, sharp gender distinctions were made, for the most part justifying sexual inequality. Here are three examples:

> It must be difference between boy and girl like when father and a mother. For example Mother must take care of her child not father by that they can't be different. When we are talking about education like Home Economics. Boys can do Home Economics - it just a disgrace to see male cooking or barking (sic) cakes. To Education it must not be same like lawyer. We don't find a lawyer of female. In nowadays we find a lawyer of female but it not look so good.

> I think the better education for girls is to know how to cook, how to take care of her husband and children as well because when the girl is educated it seems as if the entire family should listen to her when she is talking. By these words I mean the respect there is no respect if we are equal.

> Boys must have more education than girls. Special task for the girls is to cook and make the house clean. They have to take care of the family so that when they get married they know how to care for the family. Boys must be educated very well and boys are so respected. If a girl is a manager the employees won't be easily controled (sic) by the girl. But if it is the boy they will do what he told them to do.

In an exceptional case, equal education was justified in terms of the economic needs of a family unit:

> The cost of living these days is too high. It's unlike the olden days, Women were not allowed to finish schooling because they will soon get married, and the parents will loose. So they should both receive same education so that they could help each other.

A markedly different view came from the female respondents:

> According to my point of view I think boys and girls should receive the same education. As girls do home economics, needlework and so forth boys should also be included in those lessons because one day they will encounter problems. There will be a time when boys will have to cook maybe his mother/wife is ill. One will never know when the problem will arise.
>
> In the past years people were believing that women should not receive education. In actual fact in our days we find that if a man is the only one who is working does not satisfy the requirements of his house because of the cost of living. It is important for the women to learn because if they get devorce (sic) with their husband cannot afford life if they are not educated. I stress this point because there are few opportunities of physical jobs for womens. It is easy for the women to afford life if they do (sic) because they can get job easily and support their family with their requirements.
>
> They (boys and girls) are the same only sexism is different to them. The thing that the boy can do, the girl can also do that. A girl can do engineering although engineering is learnt by the boys and the boys can do secretarial courses. During nowdays we have boys who are doing dressmaking. I see no need for the girls to be separated from same education.
>
> Todays womens like to stand on their own so same education could help them and they will not depend in man at all.
>
> And there's something amazing; boys goes to the same school as girls, receive same education but they are earning high salaries as if girls didn't have the same education as them.

The responses are surprisingly uniform - boys do not want education to undermine patriarchal dominance while girls want education to give them independence. It is on the question of economics that the boys and girls came closest to sharing a common position. The importance of the family unit was central. The possibility of divorce, death or unemployment robbing the family of a breadwinner and of rising costs reducing the standard of living resulted in some male and all female respondents acknowledging the importance of education enhancing the earning capacity of the woman. While the importance of family was a shared value, the line of division between male and female respondents was over "respect" and "independence". Strongly emphasised in female responses was the desire to be economically independent.

Teachers

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authority in schools and most of them work in primary schools. It is important, however, to gain a comparative perspective on this because it is common for the negative associations of black women in teaching to be emphasised to the exclusion of the positive aspects. Hay and Stichter point out that in South Africa African women have had greater access than men to professional jobs through their access to nursing and primary school work. This has strengthened their domestic situation as they are able to use their wage in the process of domestic bargaining with the male household head. It has also consolidated them as an important constituent of the black middle class.[16]

Although a job may be a powerful inducement for black women to take up teaching, those in employment are not without grievances. In 1986 a female teacher at level one earned two hundred rand to two hundred and seventy rand less than a male. ninety one percent of level one posts were held by women. The salaries were also very low. In 1988 unqualified (level 1) teachers had a starting salary of R5 442 per annum. Women teachers express dissatisfaction about a wide range of issues. Temporary jobs, poor promotion possibilities, lower salaries, lack of or unequal access to housing subsidies and pension facilities are all seen as problems. Women teachers find that more is demanded of them - the double load (mother/teacher) is a well-known element, as is, in the overseas context, the fact that they have to work twice as hard to get anywhere because men try to take the credit for their work. School regulations still discriminate against teachers who fall pregnant. Those in temporary employment can lose their jobs and where maternity leave is granted, it is against the loss of accumulated leave.[17]

This brief review of the position of black women and girls in South African education allows us to make some general remarks. In quantitative terms, the impact of Apartheid has not been particularly severe. Historically African girls have outnumbered boys in school and this trend has been sustained. In the realm of higher education the numbers of female students has been rising since the 1970s and nowhere are there massive discrepancies between male and female enrolments. Unlike the rest of Africa then, the major challenge is not to increase the relative numbers of girls in education, though in absolute terms there are many who still do not get the minimum of seven years basic schooling.[18]

More girls than boys tend to proceed to secondary schools and matriculate. So even within the education system, girls have tended to survive Apartheid better than boys. Jonathan Hyslop has put down the greater staying power of girls in the last decade and a half to crime and political rebellion which force boys out of school.[19]

These general observations do not in anyway reduce the urgency with which gender issues need to be taken up. The qualitative aspects of gender discrimination which are allied to the deeper effects of Apartheid - for example, assisting in the

cultivation of a culture of violence and sexism amongst the youth - demand attention. Furthermore the state has not been particularly receptive to demands for steps to remove gender discrimination in education. During the late 1980s steps were taken to reduce salary discrimination but only the highest scales were affected and most women teachers with the same qualifications and experience are still paid less for the same job. Following breakthroughs by some Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) unions in negotiating maternity rights in the last two years, indications are that changes in this area will also follow in due course.

An interesting aspect of this study, to which we shall return, concerns the nature of the grievances expressed. They centre on the professional status and remuneration of the teacher and on the discrimination experienced by women in their attempts to advance in the profession. While the state has responded to demands for change, gender has not become one of its major concerns. The ERS, for example, is totally silent on gender! Of its own volition, the state is not going to address gender inequalities. It is thus of top priority that gender issues be forced onto the agenda via organisations.

Education Politics

In the last decade, organisations have begun to address gender issues in education. The most prominent initiative has been taken by the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) and its women's forum. Before examining this in greater detail, it is important to indicate other types of responses.

Before unions began to address gender discrimination, responses were predominantly individualistic. In this form they were generally hidden from public view. We therefore do not know precisely how African women teachers have acted in connection with their professional dissatisfaction. In the present context of South African education where heavy emphasis is placed on the improvement of qualifications, they have responded positively and enrol in significant numbers for higher diplomas in education and post-graduate degrees. However, there are indications that pursuit of higher certification is driven by defensive considerations rather than hopes of professional advancement.[20] In the fluctuating situation in black education, under-qualified women are especially fearful that in a more competitive professional environment their jobs would be in jeopardy. Within the schools female teachers tend to stick together, possibly for emotional support, possibly to resist or to deal comfortably with the demands made on them by male colleagues. With the state of our knowledge at present it is very difficult even to make impressionistic statements about the adaptive behaviour of women teachers, let alone to offer explanations for it.

Most women teachers were and remain politically quiescent. Until recently in Natal/Kwazulu they were compulsorily members of the conservative, Inkatha-aligned Natal African Teachers Union (NATU). It is not clear what advantages, if any, membership of this rather inactive body bestowed on women teachers. Women teachers might additionally be members of the Inkatha Women's Brigade. This organisation has used women to combat politically active youth in the context of township struggles. It has not prioritised the interests of women in education or in any other realm (despite being publicly committed to the eradication of ignorance) and has served as a pliable instrument for Inkatha's political goals. In the early to mid 1980s, however, a small group of voluble, aggrieved and highly energetic women teachers joined United Democratic Front (UDF) affiliated bodies to take up political issues surrounding education. In Durban they were very active in monitoring security force excesses and intervening when they could (protected to some extent by the traditional deference for womanhood and femininity). On occasion they organised delegations to negotiate with officials of the Department of Education and Culture and initiated protests outside the offices of Education officials. They were also important in linking with SRCs and with Congress of South African Students (COSAS) activists. As Hassim *et al* point out this gave them a greater purchase on political debates and actions in the area than they had hitherto had. It needs to be pointed out, however, that the proportion of women teachers who responded in a visible and active way to the call for action against Apartheid was small.[21]

SADTU

In October 1990 SADTU was launched under the auspices of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), as mandated by an initial meeting in Harare. This was a major achievement as it brought together, for the first time, most of the regional and local teacher organisations in the country and, in so doing, managed to break down some of the ideological barriers which had historically divided the teaching community. SADTU has a more energetic yet inclusive image than any of its predecessors and a heavy responsibility therefore rests on its shoulders to take up the interests of its female members.

Exact figures are not available but SADTU has about 50 000 members and, if national averages are used, between sixty five percent and seventy percent of these will be women. In the light of this it is striking that only one of the twenty seven executive members is a woman. Despite the glaring male domination of the Union, SADTU has moved quickly to place the plight of women teachers on its agenda. At its opening congress, SADTU passed a resolution which committed the organisation to hosting a Women's Conference in 1991. Part of the Resolution read:

noting that women teachers have always been discriminated against on the basis of sex, both professionally and organisationally, SADTU commits itself:

* to encourage the participation of women teachers in the structures of SADTU at all levels;
* to establish affirmative action programmes for women;
* to place on the programme of action of each region campaigns against all forms of victimisation and harassment.

SADTU further demands:

* an immediate end to discrimination against women teachers;
* immediate full parity in salaries between men and women;
* immediate full maternity benefits for all women teachers, including full paid accouchment leave.

As the above resolution indicates SADTU, like COSATU Unions, is likely to take up the interests of its female members. The provisions of the Labour Relations Amendment Act (1988) make it important for them to do so. This Act makes it an offence to discriminate against people on the grounds of sex but exempts the state sector from this aspect of the Act. This makes the Act farcical because women are numerically preponderant in much of the state service.[22] It is precisely the inadequacy of laws like this, plus the determination of women teachers to hold on to their jobs and ensure that they eventually achieve parity with men, that will give SADTU the loyalty of its female members.

Some of SADTU's constituent founding organisations have recently begun to focus on sexism in education. Early in 1990, for example, the Teachers Association of South Africa (TASA), the Indian Teachers Association based in Natal, set up a Women's Committee to examine sexual discrimination suffered by women teachers. In a workshop two of its members (H. Narsi and S. Mandraj) presented a paper on women in teaching and teacher organisations. Although they mentioned the socialisation of boys and girls in schools as a problem and pointed to stereotyped textbook representations of women and the sexual division of labour in the classroom whereby, for example, boys clean the chalkboard, their major concern was for women teachers and their difficulties arising from sexual discrimination.[23] It may well be that from within SADTU calls will be made for a wide-ranging and concerted effort to tackle sexism in schools. In all likelihood, however, more energy will be expended on improving the material and work conditions of teachers. While there may be the intention of tackling sexism in education more broadly (SADTU has already hosted in Durban a workshop on the

"The Eradication of Sexism in Education" (1 December 1990)), considerations of sexism in the syllabus, in texbooks and inside classrooms (among students) are unlikely to be given priority.

SADTU's performance with regard to, as opposed to its statement on, the gender issue cannot yet be measured - the organisation is too young. It is therefore necessary to look at other trade unions within COSATU to see what evidence there is of sexism and the measures introduced to combat it.

COSATU has publicly opposed sexism for some time. Yet many have observed that it is a male dominated organisation. Men outnumber women on executive structures in the proportion of 1:20 or 1:30. The proportion among regional office bearers is 1:36. In trying to correct this, women's forums have been established to champion women's interests. Efforts have been made in the unions to increase female participation in leadership position. Women's forums have been established but the issue remains unresolved. In NACTU, for example, despite such attention the numbers of women in executive positions has actually fallen.[24]

Among the rank and file, there have been public attempts to push women into positions of prominence in industrial action. In May 1991, for example, Transvaal women members of COSATU and Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW) "initiated, planned and organised" a protest of 3 000 people in Johannesburg against the Labour Relations Amendment Act (LRAA). The reasons given for this were that women wanted to secure their interests on the agenda of the Unions. "Women want also to be free". The demands centred on issues which had already been taken up to emphasize the concerns of women. For example, farm and domestic labour falls outside the LRAA and these labourers are mostly women.[25]

Within COSATU, over the last few years, there have been struggles to establish women's structures. There is not unanimity on this point and "divisions on this issue completely undermined the attempt to build women's unity at the 1988 COSATU Women's Conference. Since then, progress has been made to establish women structures in many unions and women's issues are coming to the fore more often. Yet there are obviously still tensions. These surfaced very clearly in the 1989 COSATU Congress over the issue of sexism in the Unions. A Transport and General Workers Union resolution was not passed and whilst most women supported the motion, men "laughed off the issue of sexual conduct. ... men used the resolution to laugh at women".[26]

COSATU unions have been amongst the leaders in improving working conditions of women, increasing their pay and gaining maternity benefits. But sexism in education has another face, that of gender construction and sexual discrimination in the classroom. To begin to address these issues may well require different organisations and approaches.

ANC and NECC

One of the major organisations which might be expected to address issues of of sexism is the ANC. Like the Unions, however, their senior positions are dominated by men. Only 185 of the National Executive Committee is female and women enjoy little sympathy within the politics of the organisation. Yet the Women's League does contain some feminists so, even though up to now their achievements have not been very impressive, they should not be discounted.[27]

Although its education policy has not yet been fully explicated, some critics have already written the ANC off as selling out on educational transformation. This judgement seems premature for although the ANC has not been able to prioritise education (it has had its hands full with constitutional issues and the transfer of power), it has demonstrated a commitment to tackle such prickly issues as the takeover of white schools for use by black pupils.[28]

Apart from behind-the-scenes manoeuvres intended to resolve the present education impasse and its many-housed administration, the ANC has been a central actor in the creation and operation of NEPI. A better idea of the possibilities of gender-sensitive education policy emanating from the ANC can be gained by examining NEPI. This initiative is expected to produce a set of policy options which will serve to inform an ANC education blueprint.

The people active within NEPI are predominantly male. As NEPI is presently structured and as its agenda presently stands, no space is given for the generation of gender policy in education. It may be argued that within each of the eleven work groups set up to tackle important areas of education there is space for gender issues to be raised. It would even be possible to argue that gender issues would be ghetto-ized were a research group to be set up to deal solely with gender. Yet the feel of NEPI suggests that gender has indeed been accorded a low rating in the context of a new national education policy. Badat *et al* throw in the obligatory statement about the ideal system being "non-sexist" but apart from this, there is no mention of how such a goal is to be achieved.[29]

In April 1991, the absence of serious thinking about gender was acknowledged and since then more attention has apparently been given to this. But in the face of the massive demands for equalizing racial distortion and inequality within the education system, education planners and intellectuals seem able to do little more than ensure that token commitment is still made to fighting sexism. A draft of the NECC Education Charter, for example, demands that "Women shall have equal rights".[30]

A review of the organisational politics of education reveals that there is little likelihood of gender issues being vigorously taken up by those organisations

presently operating on the education terrain. Sex-discrimination in the work-place (as it affects women teachers) presently receives attention, and is likely to continue to do so. Yet in areas of policy around the issue of sexism in the classroom and the curriculum, matters are likely to remain dormant unless a new type of organisational initiative is taken.

In the last year, the debate about women's organisations has become intense. Women have for long been organised separately but under the mantle of large, male-dominated organisations. They have functioned as supportive adjuncts to male dominated political parties or groups. They are now testing the limits of this position. It is too early to make a judgement, but women do not seem happy any longer simply to fulfill an auxiliary function. Women's issues are being taken up. The most effective organisational form for such campaigns is not yet clear. A lot will depend on whether women can come together and work together in their own interests rather than in a subordinate role only.[31]

South Africa lacks a well-organised, broadly representative and assertive women's organisation. The British experience suggests that a greater independence might benefit the feminist cause and combat educational sexism better. In Britain, trade unions have been active in initiating anti-sexist programs in schools, but all too often male-dominated union hierarchies prevent decisive results. Women members have low status in unions and have difficulty in placing items on the agenda. They often face apathy or even outright hostility when they become insistent.[32] *Prima facie* there appears to be a case for setting up independent women's organisations, in particular organisations with a specific interest in combating educational sexism.

Questions for a research and policy agenda

It is quite clear that research on gender needs to be conducted, and soon. As I have indicated above, there are massive gaps in our knowledge, and without a good idea of what is going on it will be impossible to put into place programmes that will begin to address the problems. Furthermore, many research projects assume the male situation to be the norm. The effects of this blindness can be catastrophic. A recent Scottish investigation found that the "answers" provided by education researchers were "partial, biased or, frankly, imaginary. .... A policy based on false (patriarchal) premises may be worse in its effects than no policy at all, and in any event is indefensible".[33]

Research on pupils

Bland government statistics are available to researchers and, as a first recourse, these should be used as they provide details on the sexual breakdown of the

school-going population. We need to know much more about the gendered pattern of success and failure. The limited research available suggests that many girls curtail their education for financial reasons. If education were fully state subsidised (to the extent of becoming free and compulsory) this would help a great deal to provide equal access.[34] Apart from the concern for girls to have equal access to education, there are other important motives for casting a gendered eye over the provision of education. In itself education produces a more hospitable environment for the pursuit of women's rights. In an interesting study on black women workers in Natal, Fatima Meer found that Coloured and African men with a high school education were less conservative about women's issues than those with only primary school experience. She found that men with high school education were more tolerant of women working in industry than men with only a primary education and less insistent that women be tightly controlled in the job situation. All men regardless of education, however, felt that women lost the respect of family and community when they went out to work.[35]

The experience in Britain and the USA has shown that girls tend, for a variety of reasons, to be channelled into, or to choose, a limited range of "female" subjects. It is not clear what the situation is in South Africa, but it is clearly not good enough simply to ensure numerical sexual equality in schools. Subject choice and performance should be researched and once definite patterns have been established, gender-bias addressed.

Very little is known about classroom dynamics in gender terms. In the First World context there is much research which demonstrates that within the classroom, teachers behave differently towards boys and girls. They tend to reinforce stereotypes which entrench female passivity and in the secondary school situation particularly, have the effect of lowering the performance of girl pupils.[36] If the British experience is similar to the South African experience, then the absence of single-sex schools in black education will be significant. Nearly all African schools are coeductional, built as low-budget institutions under the regime of Bantu Education. A rare exception was (and is) the Inanda Seminary, established in Durban in 1869. It catered only for girls and, according to Hughes, did not educate African women for subservience. Its problem was that it became increasingly exclusive and elitist. In Indian education the absence of single-sex schools for girls combined with historical refusal to send girls to coeducational schools greatly damaged the education progress of girls. Until the establishment of the Durban Indian Girls High School in 1930 the number of boys in school far exceeded that of girls.[37]

I have referred in a general way to what I think is happening in the classroom, but much more needs to be known. For instance :

* What are the dynamics of performance and communication in the classroom context?
* Do teacher attitudes reinforce sexist attitudes in the classroom?
* Is gender-differentiation within the classroom a function of broader social values and therefore largely independent of the teacher's input?
* How are the specific interests of girls safeguarded?
* Historically, what were the origins and the ideologoical context of the African co-educational school and how has this affected the ethos of Bantu Education schools?

South Africa is a violent society and much of the violence occurs in school via official corporal punishment or unofficial assaults and bullying. In addition, school going children are frequently the victims of violence. Apart from the well publicised excesses of the security forces against children, there is sexual abuse against children. Ninety percent of cases are against females.[38] Crucial questions include:

* What is the extent and nature of corporal punishment in schools?
* How are women affected by it?

There are many questions to be asked around sex: pregnancy, rape, Aids and all intrude on schools. The lack of "social provisions" (especially including extra-mural school activities) partly explains the high incidence of pregnancy amongst school girls, but research is beginning to show that this is a problem not likely to be solved simply by better sex education or more sports. Eleanor Preston-Whyte and Maria Zondi have found that there are strong social pressures from both boys and girls to continue active sexual relations. The absence of social stigma around "illegitimate" babies ensures that birth control measures are not considered necessary. In a study done in some Third World countries, Le Vine shows that girls/women with more education have different attitudes to mothering than those with less. Lower fertility, lower infant mortality and a conversational and pedagogical relationship with their offspring are also associated with better educated women.

> It cannot be claimed that children of more educated mothers necessarily do better in school ... but most of the evidence shows the education of women to be deeply implicated in social change relating to the family and early education and indicates that it will continue to be a factor of central importance.[39]

Until recently, concerns about sex in school were expressed mainly as questions about morality and pregnancy. Aids has changed this. In Natal a recent study has

found that females are infected with Aids at a much younger age than males. Eleven percent of a group of HIV positive women at Durban's King Edward Hospital were between fifeteen and nineteen years, compared to two percenr of a similar group of men. This suggests that Aids education needs to begin intensively amongst ten to fifeteen year olds.[40] Questions which require answers:

* In the South African case, how do pregnancy and marriage impact on the educational progress of girls?
* Does education impact on mothering and maternal attitudes?
* Do girls want education to be made available to them during pregnancy and after childbirth?
* What is the incidence of Aids in schools?
* How does Aids affect classroom performance?

There is a large body of literature which shows that the market related rewards of educational achievement are sexually skewed. Girls do not benefit (measuring benefit in material terms) as much from education investment as do boys.[41] Information of this kind is not readily available in South Africa. There are clear economic reasons why policy should be founded on such knowledge, but there are also important feminist considerations for policy to advance the cause of women - the financial independence of women has implications for power relations within the family. As the school girls who gave their views above attested, being financially independent is an important way of escaping grinding dependence on the male head of household. Yet the issue is by no means simple. In a broader African context, Claire Robertson has argued that primary schooling for girls is actually against their immediate interests as it withdraws them from the household economy without increasing their employability. Overall she argues that rural African women face Hobson's choice:

> ... stay illiterate and keep earning an independent income at a very low level; get a primary education and become a hairdresser, seamstress, or a petty bureaucrat (if you have the capital ...); or remain unemployed and dependent on irregular earnings from men in various relationships.[42]

In South Africa the historical prejudice towards the education of women has been breaking down over the last twenty years. The "civil war" in Natal has accentuated this trend, with more girls than boys now in matric.[43] As a result female literacy rates have increased. Nevertheless the lack of communication and language skills is still a major block to employment. This not only disadvantages them in the workplace, it also fuels stereotypes about women.[44]

Questions which require answers:

* What job opportunities for women flow from formal education?
* How and why does sex difference in education affect labour market outcomes?
* Does education give women greater control in the household?
* Does education empower the woman to widen her role beyond that of the household?
* Does primary education advance girls' interests?
* To what extent does the poor literacy rate among black women affect their employability?

Research on teachers

The position of women teachers in the teaching profession has and will continue to receive attention. The activities of SADTU and other teacher organisations have alerted women to the possibilities of organising around their grievances and some steps have been taken to begin to address gender discrimination. It is beyond the scope of this paper to provide an exhaustive list of research questions, though mention will be made of one area which has thus far not received much attention.

In South African schools there is a heavy reliance on discipline. While this used to be synonymous with corporal punishment, this is no longer uniformly the case. It is now prohibited in House of Delegates schools, for example. Nevertheless, it is still the primary means of keeping order in African schools and in most other schools discipline continues to be equated with punishment of one form or another. This is a serious professional problem for women as it is frequently stated by male educationists that women are not "strong" enough to maintain discipline. This is used to bar them from promotion to senior positions.[45]

Policy research into solutions

Once basic questions have been answered the challenge is to develop practical policies which will tackle gender discrimination. While such slogans as "Women shall have equal rights in education" sound nice, they do not of themselves take the feminist project forward.

In developing policy it will be useful to examine some of the measures used in Britain and elsewhere to tackle gender discrimination. An area where feminist educational intervention has made an impact is in the area of girls taking science and vocational subjects. Programmes (such as Girls in Science and Technology (GIST), Lower Attaining Pupils Programme (LAPP) and Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI)) designed to increase the numbers of girls in these subjects and to improve their performances have been successful.

Teacher training courses, especially In-service training (INSET), have been devised to help alert teachers to sexist classroom practices. Such programmes have made an impact but they are fraught with difficulty. In Australia, for example, an attempt to formalize the process of combating sexism via the teaching of an anti-sexist stereotype history lesson, actually succeeded in reinforcing the targeted stereotype![46]

One of the ways of preventing classroom sexism, advocated by feminists, particularly radical feminists, is to create girls-only schools. Given the virtual absence of single sex schools in the government education system for African schools, such an initiative might seem ill-conceived. It is nevertheless important to evaluate the performance of the numerous single-sex white schools in order to gauge the worth of the idea. In the British context, it is argued that single-sex schools have many advantages for girls. For instance, the academic performance and self-image of girls is better, there are supportive role models and the danger of sexual harassment and assault is greatly reduced. There are advantages for women teachers as well - promotion is easier and senior posts more available to them.[47]

There is not just one feminist strategy for combatting sexism in education. Policy formulators will have to choose between or, preferably, draw upon two different approaches. There is not the space here to explain in any detail their assumptions, complexities, failures and successes. It will have to suffice to note the following. One school of thought (girl-friendly or equal opportunity) attempts to give girls the same amount of education. Efforts are made, for example, to give girls the same access to schools and to ensure that girls begin to take science subjects in greater numbers. The emphasis is on giving individual girls the chance to fulfill their potential, despite patriarchal obstacles. An alternative (girl-centred) approach goes beyond equalizing the numbers and focuses on the quality of education received by girls. Teachers are exorted to belong to the Women's movement, to tackle sexism in the classroom, to confront patriarchal power relations. This is far more ambitious and is part of a broad programme to combat sexism throughout society.

Unfortunately even when viable, well-researched policy options are developed, they are often ignored or simply not implemented. In Britain a recent survey revealed that government policy makers used "research as a drunk uses a lamp post - for support rather than illumination". Where research findings did not suit existing plans and policies they were by and large overlooked.[48]

Sexism is generally not solved by policy fiat. It can be tackled on at least two levels. In the actual implementation of education and at the policy level. In South Africa, all schools have management committees, school committees, parent-teacher-student associations (PTSAs) or some other form of local

government. These should be used actively to promote anti-sexist education. It is significant that during the past decade, women have become very active in these structures. Both UDF and Inkatha aligned structures (for different reasons) have encouraged women to involve themselves.[49]

At the policy level, the organisational strength and commitment of women will determine success. The British experience has shown that anti-sexist education makes the most headway when backed by feminist organisation. In some instances, where female members of Trade Unions took an initiative, male antipathy or antagonism undermined their efforts. In other cases, determined individuals found patriarchal power too strong. At the moment in South Africa, there are major debates about the role of women in the Mass Democratic Movement. The debates have so far pointed to the need for semi-autonomous women's committees operating under the umbrella of the host organisation. If overseas experience is anything to go by, it may take a more radical restructuring of organisations to prosecute a campaign for a sexist-free education in South Africa.

Conclusion

Without research to alert us to the massive extent of the problem and its many faces, without policy options to guide policy makers, and without women's organisations committed to an anti-sexist education, it is likely that gender will simply slip off, or to the bottom, of an agenda of educational transformation.

But there is hope. Gender-sensitive research is now being produced in increasing quantity and quality. At the University of Natal there is a Women's Studies Masters degree and a Gender Research Group which together have stimulated the production of gender-sensitive research. At the University of the Western Cape, the Centre for Adult and Continuing Education has been active in promoting the cause of feminism and in directing attention to problems of sexism in education. These are not isolated examples. There is a national trend to take the issue of gender more seriously. As Cherryl Walker says in her preface to the second edition of *Women and Resistance*, women "are finally 'on the agenda'".[50]

A spur to women's organisations has been the growing realisation that a post-apartheid state will not necessarily address gender inequality. Feminists deplore, for example, the failure of the state to create a Ministry for Women's Affairs, and argue rhetorically that the prospect for sexual equality is more remote now than ever before.[51]

I have argued in this article that, as things presently stand, gender issues are only likely to make it onto the educational agenda in a limited way. Teacher organisations and unions are likely to take up sex discrimination which affects the working conditions and professional position of teachers. The ANC is aware of the

political importance of gender issues and is likely therefore to insert a gender component into its education policy. This will probably take the form of granting girls equal opportunities to get to school which is the minimal demand that should be made by feminists.

But the fight for an education system which actually discriminates less against females will be tough. The experience of other countries in the Third World is illustrative. Although there have been improvements in the education of girls in the last twenty years, women remain under-represented at all education levels compared to men. Fewer enter educational programs, fewer receive technical or vocational training and women count for a very small proportion of the post-secondary contigent.[52]

In Third World countries, some effort has been made to equalize the quantity of education. But the content and quality have not been liberated from gender discrimination. No country has yet gone beyond the formal goal of equal provision of education for boys and girls alike. This is a clear challenge for South African educators.

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Notes and References

1. There are a number of markedly different feminist approaches to the gender issue which broadly span the spectrum from individualist/liberal/bourgeois, through marxist/socialist to radical. These approaches can frequently be discerned in the use of particular words, spellings or styles of language. While it is impossible to categorise the different approaches simply in terms of language use, it is necessary to note the importance of language as a signifier of feminist position. In this case I have used "Women's Studies" as opposed to "Gender Studies" to reflect dominant and existing trends.
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47. See E. Sarah, M. Scott and D. Spender, "The Case for Single-Sex Schools", in Spender and Sarah.
48. *Times Education Supplement*, 4 October 1991.
49. Seekings, 85; Hassim, 8.
50. Walker, ix.
51. *Daily News*, 4 December 1991; S. Hassim, "Gender, Social Location and Feminist Politics in South Africa", *Transformation*, 15 (1991).
52. Kelly and Elliot, 1.

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African Education and Social Control in Colonial Natal

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African education in the Colony of Natal provides a striking illustration of the management of education as a form of social control. Although virtually still-born, the early colonial strategy of establishing control through cultural incorporation and assimilation was accompanied by the principle of a common (or racially undifferentiated) curriculum, with government and mission schools being open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects. The form of social control underwent a gradual but radical transformation. Augmented by social Darwinism, the form of situational control employed by Shepstone signalled a move towards segregation and tribalism as the dominant form of social control. White hegemony was entrenched by discriminatory legislation, particularly during the era of Responsible Government. In an uneven process, the import of changing forms of social control was manifested in congruent changes in the structure of African education. By the time of Union, African education was underpinned by the principle of differentiation, and informed ideologically by trusteeship and "Native needs" (as interpreted by whites).

Introduction

In recent years the limitations of conventional liberal explanations of "Bantu education" as the creation of irrational Verwoerdian ideology have been exposed by neo-Marxist critiques. By viewing state policy in the context of capitalist accumulation, writers such as Christie and Collins[1] have usefully demonstrated that education for subordinacy predated the apartheid era. At the same time, neo-Marxist accounts have had their own difficulties. "Bantu education" has, in practice, served certain sectors of capital poorly rather than well;[2] furthermore, schooling has itself become a site of struggle in recent times. Disjunctions such as these have thus done some violence to the central tenet of schooling as an epiphenomenal feature of the capitalist mode of production. This is a difficulty from which the concepts of "contradiction" and "resistance" have not fully extricated neo-Marxist theory.

