

**A study of the political attitudes and aspirations of teachers: The
case of coloured teachers in the Greater Durban Area.**

by
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In accordance with the regulations of the University of Natal, I hereby certify that this dissertation, unless indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own original work.

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INTRODUCTION.

The recent launch of the nonracial South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) has raised a number of important questions in relation to the strategic orientation¹ of teachers in South Africa. These questions are being posed within the context of a broader question: which strategies and what form of organisation is most appropriate to bring teachers within the broad movement for social transformation in South Africa. The history of apartheid in general, and of apartheid education in particular, makes the debate more complex because of the fragmentation of teachers along racial lines and, hence the fragmentation of their immediate socio-political contexts.

Although some academic analyses, which have a relevance to the debate, have been produced (Hyslop, 1986, 1987a, 1987b; Morrell, 1988; and Walker, 1989), there is still a drastic shortage of empirical investigation into the experience and orientation of teachers. This weakness is magnified in the case of coloured teachers in Natal because, to date, no empirical or theoretical work has been done which focuses specifically on this group of teachers. A central contention of this study is that appropriate strategies and forms of teacher organisation is heavily contingent upon a thorough understanding of the political orientation and aspirations of teachers. The purpose of this study is to attempt to make some contribution in developing this understanding, and in this way to inform some aspects of the debate on the strategic orientation of teachers in South Africa.

Section I of this report provides a brief description of the methodological considerations, which are followed by an outline of a theoretical framework for the investigation. Section II deals with the analysis and interpretation of the findings which is presented under the following headings:

1. Profile of the sample.
2. Respondents' perception of their work as teachers.
3. Different ways in which respondents try to advance their interests.
4. Political orientation.

The discussion under each of the headings in Section II is ended off with concluding remarks and a general conclusion is presented at the end of the report.

ENDNOTES:

- 1 That is, in terms of its orientation to the working class and the bourgeoisie in modern capitalist societies.

SECTION I: METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

1. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY.

In the absence of any systematic study which focuses specifically on coloured teachers in Durban, this study will serve, primarily, as a pilot study aimed at identifying significant trends and questions that will necessarily have to be subjected to further investigation and analysis. It is therefore not possible to propose any specific hypotheses that could form the object of study. Instead, the aim of this study is essentially hypothesis-generating (Mouton, 1988).

The central focus of the study is the exploration of the political orientation and aspirations of coloured teachers who are employed by the House of Representatives (hereafter HOR) in the Greater Durban Area (hereafter GDA).

The objectives of the study are as follows:

- a) to assess teacher attitudes to their work process.
- b) to assess various ways in which teachers try to advance their interests.
- c) to assess the political orientation of teachers vis-a-vis the dominant political groupings operating within the South African political context.

Whilst the theoretical framework will serve as a guide for research design and the analysis of data, the empirical findings will itself be used to assess the validity and applicability of the fundamental theoretical assumptions contained in the literature and which have a bearing on this study.

1.2 SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

The major source of information on which the study is based is a structured questionnaire (see appendix I). In addition, two other sources of information were used:

1. Proceedings of a workshop conducted by SONAT to identify teacher grievances (see appendix II). These proceedings were used as a basis for the construction of the questionnaire as well as in the discussion of the findings.
2. Unstructured interviews with specific individuals from SONAT. These interviews were mainly used to obtain factual information on certain aspects of coloured education in Durban.

1.3 THE QUESTIONNAIRE.¹

After pre-testing the draft questionnaire the researcher felt confident that the length of the questionnaire did not present a problem to respondents or in terms of the validity of the findings. The final questionnaire included questions around the following themes:

- * Satisfaction with teaching.
- * Career orientation.
- * Attitudes on the role of teachers.
- * Attitudes on the current education context.
- * Attitudes on teacher organisation.
- * Political orientation.

In terms of the specific objectives of this study (as outlined above), only the following themes will be incorporated into the discussion:

- * Satisfaction with teaching.
- * Career orientation.
- * Political orientation.

1.4 DATA COLLECTION.

SONAT officials agreed to act as contact persons, to facilitate the distribution and collection of questionnaires, in the different schools involved in the study. The questionnaires were hand-delivered by the researcher to the contact persons, who in turn handed them out to the respondents.² The respondents agreed to complete the questionnaire in about three days, after which it was collected by the contact person and returned to the researcher.

In an attempt to minimise the possible bias that may have arisen as a result of SONAT's close relationship with the study, it was decided to resort to a system whereby respondents completed the questionnaires on their own and in private instead of using the interview method. However, even though the postal method would have reduced the possible bias even further, it was considered to be undesirable because of the considerable time delay involved in posting and because the personal contact allowed the researcher to motivate the respondents to complete the questionnaire. Notwithstanding this the researcher is confident that the personal contact did not seriously bias the findings. The high response rate achieved in this study (92%) is also probably a result of the personal contact and follow-up visits to all contact persons, who in turn motivated the respondents to complete the questionnaire.

1.5 THE SAMPLE.

Since the study focused on individual teacher attitudes, the unit of analysis was individual teachers employed by the House of Representatives in schools in the GDA.