Although it leaves unanswered the important question of the extent to which the state and its organs are instruments of capital, a useful framework for analysing education is provided by the concept of social control. Much work in the sociology

of education is informed by this concept, which is usually understood in terms of ideological means and processes that induce individuals to conform to the expectations of dominant social groups. Bernstein has applied the concept of social control to the management of knowledge in a succinct and influential formulation:

> How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control.[3]

As the present paper draws on this classic insight in analysing the education of Africans in the Colony of Natal (1843-1910), it is necessary to acknowledge that certain theorists working outside the sociology of education have questioned the usefulness of the concept of social control. Berger has argued that the historian is the one traveller whose path the sociologist crosses more often than anyone else's,[4] but perhaps it should be added that the crossing of paths also creates a certain potential for collision. Indeed, this potential is increased when the concept of social control is under discussion. In a paper focused on this very issue, Jones, for example, warns historians searching for a "grander conceptual framework" of the theoretical eclecticism that results from the uncritical borrowing of concepts from sociology.[5] The concept of social control is singled out as a threat to analytical rigour. A further problem raised is that the notion of social control is slanted unidirectionally at a dominant group with a concomitant neglect of active measures pursued by subordinate groups. This point is taken up in Altenbaugh's review of the work of Feinberg and Rosemont (1975) and Violas (1978). While acknowledging their contribution in illuminating the role of public schooling as a mechanism of social control, he argues that the suggestion that disempowered groups passively acquiesce to their fate introduces a mechanistic element into historical perspectives.[6]

In the light of these problems, it is also necessary to comment briefly on the way in which the concept of social control informs the present paper. The focus here is on the agenda of state policy in respect of the contribution of schooling to the ideological process of establishing and maintaining social order. This level of analysis does not suggest that there were no disjunctions between the intentions and the achievements of state policy during the period under review; nor does it imply a passive view of human agency. Social struggles there certainly were, but consideration of these is beyond the scope of the present paper.

Two features of this period make it particularly interesting from the perspective of social control. Firstly, it witnessed a gradual transfer of power from the imperial government to the colonists: a limited form of representative government was granted in 1856, and Responsible Government followed in 1893. Secondly, after

being controlled very directly by politicians in the early stages of development, education became a "relatively autonomous" structure staffed by professional educators. This occurred with the passage of Act 5 of 1894 giving birth to the Natal Education Department.

The analysis that follows is structured on the basis of three more or less distinct phases in the evolving form of social control:[7]

(a) The imperial vision for early Natal was one of social control achievable through the spread of "civilisation", which in practice meant the incorporation of indigenous peoples into the values of the dominant culture. At a statutory level, this was an open society, and it coincided with the idea of open schools and a common curriculum;
(b) In a period of contradictions and ambiguities (during which the colonists gained an increasing measure of political power) the mode of social control shifted unevenly to segregation;
(c) Responsible Government marked a distinct phase characterised by the consolidation of segregation as the dominant form of social control. This coincided with the idea of segregated schools and a racially differentiated curriculum.

A non-discriminatory society, open schools and a common curriculum

1. Early government interest in the education of Africans

Missionary endeavour spread into Natal with the early white settlers. After the arrival of the first missionary in 1823,[8] the Colony became the site of intense missionary activity. Conversion of indigenous peoples, rather than education, was the major aim of missionary activity in Africa.[9] Nevertheless, the missionaries realised that if the ground for the new gospel of salvation were to be prepared, it was necessary to provide elementary scholastic knowledge.[10]

School education was a foreign imposition grafted onto the structure of tribal societies.[11] Although not necessarily a deliberate attempt to introduce the new colonial order, the content and consequences of missionary activity were crucially conditioned by this order.[12]

Missionary ideals, in fact, complemented the colonial order:

> ... most 19th century missionaries working in any part of the world, interpreted their role as the transformation of a local culture into the social as well as the religious pattern of Europe and America.[13]

Despite the functionality of the role of missionary education to its purpose, the early colonial government was not content to leave schooling to the devices of missionaries, or to give mere encouragement to their efforts. From the outset, the state revealed an intense interest in promoting the schooling of Africans. By specifying conditions attached to the availability of grants, it was also in a position to influence the form of missionary education. Politicians "could exert influence on the curriculum".[14]

One of the most interesting aspects of the establishment of state schooling in Natal is that in certain respects it preceded corresponding development in the United Kingdom. Although long debated in the United Kingdom, it was really only after 1870 that secular schools under state control began to evolve there. The fact that this development took place earlier in Natal - with the first government school opening its doors in 1849 - is a significant indication of the singular importance attached to schooling.

Schooling, in fact, was perceived as a primary means of promoting order. Between 1839 and 1842 some 60 000 Africans had moved into the Republic of Natalia, leading to increased pressure on the land with attendant dangers of a cycle of squatting, theft, and retaliatory commandos.[15] As order was extremely precarious, much thought was applied to the "position, power, occupation, education and civilization" of the African.[16]

The crucial role of a suitable form of schooling for Africans was acknowledged in various government reports, sometimes in the frankest of terms. The earliest of these known to the writer states that:

> We feel deeply that the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives is intimately connected with the prospects of success in any attempt having its object their good government and efficient control; and we believe that the amount of success in the latter depends very materially upon the progress acquired in the former ... .[17]

The Commission of 1852-1853[18] is a good example of the views of land-owning colonials, who formed a majority on this Commission.[19] Despite their differing material concerns, the settlers were at one with the imperial power in respect of suitable schooling as the central element of social control. There is surely no blunter expression of this than the following statement in the Commission's report:

> In the opinion of the Commissioners, it is cheaper, it is infinitely preferable to train the young Kaffir now, than to exterminate him hereafter; one or other must be done.[20]

A Select Committee appointed to consider the subject of education declared:

> The Committee ... urgently press upon the Legislature of this Colony, the necessity of carrying out a comprehensive system of English education for the natives. It is our duty as Christians, and as legislators it ought to be a matter of primary consideration, as the vindication of the law will be rendered more easy and certain, in proportion to discipline, intelligence, and morality imparted to the Kafir. The Government will be rendered more safe, laws more respected, and property more secure.[21]

Finding little desire among "ordinary Natives" for education, the Natal Native Commission of 1881-1882 recommended that "a reasonable amount of compulsion should be used to secure satisfactory attendance" at schools established in the locations.[22] Although nothing came of this recommendation, it contrasts interestingly with the view of the 1891 Commission on Education which addressed the question of schooling for whites. Noting that attendance of schools was voluntary, the commissioners added: "We do not think that compulsory attendance is at all called for".[23]

2. Social control in the early colonial days

The imperial vision of schooling in early Natal was crucially conditioned by the preferred form of political control, which in turn was informed by the means of political control that had come to be favoured in the mother country. In the first half of the nineteenth century the political debate in England was suggesting that lower class militancy was controlled more effectively (and more cheaply) through the extension of the franchise than through coercion.[24] In an African context, the earlier part of the nineteenth century

> ... saw the dominance of a liberal incorporationist strategy, based on the belief in the ultimate assimilability of indigenous peoples - whether white or black.[25]

Assimilation was, to be sure, within the parameters of early Victorian class society. In Britain this entailed separate curricula for the elite (based on the classics) and for the masses (aimed at producing useful workers who were also good and obedient citizens).

The class system of the home country was, however, not transplanted to the Colony without substantial modification. Persons of inherited distinction were certainly superior to "mere" colonists,[26] but the cheapness of land meant that this resource no longer formed a basis of class distinction. Nor in the early days did the Colony have the cultural apparatus of the public school to sustain the image of the "gentleman".

It is important to stress that while the most basic social division in the Colony coincided with race, it was religious conviction - rather than race *per se* - that was

the pivotal criterion.[27] The major divide thus distinguished the literate and "civilised" from the lost souls of the heathen. But in the absence of an entrenched class system, education was initially conceived in an undifferentiated way. Schooling for the masses was to be provided, and even when two government high schools were established, these encountered considerable popular opposition on the grounds that they catered for "snobs".

The applicability of a "liberal incorporationist" principle to Natal is evident in one of the three conditions laid down by the British government in the Proclamation of 1843:

> ... there shall not be in the eye of the law any distinction or disqualification whatever, founded on mere distinction of colour, origin, language, or creed; but that the protection of the law, in letter and in substance, shall be extended impartially to all alike.[28]

It was again laid down in 1848 that no disabilities or restriction should be placed on the natives alone because of their colour.[29] When Representative Government was granted in 1856, the system of qualified franchise (limited to males over the age of twenty one) was based on the value of property owned or rented. A colour bar was not written into the constitution, and an African could hold the franchise.[30]

In theory, the vision of social control was *fusionnement*, or civil and political equality between white and black, and to give that vision substance an appropriate legal framework had been constructed. In practice, however, there was considerable disjunction between intention and reality. It was not possible for schooling to serve as a "civilising" agency because the necessary infrastructure simply did not exist, and yet the need to establish order was immediate. These tensions are reflected in the "Shepstone system". After his appointment as Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes in 1846, Shepstone moved Africans onto reservations and maintained peace through Native Law, but it was through the spread of European customs, religion, and industrial schools that a work ethic was to be encouraged.[31] Arguing that it was a choice between the locations or chaos, Brookes and Webb maintain that the Location system was "inevitable".[32] In these terms, the Location system may be viewed as an adaptation of the imperial strategy of incorporation to the exigencies of a particular set of circumstances.

The fact that financial constraints prevented the realisation of Shepstone's hope of turning the locations into active agencies of civilisation,[33] and the fact that "Since civilisation was out of the question, Shepstone had to be content with mere control",[34] did not appear to deflect the incorporationist aims of the imperial power. Secretary of State for the Colonies, Earl Grey, was desirous of establishing reserves of generous size intermingled with European settlements. This measure was aimed at providing the white farmers with labour, while yet protecting the rights

of the Africans. At the same time, it was never his intention to isolate completely the Africans in remote locations. "Gradual amalgamation of the two races was the ultimate object of his policy".[35]

3. Schooling in the early colonial days

Two major elements are discernible in the form of education instituted to sustain the policy of incorporation. These were open schools, and the idea of a common curriculum rooted in the concept of an "English" education.

(a) Open schools

From the outset, mission schools were open to all races "and the small state grants made available by the colonial governments of the Cape and Natal from 1841 onwards were dependent upon this being so".[36]

During the Lieutenant-Governorship of Pine (1852-1855), the imperial government complained of the lack of progress in the schooling of Africans. In his defence, Pine pointed out that the two government schools in Pietermaritzburg and Durban were open to African children, "though the Natives made little use of them".[37] Pine's injunction that "ultimately the Natives should be commanded to go to school ... "[38] is a further demonstration of the importance attached to African schooling, since some Africans, at least, were availing themselves of this very opportunity at about this time. One of the reports on Verulam School in the late 1850s, for example, shows that thirteen of the forty-two scholars were Africans.[39]

It would be very difficult to establish the extent to which Africans did, in fact, attend the government schools. There are indirect references to this phenomenon in varied sources, such as Alan Paton's remark that when he taught at Newcastle in 1924, all schools had already become racially segregated. His experience at Ixopo in the following year confirmed this, but he adds that Indian children had attended the school in the early years of the twentieth century.[40] It has been established that the children of "free" Indians certainly did attend some of the "European schools".[41] In 1877, eight Indian pupils were on the roll at the Durban Primary School, and a number of Indian pupils attended the Boys' Model School in Pietermaritzburg.[42] By 1888 the number of Indians who "'conformed to European habits'" (and were prepared to pay the extra fees at the Durban Model Primary) had risen to twenty-two.[43] Duminy and Guest conclude that: "During the major part of the nineteenth century, all schools admitted children of all races ..."[44]

The principle that "all schools supported by the government were open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects"[45] was reiterated in a minute issued by Sir Garnet Wolseley in 1875 following a series of incidents at the government school in Durban. Issues surrounding the admission, expulsion and readmission of St Helena

children reflect the tensions and contradictions that were building up between colonists and the residual structures of the earlier vision of social control through incorporation.

In the concluding paragraph in his report for 1875, Superintending Inspector of Schools, Robert Russell, highlighted the question of "coloured settlers" in government-aided schools:

> The question is not whether they shall be educated, but whether they shall be allowed to sit side by side with our own children. ... The claims of these coloured children as colonists and burgers cannot be disputed. Their social position is not high; and the characters of many of them would hardly bear scrutiny. Their ways of thought, and their habits and customs, are often widely different from our own. These considerations, and not the fact of mere difference in colour, are the causes of the wide-spread feeling against them. On the other hand, their seeking the advantages of these schools, evidences a desire on the part of the parents to have their children trained in conformity with enlightened English ideas. This desire ought to be encouraged rather than checked. ... Let us hope ... that in time to come we shall see white and coloured children vying with each other in the attainment of the mental and moral qualities necessary for discharging successfully the domestic, civil, political, and religious duties of their common home.[46]

Russell addressed himself to the subject again in 1883, recording that: "All Government and Aided Schools have always been open to 'all classes of Her Majesty's subjects'".[47]

(b) An "English" education

Russell's reference to the spread of "enlightened English ideas" to people of colour (1875, cited above) is both a reflection of the cultural assumptions of the day and an echo of the ultimate aim of social control exercised through the creation of a common society.

From the outset, the need was expressed for a curriculum which would initiate Africans into "civilisation" by removing them from tribal influence and by encouraging industry. Such a curriculum was of an "English" type. One expression of this is found in the recommendation that there be a government industrial school in every village, to be attended for a period of three years by all Africans between the ages of seven and twelve. English and Dutch were to be taught in the schools.[48]

Ordinance 2 of 1856 made provision for the Lieutenant-Governor to "establish and maintain schools for the education of colored [sic] youth, and to contribute towards the support of schools otherwise established" out of public funds.[49] In every school supported by public funds, "religious education, industrial training, and

instruction in the English language, shall form a necessary part of the system to be pursued therein".[50]

It will be also recalled that the Select Committee of 1858 (cited above) had urged the institution of "a comprehensive system of *English* education for the natives".[51]

Not surprisingly, the concept of an "English" education embraced the component of religion. In one interesting comment it was noted that:

> Scott realised that religion and education should go hand in hand with his schemes, and he hoped to secure the co-operation of the most zealous missionaries, who would "use their influence to inculcate charity and peace, and teach their flock to fear God and honour the Queen".[52]

Consistent with that view was government encouragement to missionary effort. This took the form of grants, which were conditional upon the provision of industrial training and instruction in the English language.[53]

The effect of this encouragement is apparent in a report on the institutions receiving grants from the Native Reserve Fund. Here it is recorded that: "Salaried English teachers of good skill and attainment are employed in these schools, and the teaching is almost exclusively in English".[54] The same report reveals the number of boys under indenture in these schools, and included among the skills being imparted in the various schools were masonry, carpentry, wagon-making, and printing. Agricultural work included the cultivation of coffee.[55] At this early stage in the development of the Colony industrial training had both social and economic dimensions. Socially, it was viewed as a means of "civilising" and of encouraging a work ethic; and economically, it was perceived as having the potential to contribute to the economic development of the Colony. This did not preclude the ultimate economic benefits which would accrue to the African youths themselves. There was little suggestion, at this stage, of industrial education being a form of initiation into the kinds of menial tasks which the settlers might have wished their servants to perform. It had none of the negative associations which it was to acquire later, such as its subjugating role in preparing Africans for subordinate positions in society.

Consistent with earlier commissions, the 1881-1882 Natal Native Commission considered that instruction in English was essential.[56] In what must be the last commission to reflect the tradition of industrial training as a means of teaching worthwhile skills, the Commission recommended the apprenticing of selected youths to tradesmen in towns, and the founding of a school to provide instruction in trades prior to apprenticeship.[57]

Ambiguities and the origins of differentiation

1. Economic power and changing power relations

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was marked by ambiguities in the structure of social control in the Colony. As noted earlier, situational control in the form of the Location system had introduced a disjunction between the vision and practice of social control. Moreover, the strategy of incorporation was increasingly coming into tension with changing power relations.

With the Colonists holding a majority in the Legislative Council after 1856, the political system was adapted to blend with Shepstone's policy of keeping blacks and whites and apart.[58] Law 11 of 1865, for example, removed the practical possibility of Africans electing members to the Legislative Council.[59]

Moves to disempower Africans were not unrelated to African economic advance. In the mid-nineteenth century Africans still retained a hold on the basic means of production - land and cattle - even outside of the areas set aside for them.[60] Studies of recent years (particularly the very useful papers in Guest and Sellers, 1985)[61] have documented the emergence of an embryonic African middle class.

The flourishing *kholwa* communities in particular were converting agricultural surpluses into cash profits, and a wide variety of skilled crafts were being practised.[62] By the 1880s those Africans who had access to fertile land and who had had missionary training were beginning to compete with the colonists as producers.[63] So successful was African agriculture and marketing that prior to the 1890s there were European communities which depended on the African landowning and peasant communities for supplies of food and grain. As a case in point, in 1892 one-third of Pietermaritzburg's market supplies were supplied by black peasants.[64]

2. Ambiguity, social control and ideology

A new strategy of social control coincided with the growing power of the Colonists. In addition to Shepstonism, this reflected wider forces:

> By the time the African elite was so enthusiastically improving itself, the mid-Victorian faith in the prescriptive power of "civilization" was waning. As the forces of production expanded in South Africa and made mid-Victorian vision possible in a dramatically new way, both imperialists and Cape liberals retreated from the vision.[65]

Separatism was ideologically informed by Social Darwinism and expressed in a growing sense of white nationalism. Loss of momentum of the confident belief in the inevitability of human progress was manifested in a "spectacular explosion of

biologically based racial science in the second half of the nineteenth century". A task common to different schools of thought was that of classifying the world's races according to a "natural history".[66]

Influential in the more prolific racial discourse was historian G.M.Theal, whose works published between 1871 and 1919 have been analysed by Saunders.[67] Theal argued that whites had the right to dominate and subjugate Blacks. "A Social Darwinist, he assumed that the strongest and fittest would win, and that might was right".[68] White rule meant progress. The duty of the white man was to redeem blacks from backwardness and barbarity. As the pioneer of historiography, Theal did much to establish a "racist paradigm which lay at the core of that tradition which served to justify white rule".[69]

Educationists were clearly influenced by the ideology of the power group to which they belonged. Rather than a system that raised Africans in the social scale, an appropriate education was now defined as one that socialised African youth for their probable duties in life. By the onset of Responsible Government, the Inspector of Native Schools, Robert Plant, was able to observe:

> [In the] ... present Native educational work there is ample provision for the thorough equipment of both boys and girls for general usefulness, either as servants or as heads of families in their own homes ... .[70]

The following quotation summarises one of Plant's minutes on education:

> There was a danger of teaching the Native industries without making him industrious. Intelligent manual labourers were wanted, not educated Native mechanics; and it was dangerous to open too suddenly the paths to comparative wealth. More money would mean more cattle, and therefore more wives, with increasing sloth in the men.[71]

Technical training for Africans was therefore unlikely to yield any "useful result either for the Natives or ourselves ...".[72]

Separatism did not, however, diminish the importance of "civilising" as an essential element of social control. Rather, the notion of "civilising" underwent a qualitative change. No longer did it imply participation in a common society; now acceptance of a subordinate position in society together with the norms associated with "civilised" conduct became desirable.

An important element in "civilising" was respect. After conducting a study into the "after-school life of the pupils", the Inspector of Native Education concluded that education improved the African character by encouraging respectful attitudes.[73] In addition, the spread of "civilisation" encouraged suitable consumer attitudes:

> ... the three or four years of school life appears to completely alter the bent of the Native mind in the direction of a better style of living. Clothing, furniture, utensils,

> saddlery, European articles of food, and stationery are among the many things that are fast becoming necessaries to the educated Native, and if the originating of "wants" in the Native life is a desirable thing, our Native schools may fairly be credited with considerable value.[74]

By 1893, race had become the definitive category around which social distinction was being constructed. This represents an important change from the days when being fully "civilised" (that is, immersed in the dominant culture) was a status theoretically attainable by anyone. While an African might thus in former times have achieved the status of being "civilised", there was no possibility of his becoming white. The fact that social status was now ascribed had profound implications for the structure of African schooling.

3. The origins of differentiated education for Africans

Law 1 of 1884 introduced a differentiated educational experience for Africans, not in order to cope with particular exigencies, but in order to accommodate schooling within a segregationist framework. The groundwork was laid for a separate administrative structure for African education, including the post of "Inspector of Native Education";[75] and, perhaps most significantly, a curriculum was specified.[76]

A course of instruction in all schools established, maintained or assisted by the Council of Education was to include "Reading and writing in the Zulu language"; "Elements of industrial training"; and "In Girls' Schools, sewing and plain needle-work".[77] Furthermore, instruction was to be given in the principles of morality, "inculcated and explained to the children in a manner adapted to their capacities ... ".[78]

The development of night schools was curbed by limiting the enrolment of maintained schools to pupils of no more than fifteen years of age.[79]

"Standards of Attainment" for the aided schools were prescribed by the Native Education Committee in 1886. These standards are believed to be the first laid down specifically for Africans.[80] This curriculum was very different from that specified in the "Standards of Examination", which were by implication intended for schools other than African schools. The emphasis on the Zulu language was marked. The Reading syllabus for some of the standards, for example, was:

> Standard one: Easy sentences in first Zulu Reading Book.
>
> Standard two: Read first Zulu Book. Read from first English Primer, translating into Zulu.
>
> Standard five: Read from Standard Reader or other book any ordinary narrative fluently, translating each sentence correctly into Zulu. Read Zulu fluently.

By comparison, the "Standards of Examination" for government schools concentrated solely on English reading, so that by standard five these expectations included:

> Read a passage from Shakespeare or Milton.
>
> Recite 200 lines from Shakespeare or Milton, and explain the words and allusions.

Emphasis was clearly moving away from the earlier insistence on the importance of an "English" education. However, these standards for African schools were soon replaced by new standards drawn up by the Native Education Committee in 1888. It is unfortunate that neither the official reports nor the available literature suggests reasons for what was a dramatic reversal of policy. In the words of Emanuelson: "The object of the new syllabus was to secure *greater similarity between European and Native Education*".[81] It is known, however, that the request for the change originated from those in charge of the African schools.[82] As groups such as the *kholwa* "demanded high standards and curricula relevant to their special needs",[83] a likely explanation is that the missionaries were responding to pressure from their clientele.

Despite this reversal of policy, the clause concerning the necessity of instruction in the principles of morality remained in force. The Annual Report of the Inspector of Native Schools for 1885 was the first to include a section headed: "Means taken to encourage conformity to European habits of life". Many of these measures reported by schools were modest and pragmatic, but there were also some grandiose measures which provide interesting reflections on the cultural assumptions (and arrogance) of the day. One of the more dramatic measures, taken at St John's School, Ladysmith, involved:

> ... constant reflection upon the infallible truth that Europe, though the smallest of the four quarters of the globe, is the greatest in spiritual, scientific, and military power.

By 1892 the rather elusive expression, "Every possible means", had become a popular form of explaining how Africans were being encouraged to embrace "European habits of life". The application of discipline and personal habits, including those of dress, had become favoured by most institutions, hence measures such as:

> All scholars are made to attend school clean and tidy, wearing European clothing ... Rules and their enforcement; supervision as constant as possible ...[84]

Missionaries were not unwilling partners in encouraging African acceptance of "European" standards. Whereas for the ruling authorities this implied acceptance of

white trusteeship and white rule, for the missionaries it was a necessary part of African acceptance of the gospel. Of their own accord, missionaries encouraged a "European" way of life which included considerable emphasis on the "external trappings" of civilisation, such as "square houses".[85]

As the essence of "civilising" implied understanding of, and respect for the norms of South Africanised British culture, the dividing line between "civilising" and "assimilating" was necessarily fine. It is small wonder that the education system prescribed for Africans reflected that type of uncertainty.

4. Industrial education

If any aspect of African education reflected ambiguity, it was industrial education. Uncertainties regarding the provision of industrial education mirror conflicting views on what it was meant to achieve. The imperial government, which introduced it as a means of "civilising" and upliftment, associated it with a work ethic and with skills that were useful and usable in the world of work; the Colonists, whose concern was for a disciplined labour force, favoured a menial type of training; and while the missionaries were opposed to anything but simple industrial work,[86] the users of the system had an informal leverage which enabled them to demand particular skills.

In 1865 there were six industrial schools on mission stations receiving grants from the Native Reserve Fund. Activities at that time included: the cultivation of coffee, general agriculture, building, carpentry, joinery, wagon-building, shoe-making, masonry, tailoring and printing. A sizeable number of the boys were under indenture.[87]

In that same year, modest grants were extended to schools not providing industrial training. Then, after an 1868 enquiry into industrial training, policy was reversed: grants for industrial training were withdrawn.

Pressure for industrial training did not abate, however. In 1873, a Select Committee on the Supply of Labour urged the compulsory attendance of African children at schools offering industrial training.[88] In similar vein, an 1881-1882 Natal Native Commission, finding the informal acquisition of industrial skills on farms inadequate, recommended the founding of a school to provide elementary instruction in trades.[89]

Article 5 of Law 1 of 1884 provided momentary clarification by making government grants contingent upon the teaching of industrial education.

A relaxation of the regulation requiring industrial education was provided by Law 13 of 1885. By accepting "Manual Work" in lieu of "Industrial Education", Law 38 of 1888 subsequently took this retreat one step further. This significant change led inexorably to the abandonment of the teaching of skills which could be utilised in

the developing economy. From this time onwards, emphasis fell on traditional African arts and crafts.

The history of the industrial school at Zwartkop - the only government school to have been established specifically for Africans - illuminates the ambiguities and complexities surrounding the concept of industrial education. Opened in 1886 and closed down by the end of 1891, it had a short and extraordinarily turbulent history. The Inspector of Native Education was "sure of the success of the experiment" in 1887, but had changed his opinion by the following year.[90] Despite a very useful paper by Kallaway[91] on this subject, uncertainties regarding the reasons behind the decision to close this school have not been fully resolved. However, what does emerge clearly in Kallaway's analysis is resistance to the level of useful and marketable craft skills provided by the school: from the Africans, because the school was doing too little in this regard; and from the settlers, because it was doing too much.

Switzer (1971) maintains that regulations passed in the late nineteenth century were designed to destroy skilled industrial training. In 1893 the Council of Education

> ... capitulated to the radical extremists and passed an amended and more detailed classification of all aided African schools, fixing government grants to carefully prescribed conditions emphasizing, in effect, unskilled labour.[92]

Segregation, separate schools and a differentiated curriculum

1. Political developments

The major objective in the agitation for Responsible Government was control of "native policy".[93]

A succession of discriminatory measures undermined African economic viability with the intention of forcing them on to the labour-market.[94] The process of decline in the economic position of African peasants was, however, accelerated by natural environmental calamities during this period. Economic depression in the Colony resulted in Africans being faced with increased taxation between 1904 and 1909. This was partly due to attempts on the part of the government to raise revenue, but was not divorced from the desire to get Africans to work on the white farms on the terms of the white farmer.[95]

Brookes and Webb maintain that the colonists had, after four years of Responsible Government, "got both the Indians and the Zulus more or less where they wanted them ... ."[96] Black peasants had been reduced to the status of labourers by 1910.[97]

2. Separate schools and circumscribed education

With the onset of Responsible Government, civil service jobs became accessible to colonists. Since the curriculum for African schools had reverted to the "European" model, there was a decided contradiction between the form of African education and the widespread belief that competition to the ruling white elite was "unfair". This was alluded to by Mr Bainbridge speaking in the Legislative Assembly debate on the 1894 Education Bill:

> The *Prime Minister* in a most able speech has told us that, through education, the high offices of this Colony, even the office of the Prime Minister, is to be open to every scholar in the Government schools. Now, Sir, we are all aware that there are Kaffirs and Coolies in those Government schools and we are also aware, Sir, that both Asiatics and Natives are taking the prizes and bursaries, and they compete for exhibitions. ... I see grave consequences that may ensue. If you educate the Native and the Coolie, and he competes with the children of the white people and passes them, you cannot keep higher offices closed against them. And what is the consequence? He is brought up beyond labour, he is in a sphere in which he has no occupation; he is an educated man.[98]

Developments in the exercise of political power aimed at excluding Blacks from providing "unfair competition" accordingly found parallels in education. The policies of the Natal Education Department, established in 1894,

> ... were a response to the demands of the white colonial public and reflected the belief that the educational needs of African and Indian children differed from those of whites.[99]

In 1894 it was ruled that in areas where there was an African or Indian school, children of those groups could not be admitted into "European" schools.[100] (A subsequent concession permitted admission to those who had passed through their own schools.) Indian male pupils were denied admission to "European" schools in 1899, with the same right being denied to Indian girls in 1905.[101] Moves to discourage the development of higher education for Africans may be viewed in the same context. The Report of the Native Inspector describes the new set of regulations in force:

> ... grants in aid are no longer given for boys over 16 years of age, nor of scholars of either sex who have passed Standard IV., save in cases where the scholars pledge themselves to teach in our schools for at least two years. This has caused considerable bitterness in some quarters, and has seriously reduced the attendance roll ... .[102]

In the view of Switzer, aid was biased in favour of primary schools "because these best satisfied colonial economic goals and were the most amenable to white

control".[103] The policy was thus one of educating Africans to the minimum standard that would make them "cheap but relatively productive labourers in an increasingly sophisticated economy".[104]

3. Further emasculation of industrial education

> Education should be mainly of an industrial character, but not such as would enable them [Africans] to compete with the white man.[105]

In making this statement, the Mayor of Durban was, in fact, advocating safeguards that had already been virtually secured. Legislation passed in 1895 had delivered the death knell to meaningful industrial work:

> After the 1st July next no Native school will receive Government aid if the products of the industrial work done in the school are allowed to be sold or disposed of in such a manner as to compete with the general trade; or if the school be in any way responsible for, or associated with, the printing of any Native newspaper.[106]

Soon after this prohibition it was reported that the work of the schools comprised:

> ... brick-making, knife-work, and gardening by the bigger boys; straw hat and mat making by the smaller boys and girls; and sewing, both plain and fancy, with, in some places, general housework by the bigger girls.[107]

In subsequent annual reports, the manual work of the girls was praised, while that of the boys came to be described in a recurring epithet: "a farce". A reason for this was ventured in the Superintendent's Report for 1899: "The explanation is a simple one, there are no facilities for useful work in connection with most of these schools".[108]

The course of events in mission schools which had led to this state of affairs was predictable. Teaching staff had been dismissed, plants disposed of, and industrial schools closed.[109]

The law prohibiting the sale of the products of industrial work carried out in schools was repealed in 1902.[110] In practice, however, evidence cited at the Native Affairs Commission (NAC) of 1906-1907[111] makes it clear that the terms of the repeal were not unproblematic. The sale of school-made goods was now contingent on the possession of a licence. Indian traders had already discovered that the legal requirement for trading licences was used as a discriminatory practice, since licences were simply not issued. The requirement of a licence to sell school-made goods would seem to be an extension of that covert strategy.

A rather complicated set of regulations governing industrial work was set out in 1904. Not less than two hours per day was to be devoted to manual work in both training schools for teachers and in boarding schools. In the latter, it was to comprise one or more of:

> Rough carpentry, boot-making, blacksmith's work, brick-making, building, repairs to saddles or harness, or such other handicraft as may be approved by the Education Department.[112]

The work of the girls was to include at least three of: sewing, knitting, crochet, laundry work, straw plaiting, or other work approved by the inspector.

No manual work was required of the boys in the day schools, but girls were obliged to engage themselves in plain sewing.

Definitive reasons why manual work was permitted in the boarding schools cannot be advanced with confidence. Perhaps the most plausible interpretation is that since certain groups (such as the *kholwa*)[113] showed a keen desire for their children to be taught trades,[114] the move was designed to boost the popularity of boarding schools. Available evidence suggests that boarding schools certainly were regarded with particular favour. They were, for example, declared to be superior to the day school in "... securing character, habits of industry, punctuality and methodical working".[115] The influential opinion of Robert Plant was that:

> The boy or girl who went through a boarding school had a better character than those who attended a day school. More assistance should be given to the boarding school.[116]

Officialdom's view of the boarding school could well have been shaped by missionary policy, followed since the 1890s, of using the boarding schools to produce devout Christian leaders to serve the evangelical needs of the church.[117] The success of the strategy of total immersion in the atmosphere of prayer, Bible instruction and moral training, with no attempt being made to make pupils "intellectually acute",[118] would not have passed unnoticed by the education authorities.

Despite the cautious and limited financial support for manual training now offered in the boarding schools, the 1895 prohibition on the sale of goods had impaired manual training to a point that was irredeemable. The missionaries now walked warily and were "loath to do any really good and advanced work".[119]

4. The ideology of "unfair" competition and trusteeship

Ideological justification for inferior African education was provided by an extension of the belief that any challenge to white economic domination was "unfair competition". An equal education which equipped Africans for the more sought-after occupational positions in the developing economy was held to be unfair to Africans, on the grounds that the very positions to which they might aspire would, in practice, be denied to them.

Evidence given at the NAC (1906-1907) illustrates the "unfair to Africans" principle in clear terms:

> ... education in the school sense was undesirable for the natives. The policy of educating them was cruel for this reason: if they should depend upon their education for a living, they would find practically no openings; and for the very few who might find such openings the tenure of the situations would be most precarious. The educated native found himself in a false position. By the whites he was regarded with jealousy, suspicion, and resentment - the natural outcome of racial instinct. In a black country held by force of arms the black man must be held as a plebeian. In that status, with just and sympathetic rule his life might be peaceful and happy. Departure from that status, attempts to enter into the ranks of the aristocracy - the dominant race - must inevitably bring misfortune to him.[120]

An interesting application of this ideology was demonstrated by Sir Matthew Nathan, whose argument against granting the franchise to Africans was that since the franchise was linked with property and educational qualifications, its extension to Africans would lead the settlers to withhold both property and education from them in an attempt to hold them back politically.[121] In other contexts, Nathan does not appear to have argued strenuously for the extension of either education or property rights for Africans.

Evidence of the influential Under Secretary of Native Affairs, S.O. Samuelson, recorded at the NAC (1906-1907) provides valuable insight into contemporary views on the "rightful" place of Africans in the Colony, and of the curriculum which would then be logically appropriate.[122]

Samuelson argued that there had already been too much development in putting Africans on the same plane as whites.[123] The remedy lay in the restoration of:

> ... the lost interests of their old life. This could not be manufactured, but through the spread of religion and education it could be cultivated.
>
> Education and instruction directed at making the native useful merely to the European would miss meeting the needs of the situation. It was primarily necessary to make him [the African] useful to himself and to his own people.[124]

The implications of this for the curriculum were self-evident:

> Cleanliness, faithful discharge of duty, thoroughness in the performance of work, and prompt obedience to orders were virtues which, to his mind, outweighed the passing of educational standards.[125]
>
> They [Africans] should be taught ploughing, and how to mend a ploughshare, to cut out and make a suit of clothes and a pair of boots for themselves; also how to mow, and how to make butter.[126]

The projected role of Africans in society is more explicit later in Samuelson's evidence:

> ... industrial training of the natives, so far as it was to be supplied by the Government, should be limited to fitting them for ordinary industrial service in the white man's employ and among themselves.[127]

In time, ideological justification for a curriculum for African subordinacy came to draw less on white fear of "unfair" competition, and correspondingly more on the belief that African schooling should be geared to service amongst their own people. As white experience compounded into a sense of racial superiority, fear of "unfair" competition began to feature less prominently in ideological justifications. The Speaker in the Legislative Assembly took this argument even further than most authorities would have been prepared to venture. Basing his argument on the experience of certain missionaries who had found that putting "educated Natives" in charge of the mission stations had not been successful, Mr Stainbank, in an address delivered in 1895, maintained that whites could safely give Africans the maximum education without creating dangerous rivals and without fear of jeopardising their dominance.[128]

White confidence was undoubtedly also fuelled by the phenomenon of social Darwinism referred to earlier. One example of this cited by Marks (1970) was the approval which greeted the quoting of the following statement by a writer of the day at the NAC:

> It has been demonstrated that black and white races are opposites in many cardinal points. The one has a large frontal region of the brain, the other a large posterior region; the one a great reasoner, the other eminently emotional, the one domineering but having great self-control, the other meek and submissive, but violent and lacking in self-control when the passions are roused.[129]

Diminishing fear of "unfair" competition did not, of course, diminish the need for social control. Indeed, the keynote of regulations governing the conduct of African schools was control, and the form of this control was congruent with the developing ideology of trusteeship.

Trusteeship was not unsurprisingly a principle that was cited with particular emphasis in debates on the issue of the franchise, as is demonstrated in the case of the findings of the NAC (1906-1907):

> Not one of the many educated and exempted Natives, who expressed themselves very strongly upon the question of direct Parliamentary representation, suggested that one of their own race should be their member. Their readiness to be represented by selection from nominations made on their behalf was an exhibition of moderation, political wisdom, and confidence in the European, which was highly commendable.[130]

Applied to the management of schools, trusteeship meant "European" control:

> Every Native school receiving Government aid must be visited at least once in every quarter by the grantee, or by an approved European deputy. ... Grants in aid will not be given to any schools which are not under European supervision, and in every case the grantee must be a European, but special permission may be granted to any Native man whom the Department may regard as a suitable person to make official visits to the school periodically.[131]

A measure of the extent of change that had taken place in the preceding three and a half decades is provided by the following account:

> During his tour in 1868 Mr. Warwick Brookes was delighted to find a school at New Leeds run entirely by Natives. The teacher, trained in the Cape Colony, had carried on the school for three years without assistance, and the Superintendent recommended a grant to keep the school going and to encourage the opening of similar schools in other parts of Natal.[132]

By 1910, the principle of African education to serve a segregated society had been firmly established.

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Reconceptualising Skill Formation in South Africa

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Definition of skill and its formation are often taken for granted. In South Africa one traditional conceptualisation is that of the white craft unions. They acted defensively to protect their skills and earnings against job dilution, job fragmentation and replacement by poorly paid black workers. Craft workers became a labour aristocracy protected by job reservation and union-management agreements.

Research shows that even so-called *unskilled* workers exercise a range of *tacit skills*, tricks of the trade that are essential to production but receive no formal acknowledgement. Our investigation into underground mining found that formal training played a minor role in imparting tacit skills which are largely learnt from black miners. Race posed a barrier to learning tacit skills. No black miner learnt this knowledge from white miners. Conventional notions about skill and training need to be reconsidered to enhance informal learning. These include the classification of workers as unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled categories which acts as an obstacle to skill acquisition.

In the current transition period industrial unions are developing a new approach to continuous skill enhancement based upon broad job categories and opportunities for career progression through multilevel entries and exits. Workers require paid training leave and the state will have to play a central role in facilitating skills acquisition.

Introduction

It is widely accepted that a skill shortage exists in South Africa and that this shortage can be overcome only by a massive programme of skill training. Andre Kraak and Karl von Holdt, for example, cite Department of Education and Training (DET) statistics that only ten per cent of DET matriculants wrote mathematics in 1984, and of these only twenty per cent passed.[1] In respect of white workers, they point out that many white artisans are poorly trained. Half fail their trade tests but qualify after four years of experience. In response to the government's concern about the skill shortage, the Economic Advisory Council to the State President has proposed a long term strategy to "ensure an increase in the supply of skilled

labour".[2] But what is often taken for granted is the definition of skill and how skills are formed. This paper addresses these questions by arguing for the need to reconceptualise both how we understand skills and how they are formed.

The paper is divided into three sections. In part 1 we analyse the historic process of skill formation in relation to craft unions. Part 2 presents the results of current research on skill formation amongst gold miners. In part 3 we draw on international research as well as the implications of our research on underground miners to propose a new approach to skill formation based on a broader conceptualisation of skill.

Part 1: Skill formation and craft unionism in South Africa

Conventional definitions of skill generally see skill as comprising two components: *manual skill* and knowledge. Manual skill, or dexterity, is the ability to perform quickly and effectively complex actions which necessitate the co-ordination of perceptual and motor activity.[3] An example is the ability of a carpenter to saw a straight edge. While some call this manual facility *skill*, when we commonly talk about skill we imply a combination of manual facility together with *knowledge*. Thus, when we consider the skill of a carpenter we mean the combination of exercising manual dexterity at sawing, hammering or planing, together with a knowledge of different types of woods, what joints and glues to use when constructing a piece of furniture, how to polish or varnish the finished product and so on. If we define skill in terms of these two components of manual skill and knowledge - and do not define skill in terms of a quantity - then all workers possess skill. However, when we talk about a *skilled worker*, we clearly are not talking about a worker who simply has skill. The term *skilled* generally implies that a worker has passed through some *barrier to entry* into an occupation, whether it be an apprenticeship, an examination or a formal training course. Thus, in relation to a skilled worker, some workers are termed *semi-skilled* or even *unskilled*, despite the fact that all of these workers exercise a variety of skills in their work.

Barriers to entry reflect not only the degree of knowledge required in a particular occupation but also the organisational power of the occupational group. These mechanisms of exclusion constitute a form of what Max Weber called social closure, a reference to the capability of a group to exclude outsiders and monopolise resources which are in turn denied to others.[4] Since these barriers are clearly artificial constructs that may - or may not - relate to the skills actually practised by workers, sociologists talk about this as the *social construction* of skill.

To speak of skills as socially constructed is then to suggest that skill cannot be objectively measured; its *construction* is a result of the relative strength of employers and employees in specific historical contexts. Each context is shaped by

the organisational power of workers at the point of production and in the labour market. Two examples of how skills can be socially constructed may help clarify this concept.

In the 1920s and 1930s, iron moulders experienced a process of *deskilling* through the introduction of new technology. Faced by this loss of skill, organised workers refused to *dilute* their trade. Instead, they defined the new jobs as *skilled* and refused to allow the new moulding jobs to be performed by workers who were not members of a craft union. Where workers were well organised, such as at the South African Railways Foundry in Pretoria, they struck over dilution. During one of these strikes, the importance of workplace organisation in the social construction of skill was confirmed by the foundry manager who said that at foundries overseas where the union was strong, cores were made by male moulders; where the union was weak, non-unionised women made the cores.[5]

The second example is drawn from the history of the mining industry. In the early decades of this century, thousands of miners came from Britain to work in the underground mines of the Witwatersrand. In Britain miners were looked down upon as unskilled labourers.[6] Yet in South Africa, through their capacity to organise into craft unions and disrupt production, they were able to *construct* their jobs as *skilled*. In 1907, for example, English speaking mine workers struck in protest against a proposal of the mine-owners to permit African and *indentured* Chinese workers to perform skilled work. Although the strike was broken by replacing the strikers with unemployed Afrikaner workers, the Mine Workers' Union was able to maintain control over entry to the job by entrenching the colour bar over the next two decades.[7]

Research into the history of skills formation in South Africa demonstrates how craft unions adopted a highly defensive and conservative approach to *skills management*.[8] Skilled workers were amongst the first group of workers to organise into unions in the late nineteenth century on the Witwatersrand. These workers were to become a privileged stratum of the metal labour force by organising themselves into craft unions - a labour aristocracy.

The early craft unions were based on a sharply divided labour force - a small group of white artisans and a large group of black labourers. The craftsmen exercised control over production through possession of the instruments of production, that is, the tools of the trade, which were an extension of their hands and over which they attempted to maintain exclusive control. The mechanism for establishing control was two-fold: the closed shop and the apprenticeship system.

In terms of the closed shop all workers with a specific skill have to belong to the relevant craft union. These rules emerged historically with the growth of the craft union but later they formed part of joint union-management agreements. They

prevent workers who have not acquired a specific skill from obtaining employment. In South Africa this form of job protectionism has been used historically to exclude black workers from certain jobs.[9]

The second aspect of craft control over the job, the apprenticeship system, is deeply entrenched in craft unionism. Until 1922, when the Apprenticeship Act was passed providing for the control of apprenticeship by joint-management committees, the reproduction of skilled workers was entirely in the hands of the craft unions. Rules laid down the length of apprenticeship, the ratio of apprenticeship to journeymen, entrance fees and subscriptions.

The enforcement of these rules depended on custom and the unions' capacity to enforce them. It is clear from the evidence that the unions struggled to achieve this capacity and in most cases were forced to rely on employer goodwill. This was not always present as employers constantly broke the rules. They would take in workers and train them on the job to do certain tasks. The unions saw any such practice as dilution and resisted it. This can best be illustrated historically through the example of the attempt by the South African Railways in 1930 to replace English speaking skilled moulders by unskilled Afrikaner workers.[10]

The transformation of work, initially through the introduction of scientific management (or Taylorism) and later mechanisation, was to increase the threat to the craft worker. The Taylorist approach to skill was to take it out of the heads and the hands of the workers and place it in the workings of the machine. This was achieved through three principles that underlay scientific management:

* defining jobs narrowly to certain routine activities and instructions;
* removing as much think-work from the job as possible, and locating control in management's hands;
* deskilling the worker through the introduction of machinery.

Craft workers reacted to these challenges defensively by trying to protect their skills. They insisted on demarcating these jobs for their own members even after the skills had been removed. They restricted entry to the trade by insisting that workers had to have done their apprenticeship before they could do the job. They also struggled against the employer to prevent their jobs from being "diluted" and "fragmented" by the employers bringing in non-union members to do part of the job. Skills were regarded as a once-off acquisition, giving the workers who possessed them bargaining power. Workers defended their skill with Luddite determination.

The traditional craft union regards skills formation as completed by an apprenticeship. Thereafter practical experience is gained on the job. Wage rates can be increased only by chopping and changing employers. The one step

upwards that is recognised as any sort of *career progression* is to become a foreman or supervisor. Traditionally, no career structure based on further skill development and training is recognised by craft unions.

In its insistence on breaking work down into narrow tasks performed by less skilled labour, the Taylorist *scientific management* school dealt a near fatal blow to the integrity of human skill. One of the most alarming findings of a study done in the United Kingdom in the seventies was that eighty five per cent of workers exercised less skill at work than they did in driving to work.[11] But, as Andre Kraak has found, an alternative skill-based system always existed alongside and in the shadow of the mass production system in the South African metal industry - so Taylorism never won out completely.[12] Kraak has shown how the growth of monopoly capitalism was usually accompanied by mass production. But this did not happen uniformly throughout the industry. The industry developed unevenly and the skills of the artisan are still required where *jobbing* exists, that is, one-off production runs.

More importantly, new technology and mass production have not only deskilled work - they have created the need for new skills, especially where computerised manufacturing is introduced. For example, many trades are being upgraded with skills in pneumatics, hydraulics, electronics and computerisation. New skilled jobs have emerged such as computer programmers, product designers and technologists. All of these create new training needs.

Part 2: Results of research into skills in a South African gold mine

Our research is concerned with the skills miners use to prevent injuries due to rockfalls underground in South African gold mines. We have learnt that these skills involve a knowledge of a range of precursors to rockfalls and an ability to recognise conditions which are potentially hazardous. These skills are an example of tacit skills, the tricks of the trade that workers use in carrying out production. They are generally not mentioned in the technical literature, yet without these skills, production could not be accomplished. Following the terminology of British colliers, we use the term *pit sense* to describe the tacit skills miners have about rockfall accidents.[13]

Research methodology

The research methodology in summary involved in depth semi-structured interviews administered personally by one of the authors (JPL) to a sample of 147 miners at a large gold mine.

Interviewees were selected randomly from five occupational groups employed in stoping, the most important productive activity in a gold mine (Table 1). The

occupational groups chosen were team members (classified as unskilled), drillers and team leaders (semi-skilled), stopers and officials (skilled). Thirty workers from each group were interviewed with the exception of the stoppers (twenty seven interviewees). The research was conducted in 1989 during working hours with the full co-operation of the mine management and the most representative union active at the mine, the National Union of Mineworkers.

Conventional classification	Occupational group	Sample size
Unskilled	Stope team member	30
Semi-skilled	Pneumatic driller operator	30
	Stope team leader	30
Skilled	Stoper	27
	Officials	30

Table 1: Structure of random stratified sample of underground miners

Pit sense research results

As shown in Table 2, it emerged that all interviewees shared a common core of pit sense, whether they be team members or senior officials. However, there were some instances of tacit skills (additional precursors category) that were known only to a proportion of interviewees, although these skills would have been of benefit to all.

	No	Rock noise	Cracks	Fine dust	Indications of pressure on supports	Additional precursors
Team members	30	90	100	100	90	43
Drillers	30	93	100	100	90	43
Team leaders	30	100	100	97	80	70
Stopers	27	81	100	100	78	81
Officials	30	83	97	100	63	90
TOTAL	147	90	99	99	80	69

Table 2 : Interviewees' descriptions of precursors to potential rockfalls analysed by occupation (percentages)

Sources of knowledge of pit sense

Interviewees were asked about which persons or what institutions had taught them their knowledge of rockfall precursors. This produced some of the most unexpected but interesting results of our survey. The responses are detailed in Table 3.

	(n)	Training Centre	Stopers and officials	Black miners	Self taught	Experienced miners, both black and white
Team members	(29)	24	0	76	0	0
Drillers	(30)	23	0	77	0	0
Team leaders	(30)	7	0	93	0	0
Stoppers	(27)	4	15	59	22	7
Officials	(30)	17	20	53	0	3
TOTAL	(146)	15	7	72	4	2

Table 3: Persons from whom rockfall precursors were learnt (percentage of responses)

An examination of Table 3 leads to at least three conclusions. Firstly, formal training at the mine's training centre played a relatively minor role as a source of pit sense. Secondly, not a single black miner said that a stopper or official had been their most significant source of knowledge of rockfall hazards. Thirdly, black miners played a key role in imparting knowledge of rockfall hazards to all the occupational groups interviewed, whether black or white. Let us examine each of these more closely.

Role of formal training

Formal training was provided at the mine's training centre in two ways. All novice workers received their initial training at the mine's training centre, including a period of training in a mock-up of an underground stope. In addition, each year all miners undergo refresher courses run by the training centre.

As Table 3 records, a small proportion of interviewees (fifteen per cent) had found the training centre their most useful source for learning precursors to hazards. For example, a driller noted how the centre had provided an initial background to hazards: "The training centre is important because it gave me the foundation of underground hazards, and when I went underground whatever my team members were showing me added to this".

But not even a quarter of any of the occupational groups interviewed cited the formal training centre as the most important manner in which they had learnt their pit sense. While some interviewees, like one driller, dismissed the training centre

interviewees noted that the training centre had played a useful but limited role in their gaining pit sense. For example, according to a team member, "The importance of the training centre is that even if it is mostly theory you get an understanding of what you will encounter underground". Thus the training centre was important for the basic knowledge it provided.

Stopers and officials receive a much more extensive formal initial training in the specialised Chamber of Mines Training College (CMTC) than do black miners at the general mine training centre. According to the Mines and Works Act (M&WA, 1956), stopers and shift overseers have to have a permanent blasting certificate (M&WA Regulation 2.15.2). To obtain a permanent blasting certificate, a candidate must be at least twenty years old, spend 312 shifts underground as part of an approved training course, seventy five shifts of which must be at the face, attend approved lectures and pass a prescribed examination and must have a valid first aid certificate (M&WA Regulation 28.40). Despite this more extensive formal training, even a lower proportion of the stopers and officials than black workers said that formal training had proved their most important source of knowledge of rockfall precursors when compared to the results for black miners. As shown in Table 3, only four per cent of the stopers and seven per cent of the officials said this knowledge had come from formal training.

Minimal role played by stopers and officials in training

No team member, driller or team leader said that the most important source of his pit sense had come from stopers or officials (Table 3). While some black miners mentioned the role of individuals in their training, none of the persons mentioned by a black miner was white. This result was unexpected since the more extensive formal training of stopers and officials implies that they should be the persons in the workplace with the greatest knowledge. This finding thus suggests that this knowledge is not being effectively imparted to black miners.

Role played by black miners in training

Black miners clearly provided the most important training in pit sense. The overwhelming majority of team members (seventy six per cent), drillers (seventy seven per cent) and team leaders (ninety three per cent) said that they had learnt their pit sense from their black colleagues, either their team leaders or the "mining team members with whom I have always worked".

In the case of stopers and officials, more than half said they had learnt their tacit skills from black miners. According to one stoper, "Actually, my whole mining I learnt from the blacks. I was in the CMTC but there they only gave you the basics.

The actual mining I learnt from my black team leaders". An overseer provided some insight into how this learning process occurred:

> I think it is mostly the team leaders and the black people who constantly work underground. You see, they usually give you a warning if you are still inexperienced and you go into a place where they might expect a rockfall could take place. Then they will say to you 'Watch out!' because the hanging is doing this, he is sifting or something of that nature, then they will give you a warning. It comes with time. When something happens and you are in those circumstances then you learn that trick.

A stoper referred to the importance of knowledge from black miners in complementing what had been learnt during formal training:

> Actually, the black people teach you an enormous amount, because they have the experience of many years. You yourself also develop a lot of experience over the years. The black workers have also spent many years underground, they know what they are doing. As they say, when you pass through the CMTC they just lay a foundation. You build upon what they laid down for you.

In addition, a small proportion of stopers and officials noted that their pit sense had been learnt from black and white miners. For example, one overseer noted how he had learnt a range of skills from different persons:

> The training centre is basics. Your on the job training I would say most of my experience comes from the blacks. One shift boss I can remember - I learned a lot from one shift boss ... he taught me a lot in the developing.

These results raise some important issues. Firstly, in order to develop skills in the workplace there is a need to recognise the existence of tacit skills and to enhance them.

Secondly, conventional ideas about formal training mechanisms need to be reconsidered. Only a small proportion of workers mentioned the mine's training centre as their most important source of knowledge. Although black workers did not have the formal training or status of being skilled, the crucial point that was frequently mentioned by white interviewees was how black workers had valuable in-depth experience. In this example, the most important training was provided - fortuitously - by team leaders. But to what extent are team leaders trained in the art of imparting skills? There is a need to re-examine how skills are acquired in the workplace, and how best the trainers should be trained.

Thirdly, the artificial categorisation of workers into *unskilled*, *semi-skilled* and *skilled* is an obstacle to the development of skill. Until 1985 the Chamber of Mines published statistics about the mine labour force in terms of black and white workers. Since then the statistics have been colour blind. Instead, details are now given for "unskilled and semi-skilled" workers and for "skilled" workers, where the

occupations undertaken by whites historically are now defined as skilled, and those undertaken by blacks are defined as unskilled and semi-skilled.[14] In our research, the persons who were regarded as having the best tacit skills - team leaders - are not recognised as having these skills. Instead they are categorised as semi-skilled. There is a need to develop new categories for job grading - such as miners or metalworker - which will focus on skills acquisition instead of categories like *unskilled* and *semi-skilled* which demean workers and downgrade their skills.

Fourthly, the black-white one-way learning path that this example illustrates has to be confronted. White miners said they learnt most of their tacit skills from black miners, but not the other way round. The strict hierarchy and racism in the mine workplace is thus an obstacle to skill development. Clearly white miners, who generally have a far better formal and theoretical background, have a great deal of knowledge to offer. But in practice it seems that little of this knowledge is being transferred. Ways in which informal training by stopers and officials may be encouraged should be investigated.

Fifthly, racial discrimination has led to the ideology that only white workers are *skilled*, whereas black workers are regarded as *unskilled* and *semi-skilled*. The example cited from the statistical reporting of mining employment data shows how pervasive this view is. While the legal restrictions no longer exist, there is little doubt that these assumptions are deeply embedded. If the skills of all sectors of the workforce are to be fully developed, then it is crucial to recognise that all workers, of whatever so-called race, exercise skills and work out ways to enhance them.

Part 3: A new approach to skill formation

We have identified two contradictory processes of skill formation in South Africa: the conservative and defensive skills management of the racially exclusive craft unions and the tacit skills of underground safety that black miners learn informally on the job. To take account of these processes we have suggested in part 1 a wider definition of skill that includes not only manual dexterity and knowledge, but also the social construction of skill by occupational groups such as craft unions. In part 2 we identified the existence of pit sense, informal knowledge that is not recognised by management and yet is crucial to production. Tacit skills lie in-between formal knowledge and manual dexterity. We believe it is a distinct aspect of skill, and must be included as a fourth component in a broader conception of skill.

The emergence of industrial unions based on workplace bargaining has begun to challenge the racial monopoly over skill held by white workers. Industrial unions have begun to develop a new approach to skill formation based on continuous skill

enhancement. The NUMSA training project proposal launched in May 1990 is the most advanced example to emerge so far.[15] This proposal takes as its point of departure the need to prepare for economic reconstruction and is based on research in Sweden, West Germany and Australia.

Adrienne Bird,[16] national organiser for the training department of NUMSA, has identified the following characteristics in a new system of skill formation:

* Broad-based job categories (not narrow Taylorist divisions) clearly linked with training modules. On completing the relevant modules, a worker should get a nationally recognised certificate and be upgraded and paid at a higher rate.
* Career progression. Central to a new system are alternative routes to higher qualifications. The system should allow a person to move from "sweeper to engineer". Such a system must involve access to a flexible public education and training system.
* Multilevel entry and exit.

In many countries a more flexible system involving multilevel entry and exit is now being forged. Multilevel entry means a system of training that can accept people at different ages with different backgrounds, giving due recognition to previous qualifications. Multilevel exit means a training system that allows people to leave at different points with qualifications in ascending order of importance.

* Training as part of a job. This involves the idea that training must be available to all workers and must form part of employment. In countries such as Sweden and Germany, active labour market policies place central importance on skill formation, flexibility and training as part of the job. In other words, training cannot be divorced from employment. Education and training initiatives need to be linked to programmes for economic transformation and industrial restructuring. This requires an active labour market policy through the creation of a Labour Council.[17] A restructured National Manpower Council could play such a role in the future.

Bird argues that such a strategy to skill formation requires two preconditions to be fulfilled:

* All workers must have the right to paid leave for education and training;
* The state must necessarily play a central role if a holistic approach is to be achieved.

In drawing on these new ideas on skill formation it is important to recognise that knowledge is also acquired informally. We have called this informal knowledge *tacit skills* as they generally go unmentioned in the technical literature and in skill training. But, as we have argued, their existence is indispensable to production.

The racial nature of the division of labour has given tacit skills greater significance in South Africa than in other countries. As we illustrated in part 2, racist ideology continues to define black workers as unskilled and semi-skilled, even when they are performing jobs that involve a wide range of skills. Any strategy to develop skill in the workplace must take account of these deeply ingrained racial ideologies. This also raises the need to recognise prior learning and experience, especially where experience has been "under-valued" because workers are black. In the case of white artisans in the past, experience gained on the job led to formal artisanal recognition through "journeyman recognition schemes".

A fundamental "property" of workers is their skill. Trade unions and employers have a mutual interest in ensuring that workers' skills are enhanced throughout their working lives through training and career development. As part of these initiatives, there is a need to develop new occupational categories which encourage workers to acquire skills. Terms such as semi-skilled or unskilled, or describing workers as "operators", tend to circumscribe skill formation. To provide specific examples, job titles such as "drill operator" could be replaced with "rockface worker", while "press operator" could be replaced by the title "metal parts fabricator". Job titles such as these reflect the purpose of the occupation or the products produced.[18] Rather than envisaging the worker as an "appendage" to a machine they pave the way for a broader scope of activities for the workers concerned, thus facilitating a concern to gain further skills.

Finally, skill training needs to recognise the existence of tacit skills and to build upon them through greater worker participation in enterprises. Those countries which today dominate world production, in particular Japan, have successfully drawn upon the creativity of their workers through effectively harnessing their tacit skills. As Robert Thomas has found in a comparative study of the United States and Japanese automobile industries, part of the competitive advantage of the Japanese has been their ability to draw upon workers' knowledge of the production process, particularly "what has been referred to as 'tricks of the trade'" in order to streamline production.[19]

If workers' hidden knowledge is to be effectively pooled, then new forms of work organisation will be required which increase worker participation and encourage production upon the basis of teamwork. What is needed is a new *workplace culture of participation*.

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South African Students at American Universities: The Case of John Marquard at Teachers College, Columbia University, 1914-15

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In the first half of the twentieth century hundreds of South African students studied at American universities. This case study of John Marquard, who studied at Teachers College, Columbia University from 1914-15, examines some of the implications of this transatlantic cultural exchange. Marquard, fairly typical of his fellow countryman, came from a small, Afrikaner farming community in the midst of economic and social change. His letters uncover some of the complexities in the conflict between liberal Anglo-American ecumism and the emerging form of Christian Nationalism, the centrality of Christianity in South African educational thinking, and the appeal of the American "social efficiency" orientation in education for South Africans.

Between the years 1914 and 1948 nearly a hundred South African education students set sail for New York to enter the lecture halls, seminars, and laboratories of Teachers College, Columbia University. More South African education students attended Teachers College in this period than all other North American university education programmes combined.[1] A new generation of South Africa's educational leaders would rise from the ranks of the Teachers College alumni, the most famous of whom were E. Malherbe, Charles T. Loram, Wouter de Vos Malan and P. A. W. Cook. The unusual nature of this transatlantic migration would be enough to stir an historian's interest even if he were not primarily concerned with the consequences entailed for the development of South African education. This study concerns the social context out of which South African students came, their motives for going abroad; their choice of university and of subject specialization; the reasons behind their predilection for America rather than England or Germany and their response to what they found there. Rather than attempting a collective biography, this study provides an indepth examination of one transatlantic traveller,

John Marquard, and his education at Teachers College in New York between 1914 and 1915.

Despite his youth (he was twenty-four when he arrived in New York), John Marquard was a fairly typical example of a white South African student in the United States. By all accounts he was a good student, a promising athlete and, like many of his fellow South Africans, he perceived his time at Teachers College as part of his professional preparation for a career in education. John Marquard's New York correspondence and personal papers are the main source for this study.[2] In the over fifty lengthy letters that covered the period September 8, 1914 to the final letter dated 29 September 1915 which was written on board the SS Baltic, the young Freestater shared his thoughts and experiences with the folks back home on the platteland. His letters provide the historian with insight into the problems and process that a South African student experienced in a large, urban American university. At an analytic level, Marquard's New York reflections shed light on the ideological basis of the emerging rift between the Cape Afrikaner elite and their less schooled brothers and sisters to the north, which was often expressed in terms of the split between supporters of British imperialism and Afrikaner nationalism. Above all, the Marquard letters offer us an intimate picture of a complex and conflictual process involved in the emergence of a new ideology, and the role that foreign education played in this process.[3] The young Marquard vacillated between the pious ideology of his father, a typical Afrikaner patrician, and a new world-view which embraced professionalism, careers, and scientific solution to social problems. While retaining a sense of responsibility that came with the "white man's burden", Marquard felt compelled to do "a man's job" involving his scientific and professional "work" on social problems in the field of education. For Marquard, as for many other aspirant South Africans, a university training and credentials - what he referred to as "a handle to one's name" - was the access card to a "culture of professionalism".[4]

The first section of this paper explores Marquard's background. Moving from an examination of his family and early life, the picture is broadened to include an analysis of the complex economic transformation in South African agriculture and related changes in political and social relations in the first two decades of the twentieth century. This background provides the context from which to analyse the influence of his American education experience. The second section explores his motives for studying education at Teachers College, and his choice of the United States. In the final section, three interconnected themes in Marquard's letters are explored in some detail. Making extensive use of his letters, this section probes his views of religion, the connection between religion and politics, and his

conception of education. The letters provide a rich picture of how American education is refracted through the sensibilities of a young white South African.