A two-staged random sampling technique was used to arrive at the final sample. The first stage involved a random selection of seven primary and four secondary schools out of the total number of seventeen primary and nine secondary schools under the HOR in the greater Durban area. The second stage involved a random selection of eight teachers in each school, identified in stage one, from the school's list of staff members. Table I below gives details of the sample.

TABLE I: DETAILS OF SAMPLE.

SCHOOL (NUMBER)	AREA	PRIMARY/ SECONDARY	RESPONDENTS
1	Wentworth	primary	8
2	Wentworth	primary	7
3	Marianridge	primary	7
4	Greenwoodpark	primary	8
5	Newlands East	primary	8
6	Sydenham	primary	7
7	Newlands East	secondary	8
8	Marianridge	secondary	5
9	Greenwoodpark	secondary	7
10	Sydenham	secondary	8
11	Wentworth	secondary	8
<u>TOTAL</u>			<u>81</u>

A presentation of the profile of the sample has been reserved for the next section, since the discussion of it forms an integral part of the interpretation of the findings.

1.6 DATA ANALYSIS.

The researcher conducted a content-analysis of all open-ended questions. Those responses which were compatible were collapsed into common emergent categories. The resultant emergent categories were then coded for computer input. In the case of the closed questions, the responses were immediately coded for computer input. Frequencies and cross tabulations of the data were than generated with the aid of a computer using SPSS+ (statistical software).

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

A central assumption in this investigation is that the political aspirations and attitudes of coloured teachers is influenced by their class location and their political context. It view of this it is important, not only to theorise the class location of the sample, but also to identify the major features of their socio-political context.

The theoretical framework for the investigation is therefore presented under two major themes:

- 1) Theoretical considerations on the class location of teachers in South Africa.
- 2) A brief overview of some aspects of the coloured community in Durban.

2.1 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE CLASS LOCATION OF TEACHERS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The aim of this section is to situate the study within a marxist theoretical framework based on the major perspectives that have emerged in the literature concerning the class position of teachers and, in particular, the class position of black teachers in South Africa.

This corpus of theory reflects a wide diversity of perspectives which can be traced to the debates in the 1950s within communist, socialist and trade union organizations around the need to formulate an appropriate definition of the working class in modern capitalist societies. A definition of the working class was essential because of two major imperatives: Firstly, the rise of the 'new middle class' posed new theoretical questions around the political behaviour and orientation of this class towards the dominant classes in capitalist social formations (Poulantzas, 1979). Secondly, the apparent lack of working class revolutionary potential under advanced capitalism spawned debates around the mobilisation of the working class and strategies for socialist transformation. In South Africa, this debate coincided with the rise of Marxist theorising following the 1973 labour strikes and was cast within a broader debate focussing on strategies for transformation and the limits and possibilities for class alliances as espoused by the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the African National Congress (ANC) (Nzimande, 1991). Consequently, a major thrust of the debate focussed on the relationship between race and class in determining the political orientation of different sectors in the South African political formation.

As a consequence of the above, the theoretical discourse on class analysis of teachers is also highly polemical³ and reflects a wide diversity of perspectives. It is therefore necessary, for the purpose of this study, to isolate the major currents in the literature and then to formulate a broad framework for the analysis of attitudes and aspirations of coloured teachers.

The first major perspective that will be addressed deals with the analysis of teachers as workers. This position may be attributed to Hunt (1977) and

Mandel (1978) who have argued that the working class includes all those who sell their labour power and who do not own the means of production.

For Mandel, even though different strata exist within the working class, they all have a common class identity in the sense that all have a common objective interest in the creation of socialism. Hunt adopts a slightly different approach by arguing that the above criteria only define the potential boundaries of the working class. For him a class only comes into existence through a set of class practices and when it hegemonises its whole potential membership (Hyslop, 1987b).

The fundamental and fatal shortcomings of this perspective is its narrow emphasis on the formal ownership of the means of production. Although teachers do not own the means of production they certainly exercise a greater degree of control over their own work than do unskilled workers. The notion of stratification of the working class does not solve this problem because it underplays the significance of the differences between teachers and unskilled workers in terms of the conditions of their work process and how this impacts on their class position. It also does not adequately account for the difference between teachers and unskilled workers in terms of their respective positions in the relations of production. According to Hyslop,

By assimilating employees who enjoy a degree of autonomy into the working class Hunt, and especially Mandel, play down the importance of the political and ideological differences which arise on the basis of, and are reinforced by, different places in the relations of production (1987b, 11).

A second major perspective in the literature, articulated by Nicos Poulantzas (1973, 1977, 1979), deals with the analysis of teachers as part of the 'new petty bourgeoisie' (hereafter referred to as NPB). For Poulantzas the working class consists only of those who: (a) perform productive labour; that is, produce surplus value; (b) do not carry out supervisory work; and (c) perform manual labour rather than mental labour.