Marquard's background

Born in the small rural village of Bethulie in the Orange Free State, on 21 May 1891, John Marquard was the second of five children born to Rev. Johannes Jacobus Tier Marquard, a Dutch Reformed Church minister and Margaret Murray, daughter of a prominent Scottish theologian at Stellenbosch University in the Cape Province. The course of John's childhood was interrupted by the South African War of 1899. The Winburg parsonage (where he spent most of his childhood) was occupied by the British while the Rev. Marquard was away ministering to the Boer commandos. Two years after his return from a British prison camp in 1902, the Rev. Marquard died of typhoid.

Like many white children in the age before mass schooling, John Marquard and his siblings were taught basic literacy and numeracy at home by their mother, who was a certified primary school teacher.[5] Marquard's first experience of school was a corrugated iron, one-room school that served as a temporary church on Sundays.[6] He completed his primary education in Winburg at the age of fifteen and went on to Grey College in Bloemfontein, one of only two high schools in the Orange Free State. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of Cape of Good Hope, which at the time was the only degree-granting institution in South Africa, and continued his post-graduate studies in education, passing the advanced teachers' examination.

Like many young Afrikaners of his social class, Marquard was determined to study abroad. With money from three years of primary school teaching, a government bursary and a scholarship from Teachers College, Marquard became one of the first in a steady stream of South Africans to study at Teachers College in the first half of the twentieth century. His letters home during his 1914-1915 year at Teachers College are filled with his distress over the European war, struggles with his faith, and concern about the "rebellion" in his home province. By the end of the summer of 1915 he had decided, despite a loathing for war, to volunteer. After serving as a lieutenant in the Royal Fusiliers for three years, he was killed in action near Amiens in the final great battle of the war on 23rd August, 1918.[7]

Marquard's background was fairly typical of the students the first generation of South African students to attend Teachers College: a surprising number were the children of Protestant clerics from small rural Afrikaner communities. Mathius Boemhke, Marquard's first close associate at Teachers College came from a small rural community near King Williamstown in the Eastern Cape Province. Boemhke's father was a Lutheran pastor. Ernst Gideon Malherbe, who first came to Teachers

College in 1917, hailed from a small sheep herding community called Luckoff in the south-western part of the Orange Free State. Malherbe's father, a Dutch Reform minister in the town, had received his Bachelor of Divinity from the University of St. Andrews in Scotland.[8] Other early South Africans at Teachers College include the Malan brothers who came from Wellington, a small agricultural centre in the Western Cape. The exception was Charles T. Loram, an English South African who had held a prominent position in the Natal Department of Education prior to his studies at Teachers College.

Boehmke, Marquard and Malherbe, growing up in the household of local religious leaders, witnessed their previously isolated communities rapidly being incorporated into South Africa's capitalist economy. Marquard's letters are filled with nostalgic memories of an active outdoor childhood, and it appears that he owned farm animals even as a student at Teachers College. In a letter to his mother he wrote, "To you I must entrust the charge, I think of keeping track of my 'animals', as at this distance it is rather hard to remember them all".[9] In contrast to the relative self-sufficiency of the Marquard household with its assortment of fruit and nut trees, farm animals and a large vegetable patch, the Winburg farmers were increasingly producing agricultural commodities for national and international markets. Only a few farmers lived sufficiently close to town to make supplying the local market with agricultural commodities a viable source of income. The majority of the district's farmers produced maize, potatoes, onions, wool, skins and hides, beef and mutton on the hoof for markets in Bloemfontein and Johannesburg, and for export out of Port Elizabeth.[10]

Malherbe's autobiography provides additional evidence of the shifting economic base of Orange Free State agriculture. Recalling his childhood, Malherbe noted that, "the people of the village nearly all lived on a more or less subsistence level so that, when we came there originally, the only place we could buy milk was from the neighbouring farms".[11] By the late 1910s, Malherbe described how farming had begun to assume the character of a business and scientific undertaking. As the South African Secretary of Agriculture proclaimed in 1919,

> Agriculture is entering upon an entirely new phase, and henceforth farmers will have to depend for development upon the export, not only of certain of their products as in the past, but upon the export of the supplies of the whole of them, which will mean that the price of the produce in the local markets will be governed by the prices prevailing in the markets of the world.[12]

The nationally- and internationally- driven agricultural production had a profound effect on the character of the small rural communities. All kinds of established institutions, including the local school system, began to adapt to the new conditions. Malherbe recalled the establishment of a secondary school in the town in 1907.

The opening was officiated by General Smuts, who used the occasion to deliver a speech to the Afrikaner youth on Japan as an example of a country that had developed its commerce and industry. The local school board, presumably dominated by residual agrarian interests, had refused to divert any money for the establishment of a local secondary school.[13] So David and Jacobus Graaf, two Cape Town capitalists with business interests in the region, decided to donate start-up funds which were matched by the Superintendent General of Education for the Cape, Sir Thomas Muir. They also provided additional grants with which to entice good teachers to the school by paying higher salaries, and provided for a trust fund for scholarships to attract pupils from all over the country to this government fee-paying school. Mr. Charles Leonard, a local capitalist farmer who had originally accumulated wealth on the gold mines of the Witwatersrand, and who had subsequently entered large scale capitalist farming in the district, donated money for a bursary fund. Leonard had introduced thoroughbred animal stock into the district, which in Malherbe's eyes "benefitted the whole community by improving breeding stock of sheep and cows on the adjoining farms".[14]

The struggle over funding for a secondary school hints at a potential social cleavage within rural communities. O'Meara points to the development of a division between large Boer landowners who were able to survive the economic crisis precipitated by the South African war, and the majority of petty-commodity producers, a significant number of whom were proletarianized in the transition to capitalist production in agriculture. Hofmeyr's research highlights the tensions between the stable Dutch-speaking landed upper classes of the Western Cape and disaffected intelligentsia, journalists, clerks, less educated clerics and teachers.[15] Intertwined with these two cleavages was the class distinction between the highly educated elite clerics and their semi-literate flocks. In both Malherbe's and Marquard's cases, their families had deep ties to Cape Afrikaner elites through networks of marriage and higher education.[16] Within their communities, the clergy's standard of living was considerably above that of the average church-goer. In Marquard's case, for example, the household had four servants.[17] Malherbe's family took regular holidays at the family cottage in Hermanus on the Indian Ocean.

According to Leo Marquard, John Marquard's younger brother, the social cleavage has its origins in the opportunities opened up for educated men in the Boer republics during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. "The Bench and the Bar, the D.R.C. ministry and the teaching profession, the medical and the engineering professions in the Boer republic came to be manned chiefly by men and women from the Cape Colony". The educational elite went as far afield as Central Africa, but many of their children returned to the Cape for school or university education, renewing and strengthing the bonds of the elite intelligentsia

network. Despite the Dutch origins of most of the D.R.C. clergy, Leo Marquard points out that their primary language of communication was English. The class character of the language issue is made evident in the description of Dutch English speakers as the "educated people", in marked contrast to early forms of Afrikaans which was "suitable for uneducated people and for Coloured servants, but certainly not as a means of communication among the educated".[18] Standard of living, education level and the network of acquaintances are clear indices of a distinct subculture which set the elite clergy off from their parishioners.

Striking, if not surprising given the invisibility of "non-Europeans" in South Africa, is the absence of any direct reference to the broad social impact of the transformation of agriculture, in either Marquard's correspondence or Malherbe's memoirs. The 1913 Native Land Act and the emergence of capital intensive farming techniques systematically undermined the stable, independent African peasantry, forcing many into wage-labour on white farms or the rapidly growing cities of the Transvaal and Eastern Cape. While the effect of legislation was totally devastating for the independent African peasantry and share-croppers, white, mostly Afrikaner share-croppers and poorer farmers were also adversely affected by the introduction of new methods of agriculture and the rising price of land. This class of "bywoners", later to be dubbed "poor whites" in a Carnegie funded study conducted by a Teachers College alumni, was increasingly being perceived by the dominant class as a potential threat to white supremacy.[19]

In sum, two interconnected social processes formed the backdrop to Marquard's life: the transformation of agricultural production and the associated shifts in social relations. He was living through the transition from peasant production based on forms of share-cropping to more capital-intensive commodity production in agriculture. Although Marquard makes almost no reference to this process, he was acutely aware of the class dynamics in South Africa at the time. He was a member of a relatively stable upper-class Dutch intelligentsia living in close proximity to the Afrikaner lower classes, to disaffected petty-bourgeois intellectuals, to an assortment of uitlander skilled craftsmen and professionals, and to domestic and unskilled black workers. In the period following the 1914 Free State rebellion, Marquard perceived the major struggle to be between the upper-class Boer supporters of British imperialism and the disaffected lower-middle-class intelligentsia and their dispossesed "bywoner" supporters.

How did this young member of the South African elite respond to this revolutionary transformation of the economy and society? While a good deal is known about how the African working class and haute bourgeoisie, the African petty-bourgeoisie, and Afrikaner working class response to the emergence of capitalist agriculture, little attention has been paid to the response of the

English-speaking Dutch upper-class intelligentsia.[20] In the absence of empirical research, one can only conjecture that as the transformation of South African agriculture reshaped the social relations between rural black and white South African, so too this transformation must have had a significant effect on the role and status of rural intelligentsia. They would be called upon to address unintended consequences - the social problems - associated with the revolutionary transformation of society. As one South African student at Teachers College would argue in his dissertation:

> In a country placed in the position in which South Africa is placed to-day, with a comparatively small European population entrusted with the task of upholding and spreading civilisation against fearful odds ... The unrest amongst the native population and the consequent burning necessity of **liberally trained men and women** who can lead this mass of discontented population in directions most profitable to all concerned, the growing demand for more education on the part of the native and the impelling necessity for the white man to exert himself if he intends to hold the position of supremacy which his services to civilisation in that sub-continent entitled him to, the alarming increase in the number of poor whites who are constant menace to white supremacy and a constant drag on the community - all these disturbing factors are undoubtedly at the root of this awakened interest in secondary education and the desire to have all European children who can profit by education above primary stage to the privilege of it.[21] (author's emphasis added)

Why Teachers College, Columbia?

Marquard's background provides us with invaluable clues as to his motivation for travelling halfway around the world to study education. It is not difficult to imagine why an ambitious young man who desired advanced professional training in "education in its various phases, and English, as a subject of instruction" would have chosen Teachers College.[22] By the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914, Teachers College had developed a reputation as a major training centre in the various sub-fields of education. With distinguished figures like John Dewey, George Strayer, Paul Monroe, and Edward Thorndike, Teachers College was rapidly emerging as the centre of what Tyack and Kliebard respectively call "administrative progressivism" and "social efficiency movement".[23] The faculty was not only outstanding academically, but many faculty members had substantial practical experience in the various fields of education. Many of the faculty believed that empirical research chould find scientific answers to practical problems through standardization and categorization of school practice; and through professional forms of school management. Of particular importance for South Africans concerned with "native education", Teachers College and Columbia University had developed special relationships with large Northern philanthropic organizations such as the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations, which in turn provided students

and faculty with access to the American South and the problems of "Negro education". There is evidence that the College was particularly receptive to upwardly mobile careerists who wished to be credentialed in one of the sub-fields of education. By the 1920s, Teachers College would have the additional attraction for foreign students of the Rockefeller supported International Institute.[24]

Unlike his fellow countryman Mathias Boehmke, Marquard had no interest in becoming a normal school professor; as he wrote, "I can think of few things more banal, somehow than forever lecturing in education". Instead his career goal, what he referred to as his "work", was to head a school "which shall make men and women, enrich their lives, even while they are children".[25] To this end he enroled during his first semester in four popular courses. In Professor McMurry's course on Criticism and Supervision of Instruction in Elementary School he hoped to learn about "the actual methods of teaching" and "how to get pupils to study". From Professor Monroe's well-attended course in the history of Education, he thought he would gain a theoretical grounding in "the essential features of educational thought of the past as a basis for the more detailed historic, philosophic, and methodic study of the principles of education as formulated in the present".[26] Dewey, who he describes as "a really great man", would provide him with intellectual stimulation as "a real philosopher, who dreams away and simply thinks aloud for our benefit". In English, his subject specialty, he enroled in a course with "a great deal of reading in MacCaulay, Carlyle and Tennyson".[27] During the spring semester he continued studying with Monroe and Dewey, substituting Thorndike's course "Psychology of Elementary School Subjects" for McMurry's, to learn the psychology of learning in the cases of the language arts, arithmetic, handwriting, drawing, and elementary science.[28] His selection of courses reflects two distinct strands in his thinking - a humanist/classicist orientation and a scientific/managerial orientation. It will become clear that, at least in Marquard's mind, the two orientations were complementary, not incompatible.

Although a trickle of black South Africans had studied in the United States since the 1860s, Marquard's father's generation had generally chosen European universities, travelling to Germany, Holland, England and Scotland to receive training primarily for the ministry in institutions like the Free University in Amsterdam.[29] A number of South Africans were in fact receiving advanced graduate training at Leipzig, Heidelberg and other German universities at the outbreak of the war. Marquard's letters provide only indirect clues into the complexities of his motivation for choosing America, a decision he would come to regret. Reflecting on his year in New York he wrote, "If I had my plans to remake I should unhesitatingly go to England for two years and then come here for one year, purely for the administrative and social side of the work".[30] Despite his personal

disappointment, which he provides few clues to explain, he thought that an American educational training could make South Africans "appreciate conditions in a new and democratic society", since education in America "is studied primarily from the social and socio-psychological standpoint".[31] We can only speculate that the threat of war in Europe might have made the prospects of studying in Germany less feasible. If unstable conditions in Europe made it less attractive, he had emotional motives not to have chosen England. Although acknowledging his allegiance to the crown and the British empire, his letters are filled with his ambivalent feelings about England. "I am a South African, and incidentally a British subject, with a good deal of Scotch (but not a drop of English) blood in me".[32] The circumstances surrounding his father's death might explain the source of this ambivalence. Marquard's brother Leo Marquard attributed their father's demise to the psychological effect of the Boer defeat at the hands of the British.[33]

America had other special appeals for a young man with the memory of British conquest fresh in his memory. Roaming through Boston and its vicinity, he was drawn to all the artifacts and symbols of America's war of independence, understood as a successful attempt to defy the might of the British Empire. "In many ways all the historic evidence and monuments there remind one very much of our own Colonial history. It is this fact which seems to suggest so strongly that we may learn a great deal from the Americans".[34]

Beyond its successful revolution, America's technological sophistication and commercialism was appealing to a young man fresh from the highveld. On his first day in the United States, he ate lunch in "the new American get-your-own-food-and-look-sharp lunch places ... You go in, receive a coupon or check, select your meal and carry it yourself to a chair with a side-table attached, have your check punched and pay at once. This does away with all waiting (in both senses) and tipping a waiter. Everything is ready in a moment. If you can't choose quickly enough, they choose for you". Although he was more than a little impressed with the dynamism of the centre of international capitalism - New York - his elitist side was appalled at the vulgarity and democracy of free enterprise. His first day in New York was spent in mid-town where, as he wrote to his mother, "the effects of the electric light flashing advertisements are marvelous; the psychology of advertising, 'boostering' is understood to a fine art here". In the same letter he goes on to add, "they (Americans) must get on, and do, do in grand style (and they have money!), what they undertake, but I fear that with their 'hustle', and actual achievement, there is a certain amount of superficiality and materiality about them which is unconvincing and even repelling".[35]

Politics, religion and education

To interpret the influence of that an American education had on Marquard, and how this education was refracted through his South African experience, it necessary to understand the intellectual climate out of which he came. In the first decades of the twentieth century, South Africa was witnessing a struggle between two competing world-views: cosmopolitan, Anglo-American, Christian liberalism and an exclusive form of Afrikaner Christian nationalism that was taking root. This ideological conflict was associated a class cleavage, and the split between a stable English-speaking landed elite and an emerging lower-middle-class intelligentsia. In some sense, Marquard straddled the divide, the world of rural Afrikanerdom with its emerging narrow Christian nationalist ideology, and the cosmopolitan world of English speaking white South Africa which embraced British imperialism, ecumenical and liberal values. Marquard's thinking bridged an additional chasm: the residual culture of his patrician father, which embraced the values of pre-capitalist paternalism, and an emergent professional, scientific and meritocratic culture.

South African liberalism, according to Elphick, was deeply influenced by Anglo-American Protestant values and attitudes. It rejected Biblical literalism, dogmatism, and narrow denominationalism. The theology was relatively indifferent to doctrinal questions, was eagerly ecumenical, modestly open to the values of non-Christian cultures and, above all, called for engagement with the problems of the world. He notes the deep influence of the American Social Gospel movement which taught that Christians were obliged to act directly in the social order to effect its reconstruction.[36] On the question of race, South African liberals had abandoned nineteenth century liberal ideals of the equality of man and the doctrine of inevitable progress. Instead, they embraced racial thought that relied heavily on the metaphor of the family and evolution, describing Africans as children, belonging to "backward cultures".[37] South African liberals in the first three decades of the twentieth century endorsed the Natal segregationist thinking associated with Theophilus Shepstone, a late nineteenth century British administrator of Natal, and the American missionary "adaptation" philosophy of Booker T. Washington.[38]

Afrikaner Christian nationalism, in contrast, developed as a reaction to late nineteenth century industrialization, imperialism, and British "race patriotism". Hofmeyr shows how Christian nationalism and the invention of the Afrikaans language were the achievement of lower-middle-class intelligentsia who were discriminated against in commerce, law, government, and even in journalism and teaching by British colonial policy.[39] Theologically, what Moodie has characterized as the Afrikaner civil religion was based on a doctrine of election, growing out of Paul Kruger's Calvinism, and the experience of the South African War and the

Afrikaans Language Movement. "God", in the Afrikaner civil religion, was an active sovereign, who calls the elect, "Die Volk", the Afrikaner People, with her distinct language, culture, and history, for special destiny.[40]

When his loyalty was tested by the 1914 Boer "rebellion" in his home province, the young Marquard was forced to decide whether his allegiance would be to an "imagined" Afrikaner heritage, language and culture associated with the lower-middle-class intelligentsia and their white working class allies, or to an upper-class South African identity that stressed loyalty to the British Empire and meritocratic values. As a deeply committed Christian, he articulated this tension in theological terms. His experience in New York churches and in the Y.M.C.A. meetings provided him with a coherent, alternative theology which stressed ecumenism, missionary work, and social work. This theology and Christian culture provided him with an intellectual means to distance himself from the Christian nationalist thinking current in the Orange Free State without fully embracing social gospel thought.

At the very centre of Marquard's weltanschauung was his religious faith. It permeates every letter he wrote to his mother from New York. It was an issue in every aspect of his life: his opinions on the war, on the rebellion in the Orange Free State, his choice of career in education, his decision to join a fraternity, his relationship with his mother, and his views of education. He never failed to attend Sunday services, often describing the sermon at length to his mother. Eclectic, at times even contradictory, the tenets of his faith included a commitment to "social work", a personal and emotional relationship with God, world ecumenism, and relative openness to values of the non-Christian world. In a deeply reflective end-of-year letter he wrote, "Above all the many things I have seen and learned, I have come to a fuller realisation of the great truth that life can only be gained by obedience to the fundamental laws of unselfish love and self renunciation, self sacrifice. All else is vanity. And I have caught a fuller vision of the greatness of the work to which I have given my life, and for which I am now preparing myself".[41] Berating himself for lack of faith he rebuked himself, "I have faith, weak and doubting as I am, faith strong enough to make me long to live and work that life may be fuller and better for others, and may thus have more real meaning for myself".[42] His Social Gospel views were reinforced in the church services he attended by the likes of the Rev. Johnston Ross from Union Theological Seminary who reminded his congregation that Jesus "gave up everything to finish His work on earth". The preacher warned the congregation against the "spending of time in worship and devotion which should be spent in the service of mankind".[43]

In June 1915, Marquard attended an international Y.M.C.A. retreat, featuring popular preachers Campbell Morgan and J. R. Mott, with twenty-five fellow

Columbia University students. He was particularly taken with one speaker, Raymond Robins, who retold the story of his life as a labourer, gold-prospector in Alaska, and preacher to miners. Robins described his work in social reform as "cleaning up" corrupt political wards and mediating in strikes, and preached about the need for Christianizing politics. In Robin's analysis, the world was in the grip of industrialization and he posed the rhetorical question to the group: "Who will come forward, and lead in the advance of Christianizing of industrialism"?[44] Marquard saw the spirit of Christian service at Teachers College when the student body came together at the eulogy for deceased trustee, Grace Dodge. He commented that the "memorial services brought to mind more forcibly than ever the spirit which dominates the whole of T.C., the spirit of love and service, above and beyond the scientific study of education in all its fields".[45]

Although Marquard clearly stressed the importance of his "service" as central to his Christian practice, he maintained a strong commitment to conversion and a personal experience of God. Reasoning back and forth on world problems, he concluded that for twenty centuries men have called themselves Christians but hardly known the spirit of Jesus. "One feels and knows that only in this teaching, and His love, lies the salvation of the world, for itself, for moral dissolution; lies the salvation of every soul".[46] In essence this theology is a creative integration of older Calvinist themes of self-renunciation, unworthiness, doubt and self-sacrifice, with newer concepts drawn from American Social Gospel such as "service", the "Christianization of industry" and the compatibility of scientific study and religion.

He was harsh in his condemnation of the emerging Christian National theology that was all the rage in his home province of the Orange Free State. As the 1914 insurrection was repressed by the Botha government his feelings of antipathy toward the narrowness of Christian Nationals grew. His strident objections were most often expressed in theological terms against articles he read and accounts he heard of the Christian national teachings of J. N. van der Merwe.

> I cannot understand how a man of v. d. M's attainment, with his choice of work, can so hopelessly miss the essential, the pivotal facts in the life and teaching of Jesus: his recognition of human institutions and conventions, criticising them as he did, and at the same time, his universality, for transcending these limitations; his disdain for all outward things, his appeal to the heart and life of men; his insistence upon the great and vital things in life, to the exclusion of all petty and mean things. The nearsightedness which this narrow nationalism produces not only in purely "national" outlook, but in the spiritual outlook, ... is most deplorable.[47]

Responding to Van Der Merwe's article in the Christian Student, Marquard wrote,

> I do wish that people whose conception of religion, of Christianity, is so narrow, would keep their 'religion' and their politics apart. The fact of the matter is that

> with v. d. Merwe it is politics first. Now, if a man is prepared to argue the point sincerely, well and good, but why dare confuse the issues by dragging in religion? And that in the name of Him who had no time for petty national ideals, even those of his own nation, and who was a disappointment to the Jews as a people, because he refused to be dragged into politics. Religion builds well on national ideals, because it is a thing of the emotions, primarily; a question of attitude. But it far transcends all nationalism; and v.d. M's dogmatic statement about religion and nationality are without ground or reason.[48]

His theological sympathies lay with the likes of John R. Mott, whose name reoccurs in his correspondence along with the great preacher of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, John Henry Jowett, and William Jennings Bryant and Woodrow Wilson. Mott's ecumenism was the antithesis of Van Der Merwe's Christian nationalism. Mott desired to return to a primitive simplicity of early Christianity, the New Testament which had Jesus praying that all His followers might be one. Marty points out that Mott reached out not only to the various Protestant and non-Protestant Christians, but made friendly gestures toward other faiths. His Christian unity was not dependent, as early ecumenical movements were, on the exclusion of Catholics and denunciation of Jews, heathens and pagans. The aims of evangelization was not to make everyone a Christian, but to spread the word so that Christianity would be heard by all people.[49]

On one level, Marquard's critique of Christian nationalism can be interpreted as a response to his early theological training and American education. At another level, when viewed from the perspective of cleavages within settler society, the theological controversy reflects distinct systems of beliefs characteristic of particular groups. In his critique of the Christian nationalist, Marquard was oblivious of the implicit political dimensions of his own theology. It will be suggested below that ecumenism, an intellectual forerunner cultural relativism, neatly complemented the meritocratic liberalism of an advanced industrial society.

Unlike the trend amongst Afrikaner Christian intellectuals at the time in South Africa, Marquard's Christianity, influenced by this contact with American ecumenisists, was becoming increasingly open to non-Western cultural traditions and non-denominationalism. Commenting on Nitobe's "Bushido". Marquard described Buddha and Confucius as the "noble" mystic and moralist, even if their teaching must "yield to the teaching of Jesus, that is Love".[50] The religious Marquard found great joy in the new cultural openness. "I have shaken hands with a Hindu, a Turk, an Austrian, a Chinese, a Spanish American and Americans of varying (I use the work designedly) shades and colours! The type is still in process as it were. What one most admires here, the tolerance, the toleration".[51] His exposure to non-Europeans occurred at various Christian Association gatherings where foreign students from Japan, China, India, Turkey, Armenia, and Europe. At

the Columbia British Empire Club he was also forced to work with people to whom he would never have had exposure in South Africa.

As much as he was able to transcend certain cultural barriers, he remained stuck in a racist, social Darwinist framework. An experience a few weeks after arriving at Columbia serves to illustrate the limitations of his cultural and racial openness. "It would have amused and pleased you to see me borrow a piece of paper this morning, in a room set apart for graduates, from a man who in colour, appearance and physique might be mistaken for a Basuto 'boy', but whose answering "Sure!" to my request spoke of barriers broken, difficulties overcome and ages traversed in thought and culture. And yet it would mean racial suicide in our country"![52] He leaves unexplained why integration was tantamount to race suicide in South Africa. His paternalism is evident in his references to Dr. Livingstone as a "splendid example" of the correct "white man's Christian attitude toward the 'inferior' races" and in references to Kipling's phase, the "white man's burden".[53]

His racial attitudes must be understood within the context of his overall patrician consciousness. He was condescending to the white working class, assuming that they lacked in intelligence and were morally corrupt. On his arrival in Boston, his response to the inefficient immigration and medical inspection was to blame the government agents, who he implies must have been "given their jobs by the new men in power".[54] His particular brand of elitism is encapsulated in one letter, "evolution of man is the unintended result of the intentions of the best men in a given community".[55] While moving in some respects in the intellectual direction of meritocratic interpretations of equality, he still retained a social Darwinian, patrician ideology incorporating older notions of "the best men" and *noblesse oblige*.

On nearly every occasion he found to discuss his personal motivations for going into education, he would stress the relationship between education and faith, referring to his choice of careers as his "work". Reflecting at the end of his first term in New York, Marquard wrote, "How little the full significance of our work is understood and appreciated. It may begin in the classroom, but it extends to the playground, and the homes and the community. If the Church and the School have become separated, it is time that we seriously inquire into the reasons why; and if we are not merely hypocritical when we insist that moral training is the most important function of education, it is time, high time, that either the Church or the School be changed, that there may be co-operation, and that we come to realise that religion, is the most important thing in life". He goes on to add that without a "definite religion of life, all would be chaos and demoralisation".[56] The idea that a primary aim of education is moral training situates Marquard squarely in Victorian conceptions of schooling as moral uplift. If, for Marquard, the principle aim of education was moral, he also alluded to the political role of education. In writing

somewhat sceptically about Dean Russell's opening address to the College on the war and German education, Marquard recounted how Russell berated the German education for turning out "God-fearing, patriots, self supporting subjects, not citizens". Marquard recounted how the Dean of Teachers College "showed how German children (unlike other children?) are taught only the history they ought to know - are not allowed indiscriminate use of public libraries, may not publish school periodicals, and so became mere automatons". In Marquard's account, Russell drew the conclusion that education can be turned to "nobler uses"; to produce in fact "God-fearing, patriotic, self-supporting citizens of the world". To this lecture he added the superlatives "grand" and "very instructive".[57]

Leo Marquard described his brother as having a "deep sense of personal responsibility towards others and towards his country, but above all towards the great political and spiritual traditions of Western civilization". Educated in the European classical tradition, he enjoyed the Greek and Latin classics, read deeply in philosophy and in English literature, believing that he was best able to fulfil his responsibility to society by teaching.[58] In one letter he pleaded with his mother not to burn his copies of Hardy's novels which she evidently did not perceive as being of moral value, "as there are some very beautiful things about Hardy". Influenced by Matthew Arnold, Marquard maintained the importance of the humanist educator's concern for transmitting the heritage of European culture, using Arnold's term, "sweetness and light", which he perceived to be an antidote to "all the narrow and even utilitarian ideas in education which I have been assimilating of late". Marquard's anti-democratic tendencies emerge most clearly in his sympathy for Renan. Quoting Renan verbatim he wrote, "The countries which, like U.S. have created a considerable popular (education) instruction, will long have to expiate this fault by their intellectual mediocrity, their vulgarity of manners, their superficial spirit, their lack of general intelligence". To this criticism of democratic education, Marquard responded with the comments, "remarkable prophecy! You will recall that I might almost have used these very phrases in my earlier descriptions of my impressions".[59]

Despite many unsympathetic comments about the mediocrity, superficiality, and vulgarity of the utilitarian and meritocratic educational system, he found some aspects of American approaches to education to be desirable. "What we may learn here, and should learn, is first the undaunted spirit of experimentation in education". In his mind, America's greatest contribution to educational thought was the recognition of the vital relationship between the home and the school. "In the OFS the school is open for six, hours on five days in the week, and only to the inveterate scholastic tradition, the school rooms are looked on as sacred to allow their utilisation for social ends. I used to feel this long before I had read any of Dewey's

books. The school is too far removed from the social needs". But in his view, "the school must not sink, not expect the community to use to its high (?) ideals, but the two must meet half way, and go hand in hand. But the school should not lose sight or hold of the highest and the best, as I fear it is in danger of doing here".[60]

Teachers College had influenced him far more than he was willing to admit. When he was told of the successful results of his brother's school examinations, his enthusiasm was tempered by the recognition that examinations often did not serve as "true criterion of the general welfare of the school". In a school where only one tenth of the entering class pass the final or matriculation examinations, all of the energy is directed toward passing the examinations. Reflecting American trends to mass secondary education in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the minute percentage of graduates, "means that children whose interests are not inclined that way or whose bent is in other directions, fall out of the way, and are lost". "If the perfunctory study of Latin and Maths. etc. in the upper department were done away with, and a more truly liberal education were provided, there would at least be less educational waste, and less waste of soul and child-life". His use of concepts like "educational waste", a term used by both John Franklin Bobbitt and John Dewey, underscores the influence that Teachers College had on his educational thinking. While Dewey used the term in a broad and inclusive way to describe the problems in the existing system of education, Bobbitt's use was technicist and narrow. For example in one article Bobbitt praised the school platooning as it maximized utilization of space within the school building by shifting students from classrooms to other indoor space. Bobbitt, a leader in the application of Taylorism to education, had also conducted research on prescription and enforcement of specific operational tasks in classroom settings.[61]

Paralleling American social efficiency critics of humanist education, Marquard was critical of the standard, classical educational curriculum in the Orange Free State,

> They have read selected passages from Cicero and Caesar, dabbled in elementary mathematics, and in physics and chemistry, because other people want to go to College, or because of some occult power of mental training which they are supposed to have gained. ... Education? I am reminded of Prof. Marais's 'geeksamineerd, gecertifierd, gegraduard, en tock niet opgevoed.' Now I know no perfect system of education exists, least of all in this country of progress. But, we can and must do a great deal in S.A. to disabuse people's minds of the woeful misconception. I know tradition is all against us. I feel prejudiced myself (feel it when I am lazy most) and the old men, and many of them are scholars and good men, will sneer, I know. "Teach boys a trade, pish!" I think, in spite of my aversion to such a course, I must take a course in statistics under Strayer, and come back and convince people. For figures are eloquent, when well interpreted.[62]

"The occult power of mental training" is a slight at "faculty psychology" and the concept of mental discipline, no doubt influenced by Thorndike. Marquard's professor of educational psychology had conducted research which discredited a widely held view in early twentieth century South African educational circles that improvements in any single mental function could improve the mental ability in general. Thorndike would later use this research to justify scientific curriculum-making which tended to undermine the teacher's role in education.[63] His other reference to a Teachers College professor, George Strayer, is also revealing. Strayer was an influential figure in the field of educational administration. The use of his survey technique provided his students with a powerful tool to get educational systems to adopt the changes advocated by administrative progressives.[64]

Thus while Marquard found conservative aspects of education such as moral training and the transmission of European culture to his liking, American ideas and practices such as close co-operation between school and home, survey methods, measurement psychology, and comprehensive high schools with vocational subjects were beginning to emerge as important themes in his correspondence. Like many leading South African educationalists, Marquard found several of America's technocratic solutions to be attractive and applicable to their South African context.