Unlike the traditional petty bourgeoisie, the 'new petty bourgeoisie' do not own the means of production and as wage earners are exploited. However Poulantzas argues that this exploitation does not take the form characteristic of the exploitation of the working class. For Poulantzas the 'new petty bourgeoisie' should be considered as part of the petty bourgeoisie as a whole because they share the same political and ideological characteristics, which he describes as follows:

petty bourgeois individualism, attraction to the status quo and fear of revolution; the myth of 'social advancement' and aspirations of bourgeois status; belief in the 'neutral state' above classes; political instability and the tendency to support strong states and bonapartist regimes; revolts taking the form of petty bourgeois jacqueries (1973, 37-38)

Poulantzas' work, particularly his publication entitled: Classes in Contemporary Capitalism, marks the first substantive attempt at using theoretical insights on the social composition of the petty bourgeoisie to understand its political behaviour. Its major relevance to this study is his demonstration of the "vacillating" nature of this class and his assertion that the political behaviour of this group depends on the nature of the social

formation and its conjuncture. It should be noted that Poulantzas' work is cast very much in a polemical mode in response to the positions adopted by the French Communist Party in relation to alliances with non-proletarian strata of society.⁴

A third perspective in the literature views teachers as part of a new class. This position may be attributed to B. and J. Ehrenreich (1979) who assert that the growth of industrial capitalism has resulted in a proliferation of occupations which fit into an 'intermediate strata' and constitutes a 'new class. More concretely, they argue that a 'Professional and Managerial Class' (PMC), which has an antagonistic relationship to the working class, has emerged in advanced capitalist societies. The Ehrenreichs attempt to resolve the perceived inadequacy of classical marxism in theorizing certain new occupations, which have evolved with the growth of industrial capitalism, by inserting a new class within the classical marxist framework. The major thrust of their argument lies with the weight afforded to the perceived function of the PMC in the reproduction of the dominant ideology and capitalist relations of production.

A major shortcoming of this perspective is its failure to recognise that the "reproductory function" of teachers does not automatically result in teachers operating as the passive purveyors of the dominant ideology. The function that teachers actually perform is not solely determined by their employers, but is also subject to contestation under certain conditions. Some teachers will certainly, as consequence of this contestation, attempt to subvert the dominant ideology, depending on their relationship with the state and with the ruling classes as a whole. Furthermore, as Hyslop correctly point out, the Ehrenreichs fail to

show that what differentiates the PMC from the working class is stronger than that which unifies the PMC (1987b, 13).

The fourth perspective in the literature attempts to resolve the shortcomings of the above three perspectives by viewing the 'intermediate strata' as being located 'between classes'. This perspective takes as its starting point the fact that numerous individuals are in transition between classes at any point in time, arguing that this phenomenon suggests the need to conceptualize these sectors "which although subject to the 'pull' of the main social classes are situated 'between' them" (Hyslop, 1987b, 14).

This perspective has two major strands of analysis: one advanced by Carchedi (1980) and used by Harris (1982) in his analysis of teachers; and another advanced by Wright (1979).

Harris advances two reasons for placing teachers outside of the working class: Firstly, because a proportion of their wages comes from revenue which is generated through the exploitation of the working class; and secondly, because their function maintains the ideological and political conditions of bourgeoisie domination. Therefore, for Harris, while teachers are economically situated between the working class and the bourgeoisie, at an ideological level, they align with capital.

Carchedi (1980) argues that, with the expansion of the middle strata, intellectual labour began to combine the "general function of capital" (domination of the working class) with the "function of collective worker".

Under contemporary capitalism this sector is undergoing a process of proletarianisation, whereby the qualifications of white collar employees become less and less valuable and their labour power more devalued, pushing their position toward that of the proletarian. It is at this stage that they become susceptible to the appeals of the labour movement. In applying Carchedi's analysis to the position of teachers, Harris (1982) argues that teachers are also subjected to a process of proletarianisation, similar to that of white collar workers, through the undermining of progressive educational policy, new educational technology, and the gearing of education to the needs of the economy. This process of proletarianisation push them towards the working class.

A major strength of this position is that it provides useful insights into the process of "proletarianisation" of teachers work. However, as is the case with the notion of a PMC, too much weight is afforded to function as a criterion of class membership at the expense of position in the relations of production. Furthermore, if Harris' argument that teachers fall outside of the working class because they benefit from the revenue generated by the exploitation of the working class, is accepted, then this will imply that the lowest paid cleaners at schools also fall outside of the working class and occupy a similar position to teachers.

Erik Olin Wright (1979) provides a different approach to defining the class position of the 'intermediate strata'. Like Carchedi, he locates teachers and other 'semi-autonomous wage earners' in a position 'between' classes, but affords more weight to position in the relations of production in the determination of class position. Wright argues that in contemporary

industrialized capitalist social formations two modes of production coexist: the dominant capitalist mode in which the bourgeoisie (who have control over labour and capital) and the working class (who have no control over labour and capital) operate; and the sphere of petty commodity production, within which the petty bourgeoisie operate. In the case of professionals and skilled workers who are self employed, their skills serve as the means of production allowing them to engage in petty commodity production. In addition to the three 'unambiguous' classes mentioned above, Wright argues that there are three categories which do not fall into any of the above classes but occupy positions situated between classes or 'contradictory class locations': Managers and supervisors; small employers; and semi-autonomous wage earners (SAWE). The last category is of interest in this study because, in terms of Wright's position, teachers are categorized as SAWE. SAWE, although wage earners, have a considerable degree of control over their own work which is very different in the case of the proletariat. However their autonomy is being eroded as a result of the process of proletarianisation. They are also different to the petty bourgeoisie in that they do not own the means of production. In support of this view, Hyslop argues thus,

the contradictory location concept is able to take into account both the proletarian character of the s.a.w.e.'s wage relationship, and the petty bourgeois character of their work, without assimilating them into either the working class or the petty bourgeoisie (1987b, 19)

based on this analysis he maintains that,

the s.a.w.e.'s are pulled toward the position of the proletariat insofar as they are wage earners, but towards the position of the petty bourgeoisie in that their work is not wholly subordinated to capitalist rationality (1987b, 19).

Wright argues that the more contradictory the position of a group in the relations of production, the greater the influence exercised by the political and the ideological in the determination of its class position. Therefore political and ideological shifts may have a strong influence on the class position of the SAWE's - unlike the unambiguous class positions (the bourgeoisie, proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie) which, at the level of their class position, remain more immune to these influences. Here Wright seems to be implying that the petty bourgeoisie (as one of the 'unambiguous' classes) have an objective orientation in relation to the dominant classes (that is, the working class and the bourgeoisie) in capitalist formations. This is contrary to the view which will be expressed in more detail below.

Wright also argues that the SAWE may potentially support any of the unambiguous class positions and this is ultimately dependent on class struggle. Whilst one would agree with the emphasis on the influence of class struggle in determining political orientation, this approach does not make a convincing enough case to justify why teachers should be viewed as having a "contradictory class location" as opposed to belonging to a vacillating petty bourgeoisie comprised of different strata. In the end this perspective simply introduces a new category which does not have any greater explanatory power than the conceptualisation of teachers as belonging to the "new petty bourgeoisie". Particularly if such a conceptualisation takes into account that, by virtue of its stratified nature, the "new petty bourgeoisie" may be split into different alignments depending on the class struggle within a particular conjuncture.

Notwithstanding the above problem this perspective, particularly Hyslop's application of Wright's model, does provide some useful analytical tools to understand the political behaviour of teachers. Its emphasis on the proletarianisation of the teacher's work process is of particular importance in understanding the factors that push teachers closer to the working class and further away from the bourgeoisie.

Hyslop (1987b) claims that the concept of teachers as SAWE provides the basis to explain the different strategies which teachers employ, to advance their interests, in response to pulls of the petty-bourgeoisie and of the working class. He argues that,

there are two strategies which correspond to the pull of the petty-bourgeoisie on teachers; at a collective level, professionalism, and at an individual level, individual upward mobility. And there are two strategies which correspond to the pull of the working class upon teachers; at a collective level, popular/union strategy, and at an individual level, individual radicalisation (1987b, 27).

For Hyslop, the semi-autonomous character of teachers' work and their 'trust' relationship with their employers create the basis for them to adopt professionalism as an ideology and strategy to advance their interests. He argues that the process of proletarianisation of teachers' work and the statification of education makes the professional ideology unviable and results in teachers seeking personal upward mobility or in becoming politically active in radical movements.

The major weakness of Hyslop's analysis is his failure to justify why the conceptualization of teachers' class location as "new petty bourgeoisie" will not provide the basis for a similar explanation as outlined above. Particularly if one extends the conceptualisation to account for the processes of proletarianisation and statification. What is useful about Hyslop's analysis is that he provides analytical insights into how these processes are progressively altering teachers' work process, bringing it closer to the experience of the working class - essentially because it leads to a decline of teacher autonomy and prestige (Hyslop, 1987b). However this process of alteration cannot be interpreted to imply that teachers have a contradictory class location. Instead, it may be argued that the process suggests that teachers as a "new petty-bourgeoisie" are subjected to a process of proletarianisation under advanced capitalism. In other words, whilst teachers are in the process of being proletarianised, they are not yet fully proletarianised and still occupy a class position which fits the description of "new petty-bourgeoisie". Furthermore the "new petty-bourgeoisie" is not a homogeneous class, but is highly stratified in terms of the organisation of the work process of different professions.

Another major weakness of Hyslop's analysis is the fact that he does not account for how the political may influence the strategic orientation of teachers in terms of the strategies mentioned above.

The importance of a conjunctural analysis in understanding the political behaviour of teachers as a social grouping has already been raised above. However a conspicuous and important gap that remains (in Hyslop's as well as the other approaches discussed above) is the absence of any discussion of

how, if at all, the national question impacts on the orientation of teachers in the different education departments in South Africa. In this regard, none of the above theoretical perspectives offer satisfactory theoretical and empirical tools to understand the political orientation and attitudes of "coloured" teachers (as opposed to, for example, that of white teachers) in relation to class struggle in the current conjuncture.

In terms of the CST thesis, South African society is viewed as principally a class society with capitalism as the dominant mode of production. However, its central thesis is that because of colonialism, national oppression came to be inextricably linked to capitalist development. To the extent that race is an integral component of the relations of domination and exploitation which determines the social division of labour. Therefore class formation, the mobility of different classes and the relationship between different classes are all strongly mediated by race.