The tension between the residual, Victorian patrician outlook and the emergent meritocratic and technocratic world-view is also evident in Marquard's writings on higher education and teacher training. He described a sermon by Columbia University's President Butler in commemoration of students and professors that had died in wars. Like his conceptions of schooling, Marquard's conception of university education took on religious overtones. Describing the President's address, he wrote, "He [Butler] showed how the Middle Ages put their noblest expression into their cathedrals. Now man puts his best into and expects his best from, the Universities all over the earth. There men come, and while they, generation after generation, make the University what it is and should be, they are in turn made. . . . There are built up those grand traditions which become the intellectual and spiritual heritage of succeeding generations".[65] President Butler was expressing a conservative philosophy of the university, emphasizing the duty of education to transmit the "grand traditions" to succeeding generations.

But Marquard was also concerned with the idea of building a modern university which would take on the responsibility of professional education and credentialing.

> What we want is a central teaching university, preferably at Cape Town, ... where men and women will be able to specialise and qualify professionally, after passing from one of the several Colleges in the land, which are after all, except in one or two ways, advanced schools, on a par with the German gymnasia and the English public schools.

To feed the university he proposed a stratified education system with a common school for kindergarten through Standard VI for all white children, followed by a tracked secondary education system. This would entail a sequence of courses leading to the university: industrial and agricultural tracks that would be combined in the same institution, and a commercial track which would be provided in a separate institution. On graduation from the academic high schools, students would go on to the colleges that at the time resembled German gymnasia or the English public school more than the American undergraduate liberal arts college. He would have these colleges, Victoria College in Bloemfontein for example, take on the function of the American college, with the ability to grant bachelors degrees. A bachelor's degree would be required for entrance to the university, where students could work toward Masters degrees in Arts, Sciences or Medicine. The university would accommodate "men and women [who] will be able to continue their studies in education, along specific and specialised lines, in an institution on the lines of T.C. a school of education, performing and supplementing the work now done by the various 'chairs of pedagogy' in the several colleges".[66]

Marquard was clearly impressed with the Teachers College/Columbia University model of joining teacher training to an academic university and elevating the teacher education to "graduate study", thus providing it with the status of a profession. He wrote, "When we have our national university, on the slopes of Table Mountain, we must have such a school of education, ... for which men and women will be able to gain inspiration, beyond mere knowledge and skill, and so gain their final degrees from the university, just as men will get their degrees in medicine, theology, law or pure sciences and letters".[67]For Marquard, a credential and the associated professional status bestowed by a degree from the premier scientific institution dedicated to education would solve the social problems of his generation of upwardly mobile white South Africans. Professionalization would provided a means of consolidating class privilege in the new social order. The prestige and objectivity of science promised a claim to new status as "expert", raised above political conflict. It provided new forms of legitimation of power. Marquard, writing from New York, was cognisant of the role that higher education and professional credentials could play in securing his social class. In response to his younger brother's decision to get married before he had received any higher education, Marquard wrote,

> I have pointed out to him that for both their sakes he must not relinquish the idea of at some not too distant time qualifying himself professionally, as after five or six years of experience the actual length of time rapidly loses in value, and as we must, in moments of the most ardent endeavour and reform ever, take the world as we find it, and as in that world a handle to one's name is, to say the least of it,

> convenient and wise. ... I trust he realises what it will mean to support a wife on less than 300 pounds a year.[68]

At least in Marquard's mind, professional education of the type he was receiving at Teachers College would prepare him and his fellow white students for the new social order, an order stratified by both race and class.

Not surprising, given Marquard's racism, is the total absence of any reference to schooling for the majority of South Africans; as his system was clearly envisioned for whites. The plan, which was never implemented, called for nothing short of the total realignment of the curriculum and the vocationalization of education. What he was proposing, was a full blown meritocratic system of schooling that would be capped by professional and specialized university training. The high schools would produce skilled labour and the merchant class. The university would be the training site for future "experts" with "specialized knowledge" which would entitle them to manage a bureaucratic and centralized corporate society. Here as nowhere else the profound influence of American conceptions of education is evident. A conception that must have been particularly attractive to a man who could potentially climb to the top of this educational pyramid.

Notes and references

1. Its appeal was so great that of the seventeen PhD dissertations and Master's theses on South African education completed at American and Canada universities between 1910 and 1948, thirteen were written at Columbia, see M. Sims and A. Kagan, *American and Canadian Dissertations and Master's Theses on Africa, 1886-1974* (Massatusets: Walthan, 1976), 218-219. Also *Columbia University Student Directory 1754-1931* (New York, 1932). The most complete listing of South African students at Teachers College between 1914-1951 is the "Foreign Student List: Students from Other Lands" Series A: Office Files, Subseries A, R667: African Project, Special Collections, Milbank Library, Teachers College.
2. While searching through the Special Collections at the Milband Memorial Library for letters and documents related to Charles T. Loram, a central figure in South African education in the interwar period, I stumbled across a collection of documents entitled, "The Letters of John Marquard". I found an important letter dated Dec. 12, 1914 from Charles T. Loram to Dr. Charles Murray. The Collection will hence forth be noted by the date of the correspondence unless otherwise specified. The Letters of John Marquard, Series MG 45, Milband Memorial Library, Teachers College, New York.
3. The concept of "ideology" used here, refers to the general process of the production of meanings and ideas. More traditional notions of ideology assume that "propositions" exist in a general sense, and individuals either

subscribe to them or reject them. An alternative formulation stresses ideology as a process. Ideas become meaningful in particular experience, when individuals adapt or reformulate existing language and symbols within the context of class, gender and race domination and subordination. Only concrete analysis reveals the highly complex nature of the internal structures of ideology. As William suggests, ideology does not just "passively exist as a form of dominance. It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified". See R. Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 112. This is the concept with which I work here.

4. B. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: WW Thorton & Company Inc., 1976).
5. L. Marquard, (ed.) *Letters from a Boer Parsonage: Letters of Margaret Marquard during the Boer War* (Cape Town: Purnell, 1967), 3.
6. The segregated educational system in the Orange Free State prior to 1899 consisted of two high schools, The Grey College and Eunice Dames Institute, nineteen district or town schools, and thirty three Ward Schools. The bulk of the white schooling was accomplished in 144 Peripatetic (Farm) schools. These schools consisted of a room, provided by a farmer, who would also agree to board the teacher and children who lived too far away to come to school daily. School was generally conducted for six months, moving to a new farm the following year. Language of instruction was Dutch. By 1898, 8 157 white pupils were recorded attending state schools of some basic kind. However, one survey found that 5 000 white children between seven and fourteen years could not read or write, not having attended any school. E. Malherbe, *Education in South Africa, 1652-1922* (Cape Town: Juta, 1925) and E. Pells, *300 Years of Education in South Africa* (Cape Town: Juta, 1954).
7. L. Marquard, "John Marquard (1891 -- 1918)" Sept. 26, 1966. "The Letters of John Marquard", Milbank Memorial Library, Teachers College, New York.
8. See Malherbe's autobiography, *Never a Dull Moment* (Cape Town: Timmins Publishers, 1981).
9. John Marquard to Margaret Marquard April 2, 1915 (hence Jm to MM).
10. L. Marquard, *Letters from a Boer Parsonage*, 23.
11. Malherbe, *Never a Dull Movement*, 20.
12. Annual Report (1919), Kroonstadt District, to Secretary of Justice, Pretoria (January 1920) quoted in M. Murray, "White Vigilante Violence, 1918-1924". *Journal of African History* 30 (1989): 115.
13. The term "residual agrian interests" refers to "traditional Boer pastoralism based mainly on the extraction of surplus in the form of rent (in kind and labor) from African tenants on small and large Boer farms". D. O'Meara,

Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1934-1948 (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983), 24.

14. Malherbe, *Never a Dull Movement*, 20-24.
15. D. O'Meara, *Volkskapitalisme*, ch. 1; Hofmeyr, "Building a Nation with Words" in S. Marks & S. Trapido (eds.), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* (London: Longman Group, 1987).
16. Prof. John Murray, John Marquard's maternal grandfather, was one of the first two professors at Stellenbosch's Theological Seminary. Anna Maria Ziervogel, his maternal grandmother, was the daughter of the chairman of the board of directors of the Graaff-Reinet Bank and member of the Legislative Assembly. Marquard's uncle, Dr. Andrew Murray, at the time of the writing of the letters, was the acting Superintendent General of Education in Cape Province. Marquard's paternal family, although less illustrious, included the first schoolmaster in Natal. Marquard's father was invited by President Steyn to assume the position of director of education at the time of Brebner's retirement. See L. Marquard's *Letters from a Boer Parsonage*, ch. 1 and 3.
17. Van Onselen argues that the pattern of domestic service is a good indicator of life-style and class composition in the Witwatersrand in the pre-World War I period. The Marquard household was served by one specialist servant, a coachman, a maid, and house "boy" and a gardener. C. van Onselen, *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914 Vol II* (New York: Longman Group, 1982), 3; Leo Marquard, 22.
18. L. Marquard, *Letters from a Boer Parsonage*, ch. 2.
19. See M. Murray, "White Vigilante Violence, 1918-1924"; C. van Onselen, "Race and Class in the South African Countryside: Cultural Osmosis and Social Relations in the Sharecropping Economy of the South-Western Transvaal, 1900-1950" *American History Review* 95, 1 (1990); H. Bradford, "Highways, Byways and Cul-de-sacs: The Transition of Agrarian Capitalism in Revisionist South African Historiography". *Radical History Review* 47, 48 (Winter 1989). The classic studies include W. Beinart, P. Delius, and S. Trapido, (eds.), *Putting a Plough to the Ground: Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa, 1850-1930* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986); T. Keegan, *Rural Transformations in Industrialising South Africa: The South Highveld, 1900-1914* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986); C. Bundy, *The Rise and Decline of the South African Peasantry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) C. van Onselen, *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914* (Johannesburg: Longman Group, 1982).
20. For an overview see, B. Bozzoli and P. Delius, "Radical History and South African Society". *Radical History Review* 47, 48 (Winter 1990). Two excellent collections that focus on class formation are S. Marks and R. Rathbone (eds.), *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African Class Formation,*

Culture and Cosciousness, 1870-1930 (London, 1982); S. Marks and S. Trapido, *Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* (London: Longman Group, 1987) The few exceptions are P. Rich, *White Power and Liberal Conscience, Racial Segregation in South Africa and South African Liberalism, 1921-60* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984) and J. Butler, R. Elphick, and D. Welsh (eds.), *Democratic Liberalism inthe Union of South Africa* (Wellington, 1923).

22. JM to MM Sept. 15, 1914.
23. D. Tyack, *One Best System* (New York: Harvard University Press, 1974) and R. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958* (London: Routledge & Kegal Paul).
24. R. Goodenow and R. Cowen, "The American School of Education and the Third World in the Twentieth Century: Teachers College and Africa, 1920-1950". *History of Education* 15, 4 (1986): 271-289 and R. King Hall, "The Role of Teachers College in International Education". *Teachers College Record* 56 (February 1955).
25. JM to MM April 13, 1915.
26. *Teachers College Bulletin, School of Education Announcements 1914-1915* p. 46-47.
27. JM to MM Sept. 29, 1914.
28. JM to MM Feb. 7, 1915 and *Teachers College Bulletin, School of Education Announcements 1914-1915.*
29. This phenomenon had much to do with the involvement of the American Missionary Board in Natal and later with the Garveyite movement in South Africa. See R. Hunt Davis, "John L. Dube: A South African Exponent of Booker T. Washington". *Journal of African Studies,* (Winter 1975-76) and K. King, *Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States and of America and East Africa* (London, 1971). See references to the training of Afrikaner ministers in D. Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).
30. JM to MM July 23, 1915.
31. JM to MM
32. JM to MM Jan 18, 1915.
33. Leo Marquard, "John Marquard (1891 -- 1918)."
34. JM to MM Sept 8, 1914.
35. JM to MM Sept. 8, 1914.
36. R. Elphick, "Mission Christianity and Interwar Liberalism" in J. Butler, R. Elphick, and D. Welsh (eds.), *Democratic Liberalism in South Africa* .

37. S. Dubow, "Race, Civilisation and Culture: The Elaboration of Segregationist Discourse in the Inter-War Years". *The Politics of Race, Class, and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa.*
38. According to the Shepstone doctrine, Africans were a distinct people, with their own customs, traditions and culture. He believed that British African policy should respond to the native, not as an individual, but rather as a member of a distinct society. Further they should be governed indirectly through their own chiefs, customs and laws, which should be protected, as much as possible, from erosion caused by European influence. See D. Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Natal, 1845-1910* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971). His position is summarized in Cells, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy* (New York: Yale University Press, 1981), 51-55.
39. Hofmeyr's "Building a Nation from Words" in *The Politics of Race, Class, and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa.*
40. See Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*
41. JM to MM Dec. 29, 1914
42. *Ibid.*
43. JM to MM Oct. 12, 1914.
44. JM to MM June 25, 1915.
45. JM to MM Jan 12, 1915 also his April 2, 1915 letter to his uncle Charles Murray, "What strikes and impresses me first is the spirit pervading all the work done there, the spirit of helpful service. Both professors and students all thoroughly believe in the greatness of the work they are doing and preparing for. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find several men and women studying here who are going to do mission work".
46. JM to MM April 6, 1915. He appears to have been influenced theologically by John Henry Jowett who he heard preach at Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church on numerous occasions. See Gerald Kennedy (ed.), *The Best of John Henry Jowett* (Freeport, NY, 1948).
47. JM to MM April 2, 1915.
48. JM to MM June 4, 1915.
49. M. Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religions in American* (New York: Harpers and Row, 1984), 341-346 and L. Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1876-1980* (New York: Harpers and Row, 1988), 107-109.
50. JM to MM Oct. 20, 1914.
51. JM to MM Oct. 6, 1914.
52. *Ibid.*
53. JM to MM March 10, 1915.

54. JM to MM Sept. 8, 1914.
55. JM to MM Oct. 6, 1914.
56. JM to MM Dec. 29, 1914.
57. JM to MM Sept. 29, 1914.
58. L. Marquard, "The Letters of John Marquard".
59. JM to MM May 4, 1915.
60. JM to MM July 23, 1915.
61. J. Dewey, "Waste in Education" in *The School and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1899); F. Bobbitt, "The Elimination of Waste in Education". *The Elementary School Teacher* 12, (1912). See for detailed treatment of Bobbitt's ideas; Kliebard, ch. 4.
62. JM to MM March 16, 1915.
63. E. Thorndike's, *Educational Psychology, Vol. 2. The Psychology of Learning* (New York, 1913) would most likely have been on the top of Marquard's reading list at Teachers College. See Kliebard, chapter 4 for a full account of Thorndike's research and its political implications.
64. See D. Tyack and E. Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980* (New York, 1982), ch. 12.
65. JM to MM Dec. 8, 1914.
66. JM to MM Dec. 15, 1914.
67. JM to MM Dec. 8, 1914.
68. JM to MM Sept, 1915.

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The Process Syllabus: A Case Study

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The Process Syllabus has excited much debate in the literature. The debate has, however, remained predominantly in the realm of theory as very few, if any, written accounts exist of the implementation of this syllabus in the classroom. This paper is a case study of the implementation of the Proccess Syllabus with Higher Diploma (post-grad) in Education teacher trainees in the English method course at the University of the Witwatersrand. It includes an analysis and evaluation of the process by all participants. The paper concludes that it is not possible to assume that a negotiated syllabus is necessarily empowering for all students.

The process or negotiated syllabus as advocated by Breen[1] and Candlin[2] has excited much comment among those interested in the theory and practice of syllabus design. However, the debate on this radical syllabus type has remained largely in the realm of theory as there are, according to Clarke[3], few, if any, accounts of the implementation of the process syllabus in actual classrooms. White[4] describes the "stimulating proposals of Breen and Candlin" as utopian, noting that one of the problems in implementing the process syllabus is that "there exists no evaluation of such a model in practice".

In this paper we describe and analyse our own experience of using a process syllabus with eighty-one post-graduate teaching diploma students completing their English Methodology Course at the University of the Witwatersrand. This course prepares students to teach English as a mother tongue or as a second language in South African high schools. The process syllabus was used in the Critical Linguistics component of the English Methodology Course and consisted of six sessions of two hours each. It is important to note that English Methodology was only one of a number of courses that students were taking simultaneously.

When deciding on the process approach, we did not anticipate using it as the basis for an article. It was only after the course was completed that we came to believe that the experience might open up debate on what it means to give learners control over their own learning. The process syllabus as advocated by Breen is essentially learner-focused:

> in classroom decision-making ... an overt and shared matter, the process syllabus ... assumes that participation by learners in decision-making will be conducive to learning.[5]

Because this emphasis on the learners is echoed in the draft proposals for People's English, we believe that this paper will contribute to the debate in South Africa on what "learner empowerment" and "democratisation of the classroom" mean in practice. People's English regards "education as process" and

> ... values the contribution of all the learners and makes every member of the group responsible for the learning experience.[6]

We were interested to discover the extent to which joint decision-making in the classroom was possible, and whether it improved learning. We make no claim to having conducted rigorous research. What we have to offer are the impressions of the participants, the students and the lecturer, collected during an evaluation of the course by Pippa Stein.

Breen[7] advocates using the process syllabus for language learning. Negotiating the syllabus is itself a task which provides opportunities for language acquisition and development. For Breen any syllabus content can provide opportunities for communication and language practice. This frees participants to select content they want. In applying Breen's proposals to the teaching and learning of Critical Linguistics, we were interested to establish whether the principles underlying Breen's concept of a negotiated syllabus would still apply in areas of the curriculum with a more defined body of knowledge or content. It is clearly easier to run a process syllabus where neither the teacher nor the students feel the need to cover specific content.

What is the process syllabus?

The process or negotiated syllabus takes as its starting point a concern with learners and the processes of learning. Unlike the formal/structural or notional/functional syllabuses, it is not based on a predesigned or preconceived plan of course content or classroom procedures. The process syllabus is learner-led rather than teacher-led in that it relies on the learners and teacher in a particular classroom context to jointly "create their own syllabus in the classroom in an ongoing and adaptive way". What makes the process syllabus learner-led, rather than co-produced, is the fact that the teacher's voice is only one among many. Through a "cycle of decision-making" on the participation, procedures and subject matter of what is to be taught and learnt, the process syllabus provides a means

whereby the learners' internal syllabuses can be synthesised with the classroom syllabus.[8]

Traditionally syllabuses are content-based and teacher-led in that the teacher or syllabus designer chooses and organises the content to be taught. According to Candlin,

> ... targets for language are all too frequently set up externally to learners with little reference to the value of such targets in the general educational development of the learner.[9]

The process syllabus, however, focuses on *how* something is done rather than the provision of a plan of the knowledge to be worked on.[10] In this emphasis on how something is done rather than on what is done, it can be described as process-based and means-driven rather than content-based and ends-driven.[11]. The ends cannot be predetermined and decisions about outcomes are in fact essential to the decision-making procedure inherent in the process syllabus itself.

> The whole discussion about "design" becomes somewhat solipsistic when it is realised that the negotiated syllabus does not in fact exist before the learners meet with the teacher in a particular environment in order to establish its parameters. Design is therefore no longer external to, or prior to, the implementation of the syllabus and in fact becomes its most essential pedagogic component, being itself part of the learning process.[12]

The process syllabus has been strongly influenced by the humanistic trends in progressive educational philosophies which opposed behaviourism in learning and authoritarianism in schooling structures. Dewey's concern with the process of learning rather than the content provides a basis for group dynamics and interaction, and can also be seen as a more efficient way of teaching subject matter. As noted by Brumfit,[13] the tendency towards the democratisation of the classroom is partly based on the belief that authoritarian procedures inhibit learning but also on a desire to create responsible and critical citizens. These trends merge in the claims that genuine learning can only take place when the cognitive and affective responses of the learner are taken into account. In this, the process syllabus can be said to have an educational rather than a linguistic rationale.[14]

The negotiations between teacher and learners should lead to what Breen calls a "working contract" defining the terms of the procedure. Ongoing evaluation and discussion of all aspects of the process help to shape and refine this working contract.

How it came about

The opportunity to implement the process syllabus arose as a result of our students' response to an essay topic we set them in our language studies course in the first term of 1990. The essay was based on Michael Breen's state of the art article.[15] Students were asked to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the four syllabus types (formal, functional, task-based and process) analysed by Breen, in relation to the teaching of English to Mother Tongue (MT) or English Second Language (ESL) students in South African high schools. In addition to Breen's list of references, students were given references pertaining to the different syllabuses in South Africa. They were also given articles on the politics of teaching English in South Africa.

The majority of the class recommended the use of the process syllabus as the most effective way of teaching English to both MT and ESL secondary school students in South Africa. Students felt that it offered an alternative to the authoritarian, top-down, state controlled education system and they liked the emphasis on the learner's involvement in the decision-making process.

> The involvement of teachers and learners in the learning process is important especially in South Africa where Bantu Education has relegated both to a position of obedience. The teacher merely followed the syllabus and the learner could not question the teacher. The constant interaction proposed in the process syllabus could make learning more meaningful. (Student essay)

> Involving learners at every stage of the learning process will make them feel empowered. They will have a say in what they are going to learn. Another important factor in this syllabus is that it does not regard learners as passive recipients of information but as people capable enough to make important decisions about their own language learning. (Student essay)

> Obviously, the process syllabus has distinct advantages: learners might be motivated because they are taking an active part in their own learning. They might feel that what they are learning is relevant because they have decided that they want it. The learning material has not been imposed upon them by some bureaucrat who knows nothing about their needs. (Student essay).

The key words seized on by the students from the rhetoric of Breen's description were "negotiation" and "joint decision-making". This is not surprising since the historical moment in which they were thinking about and writing this essay was February/March 1990, a time when "negotiation" was becoming a new word in our collective vocabulary.

We felt that the students' endorsement of a syllabus, of which none of us had any real experience, was too quick and too glib. We were worried that students had been seduced by Breen's rhetoric of innovation by means of which he suggests that

the negotiated syllabus arises naturally "from the ashes of the failure of other models to accommodate the real needs and wants of learners".[16] Students found this promise to address their real needs irresistible.

Implementation of the process syllabus

A meeting was called between the students and the teacher concerned (Hilary Janks) to consult on the possibility of using a process syllabus for the Critical Linguistics component of the course. Neither the students nor the teacher had ever experienced a negotiated syllabus and a democratic decision was taken to try it out. Students who expressed reservations about launching into a process which was completely new to all participants were outvoted. Majority decision-making is one way in which the word "democratic" can be understood. Such classroom decisions inevitably leave a discontented minority whose needs cannot be catered for in the interests of the whole group. Although this problem is endemic to working with large groups of learners using any type of syllabus, the process syllabus *claims* to be different. While it was possible during the course of the work itself for different groups of students to make different decisions, the decision to use a negotiated syllabus or not had to be an either/or decision as it was not possible for the teacher to do both.

In the first session the teacher provided each student with a detailed bibliography, arranged alphabetically. Subsequently the students felt that had the bibliography been arranged according to topic it would have been easier for them to use. The teacher had deliberately avoided any structuring of the bibliography. She saw it as a map of the territory through which students needed to find their own routes. She gave an overview of the territory by explaining the focus and thrust of each of the references and consciously tried to avoid any covert manipulation of students into key areas. In addition she made available fifteen copies of each of twenty-one articles which she had decided were helpful. These three hundred and fifteen copies were to form a resource pool for the class. Students could choose which articles to read and they were to return them for use by others. Five copies of the full collection of the fifteen articles were placed in the library on restricted circulation together with a number of books.

The eighty one students had been time-tabled for the year into two separate classes. In each of these classes the students decided how to proceed. In one class students split immediately into "specialist" groups based on interest and divided the readings accordingly. In the second class, in addition to specialist groups, two large groups decided to avoid taking a focus to begin with. These "general" groups took one copy of each reading which they distributed through the

group. In both "specialist" and "general" groups students decided that readers were to report back at the next class.

By the next class, breakdown of agreed classroom procedures was already evident. Firstly, not all students met their report-back reading commitments. Some did not even attend. Secondly, students were reluctant to return articles to the pool.

The teacher was ready to give up and was contemplating a compromise. One hour of the two-hour session would be teacher-led; the second hour would be "process". That afternoon she discussed this with two students who she happened to see. One liked the idea: "I just want to pick your brains", she said to the teacher. The other student was more cautious. "We are also panicking", she said, "if you give up now you will confirm our doubts in our own ability as learners". The teacher heard that she needed to have more faith in her students and decided to continue the experiment.

Students continued to work in groups. At times the groups decided to come together and to report back to the whole class on what they had been reading; at times when the teacher was working with one group another group joined in; one group consulted the teacher in her office outside class time as they needed help in understanding a particularly difficult article. Overall the class attendance dropped session by session. For those who stayed there were moments of intense excitement (students stayed an hour overtime because they became so involved; a student said "this is the first time I've had individual attention") and moments of intense despair ("There's too much, I'm just confused"; "[Jane] hasn't pitched and we can't go on without her"). The teacher felt disempowered. She could enjoy watching the students who were inspired but could only suggest interventions to hold those students who were becoming disaffected. Attendance was not compulsory, and the teacher felt that she had to respect students' decision not to attend on the assumption that had they found the course beneficial they would have stayed. She had to watch them drift away one by one. Clarke's[17] prediction that the negotiated syllabus is likely to lead to a the teacher's sense of "anarchy" and "a dereliction of duty" was confirmed. We do not discount the possibility that this particular teacher used the process syllabus badly. It is our contention, however, that if she found it difficult to sustain students' involvement, other teachers might also struggle to use a negotiated syllabus in a way that empowers all the learners in the class.

Evaluation of the process

At the end of the process, Pippa Stein (the first author) conducted an evaluation in which all the participants, the students and Hilary Janks (the teacher) were asked to evaluate the experience by responding to the following questions:

1. What do you understand to be the aims of the process syllabus?
2. Describe your experience of what happened on the course. Include: Your initial response to being involved in a process syllabus; Your response after the first class; Subsequent experiences.
3. Would you teach a course using the process syllabus?

Write your responses to the above questions individually then discuss them in small groups. Work out a group poster which visually represents your collective experience of the process syllabus.

Analysis of the student responses

Thirty seven out of eighty one students responded in writing; thirty two responded anonymously and five students included their names. In response to the first question, "What do you understand to be the aims of the process syllabus?" The participants showed remarkable agreement on the following points :

- student empowerment through giving students control over the design of their syllabus (nineteen responses)
- involving students by allowing them to do what is of direct interest to them (eighteen responses)
- joint decision-making between learners and lecturers on course content, aims and procedure (seventeen responses)
- developing a sense of self-reliance and responsibility in students for their own learning (sixteen responses)
- pooling resources - students and lecturer contributing insights and materials for discussion. Learners learning from each other. (nine responses)
- breaking down traditional authoritarian structures of teaching and learning (four responses)
- introducing elements of accountability and reciprocity into the relationship between teachers and learners (three responses)

Here are two examples of students' views:

I see the process syllabus as aiming to actively involve students in their own learning and the structure of the course. This means that both students and the lecturer concerned are accountable for the success or failure of the course. I think that a syllabus of this nature affords students the opportunities to investigate topics or areas they are really interested in. By this process students would find learning more meaningful. The interaction that occurs during the "non-formal" sections of lessons also constitutes learning. Overall the aim would be to empower students in the learning process. (Student response)

The process syllabus allows independence of thought which in turn will initially help to undermine the hierarchy fundamental to most learning institutions and to undermine the fallacy that the teacher is the only one with access to "truth". (Student response)

Students' responses ranged from "excited" and "interested" to "insecure" and "irritated". This range is reflected in the following quotations:

> I was very excited. I had read Carl Rogers *Freedom to Learn* and wished that at some point I could be part of a programme which demonstrated a belief in the worth of the students, that believed that the students have the ability to choose and decide. (Student response)
>
> My initial response was a combination of curiosity and interest in whether it would work or not, but also a feeling of insecurity as I wasn't aware of all the implications of my role as a student. (Student response)
>
> I think that my personal response when we started was rather negative. I prefer being told what to do and being given a clear direction by the lecturer or teacher. (Student response)
>
> At first I must admit I was confused. I felt uncertain as to what was required from me. The idea of a process syllabus was however, appealing. (Student response)

When asked to describe their feelings as the process syllabus progressed there was also a wide range of responses. Some blamed their previous education for their lack of confidence in dealing with the process syllabus:

> The problem with the process syllabus is that I felt that I had no goal. The class got smaller and smaller. There were only two out of the six people in my group. I felt that the course was falling apart. I think that it is a poor reflection on our education and what it had done to us. (Student response)
>
> After the first class I felt confused as the spectrum of ideas and topics we had to choose from was vast. This was mainly due to my lack of experience in critical linguistics. I did not know what was expected of me or have any foundations on which to build. My confidence in my own ability to direct the class went for a significant dive...It is difficult to come out of a spoon-fed government school to varsity and then to do a process syllabus. (Student response)

Others moved from initial confusion to an informed and independent pursuit of issues in critical linguistics:

> During and after the first lecture I was very irritated and confused, we knew virtually nothing about the subject and therefore had no idea of what we specifically wanted to study. It seemed as if no-one, not even the lecturer, knew where we were going nor what we intended to achieve. The second lecture was great. After that the discussions in class tended to be very general but relevant, interesting and very stimulating. I attended every lecture and really enjoyed the course. During the holidays I did some critical linguistics readings and found them very interesting. In fact I did quite a lot more reading than I would normally do for a course and even enjoyed the readings. The subject is very interesting and that is perhaps also a reason why I enjoyed the course. (Student response)
>
> After the first class I thought the process syllabus was not going to work because everything first seemed to be chaotic and people were often being lazy and not

> doing work. Subsequently I found that this course was without doubt the aspect of English methodology I enjoyed the most. I was motivated to do a lot of reading and enjoyed being with the people in my group. I felt independent and my self-confidence was given a healthy boost. I was not working for anyone except myself. (Student response)
>
> Perhaps the most thrilling aspect of the process syllabus was that we were able to choose aspects that we were particularly interested in, which rendered an automatic enthusiasm on the part of most of the class. It was fascinating that there was such a diversity of genuine interest in a particular class. (Student response)

In response to the question "Would you teach a course using the process syllabus"? Seventeen out of thirty seven said they would use it but within this group, many of them expressed certain modifications and reservations :

> Yes, I would love to teach using the process syllabus because I think it caters for people's different levels and in a post-apartheid South Africa this will be very important. Also, it empowers students, gives them a sense of self-worth and involvement in their own learning. My only fear is that because people are not used to this sort of thing they will drop out. Many students expressed insecurity because they didn't get written notes. (Student response)
>
> I personally had no reservations about being involved in the process syllabus course and thought it would be interesting to see if and how it worked. I have always preferred to have some concrete structure to the course so as to keep my bearings and to have definite notes upon which I could turn if confused. The process syllabus did not promise this but I was prepared to try it anyway. Seeing as how I had advocated it in the Breen assignment. The first class went well and was informative and interesting but the intensity seemed to dwindle after a few classes. Now I would argue that the process syllabus does have a lot to offer but demands a high level of motivation and input on the students' behalf. I do not think this would work in a school situation as it is too loosely structured to be of real benefit to students of a less than keen disposition. (Student response)

The rest firmly rejected the process syllabus, on both practical and pedagogical grounds:

> No, I do not like the process syllabus and although I have learnt a lot, I feel it did not use time constructively... If at any time I do, I will still structure the lessons/courses well and allow them the freedom of choosing specific aspects. (Student response)
>
> It wasn't a syllabus for me. I needed a framework of sorts. I had difficulty in realising what would be examinable and what was important. The stimulation depended on others who only knew as much as you - we needed a "teacher". The attendance also depended on the quality of the lesson and the work put in by numerous others. (Student response)

The teacher's response to the evaluation

The teacher, Hilary Janks, felt that the process syllabus was very enabling for some students. There were moments of shared excitement in the process. In particular the mere act of leaping into the unknown together felt quite daring. On balance, however, too few students benefited, too few students read widely, too few students showed the commitment necessary to stick with the experiment or to do the work that independent learning requires. It was too difficult to keep track of who was doing what. It was too difficult to negotiate with large classes in such a way that everyone's needs were catered for. Joint decision-making sometimes means that those who shout loudest prevail.

> I robbed myself of the right to structure the situation so that learning could take place and found that too many students lacked the skills and/or the motivation necessary for structuring their own learning. I would not repeat the process syllabus with a large class again.

Conclusion

This experience has taught us many things. The demands made upon teacher competence in this situation are considerable. Having an excellent knowledge of the topic or area is important because the teacher has to be able to facilitate and set learning tasks, if needed, on any aspect of the topic negotiated by the class.[18].

The attempt at implementating the process syllabus has led us to believe that teachers should have some control over the range and depth of the subject matter to be covered in their classes as well as some control over classroom procedures. This does not give the teacher the right to ignore the needs of the students or the knowledge and experience that they bring. She has a responsibility to ensure that a dialectic is established between her knowledge and experience and that of her students.[19] It is a mistake to grant the students' voices the same weight as the teacher's voice. One of the problems with the process syllabus is that students, who do not know what they do not know, find it difficult to make choices or decisions about what to explore. Many students expressed this in comments such as "I did not know anything about the subject", and "I felt unqualified to make a contribution" acknowledge their vulnerability. The teacher has knowledge and experience of the subject matter that the students have not yet acquired. It is her responsibility to structure access to this knowledge in a way that takes their voices seriously. In advocating the teacher's responsibility to mediate knowledge, we are not proposing a return to transmission models of education.[20]

Implementing the process syllabus in its pure form involves, according to White,[21] a major redefinition of roles both on the part of the teachers and the

students. Some of the students understood and were prepared to accept the responsibility and effort required in making this syllabus work for them. As can be seen from the positive comments recorded in this article, they learnt a great deal about the subject matter and about learner independence. Others did not. This was evident at the very beginning when some students expressed reservations about their own roles in the process. Comments such as "I did not know what was expected of me", "I felt anxious about being in a position of responsibility for the learning process" make this clear. What worries us most is the number of students, forty three out of eighty one, who simply withdrew and whose absence of comment is a silence in this paper. Despite the success for some students more that half the students stopped participating.

Many students were not willing to change roles. We think there are several reasons for this. The students, as they themselves point out, are products of a traditional hierarchical educational structure in which the teacher provides knowledge and students do not have to take responsibility for their own learning. Any challenge to this is very threatening. Students struggled with basic skills and were unsure how to use a library or how to follow their noses with a bibliography as a starting point, hence their reluctance to part with copies of articles.

What the process made startlingly evident was the wide range of different learning styles and strategies within one class. These spanned those who needed a clear, focused direction within prescribed parameters to those who thrived on the freedom to make their own choices. The process syllabus favoured only the latter.

We believe that negotiation skills are central to the success of the process syllabus. One of the students actually said, "The process syllabus demanded skills which we don't have. We don't know how to negotiate". This substantiates Clarke's point[22] that learner training, "including the development of the skills required to undertake constructive negotiation" should be seen as an integral part of the content of a negotiated syllabus.

In the end, we believe that students learnt a great deal about the process syllabus but not enough about critical linguistics. In an attempt to reconcile the conflicting needs of the learner's internal syllabuses and the external constraints of the content matter, material classroom conditions and external examination requirements, the process syllabus runs the danger of satisfying none. After having experimented with the process syllabus we are left with a number of questions about what it means to democratise the classroom. Because the negotiated syllabus gives students greater control over decision-making this is equated with democratic methods and is assumed to be empowering for them. While this is sometimes true, many students who are confused, directionless and scared of the responsibility, actually feel disempowered. Moreover, questions about democracy

also need to be asked. If it were in fact possible for all students together with the teacher to influence the syllabus, it might be possible to consider the process as democratic. What often happens, especially in a large class, is that those who fight hardest for what they want provide the direction. What the majority decides is not necessarily better for learners than decisions made by a teacher, particularly if the teacher is knowledgable and sensitive to the needs of the learners.

In our case, the students who were articulate, vocal and empowered gained a great deal. The voices of the silent ones who might perhaps have preferred a more structured, task-based learning environment, were never heard.

Our experience raises important questions about students' ability and willingness to take responsibility for their own learning, about joint decision making in large classes, about the teacher's responsibility for structuring access to knowledge and how this might best be realised. We firmly believe that education should enable learners to own knowledge and to take responsibility for their learning. How that can be achieved using a process syllabus is not yet clear.

Notes and References

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4. R. White, *The ELT Curriculum* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 101.
5. Breen (1987), 169.
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8. *Ibid.*, 166.
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11. Clarke (1991), 14.
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13. C. Brumfit, *Communicative Methodology in Language Teaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 71-72.
14. White (1988), 96.

15. Breen (1987).
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17. *Ibid.*
18. Clarke (1991), 20.
19. This point has been influenced by our understanding of A. Gramsci, translated by Q. Hoare, *The Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971) on the "organic intellectual".
20. Our understanding of the teacher as a mediator of knowledge is taken from L. Vygotsky, *Mind in Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978).
21. White (1988), 101.
22. Clarke (1991), 24.

Colouring in our Classrooms

"Colouring in our Classrooms" is a documentary prepared by the Wits Education Policy Unit on the expectations and aspirations of South Africa's 7 year olds. What do children in township schools, white schools and open schools think about colour, wealth, gender and politics?

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REPORT

From the Mandela Education Delegation to the National Education Conference: Setting the Stage for Negotiations[1]

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Introduction

On 25 February 1991, ANC (then Deputy) President, Nelson Mandela, led a delegation of twenty six representatives from national political, trade union, religious and mass-based education organisations to meet with State President, F. W. de Klerk, at Tuynhuis. Also included in what became known as the Mandela Education Delegation (hereafter referred to as the Delegation) were several prominent educationist from educational institutions and officials from the Departments of Education in KaNgwane, Transkei and Lebowa.[2]

Invitations to join the Delegation were extended to the delegates on the basis of the following "determining factors": a shared acceptance that apartheid education in all its forms and structures and its undemocratic content was the root cause of the education crisis; and, that the "real solution lies in the creation of a unified education system which is non-racial and organised along democratic lines".[3] However, representatives from student organisations, such as COSAS and SANSCO, were noticeably absent from the Delegation. (For full names of organisations, see list of abreviations at the end of this report)

The Delegation, as a grouping, had a short lifespan of fourteen months. At the National Education Conference held in Broedestroom between the 6-8 March 1992 the Delegation was dissolved. In its brief history it had taken important educational

initiatives that have not been widely reported in the press and which have not been fully appreciated or understood in academic circles.

The Delegation had met with President de Klerk on two occasions and delegates from it and the government served on the Joint Working Group on Education for a period of approximately four months. It has also taken the initiative in hosting the Broedestroom Conference that succeeded in constructing a "Patriotic Front" in education, and which has taken a unanimous decision to enter into negotiations around a specific set of issues with the South African government. This article attempts to trace the history of the Delegation, to provide a report on the National Education Conference and to raise several critical issues in relation to negotiations for a post-apartheid education system.

Tracing the history

The establishment of the Delegation was a unique feature in the history of resistance to apartheid education. In the first instance it was a personal and concerned initiative by Mandela in the wake of the disastrous 1990 Senior Certificate examination results in the DET and the " catastrophic consequences of the education crisis".[4] Secondly, by drawing into its work a broad spectrum of organisations, institutions and individuals concerned with education, it laid the foundation stones for a new Patriotic Front in Education.

The Delegation also signalled a significant shift in the search for a solution to the deepening crisis in South African education. In the past various delegations from the mass democratic movement to the government tended to present demands to it with a definite time limit for a response; failing which it would threaten or engage in forms of mass resistance, thereby exacerbating tensions on the educational front. In contrast, this was the first real attempt to begin discussions with government about ways of resolving the immediate problems in black education and of restructuring education along fundamentally different lines.

The Delegation aimed to :

a) persuade the de Klerk government "to accept responsibility for taking meaningful measures that would lead to the resolution of the crisis";
b) ensure that "our (black) communities are meaningfully involved in the steps to resolve" this crisis;
c) encourage the government to accept "responsibility for taking decisive and immediate political steps that will begin to lay the groundwork for one education system for all the people of South Africa";
d) secure the removal of "race-based education structures and legislation"; and,

e) to extract an undertaking from government that it will suspend any "new policy initiatives and restructuring planned within the same (race) framework".[5]

At its first meeting with President de Klerk the Delegation specifically called upon the government to create an emergency fund to address the historical backlogs in black education; to increase the provision of schools and other essential learning facilities; to make effective utilisation of existing educational resources under control of the Department of Education and Culture : House of Assembly; to stop the imposition of racial quotas on the enrolment of students in public schools and tertiary institutions; to make provision for the timeous delivery of textbooks to black schools; and, to ensure that the May 1991 supplementary matriculation examinations were efficiently administered and to recognise representative education organisations such the NECC, SADTU and Parent-Teacher-Student Associations.[6]

The delegation proposed that President de Klerk agree to the constitution of a "joint educational task force" made up of representatives from the Delegation itself and the Departments of Education present at the meeting. Such a structure should make an in-depth study of educational problems requiring urgent attention and to develop effective solutions or strategies to resolve them to the satisfaction of both the Delegation and the government. In effect, the Delegation saw such a structure as a short-term mechanism to address crisis issues and to consider the question of a more representative forum which would embark on longer-term negotiations for a unified, non-racial system of education.[7]

President de Klerk responded to the Delegation by referring to his opening address to Parliament on 1 February 1991, in which he declared that the "government was also looking at present and with a view to interim arrangements at the problems arising from the fragmentation of administration, especially in respect of education, housing, health and agriculture". He drew attention to the government's commitment to educational reform and cited that it was preparing a "comprehensive educational renewal strategy". He acknowledged that the "present educational system shall and must be changed"; that ultimately it must "enjoy the acceptance and support of the majority of the population" and that it must be affordable.[8]

The first encounter of the Delegation and the State President ended with an acceptance by both parties that it was necessary to establish a Joint Working Group which will report back, separately and jointly, in the near future. A joint press release stated : "Time did not allow the meeting to discuss all the issues in depth or in adequate detail. It was therefore agreed to establish a Joint Working Group to take the discussion on these issues further, including the short term and immediate

issues raised at the meeting, as well as procedures to establish a fully representative forum to discuss a new education system for South Africa".[9]

The Joint Working Group was composed of five representatives from each side. The government's delegates were : Dr. C.J. van der Merwe, L.A. Pienaar, P.G. Marais, Dr. J.C. Garbers and Dr. J.B.Z. Louw. The Delegation was represented by J. Samuel (ANC), I. Rensburg (NECC), M. Ramokgopa (AZAPO), N. McGurk (SAAIS) and Prof. J. Gerwel (UWC).

The brief of the Joint Working Group was to attend to the following issues : address immediate problems such as the delivery of textbooks and provision and repairing of schools and classrooms, particularly in rural and homeless communities; formulate regulations for the recognition of representative structures such as PTSAs and SADTU; identify apartheid policies and practices in education which result in the "alienation of empty white schools"; and identifying "appropriate processes and procedures for setting up a fully representative forum to discuss the reconstruction of education". The first three matters were placed on the agenda by the Delegation and the latter by the government.[10]

The Joint Working Group had completed its report by June 1991, and had disbanded in August 1991 after presenting it to the respective parties. However, its short-lived history did create serious difficulties for the ANC and several other mass-based education structures such as the NECC and SADTU. These cannot be fully explored in this report. Suffice it to say that the Joint-Working Group report reflected the dominance of the government's team in terms of input, and in its "style and content". It contained very little in terms of "delivery on substantive issues" and tended to be "DET-centred" rather than addressing issues outside of an "own affairs" framework.[11]

The Delegation's team failed to report back timeously to NECC affiliates, such as SADTU and student groups, creating suspicion that there were "secret talks/negotiations" about a future education system. But its most serious drawback was that it provided "an escape route" to the DET and the Department of National Education when confronted by mass campaigns (such as the occupation of schools by the NECC and SADTU's demand for recognition) which consistently said that the matter was being addressed by the Joint Working Group. In this sense it had either diluted the capacity of organisations to campaign vigorously over an issue or it had deflected attention away from Departments of Education (most notably the DET and House of Assembly over the issue of unused schools) to the Joint Working Group. Finally, it soon became apparent to the Delegation that the Joint Working Group did not have the legal clout to take decisive action on any crisis issue, thereby rendering it as a "talk-shop". Many delegates were left with the impression that policy shifts such as the decision to announce Model D schools were the product of

mass action rather than the process of negotiations through the Joint Working Group. The inability of the Delegation to make the decisions of the Joint Working Group binding on government and specific education departments was then its principal weakness.

On the question of the process by which a future education system could be created, the Joint Working Group proposed the establishment of a fully representative National Negotiating Forum on Education. It argued that the "needs in the educational sphere and the potential for further permanent, irremediable and horrific damage to the future of the young people of South Africa is so great" that creation of such a Forum is of "utmost importance and of great urgency". The main functions of such a Forum were : to discuss and investigate immediate problems in education and to make recommendations to the government about possible action to resolve these; and, to discuss and investigate a new system of education for South Africa. The central recommendation that inspired the Delegation not to respond positively to the proposal was the view of the government that "such a Forum will of necessity be an informal body and, as such, will not have any powers of decision making". It added that "until a new constitution comes into force, decision making as such remains with the government and government departments".[12] In principle the Delegation had no fundamental objection with the establishment of such a Forum, but the fact that it did not have legal authority to implement agreements would reduce it to the status of a "toy-telephone". The Delegation refused to commit itself to such a structure and emphasised the need for interim government which can "protect joint initiatives such as this from the dangers of being exploited to the political advantage of any single party".[13]

The second meeting between the Delegation and President de Klerk took place at the Union Buildings on the 19 August 1991. Its purpose was to consider the report of the Joint Working Group. The Delegation expressed its disappointment at the limited success of the entire process of engagement with government. It made further contact with government conditional upon meeting of immediate needs in black education. In this regard it called upon President de Klerk to provide an "Education Package for 1992" which would demonstrate the government's willingness to address the crisis in education. Such a package was announced by Minister of Education and Training, Sam de Beer, in his budget speech on the 31 March 1992 and represented a narrow attempt to upgrade and reform black education by the DET.

In spite of these shortcomings the Delegation chose not to disband immediately. At the Patriotic Front Conference held in October 1991 in Durban, it had succeeded in passing a resolution calling for the establishment of an "Education Patriotic Front" as a matter of urgency. Such a Patriotic Front on Education was only consolidated

in March this year at the National Education Conference. By this time the PAC had virtually withdrawn from the political Patriotic Front and publicly condemned the ANC-SACP's participation in CODESA.

National education conference

The Broederstroom Conference was by no means an insignificant event. It attracted a wide range of organisations such as the ANC, AZAPO, SACP, WOSA, COSATU, NACTU, NECC, SADTU, UTASA, COSAS, SASCO, AZASM, AZASCO, SAAIS and UDUSA. In addition, it enjoyed representation from national education service organisations such SACHED, the Literacy Network, the Education Policy Units and from institutions such as the Catholic Institute of Education, the Committee of University Principals, the Committee of Technikon Principals, the Kagiso Trust, the Urban Foundation, the Development Bank of South Africa and the Independent Development Trust.

The broad aims of the Conference were to "develop strategies for resolving the crisis in education and to identify the framework for the restructuring of the education system". More specifically, its objectives were to : develop a "declaration of broad principles, norms and values that should underpin a future education system"; develop and implement a "code of conduct with regard to the culture of learning"; formulate "joint strategies and campaigns for addressing the crisis in education"; and, to develop "mechanisms for arriving at a new education system" and which would deal with "education in the transition period".[14]

The conference began with messages of support from political organisations. After this Jakes Gerwel presented a keynote address which provided a framework from which all of the major themes of the conference emerged and within which they were historically contextualised. The intention of the planning committee was for the keynote address to mark an important juncture in the history of the education struggle - in much the same way as the Zwelakhe Sisulu address at the 1986 NECC Durban conference had, in Gerwel's analysis,

> attempted to change the education struggle in a direction which was both appropriate to the social and political conditions at the time, as well as linking it to the strategy and tactics of the national liberation struggle in general.[15]

Gerwel offered an analysis of the progress of educational struggle since 1985 and of the current social and political conditions.[16] The direction in which the Gerwel speech has attempted to change the education struggle is expressed in two complementary phases. In the long term, the struggle is aimed at the radical transformation of the education system, for example, the progressive eradication of the role education plays in perpetuating social inequality.[17] In the immediate and

transitional period, this era of negotiations and the anticipation of the installation of a democratic government, the struggle is to force the government to fulfil its responsibilities towards black education through mechanisms which hold it accountable. These mechanisms are, he argues, to be accompanied by the force of the expression of the people's demands.[18] This is consistent with the strategy and tactics of the present phase of the national liberation struggle of negotiated reform of the social and political system accompanied by appropriate mass action.

In suggesting some of the ways in which education will be transformed as part of the socio-political restructuring, Gerwel argued for the fundamental role of civil society and for the importance of educational groups as a constituency of this society.[19] Decentralisation of educational management was seen as facilitating the democratisation of education and thus the building of effective organs of civil society wherein administration would be informed by relevant - and empowered - constituencies.[19] Gerwel offered some concrete proposals [21] as to how the danger of perpetuation of the status quo inherent in such devolution of responsibility might be addressed by mechanisms of redress.

Acknowledging the work of NEPI, Gerwel argued for the necessity of establishing a framework of principles within which education policy for a democratic South Africa could be developed and he proceeded to illustrate how some of these principles, despite their inherent tensions, might inform policy decisions at different levels of education.[22]

The principles and values underlying the anticipated democratic education system were the substance of one of the four commissions which sat all day on the second day of the conference. Four core values were identified: human dignity, liberty and justice; democracy; equality and national development.[23] From these were derived a set of eleven key principles[24] which offer the first broadly consulted steps towards concrete policy formation since the Freedom Charter.

In addition to the predictable consensus regarding the central responsibility of the State in providing for education and training, democratic participation of all relevant constituencies in decision making, maximum access and the development of a national democratic culture,[25] the conference also agreed on principles that will exert a critical influence on policy decisions. For example, agreement on the need for nationally determined standards for accreditation and certification[26] will have implications for policy decisions regarding the core curriculum. The decision that there must be mobility and flexibility of access between general, technical, industrial and adult education[27] has implications not only for the restructuring of tertiary education, but also for the current division (even within departments of the ANC) between education and training, between formal and non-formal education. In this the labour movement won a long sought for victory.

The agreements forged in this commission and in the subsequent plenary session are important for the work of NEPI in that the principles that have guided the research of that initiative (equality, non-racism, non-sexism, unity, affirmative action and democracy)[28] were affirmed by the conference (conveniently functioning as a "macro" consultative forum), and additional guidelines were formulated which will enrich that research.

One of the agreed principles was that the active and democratic participation of teachers, parents, workers and students should be ensured in governance.[29] This principle was also supported in the second commission the task of which was to reach agreement on a framework for the development of a code of conduct for parents, students and teachers.[30] However, this commission was not able to develop any depth of understanding as to the nature and form of this participation, and the different but complementary roles of parents, teachers and students. In sensitive areas such as teacher evaluation and curriculum development, where popular demands for democratic participation are met with deep suspicion, the conference left the interpretation of "participation"[31] open to negotiation "on the ground" and failed to develop a rigorous analysis of the relative role and authority of the three constituencies. The nature of the mechanisms for democratisation of education at local level still requires intensive debate.

The development of a code of conduct was seen by the conference as being an important step towards re-establishing and developing the culture of learning.[32] The tension between, on the one hand, an acknowledgement of the state's responsibility for the destruction of the culture of learning and thus the prior necessity for the state to provide at least the minimum conditions for learning and teaching and, on the other hand, the capacity and the responsibility of the oppressed to establish such a climate in the context of deprivation of minimum material resources was debated without adequate resolution.[33] However, the mood of the conference was that engagement with the education crisis could not wait on the actions of a morally and politically bankrupt state, but that a disciplined commitment to teaching and learning should be renewed in anticipation of transformation.

The code of conduct calls for what in a normal society would be seen as a rather unremarkable set of behaviours, for example: punctual attendance; the avoidance of anti-social behaviour; and the development of self-discipline.[34] That this essentially conservative code is heralded with such anticipation of improvement is a reflection of the extent to which the most basic processes of teaching and learning have disintegrated. The implied message may be that progressive methodologies and new ways of conceiving of the power relations within the processes of teaching and learning can only be explored once the culture of learning is restored.

The obligations detailed in this code of conduct are not yet accompanied by a complementary document on the rights of teachers, parents and students, nor has any significant work been begun on possible responses to infringements of the code. This crucial component was again left to the organic process.

The other two commissions dealt with the political issue which was at the heart of the conference: the mechanisms for engaging the state at this historic juncture.[35] The expectation of approaches to this question were initially framed in terms of party attitudes to CODESA and there was some uncertainty as to how this would influence the development in the conference of a united educational front. However, as the task of addressing the education crisis was assessed as necessitating "multi-strategic" interventions,[36] negotiations were recognised by all delegates as being one facet, amongst many, of education struggle that had potential to address the crisis. This was, arguably, the major achievement of the conference.

There was agreement that the state and capital must be engaged in the following six areas: access and effective delivery at all levels of education; equitable per capita expenditure; democratization of the education system; halting of the unilateral re-structuring of the education system; violence in the education system; and redress in the areas of literacy, adult basic education and skills training.[37] There was (sufficient) consensus that this engagement with the state and capital must be supported by campaigns in the areas of educational provision and democratisation of governance, and that there should be demands for the immediate suspension of unilateral restructuring of the education system.[38] These campaigns are to be developed in the complementary strategies of mass action, media campaigns, and negotiations.[39]

A post-conference structure which was given a mandate to take forward the decisions of the conference is to be comprised of a representative from each of the mass-based organisations (political, trade union federations, educational). Subject to consensus in the committee, PAC, PASO and NAPTOSA will be re-invited to join this committee.[40] It was agreed that this structure must conduct all of its work publicly and openly with full accountability to participating organisations and the public at large.[41] It must develop a programme of action for engaging the government as well as conducting campaigns.[42] It is intended that these campaigns will be run jointly by all of the mass-based organisations in a way that strengthens democratic organisation and builds unity.[43]

Lessons of the past and future prospects: making it stick

A crucial juncture has been reached in the continuing quest for educational equity. The brief history of attempted negotiations on the education crisis between

February 1991 and the present, noted above, is fraught with lessons about the futility of *ad hoc* discussions. As with other such exchanges in the past, the state's attitude has been that these are informal exercises, accorded, at best, advisory privilege. These lessons, fortunately, have come to a head at a time when the serious business of negotiating a democratic future is underway. It is imperative as it is a matter of vital national interest that a genuine democratic restructuring of education be given the attention it deserves.

At least three approaches are available that can be deployed in sequence or simultaneously. As a starting point it should be noted that the Education Conference held in Broedestroom in March was a remarkable achievement when measured against previous attempts at collective action by disparate extra-parliamentary political groups. Its significance, however, will be validated only if it continues to coordinate the efforts of the various stakeholders in crystallizing principles that will inform a reconstructed education system.

One approach, is to put the pressing matter of the education crisis and the need for a drastic reconstruction on the agenda of Working Group III of CODESA which has the responsibility to address the issues of transitional/interim arrangements. It is in Working Group III or a commission thereof that the discussion and creation of a consolidated education ministry to address the immediate crisis as well as elaborate and work out the articulation of the various structures from the national to the local levels can take place.

There is general agreement among most participants at CODESA on the principle of a universal equal education coordinated by a central authority with certain broad regulatory powers[44] such as in financing, but providing autonomy for local authorities on certain specific functions where such ceded authority does not violate agreed upon national norms. Major differences exist in the latter area. For instance, there is concern about decentralization becoming a conduit for the preservation of segregated schooling and the inherent inferiority of provision this entails in a socially-stratified society.[45] Extreme care will have to be exercised in striking a balance between the virtues of local authority and the imperatives of redress and national cohesion.

Addressing educational demands through the CODESA framework will certainly be problematic as some participants at the National Education Conference are opposed to this forum. An alternative to this strategy would be to assume that a transitional authority, which of necessity will include a single education ministry, will be installed in the next few months. Then the proposals of the National Education Conference and or those of a post-conference structure will have to be considered as a matter of urgency by the new education authority.

A related problem is that of the legitimacy of the homeland governments. There are those who argue that because they are products of apartheid there should be no engagement with them. Proponents of this view generally do not oppose engaging the state, which despite its public shredding of apartheid doctrine still practices it, either within the multilateral CODESA framework or bilaterally. Once the principle is accepted of negotiating multilaterally or bilaterally where the state is involved in all instances, then it is untenable to oppose engaging the products of the apartheid state while accepting their creator. From a practical standpoint, the one possible objection that can be raised is that because of their shared ideological affinity, engaging all of them in a multilateral forum is a losing proposition. But this argument fails to recognize the already existing differences between the homeland authorities and the government.

The six areas delineated by the National Education Conference should serve as fundamental principles to be addressed by the interim education authority which will not be dominated by the National Party[46] but will be representative and reflect a broader consensus. Decisions taken by the consolidated ministry will have the advantage of ready access to the legislative process thus giving the accepted proposals legal authority. Only such an arrangement can give teeth to the input of the proposed post-conference structure.

The second approach is the tactical use of mass-based campaigns. The various organizations that participated at the National Education Conference may join a post-conference structure to press their case where vital educational needs remain unaddressed. Organized public protests are a right inherent to democracy, as they serve as a barometer of public reaction to any facet of public policy. They are one form of the public debate which constituents are guaranteed by the right to freedom of expression right protected in an appropriate legal mechanism, such as the Bill of Rights, that they can resort to when there is recalcitrance on the part of the state. As the trenchant abolitionist, Frederick Douglass, observed in 1857 in a situation similar to that prevailing in South Africa today, "Power concedes to nothing without a demand. It never has and it never will".[47] This form of expression is even more compelling where a democratically elected representative government is not in existence. The view that such legitimate public actions disturb the peace is jaundiced.

The third approach is the proposal made at the National Education Conference to establish a post-conference structure. If such an entity came into being it would sustain the initiative for transformation well into the post-apartheid era. It would distinguish the new process of policy making from the "old apartheid" policy by fiat in which consultation was an alien concept. Positive interaction and consultation with the public on crucial policy issues have never been the practice of previous

governments in South Africa, especially where it comes to matters affecting the black community. If we take, as a fundamental democratic principle, that governments derive their legitimacy from the consent of the governed then in the sphere of policy formulation, consultations and public hearings are crucial. Hence the idea of creating a post-conference structure as proposed by the National Education Conference is particularly germane as it will provide an opportunity for the exchange of views between civil society and government.

It was with this view in mind that earlier on the idea of establishing a "supra national body to be called either the National Education Council or the National Consultative Conference" was proposed. Such a body would have broad representation, be vested with statutory responsibility for advising the Education Ministry and review all proposed policy decisions.[48] It could also act as an independent body that discusses, reviews and proposes legislation; and periodically makes representations to the education authorities. This kind of interaction between a reconstructed Department of Education and appropriate structures within civil society has considerable merit as it allows for public input in policy-formulation and affords a mechanism for accountability for the department. It is almost obligatory to have this arrangement at least for the medium term until democratic laws, regulations, processes and procedures in the education sphere are firmly rooted in the post-apartheid dispensation.

Conclusion

Apartheid education's wastage of human resources must come to an end. Unilateral laws and practices that forbade constructive exchange have exacted a heavy price. Clearly the *ad hoc* discussions between the government and the Mandela Education Delegation have yielded no demonstrably effective results - a fate experienced by other earlier contacts the SECC and then the NECC had with the DET officials. We have attempted to show the problems that beset and caused the Mandela Education Delegation to fail. The new initiative undertaken at the National Education Conference, if sustained, augurs well for the future and everything possible must be done to enhance the chances for success. Henceforth valid popular demands for education redress must have a mechanism that will make them stick.

A moment has been reached where the opportunity offered by developments in the political terrain must be seized and pursued vigorously if systematically in order, on the one hand, to avoid the mistakes of the past, while on the other hand firm strides are made to achieve meaningful educational equity for all South Africans especially those who have been short shrifted over the years.