Perhaps the most important significance of the CST thesis is its implications for political mobilisation and class alliance. According to CST, national (racial) oppression experienced by all black people provide the basis for the black middle class and the black working class to share a common political interest in bringing an end to racial domination. The link between race and class in South Africa leads to an intertwining between national oppression and economic exploitation. Therefore the presence of national oppression provide an objective basis for a national democratic alliance between classes in the struggle for the establishment of a national democracy (which is neither socialist or capitalist). According to CST, establishment of a national democracy through a national democratic revolution, constitutes the shortest possible

route to socialism because: firstly, it offers the strongest potential for the mobilisation of the maximum number of people against the status quo; and secondly, the elimination of national oppression will necessarily affect the economic structures of society. Its final outcome will ultimately depend on the balance of class forces in the period after the establishment of a national democracy.

In elaborating on the above position, Nolutshungu (1983) uses a particular conception of politics to conceptualize the relationship between race and class in South Africa in terms of how colonization has conditioned the emergence of the specific character of the South African social formation. He argues that race cannot be conceived as a mere 'epi-phenomenon' of class or as mere 'ideology' which serves to blur class exploitation,

.....but rather as part of a specific political context with a distinctive place in the creation and reproduction of classes (ibid., 49).

Nolutshungu's argument, if applied to black teachers⁵, would suggest that the relationship between race and class draws them strongly towards the black working class. Nolutshungu uses three major arguments to substantiate this claim. Firstly, he argues that their exclusion from key economic positions as well as from the major political and ideological institutions leads to the frustration of this class and a conflict of interests with the ruling class. Secondly, this exclusion also minimizes the chances of their cooption and restricts their capacity to hegemonise themselves over the masses of oppressed and therefore, also restricts their capacity to reproduce themselves as a middle class. Thirdly, the reforms that have taken place so far have not

significantly altered the basic structure of exploitation and national oppression.

The CST thesis acknowledges that, at an abstract general level, the black petty bourgeoisie (BPB) does share the qualities associated with the petty bourgeoisie in general in capitalist social formations. This confirms the importance of theorizing the class location of teachers. However, at a concrete level, in South Africa, the "in-between" nature of the petty bourgeoisie articulates with national oppression and the articulation between race and class in the social formation. As far as the BPB is concerned, this articulation manifests itself in a contradictory location with respect to the dominant classes. On the one hand, the BPB share the oppressive conditions that flow from national oppression with the majority of the working class and is consequently drawn to the working class. On the other hand it is incorporated into the economy to a greater extent than the working class and in this respect is propelled towards the bourgeoisie and white petty bourgeoisie. These contradictory "pulls" on the BPB is further exacerbated by the rapidly shifting political conjuncture, particularly with respect to the apparent reform stance of the De Klerk regime, and the intensification and increasingly militant form of opposition to apartheid.

In terms of its relevance to this study, the CST thesis shows two major weaknesses.⁶ Firstly, contemporary discourse on the CST thesis does not adequately theorize the specificity of the social composition of the BPB. Consequently, according to Nzimande, the CST thesis suffers from a

...lack of clarity on the fact that the different strata and fractions composing this group stand in different economic and political relations to both the state and white monopoly capitalism (1991, 53).

Secondly, and this relates to the first point, the "non-cooptability" and potential class alignments of the black petty bourgeoisie is arrived at purely on the basis of the structure of the political terrain without relating this to the internal composition of this group. More concretely, in terms of coloured teachers, this study will pose the question of whether the relatively more privileged position of coloured people serves to condition the impact of national oppression on the political orientation of coloured teachers. For example, if coloured teachers perceive that a coloured ethnic identity provides the basis for definite material benefits then this factor will certainly militate against an identification with radical, working class-based popular movements, or at the minimum, will condition this identification.

In view of the arguments presented above it is perhaps necessary to summarise the theoretical perspective adopted in this study.

1. Teachers are part of the "new petty-bourgeoisie" (as argued by Poulantzas) but are also subject to conditions or processes of proletarianisation. It is therefore essential to assess the impact of this process of proletarianisation on the teacher's work process and the extent to which teachers have become aware of it. This study will attempt to explore the relationship between teachers' perceptions of their work process and the strategies they employ to advance their interests.
2. Teachers have no objective interests in socialism or in capitalism. Therefore it is not necessary for teachers to be fully proletarianised before they may identify with the working class or with radical popular organisations.

3. National oppression creates the conditions for the exclusion of coloured teachers from economic and political institutions. This in turn provides a basis for their alliance with the working class towards the establishment of a national democracy.
4. In adopting the CST thesis as a basis of analysis, it will be necessary to acknowledge that the class determination and political behaviour (arising out of their political interests) of teachers is a function of the 'balance of class forces in different historical conjunctures and that the relationship between race and class become central in conceptualizing those specific conjunctures.

2.2 BRIEF OVERVIEW OF SOME ASPECTS OF THE DURBAN COLOURED COMMUNITY.

A central point that was emphasised in the preceding section is that, in addition to class, the socio-political context of coloured teachers plays an important role in influencing their political behaviour. This section will look at some of the major social and political features of the coloured community in the GDA.