List of acronyms

SANSCO	South African National Students Congress
DET	Department of Education and Training
NECC	National Educationa Coordinating Committee
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
SAAIS	South African Association of Independent Schools
UWC	University of the Western Cape
PTSAs	Parents Teachers Students Associations
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers' Union
PAC	Pan African Congress
SACP	South African Communist Party
NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
WOSA	Workers' Organisation of South Africa
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
NACTU	National Council of Trade Unions
AZASM	Azanian Students' Movement
UTASA	United Teachers' Association of South Africa
AZASCO	Azanian Students' Congress
UDUSA	Union of Democratic University Staff Association
SACHED	South African Council for Higher Education
PASO	Pan African Student Organisation
SECC	Soweto Education Crisis Committee

Notes and references

1. It must be noted that this article was written in early April 1992 and substantial political changes might have occurred prior to publication.
2. The full delegation was composed of the following : N. Mandela (ANC), J. Samuel (ANC), S. Sisulu (ANC), M. Tulwana (NECC), I. Rensburg (NECC), S. Mdladlana (SADTU), Dr. Ripinga (KaNgwane Education Department), Dr. Betela (Transkei Education Department), Prof. J. Gerwel (Rector - UWC), Prof. C. Manganyi (Rector - University of the North), Prof. Nkuhlu (Rector - University of Transkei), Prof. Booysens (Vice-Chancellor - University of Natal), Dr. F. Sonn (Rector - Peninsula Teckrnikon), Prof. Mphalele (Council for Black Education and Research), Dr. R. Peteni (ex-president ATASA), F. Bill (SACC), Br.N. McGurk (SA Association of Independent Schools), K. Lehoko (COSATU), Br. J. Peterson (SACBC), J. Maseko (SACP), E. Rasool (WCRP), M. I. Morwamoche (Lebowa Education Department), F. L. Ledwaba (Lebowa Education Department), Mr. Moramotshe (Lebowa Education Department), M. Ramokgopa (AZAPO Education Secretariat), Prof. Marivate (Council for

Education and Training) and E. Vries (UDUSA-NECC). The government's delegation consisted of : F.W. de Klerk (State President), Dr. C J van der Merwe (Minister of Education and Training), L. A Pienaar (Minister of National Education and of Environmental Affairs), Dr.T. Alant (Deputy Minister of National Education), P.G. Marais (Deputy Minister of Education and Training), Dr. J.P. Roux (Director-General - State President's Office), Dr. J.C. Garbers (Director-General of National Education) and Dr. J.B.Z. Louw (Director-General of Education and Training).

3. Mandela Education Delegation; " Response by the Education Delegation led by the President of the ANC to Report on the Activities of the Joint Working Group on Education" , *n/d*, pp.1-2.
4. Unsigned; " Memorandum to the State President" , 29 January 1991, p.1 (presented by Mandela in preparation for the meeting of the 25 February 1991).
5. Unsigned; *ibid*. pp.1-2.
6. See " Memorandum to the State President" and " Transcription of Discussion on Education between the State President and the Ministers and Deputy Ministers of Education and Training and of National Education and a Delegation of Educationist and Representatives of Concerned Organisations led by Mr. Nelson Mandela" , 25 February 1991.
7. See " Transcription of discussion on education between the State President ..... led by Nelson Mandela" , 25 February 1991, pp. 12, 17, 19-20, 37, 40-48.
8. *Ibid*, pp. 21-22.
9. " Joint Statement" issued by the Office of the State President on 25 February 1991, Cape Town, p.1.
10. Mandela Education Delegation ; " Response by the Mandela Education Delegation led by the President of the ANC to the Report on Activities of the Joint Working Group in Education" , pp.2-3.
11. Mandela Education Delegation; *ibid*, p.3.
12. Joint Working Group; " Draft Proposals Regarding an Education Forum" submitted to the Office of the State President and the Mandela Education Delegation, n\d, pp.3-4.
13. Mandela Education Delegation; " Response by the Mandela Education Delegation led by the President of the ANC ...." , p.10.
14. Organising Committee of the Delegation; " National Education Conference Press Release" , 12 February 1992, p.1.
15. Gerwel, Jakes. Keynote Address: National Education Conference, March 1992. p.3.
16. *Ibid*, pp. 2-3
17. *Ibid*, pp. 6-7
18. *Ibid*, pp. 3-6

19. *Ibid*, p. 8
20. *Ibid*, pp. 8-9
21. *Ibid*, pp. 11-12
22. *Ibid*, pp. 10-15
23. National Education Conference, March 1992. Commission One: Principles and Values. p. 1
24. *Ibid*, p. 2
25. *Ibid*, p. 2
26. *Ibid*, p. 2
27. *Ibid*, p. 2
28. Towards a framework and a set of guiding principles for NEPI: a working document prepared by the principles and frameworks committee, April 1991.
29. National Education Conference, March 1992. Commission One: Principles and Values, p. 2
30. National Education Conference, March 1992. Commission 2: The development and implementation of a code of conduct with regard to the culture of learning.
31. *Ibid*, p.3
32. *Ibid*, p.2
33. *Ibid*, p.2
34. *Ibid*, pp.4-5
35. National Education Conference, March 1992. Commission 3: The development of joint strategies and campaigns for addressing the crisis in education, and Commission 4: Mechanisms for arriving at a new education system (Joint Resolution)
36. *Ibid*, p. 1
37. *Ibid*, p. 2
38. *Ibid*, pp. 2-3
39. *Ibid*, p. 2
40. *Ibid*, p. 2
41. *Ibid*, p. 3
42. *Ibid*, p. 2
43. *Ibid*, p. 1
44. The TBVC's and the Self-governing territories, perhaps with the exception of Bophuthatswana, have extremely poor education systems mainly because of inadequate funding from the South African central government. Their best interests will be served by a central authority that will be responsive to their critical educational needs. For an illuminating discussion of the state of education in these territories see M. Metcalfe "Situational Analysis: Primary

Education in South Africa. UNICEF 1992 (forthcoming) or the annual Institute of Race Relations Surveys.

45. In Brown v Board of Education decision the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that the "separate but equal doctrine" was not only unconstitutional but inherently inferior. Barring some unique exception that applies to South Africa, we suspect that this finding holds as firmly here as well. For a documentation of the resilience of segregation and deliberate schemes to flout desegregation initiatives see Jonathan Kozol's riveting account in *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1991). This is happening at a great cost to the United States' productivity and quality of life. The de Klerk government's Model C program, for example, is an attempt to forestall any meaningful desegregation. For a critical review of the problems inherent in proposals for local school control see Mary Metcalfe's review of Monica Bot's *The Blackboard Debate: Hurdles, Options and Opportunities in School Integration* in *Perspectives in Education*, 13, 1 (Summer 1991/92): 85-88.
46. The National Party has its own proposals to submit in negotiations. For a delineation and critique of the NP's major points see P. Bennell, D. Chetty, L. Chisholm, M. Monoyokolo and N. Taylor, " The Education Renewal Strategy: An Agenda for Negotiations." Discussion Paper, Education Policy Unit, University of the Witwatersrand, 1992.
47. Quoted in F. Powledge, *Free at Last? The Civil Rights Movement and the People Who Made It* (New York: Harper Perrenial, 1991): v.
48. Mokubung Nkomo, "Post-Apartheid Education: Preliminary Reflections" in *Pedagogy of Domination*, ed. M. Nkomo (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1990): 313.

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REPORT

A Report on Current Education Policy Issues in Southern Africa: May 1992

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Introduction

In late 1991 researchers from the Education Policy Units at the University of Natal and the Witwatersrand visited Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique as part of an education study tour. Until recently, educational debate in South Africa has been uninformed by the experiences of our regional counterparts. In the area of policy our neighbours have developed a range of expertise. In the context of formulating policy for the transformation of South African education, the EPUs consider it important that we begin a serious dialogue on issues of mutual concern within the region. The exchange of ideas and information is an ideal way of creating new collaborative relationships and cementing existing ties. This tour was the first initiative in that direction.

The purposes of the tour were as follows:

* to investigate problems and policy options facing educationists in Southern African countries when in the process of transition from colonial rule to independence;
* to look into past, present and future constraints on education policy;
* to gain an understanding of the choices made at independence and assess where those choices have failed or succeeded;
* to familiarise ourselves with the dynamics of the policy making process and models in the region;

* to network and establish links with policy oriented organizations and institutions in the region;
* to train new EPU staff.

The tour was not aimed at developing expertise in a narrowly defined area but rather to gain familiarity with the most topical issues in education policy. This report focuses on the process and context of policy formulation and the dynamics of implementation.

Given the paucity of information in South Africa about institutions and organizations in the region, the selection of informants was a random process. Broadly speaking, we aimed at meeting representatives of state, non-governmental organisations, universities, the private sector and unions/staff associations.

Zimbabwe

The post independence education reform agenda

The Zimbabwean liberation struggle created a popular awareness of the deficiencies of the colonial education system in Zimbabwe. As has been the case in most post-colonial countries, political expectations were running high and the new government was expected to deliver in the shortest and most visible way. An impressive growth in education provision was achieved in a very short space of time and bolstered by a sustained period of economic stability.

At independence, government policy was informed by the view that education was a basic need and fundamental right of every child. There was to be free primary school education for all. To improve access to schooling tuition fees were abolished. The only fees payable would be industrial fees for practical subjects, general purpose fees and boarding fees in the case of boarders.

These reforms created the conditions for a rapid expansion of education. In 1980 there were 3 161 primary schools with an enrolment of 1 235 995 students. By 1989, the number of primary schools had risen to 4 504 with and enrolment of 2 265 271 students. By 1989/90 recurrent expenditure on education increase to twenty three percent of the total budget.

Resource and policy constraints

Although the constraints to reform at independence were manifold, perhaps two most notable ones relate to the drastic shortage of human resources and structural problems in the economy. Skilled administrators and policy makers were needed to manage the education system. Furthermore there was an urgent need for

implementers of the extensive reforms that were necessary in the areas of education, health, agriculture, local government and the economy.

Economic policies under the colonial regime, exacerbated by international economic sanctions, had significantly distorted the economy. There was an urgent need to restructure the economy with the greatest priority being the need to create employment and sustain growth.

Structural adjustment

Today, the preoccupation of all policy makers, in the education sector as well, is the need for economic structural adjustment. The most topical issue of the day, in the press and in public, was the government's Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAP). Observers in education suggested the following main reasons for the ESAP:

* the government's spending spree over the last decade has taken its toll on the economy;
* there is still an over concentration of wealth in the hands of a minority - four percent of the population is said to own ninety percent of the wealth.
* socialist rhetoric scared away potential investors;
* pressures from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank have obliged government to make economic structural adjustments.

Despite its impressive performance in some sectors since independence, the Zimbabwean economy is under stress. The expansion of social services has been expensive. Employment creation outside the public sector has not expanded at a sufficient rate. The industrial and manufacturing sectors need urgent infusions of capital, for which foreign currency is essential. To address these problems, which ultimately impact on education as well, the state embarked on an adjustment programme without direct intervention from the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Government spending in education has been criticised. The bureaucracy was allowed to become unnecessarily bloated. One telling example is that Zimbabwe has a minister for primary and secondary education and another minister who deals only with tertiary education.

The bloated bureaucracy and overspending led to continual budget deficits, forcing the government to make good the difference through foreign loans. The (IMF) and the World Bank made their loans conditional upon Zimbabwe's implementation of structural adjustments to the economy. In response the

government plans to reduce the civil service by one-third in the next five years. This will certainly affect the education sector which comprises sixty four percent of the entire civil service. Para-statals are to be drastically revamped so that they break even in their operations. The education budget is also to be reduced. In contrast to its policy since 1980, the government has decided to introduce "manageable school fees at primary school level" from 1991.

Education and the labour market

State policy on how to resolve the education question immediately post independence was infused with the belief that a rapid expansion of education provision is necessary for development and growth. Today thousands of youths who have graduated from secondary schools, including many of those who have obtained "O level" certificates, are unable to find employment. Expanding the civil service to create jobs is no longer an option.

Admission to tertiary education is now much more competitive. Whereas students could until recently enter a teachers training college with a minimum of an "O level" Certificate, "A level" certificates are now necessary to stand a chance for acceptance. Self-help programmes have to a large extent been a failure placing further pressure on the formal sector to provide much needed employment.

Vocationalism

Many commentators have attributed the present unemployment problem to the fact that there was not enough vocational education in the school curriculum. As a result vocational and training are priorities in policy development. Vocationalism has come to be seen as a panacea for the present problems in education and the economy. It has also become a tool for the government to use against potential popular dissatisfaction with state management of the economy.

The government has already taken steps to inject practical work into the school curriculum. All pupils are expected to do practical subjects such as woodwork, technical drawing, home economics, agriculture. Two new training colleges have been established to train teachers to teach practical subjects. The Faculty of Education at the University of Zimbabwe, in conjunction with the Ministry of Education, has embarked on programmes to increase the number of education college lecturers with qualifications in technical subjects. In response the Faculty has established a Department of Technical Subjects and twelve candidates have already been sponsored by the Ministry to take Masters and Doctoral degrees in the teaching of technical subjects at foreign universities.

The success of vocational education in addressing the pressing unemployment problems of the country is contingent on the creation of new jobs. Job creation in

turn is largely dependent on whether the ESAP succeeds in achieving economic growth. In the medium term it is likely that the number of jobs available will decline sharply as the civil service is pruned and inefficient enterprises are forced to close down.

The government appears to be acutely aware of this possibility and their short-term emphasis is on equipping students with vocational skills that will allow them to earn a living through self-help and cooperative enterprises in the informal sector. To date, these enterprises have not proved their worth in performance. Government strategy appears to be to extend the training/education cycle so as to reduce the number of people entering the labour market every year.

Therefore in the short- to medium-term, it is unlikely that vocationalism by itself will have any positive impact on the resolution of the unemployment crisis. In the meantime they hope that ESAP will lead to employment creation.

Quantity vs quality

The spectacular growth in education provision in Zimbabwe has not been without costs. The stubborn problem of how to equalise provision in urban and rural areas continues to the present. Urban areas still have relatively more and better equipped schools. A further area of concern is the unsatisfactory quality of education. Although "the need to improve quality" has become a catch-phrase among education officials we soon learnt that different people tend to understand "quality" of education in many ways. Perhaps as a consequence of this, many different strategies are proffered to solve the problem. People from the Faculty of Education tended to see the solution in the upgrading of teachers through formal qualifications. Others advocated more vocational education

Access

During the Smith era schools reserved for white students were referred to as "Group A" schools, whilst schools reserved for black students were referred to as "Group B" schools. On independence the government removed all racial restrictions on access to schools. However, common consensus suggests that the historical inequalities in education are still entrenched. Although all students within a designated radius from a school have the right to attend that school, the history of segregation ensured that only white and the emerging black middle class students had access to the better schools. Furthermore the high costs attached to school fees and uniforms at the more elite schools rendered them inaccessible to the majority of the population. In fact, we learnt that it is quite common to hear Zimbabweans talk of "former Model A schools" and "former Model B schools",

reinforcing the point that these schools have retained the essentials of their colonial character.

There is still a huge gap between the majority of government schools and certain elite schools that have the best premises, facilities, equipment and better trained teachers. These elite schools are either private schools or government schools in which the fees are prohibitively high for the majority of the people. It seems that white students continue to attend these schools, but in contrast to the colonial days, they now have as their schoolmates black students from middle class homes. This phenomenon will now become a permanent feature in Zimbabwe as parents are expected to pay more for education in terms of the ESAP. Given the huge income gaps in Zimbabwe only small minority will be able to gain access to elite schools while the majority will be catered for within the framework of an already financially hamstrung Ministry of Education trying to cope with cut-backs in spending.

Teachers

Whilst a substantial attention is given to the upgrading of teacher qualifications at present, the ministry has been much less successful in the provision of in-service training for teachers. A fairly comprehensive INSET programme was developed in 1988 by the Zimbabwe Teachers Association (ZTA) with Canadian assistance. This programme emphasised the need to reach the rural areas and the need for constant follow-up. Unfortunately the programme had to be abandoned for lack of funds. As a result of country's financial problems are teachers' salaries fail to keep up with the rising cost of living. There is thus an alarmingly reluctance among high school graduates to take up teaching, despite the high unemployment rate in the country.

Namibia

Namibia in many ways presented the most interesting scenario, given its recent history of independence and its inheritance of an apartheid based education system. It also provided some important lessons for us as South African observers, in relation to the politics of transforming an education system in the context of a negotiated settlement.

At the time of our arrival the most topical issue was the Commission on Higher Education which was about to submit its findings. Despite a plethora of consultancy reports from outside agencies; the Commission seemed to be the first major public policy discussion by Namibians themselves. The enormity of Namibia's problems was indicated in one set of statistics that set the tone for our discussions. The north of Namibia is home to more than half of the country's population, particularly the

Ovambo people. In recent years a out of a population of 600 000 the pass rate at matric dropped to forty students with five of those being exemptions for university entrance.

Policy constraints

The new government is committed to free and compulsory education but the existing resource constraints will seriously affect the content of that policy decision. In Namibia the problems of balancing heightened expectations with political and material realities were very evident.

Though it may be premature to say so, Namibia is in many ways experiencing a crisis of expectations. The new state is committed to the principle of consensus but building that consensus is a process fraught with dangers. The ideological basis of SWAPO policy in exile is being tested by new realities. The rhetoric of reconciliation has to match the demands of a disadvantaged majority African population and countervailing pressures from privileged whites.

A secondary education advisor at the ministry set out the following structural and resource constraints:

* The disparities in Namibian society have to be redressed;
* The fiscal basis of the economy is unlikely to change in the near future;
* There are differing attitudes to community participation;
* Human resources are a major constraint. HIV infection rates are as high as fifty percent in some areas;
* Teachers are reluctant to take difficult posts and the state makes no provision for their housing;
* A problem also exists in their attitudes to work. They are not trained to be self reliant or innovative;
* The practical implementation of affirmative action is going to be very difficult, politically and administratively. At the moment the state is not enforcing integration;
* Schools, particularly in the North, are badly overcrowded;
* Of Namibia's 12 000 teachers, an estimated 9 000 are underqualified or uncertified. Of those 9 000 the majority are likely to be African teachers. Typically, white teachers are very well qualified in comparison;
* Demographic factors will also influence the outcome of new policies. The shortfall in classroom space will also have to take into account a population growth rate of three percent per annum;
* Teachers often work on the platoon system and the student : teacher ratio has been known to be as high as 100:1;

* A high percentage of students in some areas drop out before standard one (est. sixty percent) standard six is another crunch point in the system.
* The logistics of holding training workshops or other such in service schemes are also an obstacle given Namibia's vast territory, scattered population and the cost of bringing people together.

Bearing all these constraints in mind, even if the will to reform more there and the policies were formulated, little would be possible without the infusion of donor funding.

Language

Language policy in education is clearly an area of conflict, and the new policy initiatives have to reconcile with a history of uneven development and fragmentation. The centrality of Afrikaans in the language debate gives it strong similarities with the South African situation.

The new government is committed to English language medium schooling. The impact of this decision on teachers and students whose preferred language Afrikaans or an African language is already causing considerable problems. Teachers with low English proficiency levels are threatened. Students dealing with English medium schooling for the first time are not coping, according to examination results.

A very small percentage of Namibians use English as a first language. There has been lengthy debate on the point at which English medium teaching should begin. Present policy requires that by all teaching above grade four is to be in English medium, with the first four grades in the mother tongue. Four African languages in Namibia are to be developed to the matric level but not as universal languages for general use. A major problem with introducing English medium teaching is the shortage of textbooks. Typically, the question of language policy has raised the issue of ethnicity and demands for instruction in the mother tongue. The Afrikaans speaking population sees itself as the most threatened in this respect, given their disproportionate power before independence. Language policy has also become a "standards issue" given the far higher levels of teaching and proficiency at white schools in relation to black schools.

Managing reform

SWAPO's ability to transform the management of the education system has been severely hampered by two factors. Firstly, the movement did not have a ready available skilled bureaucracy to replace the existing one. Secondly, and more importantly, as part of the negotiated settlement, jobs in the civil service were

assured. The existing bureaucracy had to be retained. It is common knowledge that the old and new orders are not working well together. It is also clear that whatever moves towards change are initiated at the ministerial level can be diluted or simply sabotaged at the level of implementation. This possibility was illustrated by the fact that in a civil service of more than 70 000 employees, only 800 new appointments have been made since independence. The size of the civil service in relation to the country's population is itself a symptom of mismanagement. No measures appear to have been introduced to assess the efficiency of the bureaucracy which, like its South African counterpart, has been the provider of sheltered employment for decades.

In the words of another commentator, "Swapo has a good first team but no second team". In terms of reforming the public sector, Swapo is seen as more concerned with "reconciliation" than any kind of "affirmative action" or fundamental restructuring.

Policy making

Educationists at the university seemed to have a minimal role in the policy making process. The education faculty is the largest at the university and the emphasis in the faculty is on teaching, with little research output. Policy documents have been circulated to university educators for comment. Public comment has been channelled mainly through the hearings of the Commission for Higher Education. In general it would seem that policy making is based in the ministries and is primarily "expert led". There is a fairly elaborate structure of policy making bodies but the democratic content of those structures is weak at best.

Desegregation

All schools are now officially "non-racial". There has, however, been little desegregation of the teaching force. High school fees act to keep black children out. At secondary schools, new students are being tested for admission. These tests, which can obviously be used as exclusionary measures, are not standardised or available to parents for scrutiny. There have been moves to set up more white private schools and at tertiary level, a bridging programme has been set up at the university. NANTU, the teachers union has taken up the issue of desegregation and asked for an explicit policy of affirmative action for black teachers in former white schools. Unless schools are compelled to take in students regardless of residence, language, community, or proficiency, the existing segregated system will persist for a while yet.

Certification

At the state level a new structure, the National Institute of Education, will address certification issues. In secondary education, negotiations were under way with the British IGCSE Board of Examiners which Namibia will become part of. The rationale behind using the Cambridge system is that Namibia does not have the capacity for its own examining system as yet and Cambridge has the advantages of international accreditation. In addition, if Namibian secondary school leavers are to be easily integrated into university systems in the region or in the Commonwealth, Cambridge again has advantages. There are no indications yet as to whether this will be a short or long term option.

Foreign donors

Basic education policy is the responsibility of a technical committee at this stage. More than eighty percent of learners are in primary school. USAID has become a major player in this area. Of the other agencies, SIDA is involved in teacher education, ODA in English language development and FINIDA in vocational education. There is some concern about donor agencies simply taking charge of policy. Measures have been introduced in the structure of policy making bodies to check that tendency. The rhetoric is that policy should be "Namibia driven" whereas most critics see the situation as quite the opposite. Namibia is heavily dependent on foreign funding and expertise at present. An issue for the longer term is that the state also lacks the power and capacity to carefully limit and monitor the intervention by foreign agencies.

Civil society, the state and NGOs

One of the most contentious issues in the education sector concerns the role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and service organizations. Our interest in the issue was informed by similar debates in South Africa. Since February 1990 the space which NGOs occupy politically has been redefined. Namibia is undergoing much the same process with somewhat different variables. Their experience has important lessons for policy makers in the future.

Prior to independence, it was widely acknowledged that NGOs played a vital role as a focus of resistance to apartheid style education and that they provided resources and services on which a number of disadvantaged communities depended. As oppositional organizations, they were also principal recipients of aid and donor funding to Namibia.

Since independence the NGOs have been strangled by a loss of funding and they now compete with the state. Despite what the NGOs see as strong evidence

that they can deliver education services and resources more effectively and efficiently than the state, the state has taken on the role of providing and regulating all services. In effect this also undermines the development of a critical or alternative education lobby in the NGO sector. Organizations that could give substance to civil society are being subsumed by the legitimacy of a new state.

The expertise and experience built up in the NGO sector is also being undermined since their personnel cannot automatically be accommodated within the state structures or in some cases prefer to be outside the state. Programmes which were under development in the immediate pre-independence period are likewise threatened. At independence the donor agencies arrived with their own resources and effectively displaced some NGOs despite the long-standing community involvements which the NGO's have built up. Since the old order in Namibia has been retained in a new guise, NGOs now find themselves having to work with state agencies that opposed much of their work for the pre-independence period.

Resources and provision

Textbooks and human resources policy were the focus of some of our discussions. There is no centralised system of textbook provision, neither is there an accurate inventory of what is in the schools. In areas such as social studies the political problems of textbook commissioning are still very immediate. The cost of providing new materials is another major constraint.

The state has to try to provide intermediate materials whilst the curricula and syllabi are also in the process of reform. Because of the decision to develop four African languages to matric level, texts will also have to be developed to support teaching. What emerged from our discussion on the process of textbook provision is that little, if any, decision-making happens at the school level. Schools are simply not used to the idea of participating in decision-making. Participation is not something which can be assumed but is a practice still to be inculcated and developed. In general, the model of text production and provision used in Botswana was far more developed than to the one being adopted in Namibia. The minimal input by teachers in Namibia reflected the persistence of a top-down hierarchy and their position in that hierarchy. As is typical of apartheid planning, black educational resources and facilities are grossly inadequate and over-subscribed whilst white facilities are often underutilised. The best example was the Windhoek Teachers College, originally established for white students with a capacity for about 1 500 students, now has only 135 students.

Across the region there is a low level of commitment to teaching, and probably related to the low prestige of the profession. As a result the private sector is often

able to poach the most able teachers from the public sector. Public sector salaries cannot compete with industry and commerce. Teaching is often seen as the last resort of career choices. This issue of teachers' morale and the status of the profession has very clear implications for South Africa. In a plan for reconstruction planners need to think clearly of ways in which to revalue the practice of teaching, the value of teaching as a career, and ways of recruiting and keeping competent teachers within the system.

Secondary education: private

A visit to St. Paul's, the pre-eminent private school in the country, provided a very different impression of the transition in Namibia. A Catholic school that went non-racial in the 1970s, St. Paul's has gone from strength to strength. What its transition showed was the persistence of class inequalities and the ease with which new elites slip into the ways of the old. The returning exiles, particularly those now in government, needed good schools for their children who had the experience of first world educations. St. Paul's was the obvious choice. According to our informants, all cabinet members with the exception of the Minister of Education have their children at St. Paul's. So, too, do many of the diplomatic personnel in Windhoek and the majority of black principals. The school, which receives a state subsidy, prepares its students on the Cambridge system and A Level courses. In effect, all students expecting to go on to first world universities will have to pass through St. Paul's. In comparison with Zimbabwe where the white population set up their own private schools in reaction to independence, in Namibia they have sent their children to South Africa. Instead of a drop in admissions since independence, the pressure is now higher than before at St. Paul's.

Sam Nujoma had been to visit the students for a chat recently. All in all, it was clear that patronage relations take a long time to change.

Secondary education: public

A discussion with a high school principal in Katatura township, home to much of Windhoek's black population, predictably revealed a different world. Here the major issue of concern was discipline. The principal and the teachers were concerned about the state's decision to abolish corporal punishment. Her description of the school was nothing less than pathetic.

Teacher morale has declined since independence. A number of teachers at the school were unqualified. The old inspection system had been replaced by a new one that is poorly implemented. Teachers were having difficulties with their new work loads. Subject advisors were hard to come by. The ministry was alien and distant. In contrast to the bucolic setting of St. Paul's, the Katatura school was

surrounded by razor wire fences, ostensibly to keep students from leaving the premises.

Teachers saw their students as suffering from the "independence syndrome" - expectations way above what is possible. Aside from the obvious poverty in the township, many students are the products of displaced families. They are often in the cities alone because there are not enough rural secondary schools. Parents are generally quite uninvolved with the school. Though a "code of conduct" has been put forward, the teachers see it as bearing no relationship to the situation of the students.

Tertiary education

The new university is to be based at the existing Teachers College which has all the hallmarks of an apartheid "bush college". Its personnel were primarily Afrikaans and came from the bantustans. The calibre of faculty at the college was considered below average. In effect the college provided sheltered employment in a bloated administration which was kept alive by nepotism. The teacher:student ratio was generally as low as 1:12 and as low as 1:5 in the sciences. Seventy lecturers were supported by armies of secretaries and other administrative staff.

The new planners of the university have begun from scratch by re-writing every job description and restructuring departments. The university is not being planned with a particular model in mind. Planners stress that its development should be "needs driven". Access, especially for disadvantaged African students, is a major concern. An intricate entrance and bridging system has been devised to try and ensure a greater measure of equity in the context of Namibia's heavily skewed skills base.

The university will be state funded, but some foreign funding has been secured for specialist areas. In addition, the R26 million currently spent on sending students to South African universities is to be redirected. Like South African universities, the Namibians are now looking at alternatives to heavily state funded tertiary education. It is likely that students will have to assume a greater financial load with provisions made for those who cannot.

Understandably, given their previous dependency on South Africa, Namibians want as much as possible to develop their own internal capacity in education. At the same time, the thrust for independence is counter to ideas being mooted by some agencies, SADCC among them, about the need to develop a network of specialist tertiary training centres around the Southern African region instead of duplicating facilities. Although the idea has been accepted in theory, in practice it has very little weight. Too many nationalist ambitions are tied to the development of universities in the region.

Botswana

Access

Universal access to education is seen as a important development in Botswana's education. However, with the government's decision to expand junior secondary schools and not senior secondary schools, problems have arisen at the exit points. Senior schools simply cannot accommodate all of junior school leavers. The senior schools are few in number and the high pass rate in the lower schools intensifies competition. One school principal argued that in Gaborone, out of 1 800 students sitting for JC (the junior school leaving exam), only 600 can be accommodated between the two available senior schools in the city. Nationally, senior secondary schools have space for only 6 960 students out of the 27 600 candidates sitting for JC exams.

Students who cannot go on to senior schools are channelled to the brigades or vocational schools which also have a limited capacity. Alternatively, if they are lucky, a minority get jobs. The majority stay unemployed because of they lack skills that are immediately usable. Popular pressure is mounting for more secondary schools, and most importantly, jobs for senior school leavers.

Education and the economy

Criticisms of the education system focus on the content of the curriculum and the structure of the system's exit points. Typically those advocating a change in the curriculum see the present one as too academic. Like many educationists in Zimbabwe, they argue that the curriculum should be more reflective of the world of work.

The state sees vocational and technical training as the natural option. There are about six vocational institutions in the country at the present moment. These can only accommodate 200 students graduating from junior secondary schools. There are plans to expand them to admit 800 students, for about four years. Private vocational schools are also encouraged by the government to meet the increasing need for technical and vocational training.

Students and parents are also very concerned about the employability of school leavers, particularly those who have done secondary education. The devaluation of secondary education is now very apparent. Although Botswana has been able to rely on sustained economic growth for the recent past, jobs in the formal sector are now more available to semi-skilled and skilled labour rather than school leavers.

Students are frustrated by the fact that they can neither continue with their education nor can they find jobs. Without jobs they become burdens to their households who have to continue supporting them financially. The difficulties of getting into secondary school and then finding employment are also of concern to students in junior schools. The insecurity undermines their aspirations.

Teachers

State education planners estimated that expatriate teachers constitute forty two percent of all Botswana's teachers. Other sources pointed out that seventy percent of science and sixty six percent of technical subject teachers in secondary schools are expatriates. These expatriates enter into a renewable contract, with the government, of two to three years. The reliance on expatriates and their contract-based status creates problems in human resources. When they leave, there is often no one to replace them because their skills are not transferred to local people. Continuity at schools is undermined because of the constant change in staff.

It is costly to recruit from outside, particularly because the government spends often excessive amounts of money to providing services like accommodation for expatriates. A school principal in Gaborone argued that it would be better for the government to provide more incentives for local teachers so that they can stay in the profession rather than providing jobs for foreign teachers. What this points to is the short term nature of state policy which does not directly help to develop local capacity in teaching. Most of the local teachers quit teaching when they find better opportunities and more money in other sectors of the economy.

Policy process

Although the government pays lip-service to consultation, by most accounts policy process is state-centred. As one person put it "... there is no democratic participation of people on the ground". Proposals are formulated by a particular department, for instance the teacher education department, then passed over to the planning unit which translates into economic terms, then submitted to the Ministry of Education which analyses them in terms of the national plan and passes them over to parliament where the final decisions are made.

Employers organizations in the private sector were among the few stakeholders who were confident about their ability to influence policy decisions. The involvement of academics in the policy process is minimal and one observer argued that they make very little use of the opportunities available to them.