2.2.1 SOCIOLOGICAL PROFILE.

2.2.1.1 POPULATION NUMBER.

According to the 1985 Population Census, the total number of people registered as coloured and living in Durban and surrounding areas amounted to 54 465. Most commentators put the actual figure much higher than this, some suggesting that it may be closer to about 100 000 (Manning, 1988). Two

important points may be made in relation to the coloured population number: Firstly, the population in Durban (and in Natal as a whole) account for a small percentage of the overall coloured population in South Africa. Secondly, the "coloured population group" is by far much smaller in number as compared to other "population groups" (as defined in the Population Registration Act) living in the GDA.

2.2.1.2 EDUCATION BACKGROUND.

A survey conducted by Sheldon Rankin (1984) in 1983 produced the following findings about the education levels of coloured people in the greater Durban area:

HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION ATTAINED	PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLE
No education.	15%
primary school.	25%
std. 6.	15%
std. 7 - 10.	45%

It is significant that of the 7 161 people who have passed matric between 1965 and 1987, about 65% matriculated in the last ten years. (Manning, 1988). This suggests that state education provision for coloured people underwent a rapid expansion in this period.

2.2.1.3 CLASS COMPOSITION.

A large proportion of the population is economically active with about 84% of males employed in blue-collar occupations and 68% of females employed in low level white collar positions (Rankin, 1984). The majority of the economically

active males are either skilled or semi-skilled and therefore occupy a relatively more privileged positions compared to that of the majority of the African working class who occupy unskilled positions. Therefore, it would appear that coloured workers are incorporated into the economy to a greater degree than the African working class. This possibly explains the relatively poor level of unionisation amongst coloured workers in the greater Durban area. Notwithstanding this there are two major factors which militate against this incorporation translating itself into support for the state and for capital. Firstly, they still encounter the effects of national oppression and exclusion from political institutions. Secondly, their economic incorporation is not sufficient to overcome their perception of the greater privileges afforded to whites. Job security for semi-skilled blue collar workers has always been very sensitive to cyclic changes in the economy. The protracted recession since the mid-seventies has resulted in a high level of unemployment and uncertainty about job tenure. Although economic exploitation on the factory floor is cushioned by their position as semi-skilled workers (and perhaps as foremen), this relatively privileged position on the factory floor is mediated by the nett effect of periods of unemployment which serves to depress the collective economic income of the community - bringing their experience closer to the working class.

Coloured workers on the whole have, in the past, enjoyed higher wages than African workers. This phenomenon may arguably have reinforced their "differences" in South Africa's racially structured social formation. More recently, the worsening impoverishment of coloured workers and the growing insecurity of tenure as a result of the protracted economic recession (particularly during the 1980s) has drawn coloured workers closer to the position of African workers.

It is interesting to note that a large proportion of women are economically active. There are two significant factors which condition the experience of women workers. Firstly, a high number of families are single parent households with a woman being the only parent and breadwinner (Rankin (1984) puts this figure at 10%). Rankin also found that female-headed households (no husband) were also economically much worse off than male-headed households. Secondly, because of the frequency of unemployment, women are often forced to work to supplement the family income. Most women earn very low salaries which are not much higher than those earned by African women workers.

The number of people that fall into the middle class make up a small minority of the population. It is significant for this study that the majority of these people are teachers as the figures below indicate⁷:

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>TOTAL NUMBER IN GDA.</u>
doctors	< 40.
lawyers	< 20.
teachers	< 900.
other professions	< 100.
business	< 300.

The creation of the House of Representatives in 1984 gave rise to the emergence of a new category of employees: the "bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie".⁸ The growth of the bureaucracy has produced a rapid increase in the number of civil servants - who in 1988 numbered about 860 (Manning,

1988). The bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie, as state employees may be considered to be direct beneficiaries of the ethnic HOR's system of patronage. However, there are many factors which militate against the bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie aligning themselves with the state, despite (and sometimes because of) the fact that they are employed by the HOR: Firstly, the overwhelming majority of them earn salaries which is close to that of the coloured working class- Manning (1988) claims that in 1988 about 50% earned under R1 000 per month; about 9,5% earned over R1 000 per month; and only about 5,5% earned over R2 000 per month. Secondly, their conditions of work and low salaries, relative to white civil servants, serve as a constant reminder of their own position in the racial structure of labour. Thirdly, the unpopularity of the HOR in the community leaves them with a negative attitude towards their employers. Fourthly, the budgetary constraints of the HOR administration and the lack of experience which results in constant bureaucratic bungling leads to tremendous frustration of this group and the community. The rank and file civil servants operate on the interface between the administration and the community and often take the brunt of community dissatisfaction. It is therefore unlikely that a significant number of the bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie have been coopted by the state. They do not view their future employment as being dependent on the existence of the HOR. On the contrary, the HOR symbolises, in concrete terms, the embodiment of discriminatory practices under apartheid. The bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie have not enjoyed the prestige and respect in the community as teachers and priests and they do not feature in any significant way in leadership positions in society.

2.2.1.4 PROFILE OF COLOURED TEACHERS.

In the past teachers, alongside priests, were viewed with respect in the community. Teachers often occupied senior positions in church structures of this fairly religious community. However, it would appear that this image of teachers in the community has declined in recent years. The majority of teachers presently are relatively youthful due to the rapid increase in the number of teachers in recent years. The rapid expansion of schooling, referred to above, created the opportunity for many school leavers to enter the teaching profession. According to Manning (1988), over 50% of the teachers, who entered the profession in the last twenty-four years, have qualified in the last nine years. Teachers who taught in church schools generally enjoyed a high prestige because of the proximity of these schools to the church and its distance from the state. The expansion of state schooling has resulted in a decline in the number of church schools. As new, better paid and higher status occupations became available to coloured people, the relative status of teachers decreased in the eyes of the community.