Civil society and NGOs

In South Africa the activity of non-government organizations working in opposition to the state is a common practice in the education sector. Botswana presented a very different set of characteristics. Civil society is barely visible in Botswana. The consensual ethos of political life in Botswana seems to explain the absence of oppositional activity. The same political party has dominated the state since independence. According to some informants, the state has effectively undermined any oppositional activity by accommodating it within the discourse of the state. A healthy economy, based largely on mining revenues, has enabled the state to adopt a range of "welfarist" policies which neutralise the development of alternative institutions. Two indications of this weakness are in the area of teachers' and students' organizations. Neither appeared to be major players in decision-making or sites of resistance.

One of the most successful NGOs which has worked on land issues admitted to having an ambiguous relationship with the state. State agencies are sometimes threatened by any initiatives that emanate from outside. This is in contrast to its attitude to the various foreign agencies which are active across the country.

Mozambique

War has been a constant factor in Mozambique's recent history and had immediately visible effects on the institutions and policy decisions we reviewed. The Mozambican revolution and Frelimo's attempts at socialist transformation have long been cherished by oppositional movements in South Africa as a source of inspiration. At the time of our arrival the state, the party and the nation appeared to be under siege on all fronts.

Mozambican commentators were quick to point out the links between this state of siege and pressures from external forces, the World Bank in particular. Through the various devices of structural adjustment policies, the state has been forced to withdraw from the economy and its regulatory functions. At the time of our arrival a teachers strike was in effect in some areas. The state was seen by some as fighting a rear-guard action against the World Bank, to try and maintain public sector salaries.

Tertiary education

The university rector provided us with some important insights into current human resource needs in Mozambique. The crisis in the tertiary sector is indicated by two sets of statistics: (a) an estimated seventy five percent of the higher education

years after independence Mozambique has an estimated 3 000 university graduates. About 190 doctors, 150 lawyers and 200 economists are among them.

At independence the number of university students dwindled, as a consequence of Mozambique's poor secondary education system and various faculties were left without students. The state allocated students to particular fields between 1978 - 1985. At the same time there was crucial shortage of secondary school teachers. The university set about mass producing teachers. The curriculum was manipulated to produce teachers for immediate use. The failure of these manipulations became evident through a drop in standards. The best students were siphoned off to staff the university itself.

The backlash to state policy of allocating students was strongest amongst teachers. They were also compelled to work for the length of time they were studying in posts allocated by the state. As a result, teachers left the profession.

With the new economic dispensation and the retreat of central planning, more students are being drawn into the private sector. The state is losing in the skills market. A full professor earns $650 a month. He or she would earn the same as a typist for a foreign aid agency.

As a consequence, the state is now considering fees for university students. For those who can afford it, they will pay $3 000 for their degrees and those who can't will continue to be state subsidised.

Primary education

A visit to a Maputo primary school was a humbling experience. It serviced more than three thousand five hundred students in three sessions. The actual capacity of the school was estimated at around 2 500. An average number of students per class was sixty five. There were fifty four classes in total. The third session is an adult education class taught by secondary school teachers. The school was in use from 7:00 a.m to 11.00 p.m. Prior to independence classes averaged twenty five to thirty students. The first black student at the school was only admitted in 1974.

The staff was predominantly female. Men, according to our informants, preferred to work outside teaching for better salaries while women saw teaching as a viable option that gave them enough time for their household responsibilities.

The primary system has retained some of its colonial traditions. Students are often failed early on. There is no automatic promotion and controls are rigid. Achievement is very tied to creche preparation. About fifty percent of entrants have that preparation. The transition from primary to secondary schools is a crunch point in that many cannot secure secondary school places. There is some provision for them in night classes. Approximately 750 adults were at the school every evening for classes.

Despite the obvious and overwhelming hardships which face most parents and their children even in cities like Maputo, access to education is clearly a priority. The pressure on facilities and the budget constraints on maintaining them were very evident.

Teachers

Of the 38 000 teachers in the country, an estimated 15 490 are members of the Organicao Nacional Professor (ONP), the teachers' union. Higher education personnel are also part of ONP. The majority of ONP's membership is outside the cities. As of February 1990, ONP has been independent of the state. Previously the leadership of the organization were state appointees. The organization was also state funded. With the moves towards a multi-party system, Frelimo has relinquished control. Discussing this process of state withdrawal revealed a number of important issues.

At independence Frelimo in effect constituted the organs of "civil society" because there were none. Frelimo's control of ONP is predictable given the threats to its legitimacy in Mozambique and the actions of a state during war. It was also accepted as a norm by Mozambicans. Now, for the first time organizations like the ONP are being allowed to shape their own identities and to work out the contradictory forces within the organizations, free from state control. For the first time ONP is actively involved in negotiations with the state on policy issues. Relationships between the state and non-government organizations are being redefined. So, too, is the space which the organizations occupy politically. This redefinition of boundaries, constituencies and identities reveals the existence and the absence of the state's bases of legitimacy for the first time. In the long term these changes are likely to have far wider ramifications in the education sector.

Conclusion

Although it is difficult to draw consistent themes through this report, there were some common issues. In effect we had been through a full circle ranging from the free market miracle of Botswana (with its diamond fortunes, affluence, free market economy, and the enviable position of economic growth outstripping available skills) to the collapse of state centred socialism in Mozambique.

For South Africans consensus is a precious commodity. In Botswana it has the appearance of an institutionalised norm - a norm that might not be able to survive a crisis in the material basis of Botswana society. It was refreshing and somewhat confusing to be in an environment where conflict has been so well accommodated and neutralised. Given the proportions of the crisis a few kilometres across the border from Gaborone, it was something of a relief to find fully equipped Taiwanese

built schools that were constructed in months and students that actually liked being at school till five in the afternoon.

Namibia bears too many recent scars of apartheid. Whether SWAPO's rhetoric of "reconciliation" can actually overcome the tensions in Namibian society remains to be seen. Educational resources are being redistributed but there are clearly limits on the redistribution process, as there will be in South Africa. When there are "standards" to be maintained and fixed resources which cannot be moved, then redistribution has narrow parameters. On a more fundamental level, there are no plans at present to redistribute wealth in Namibian society. The political compromise which keeps a former apartheid style bureaucracy in place is clearly an obstacle to immediate change. The crisis of expectations in education, not unlike our own since 1990, is a serious problem too. Namibia also highlighted the problem of making policy-making accessible and popularly accountable. Nowhere in the region was there a model which we could use as a yardstick for our own purposes.

Zimbabwe, as one of our commentators put it, seems almost the victim of its own success. The principal issue in education is the challenge of improving quality. Access to schooling is no longer the priority. In terms of political economy, the more pressing issue is to generate growth and provide jobs for school leavers. The state is now confronted by a range of new expectations. One surprising observation was that despite having a well established tertiary education system, there appeared to be relatively little critical output and intervention by academics in policy discourse. Educationists seemed remote form the policy making process which was essentially a bureaucratic exercise. The Zimbabwean case was a telling example of the difficulties which developing countries face when forced to implement structural adjustment policies.

The immediate impact of the ESAP on the Zimbabwean economy also affects the tenuous relationships between education, growth and the economy. The problem of trying to produce students who would be able to meet the demands of various sectors in the economy was common to Botswana and Zimbabwe. Vocationalism, much vaunted in both countries, does not seem to have delivered the goods. All of these issues - as part of one equation - need greater scrutiny in South Africa. We do not just have school leavers to provide for, but also a large and growing population of youth alienated from the education system that lack even basic qualifications for the job market.

In Mozambique one of the most interesting discussions we held had little to do with education. It was a free flowing recollection by a historian who had come of age during the independence struggle and has now witnessed the revolution in retreat. We were warned against the excesses of the revolution. Mozambican

intellectuals like her were for a time terrorised by "re-education campaigns". We were also cautioned not to lose sight of what South Africa requires in a transformation, as opposed to what the Soviet Union or what Nicaragua required. Our neighbours see considerable danger in the role South Africa could play in the future. The prospect of not being able to hold onto their skilled personnel as opportunities open up in South Africa is very real. Under a new political dispensation, but still with its disproportionate economic strength, they see a distinct possibility of South Africa resuming its "sub-imperial" role in the region.

It is hoped that some part of what we have discussed in this report will stimulate further debate on South African education policy issues and generate a greater interest in the experience of our regional neighbours than there has been thus far. It was resoundingly clear in many instances that our neighbours are as ignorant of our situation as we are of theirs.

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REVIEW

McGregor's Education Alternatives

By ROBIN AND ANNE MCGREGOR (eds.), Juta, Johannesburg, (1992). ISBN 0 7021 2647 0. 513 pages

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The purpose of McGregor's *Education Alternatives*, the blurb on the cover tells us, "is to inform, influence and support the decision-makers, and to provide them with practical realisable policy options". The title of the collection is thus slightly misleading. We are not presented with a sense of the different choices and paths at a macro level that are currently possible, and the implications of the adoption of any one of these. Instead, we are presented with a discussion of possibilities within different **fields** of education such as financing, literacy and adult basic education, teacher education, language policy, pre-school, private education, and so on. Nonetheless, this is an important book, which has to be seen in relation to wider debates in society and education.

This book is as much a product of its time as the edited collections by Kallaway (1984), Samuel and Nasson (1991), Unterhalter, Wolpe et al (1991), and Nkomo (1991) (reviewed in earlier editions of *Perspectives in Education*). The latter carried the collective wisdom and insights of the radical tradition in education that had emerged after 1976 and in the context of widespread popular democratic struggles impacting most forcefully on the education arena. McGregor's *Education Alternatives* is part of the renaissance of liberal democratic thought in South Africa occasioned by a negotiated transition in which the goals of social harmony and deracialisation are paramount. This means that while the book has the merit of trying to explore what is practically possible within such a transition process, there are notable silences. The contributions of COSATU and ANC do provide a valuable perspective on alternatives. This is perhaps the reason for their inclusion, but they do not shift the balance in the book as a whole. The silences (on class and gender as opposed to racial and regional inequality, and the relationship

of education to different economic growth paths, for example) in the book as a whole have the advantage of privileging a new discourse on education which is by no means unsophisticated or uninteresting.

One of the chief values of this collection lies in the perspective that it provides on the thinking of the new state-in-the-making (including "traditional" and "new" intellectuals) and capital. COSATU, which contributes an article on its innovative approach to establishing literacy and adult basic education on a firm foundation, will be pleased to read that Bobby Godsell, of Anglo American, thinks that "literacy is the necessary foundation for all further education" (and that) "business can attack illiteracy amongst its own workforce".[2] Likewise the ANC will be interested to know that Willie Rautenbach of de Lange (1981) fame thinks that "the major educational problem in South Africa is that of rote learning".[3]

The common starting point of the majority of contributions in this extremely user-friendly, well-edited, accessible and readable text, is that change in South African education will be gradual and negotiated; and that continuity rather than rupture will characterise transition to a new system. The unspoken, absolutely-taken-for-granted, but not unrealistic assumption, is that this change will occur within the framework of a market-dominated economy. In other words, while the elimination of **racial** inequalities will be high up on the agenda of reform, class and gender inequalities, which cut across colour and are a function of the market, will be obscured.

The philosophical underpinnings of liberal democracy include an emphasis on a market economy and limitations on state power. In a number of articles, freedom from state interference and the freedom to choose find educational expression in the desire for a decentralised system of educational control. Differences do exist over whether the role of the state should be strong and interventionist in order to redress inequalities (COSATU and ANC); regulatory and coordinating to ensure freedom, efficiency and choice within a national framework (Donaldson; Hofmeyr and Buckland) or minimal, to allow the market to determine access, content and control of education (Vorhies, Spier). These are rather new themes in South African education, although not in the South African political economy. That they emerge only now is both a reflection of the long and strong hold that radical perspectives had on educational thinking and on the terrain that has opened up since February 1990. They are clearly both a reaction and a challenge to that hegemony.

By far the most incisive and far-reaching analytical articles which demonstrate the concerns, strengths and weaknesses of the liberal democratic approach are those by Jane Hofmeyr and Peter Buckland, Andrew Donaldson, and Johann Graaff and Adele Gordon. The significance of these contributions lies to some degree also in the fact that all the authors are key contributors to the NECC's

National Education Policy Investigation. They deal respectively with education system change, the financing of education and farm school education. While Hofmeyr, Buckland and Donaldson introduce the concept of the market and the desirability of limitations on state power and control into their account, Graaff and Gordon explore the consequences of the nature and absence of adequate state control over one sector of the education system.

Hofmeyr and Buckland (from the Urban Foundation's EDUPOL) are interested not so much in **why** education systems change, but **how** they change, and how the system of governance in particular may change. Using the work of British sociologist, Margaret Archer, and American policy advocacy proponent, P. Sabatier, they make a powerful case for looking at education as "a **system** within other socio-political systems" in which change is negotiated between "interest groups". They argue that "there will be important continuities within the existing system", the most important of these being "the degree and nature of centralisation (which) is **the** most crucial structural issue in education systems".[4] Hofmeyr and Buckland recognise that "any new state would seek to centralise control to establish its power base",[5] but they want to ensure that space is provided for some form of decentralisation so that "community participation, the role of the private sector, and ...NGOs",[6] can be accommodated. A nuanced discussion of the issues ends on the somewhat inconclusive note that "competing centrifugal and centripetal tendencies are likely to produce a mixed system of governance".[7]

In a bold and lucid article which will no doubt inspire many students to study the economics and financing of education, Andrew Donaldson from Rhodes University considers how spending in education could be made both more just and equitable. His pre-eminent concern is with how greater equality between **the races** might be attained: equal per capita expenditure; and deracialisation and reduction of government financial support to "suburban" schools and colleges to finance the upgrading of congested township and rural schools. Here average class sizes should be brought down, teacher skills and morale raised and supplies and auxiliary services provided.

In addition to restructuring the schooling system, he proposes reallocations within the education budget so that there is "greater state support for pre-primary schooling, for good-quality teacher training, and for special education and vocational education, including substantially increased support for deracialised technical colleges".[8] The rich should pay for the privilege of good education: neither the erstwhile (white) "suburban" schools, nor university education should be free. He would maintain that there is no alternative if quality schooling to the age of sixteen is to be provided for all. He is unashamed about the trade-off between racial

and other inequalities. "Complete equalisation of educational entitlements", he maintains, "is neither feasible nor desirable".[9]

Whether one likes it or not, the uncompromising choice that Donaldson has made in favour of racial equality within a decentralised and semi-privatised system forces readers to confront the difficult issues that are at stake. The implications of his proposals are the consolidation of a non-racial, class-based system of education. But will racial equality within a class system ensure equality for women and the poor, whatever colour they may be? And what are the alternatives? For all its strengths and weaknesses, his proposals are preferable to those advocated by Vorhies in his article, "Towards a Market-Based Approach to the Education Industry". Whereas Donaldson accepts that the role of the state in South African education and training has been and will remain critical to address questions of redistribution - an eminently "realistic" approach - Vorhies tends to fly into outer space with his proposals for the abolition of subsidies to tertiary education, privatisation of primary and secondary education and vouchers to subsidise the latter. Despite its fringe flavour, ideas such as these are likely to gain greater currency in the current context, and need to be countered.

Graaff and Gordon's article on farm schools is a little different in that it provides an excellent account of the impact and consequences of particular policies for the education of farm workers. It is one of the few articles in the book which poses and does not shy away from awkward and uncomfortable questions. One of the main reasons for this, one suspects, is the centrality of questions of class power to their analysis. They caution against believing that policies can simply re-make the world in the interests of the poor. The sympathy that farmers' interests have commanded in government corridors, combined with the "discomfiting" evidence provided by developments in Zimbabwe, and the long time that it is likely to take for the state to take over control of schools on farms, all suggest that "unless farm populations can organise and mobilise on their own behalf, both education and socio-economic conditions which feed into it will be seriously neglected".[10]

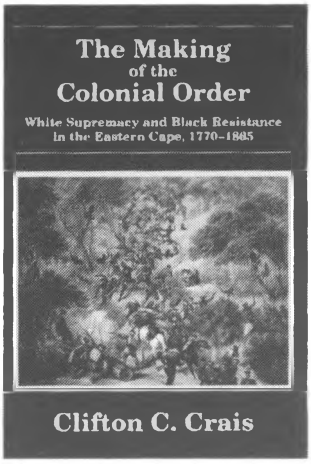
This collection is valuable in more ways than one. First, all the (twenty) articles in the book are framed by useful biographies and marked by an absence of linguistic, academic and polemical clutter. With the exception of the somewhat banal contributions on the important topics of university education, computers and electronics in education, they all provide useful and practical insights and ideas on directions for change in their particular areas. Ken Hartshorne's Foreword deserves special mention as an exercise in clarity and sensible thinking in education and training. Articles by Sieborger and Kenyon on initial teacher education, Hofmeyr and Jaff on INSET, Short on early childhood education, Chick on language policy,

and Johan Muller on private and alternative schools all provide useful overviews of what can be done in those fields.

Second, in re-introducing the educational themes advanced by the 1981 de Lange Commission of Inquiry and placing the concerns of liberal democrats in education squarely on the table, this anthology will broaden the debate in education. In the 1980s, the positions emanating from the ranks of liberal democracy were roundly defeated, largely because intellectuals who opposed them were grounded in popular organisations which sought more critical perspectives. The 1990s provides a very different context, one which is much more amenable to liberal democratic ideas than were the 1980s. The fact that they have re-emerged means that the battle in the realm of ideas goes on.

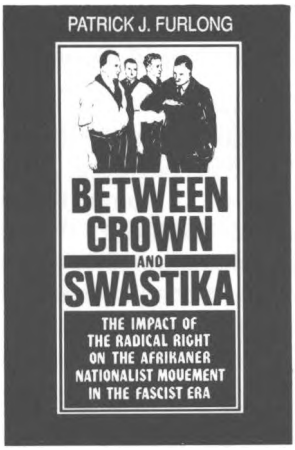
Notes and References

1. Despite the intention to **inform** decision-makers, the views of a number of key decision-makers (old and new) are presented amongst a range of others. These include John Samuel, Head of the ANC Education Department , COSATU's Human Resources Committee; Bobby Godsell (Anglo American Executive Director of Inustrial Relations and Public Affairs), Schalk Engelbrecht (HSRC General Manager of the Education section); and Willie Rautenbach (Director the Programme of Career Education at Stellenbosch University and influential in the 1981 de Lange Commission of Inquiry).
2. R. McGregor & A. McGregor, *McGregor's Education Alternatives* (Johannesburg: Juta & Co., 1992). 144.
3. *Ibid.*, 369.
4. *Ibid.*, 25.
5. *Ibid.*, 46.
6. *Ibid.*, 45.
7. *Ibid.*, 45.
8. *Ibid.*, 333.
9. *Ibid.*, 297.
10. *Ibid.*, 232/3.



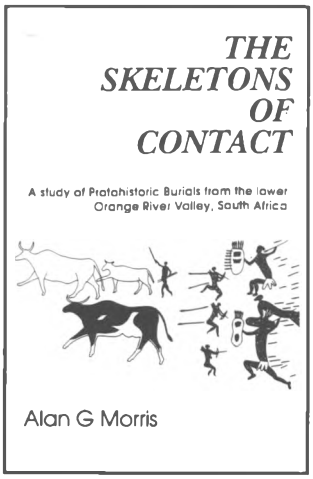
THE MAKING OF THE COLONIAL ORDER
Clifton C Crais

A lively and innovative work which brings questions of culture to the centre of an in-depth analysis of the emergence of a racially divided society in the Eastern Cape, South Africa 1770 –1865.



BETWEEN CROWN AND SWASTIKA
Patrick J Furlong

This revealing and controversial history traces the impact of the radical right on the Afrikaner nationalist movement in South Africa during the years leading up to the Nationalist Party victory in 1948.



THE SKELETONS OF CONTACT
Alan G Morris

The conclusion drawn from the results of a biological comparison of four protohistoric populations implies that the myth of a precise and unchanging link between culture and biology is insupportable.

'Quite brilliant... a model of investigation of its kind'
Professor Phillip Tobias, University of the Witwatersrand

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Perspectives in Education, 1992, Vol. 13, No. 2, 149-152

REVIEW

Training for Transformation: Research Training Survey and Workshop Proceedings

By SHIREEN MOTALA (ed.), Maskew Miller Longman, Cape Town, (1991) ISBN 0 636 01601 3. 118 pages

Reviewed by Francine de Clercq
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

The under-representation of black research and intellectual knowledge producers in South Africa is a serious legacy of apartheid education. Progressive intellectuals have only recently confronted this racial division of labour in their midst, initially within ASSA and UDUSA and increasingly through the writings of various black radical scholars. Dissatisfied with analyses that reduce the monopoly of white intellectuals to structural and political conditions, some black scholars have drawn attention to the institutional practices which have actively sustained the subordinate role of black intellectuals in academia.[1] Others have insisted on the need for an epistemological shift which will reclaim race as a social system linked to, but not determined by, class and restore it as a legitimate area of radical research and theory which will draw on the experience of black researchers and, in the process, reveal the limitations of white radical intellectual work.[2] *Training for Transformation* is a welcome addition to these two aspects of the debate on black empowerment in that it aims to investigate research practices in progressive research organisations with the view to developing "a democratic policy research training model" which will contribute to the democratisation of the process of intellectual production. It addresses the important issue of how to transform the racial division of intellectual labour and give content to the notion of black empowerment through research and research training.

The book - which consists of a research survey covering eighteen progressive research organisations, the proceedings of a subsequent workshop and a competent summarising introduction - raises important questions related to the race/class debate, the nature and process of knowledge production and various

forms of research, as well as various models and approaches to research training. The diversity of the participants and their research organisations seems to have enriched and heated the debate.

On the issue of institutional practices and the subordination of black intellectuals, the book inclues valuable discussion of common areas of concern such as the often-inadequate conceptualisation and structuring of research training, the unequal power relationship between trainees and trainers, the difficulty of transferring research skills and the twin pressure of producing research outcomes in the short term and investing in longer term development/research training work. However, research is not conceived as monolithic. Short term community organisations-based research is distinguished from long term academic policy research. The former relies mainly on research activists working with grass-roots and using participatory methods in order to develop the educational capacity of progressive organisations to inform policy options. The latter relies on researchers with some tertiary education, using the apprenticeship or immersion model of training in order to produce new conceptual and theoretical knowledge which will inform critical discussions on various policy options or, at times, develop alongside reconstructive policy work.

Both types of research are critically examined and challenged in some of their methods and assumptions. Workshop reports by three black trainees challenge white researchers' understanding of research and research training (a point developed later on) and recorded the resulting disempowerment and lack of control of trainees in the training process.

While recognising the legitimacy and need for different research activities, the book hints at the permanent suspicion and jealousy existing between academics and activists, especially in the pre-2 February 1990 period of opposition struggle. Too often, these groups work separately as if to prevent their respective domain and monopoly over certain skills and knowledge from being contaminated by the other. In this new era of South Africa, there should be more fruitful discussions on how academics and activists could work together at times and complement each other, even if it is from their own separate and independent base. As Mashamba writes, people with academic education and training must "transform and strengthen the ideas of the grass roots into rigorous knowledge" [3] and help mass organisations which lack the inner capacity to develop theoretical and policy research. What needs to be promoted here is the dialectical link between theory and practice, between academic and activist-type research, provided these different groups forget their rivalries and differences for the sake of the transformative project.

This brings me to the second aspect of the debate about black empowerment in the research and intellectual domain, and that is the development of "black" radical research as a legitimate area to broaden our understanding of South Africa and the transformative project. Radical black researchers are increasingly emerging to challenge radical white intellectual domination. The book hints at a heated debate on the issue of white domination in the shaping of intellectual inquiry and at the need for black researchers to be given space and autonomy to develop their own research agendas based on their own theoretical concerns and understanding of South Africa realities. Black contributors question research topics which "do not use the richness of the trainees' community experience and understanding". Mbona and Mashamba note the poor treatment of trainees who are marginalised and "left out of the analysing and conceptualising (part of the research) process".[4]

However, the development of black researchers is severely constrained by a polarised political situation. As Muller argues, the people/state dichotomy created an unease and distrust between the academy and the "struggle", with the result that "the analytical became subordinated to the dictates of the political".[5] Caught in the middle of that problematic, black researchers-activists were often forced, by the nature and tempo of the struggle, to privilege their political work over their research work. However, with the opening of civil society since 2 February, Muller notes new possibilities and political realignments which will create more favourable conditions for the development of skilled/analytical black researchers.

But a change in the overall political environment will not automatically lead to the development of professional black researchers. This will depend on the will and commitment of progressive institutions like the ANC, COSATU and other white-dominated research organisations and the extent to which they will recognise their need and duty, in this period of reconstruction, to promote the development of professional (mainly black) researchers through appropriate institutional structures and meaningful research career paths. This will, inter alia, force us to address the problem of black universities and the need to transform and strengthen these institutions which, for a long time to come, will be responsible for the education of the majority of black students.

Finally, for me, this book and workshop throws up a deep problem with white researchers and the relative value and scope of their research and research experience. Is it not time for progressive white researchers to do some hard questioning about their strengths and weaknesses? A critique from without will ask questions such as: What kind of research do we do? Why do we often confine ourselves to critiquing documents, policy options and theoretical/western literature? Why do we insist on training black junior researchers into our skills and knowledge through exposure to a eurocentric literature that is culturally specific and not always

relevant to the South African situation? How much of our research agendas help document and understand the complex on-the-ground South African realities? Critical analyses of progressive research and knowledge production reveals how socially (and racially?) constructed our research agendas have been. We, white researchers, must examine the power relations that have existed in progressive research. We must acknowledge our identities as intellectuals with privileged access to, and identification with, radical eurocentric (as opposed to afro-centered) literature as well as as researchers shaped and limited by our eurocentric petty bourgeois experience.

The transformative project is not only a democratic and non-racial one that makes us all equal contributors. It is also about redressing the legacies of racial discrimination and reintroducing the black dimension and its racial (not racist) concerns which are not totally accessible to white researchers whose language and culture deprive them from fully accessing this dimension of South Africa. It is only when that divide and diversity between black and white researchers committed to the transformative project is recognised that we will be able to collaborate more equally and honestly and help each other with our respective strengths and weaknesses.

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2. J. Jansen,"A Critical Response to Ivan Evans", *Perspectives in Education*, 12,2 (1991): 107-110.
3. S. Motala, *Training for Transformation: Research Training Survey and Workshop Proceedings* (Maskew Longman), 10.
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5. *Ibid.*, 88.

Perspectives in Education, 1992, Vol. 13, No. 2, 153-155

REVIEW

Facing the Education Crisis: A Practical Approach

By JAMES MOULDER, Heinemann, Johannesburg ISBN 1 874820 07 4 121 pages

Peter Randall
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Moulder's presumptions are really quite breathtaking. Not only does he lecture educational planners and policy-makers, he also informs teacher educators how to do their job, instructs librarians in what they "should be thinking and talking about", and even, in an offensive phrase, tells the private sector how to get "more bang for its bucks".

And all this, and more, in sixteen "slender essays", most of which originally appeared in newspapers like *The Star*, and *The Natal Witness*. Although the Introduction claims that the essays will be "exploring rather than prescribing", this is flatly contradicted by the many dogmatic statements in the essays themselves and by the author's own later admission that he has "not been afraid to be prescriptive".

I suspect that the publishers hope this book will fill part of the gap in the textbook market for education students. This is suggested by the textbook format - the plethora of tables and graphs, the laborious summarising of the main points of each essay, the "questions for discussion". These latter take the form of:

1. What do you like about how South Korea transformed its educational system?
2. What do you find problematic about how South Korea transformed its educational system?
3. What, if anything, stops us from doing what the South Koreans did?
4. If we cannot do what the South Koreans did, how will we transform our educational system?

I sincerely hope that it will not be prescribed for education - or any other - students. This cobbled-together collection, with no integrating theme or framework (it veers from educational priorities to Aids), obfuscates rather than illuminates crucial current educational issues. It is clearly not the outcome of any genuine research, but relies on immediately-to-hand statistics, already somewhat out of date, and on snippets from such sources as World Bank documents. The argument frequently rests on gross over-simplifications and is itself in consequence often simplistic.

The book is thus a poor academic or educational model to put before students. It contains absurdly unhelpful generalisations: "Europeans, as well as Americans and white South Africans, are preoccupied with pensions, old age homes, creative retirement and, in general, with growing old gracefully", or, "white students are politically naive". Moulder may simply be trying to be provocative, or he may genuinely believe that such judgments contribute something meaningful. In either case they do not belong in any serious analysis. Trite sentiments abound (for example, "Education should respond to people's needs"), and the discussion often rests on a kind of kindergarten economics: "We are good on the mining side of the gem trade, but mediocre on the manufacturing side, which is where the money is made". Homely little examples are used: "When parents give two children six sweets, each child expects to get three. Every four year old knows that it is wrong to take more than an equal share ...".

Equally homely is this little gem of pop sociology: "the individuals in a social system are related to each other more like the eggs in an omelette than like chops in a grill". That really illuminates social relationships in a complex and diverse society!

Professor Moulder is surprisingly miserly with his references. This sparse list of sources is almost entirely confined to annual reports and volumes of statistics; the only scholarly work cited is Maslow's *Motivation and Personality*, from which the rather faded hierarchy of human needs is drawn. For the rest, the text simply makes assertions like "the World Bank's research tells us", or else mentions, without reference, such people as Arie de Geus, "the head of the world's leading think tank", or one Moon Moodley, who has evidently invented a new approach to mathematics.

The book's sub-title claims that it offers a "practical" approach to the education crisis. It certainly does not, resorting again and again to vague generalities and earnest entreaties. Moulder wants primary education to be the priority, and he wants it to be "practical", since "the bias towards an academic education leads to a shortage of people with technical and professional skills". Technical and professional subjects at primary level?

It is a highly arguable matter. Nowhere does the evidence suggest that ordinary schools are really appropriate sites of vocational training. Even the state's recently released curriculum model presupposes a general (academic?) education for the first nine years of schooling. The problem with Moulder is that he does not actually argue his point, he merely asserts. At no point does he explain what he means by "academic" and "practical", and so the reader is entitled to conjure up the horrors of bantu education with its gardening and handwork, amongst other things. Moulder remains dumb on the curriculum, I suspect because he does not really know what goes on in most primary schools. There is no evidence that he researched the field; his base is merely a set of statistics and some pop economics and sociology.

Acknowledgement

An earlier version of this review appeared in the *Financial Mail*.

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Referees for Volume 13 No 1 and 2

The quality of a journal depends largely on the critical judgments and comments of the referees. *Perspectives in Education* thanks the following referees for their reports on manuscripts submitted for publication in Volume 13:

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1. P. Kallaway (ed.), *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984), 2-5.

For a journal reference:
2. A. Simon and P. Beard, "Discriminatory Factors Affecting Women Teachers in Natal", *Perspectives in Education,* 9, 1 (July 1986): 59.

For a reference to a chapter in a collection:
3. F. Chikane, "Children in Turmoil: The Effects of the Unrest on Township Children", in S. Berman and P. Reynolds (eds.), *Growing Up in a Divided Society: The Contexts of Childhood in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987), 20.

For reference to work listed directly preceding:
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For reference to a work listed above, but not directly preceding:
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Newspapers:
8. *The Star,* 3 September 1986.

Unpublished theses and papers:
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Oral Interviews:
10. N. Ncube, teacher at Citrusdal Primary, interview with author, Citrusdal, July 1988.

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