A very significant feature of the middle class is its interconnectedness with the working class. This interconnectedness occurs, in one instance, at the level of the family. Many families have members who belong to both categories. In most cases relationships exist with relatives that belong to both categories. It is not very often that new generations within a family undergoes significant upward mobility. In many cases the children of parents who occupy positions that fall into the middle class, enter blue collar occupations. Also, because of the group areas act, members from both groups share a common geographic and social space: they live in the same area, send their children to the same schools, belong to the same church, and participate in common leisure activities. Together they contend with inferior amenities, poor roads and social

problems such as a high crime rate. Hence their experiences stand in sharp contrast to that of their white counterparts. All these features of the lives of the coloured middle class serve to militate against them hegemonising themselves as a class (Nolutshungu, 1983).

2.2.2 POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY IN DURBAN.

2.2.2.1 COLOURED COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE.

Unlike the coloured community in the Western Cape, the Durban coloured community has not established any significant tradition of opposition to apartheid. Up until 1956 coloured people were eligible to vote which to some extent led to the perception that their interest was being served by the government (Randall, 1968; van der Ross, 1979). However the removal of coloured people from the voters role in 1956 rapidly eroded their apparent elevated position as compared to the African masses. The majority of coloured people considered this to be a betrayal by the Nationalist Government which served to sharpen their perception of national oppression under apartheid. The removal of coloured people from the voter's roll marks the first shift in their relationship with the apartheid state.

The first significant mass action against apartheid occurred in 1980 when students in Durban coloured schools joined the national school boycotts which originated in coloured schools in the Western Cape. The scale of these boycotts impacted on the consciousness of the entire community and possibly laid the basis for the fairly rapid politicisation of the community. The 1980 boycotts marks the second major shift in the relationship with the state.

By 1984 the government's intentions to coopt the coloured and Indian communities were concretely manifested through the implementation of the tri-cameral system. This new dispensation was aimed at a qualified incorporation of coloured and Indian people into the political institutions of South Africa. Ironically, the tri-cameral parliamentary elections produced the opposite effects to what the state intended and marks the third major shift: it created the conditions for a rapid and drastic increase in anti-apartheid activism in the coloured (and Indian) communities. Over 80% of registered voters boycotted the elections which corresponded to the call put out by 'non-racial progressive popular formations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the African National Congress (ANC). Although the state managed to seduce the once popular Labour Party to participate in the elections, the elections itself created the conditions for the successful emergence of a new political organisation, the United Committee of Concern (UCC), amongst coloured people in Natal. The UCC emerged as a staunch opponent of apartheid and it affiliated to the UDF soon after its inception. Hence, through the UCC anti-apartheid activism in the coloured community came to articulate very definitely with the non-racial liberation movement. The overwhelming majority of the membership of the UCC have since joined the ANC after it was unbanned on 2 February 1990.

A significant, and recent trend with respect to the coloured working class is the increasing number that have joined progressive trade unions affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), in particular the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Worker's Union (SACCAWU)⁹ and the National Union of Metal Worker's of South Africa (NUMSA). This phenomenon may be considered to represent a fourth shift. One of the major

reasons for the emergence of this trend is the relative success of these unions in pushing up the wages of African workers and the protection that has accrued from unionisation. Although coloured workers generally earn better wages than African workers, their experience of economic exploitation such as the long periods of unemployment; the rising cost of living coupled to a decline (in real terms) of their earning power and the poor treatment meted out by management, has resulted in the realisation that their interests are better served by these unions. Therefore, although they occupy a relatively privileged position in the relations of production, capital has not addressed the needs of coloured workers. Even though many may have joined the unions for narrow economic reasons, it is highly likely that their participation in these progressive trade unions will have an impact on their consciousness which, in turn, could permeate the politics of the community as a whole.

It is clear from the above that the coloured community in Durban has undergone significant shifts in the last ten years. However, since most of the shifts referred to involve only small numbers of people in the community, it cannot be assumed that they reflect the changing orientation of the masses of coloured people. Notwithstanding this, it is still significant that a definite trend has emerged which reflects an increasing identification with progressive organisations in the political landscape.

2.2.2.2 POLITICAL CONTEXT OF TEACHERS.

Coloured teachers have generally remained aloof from political involvement in the community. More recently, the rapidly changing political conjuncture in the country as a whole coupled to dynamics within the coloured community itself (the 1980 school boycotts; the tri-cameral system; the politicisation of

the community) have resulted in some significant shifts in the political orientation of teachers. In 1988 SONAT and the Cape Teachers Association (CTPA) resolved to adopt the Freedom Charter. Around the same time, both SONAT and the CTPA, became involved in the process to form a united nonracial teacher organisation. This process culminated in the formation of the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SACTU) in October 1990. Prior to the launch of SACTU, the SONAT annual general meeting in June 1990 resolved to disband the organisation in favour of joining the new nonracial teacher organisation. It is, however, not clear whether these shifts include the rank and file teachers or whether it can be interpreted as a convergence of coloured teachers and progressive popular organisations in the liberation movement - this is one of the central questions that will be posed in the interpretation of the data in the following section.

2.2.3 SUMMARY OF MAIN POINTS.

Some of the key points from the above overview that have a bearing on the analysis which follows is summarised below.

1. The coloured middle classes make up a very small percentage of the coloured population in the GDA. The majority of economically active people occupy blue collar positions or low level white collar positions.
2. The overwhelming majority of the coloured middle class is comprised of teachers.
3. There is a high level of interconnectedness between the middle-classes and the working classes in the coloured community.

4. Although the Durban coloured community does not have a long tradition of anti-apartheid activism, some significant shifts have taken place in the last ten years. However it is not clear what impact these shifts have had on the masses of the community.

5. Coloured teachers on the whole do not have a tradition of resistance to apartheid or of participation in anti-apartheid organisations aligned to the liberation movement. Here again, some significant shifts have taken place at the level of teachers. In addition, the shifts at the level of the community may have had an impact on the political behaviour of teachers. It is also not clear how these developments are impacting on rank and file teachers.

2.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In concluding this section on the theoretical framework for this study, two points need to be emphasised: Firstly, that although the centrality of class location in the determination of political behaviour, in the last instance, is acknowledged, it is also acknowledged that coloured teachers as a social grouping cannot be extricated (for the purpose of analysis) from their socio-political context in South Africa. Secondly, that in the current conjuncture national oppression as well as class (particularly in the way they articulate with each other) play a role in determining the political behaviour of coloured teachers, and hence in determining their strategic orientation.

ENDNOTES:

- 1 The original motivation for this study came from SONAT officials who requested that a study be conducted to understand the attitudes and aspirations of teachers employed by the House of Representatives. In view of this the researcher enjoyed strong support from the organisation, and teachers demonstrated a high level of enthusiasm to participate in the study. The opportunity was used to obtain data on a wide variety of themes, even though, for purpose of this study, given its limited scope and specific focus, only some of these themes will be

incorporated into the analysis. The rest of the data will be written up by the researcher for the purpose of presenting the findings to SONAT and other interested organisations.

2 Respondents were selected, using random numbers, from school staff lists.

3 Because it mirrors the debates referred to above.

4 Poulantzas was reacting to, what he considered, the PFC's theoretical assimilation of non-proletarian strata into the working class. He argued that this would lead to the working class' interests being compromised. (Hyslop, 1987b).

5 Although Nolutschungu (1983) is referring to the petty bourgeoisie, his argument would apply to teachers if they are considered to be part of the "new petty bourgeoisie".

6 This is not intended to imply that CST suffers from a fatal shortcoming, but rather, that this aspect of the theory has not been developed sufficiently enough.

7 Figures derived from Rankin (1984), Manning (1988), and from interviews with school principals.

8 For description of the term: "bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie", see Josana (1989) and Nzimande (1991).

9 Previously known as the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (CCAWUSA).

SECTION II: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION.

1. PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE.

Exactly two-thirds of the overall sample (66,67%) are female. Of those teaching in secondary schools 61,1% are female and in primary schools, 71,1% are female.

The majority of the respondents (about 54%) are married - 62,96% of male respondents and 55,55% of female respondents; about 27% are single; 11,1% divorced - 3,7% of male respondents and 13% of female respondents; and 1,2% widowed. Approximately 52% of the sample are living in ownership homes (that is, homes that they presently own or will eventually own). This figure is fairly balanced for males and females: 52% of all males and 50% of all females. However, only 29,6% of the respondents are presently receiving a housing subsidy. The figures for males and females receiving a housing subsidy are 48,2% and 20,4% respectively. The major reason for this is that married women do not qualify for housing subsidies.

The findings confirm that the majority of teachers are relatively young with the majority having qualified in the last ten years. 32% of the sample have been teaching for between 0 and 5 years; 27,2% for between 6 and 10 years; 14,8% for between 11 and 15 years; 9,9% for between 16 and 20 years; 4,9% for between 21 and 25 years; 4,9% for between 26 and 30 years; 3,7% for between 31 and 35 years; and 2,5% for between 36 and 40 years. Well over half of the respondents (approximately 59,2%) began teaching in the last ten years and almost three-quarters of the respondents (74%) have been teaching for under 15 years.

It is interesting to note that 42,2% of the married respondents have spouses that occupy semi-skilled blue collar occupations. A further 17,8% are married to teachers, 2,5% to clerks, 2,5% to secretaries, one to a lecturer, one to a student and one to a clergyman. Only 8,9% of married respondents listed their spouse's occupation as housewife. It is also significant that only 13,3% of the spouses, in terms of their occupations, fall (unproblematically) into the category of petty bourgeoisie (one doctor, one attorney, two listed as "self-employed", two building contractors). In most cases self-employed generally applies to building contractors or carpenters who take on private jobs. These people generally run small one-person businesses that are very sensitive to the state of the economy.

Although a large number of the married respondents enjoy a double income it appears that most of the spouses have occupations that are particularly susceptible to the economic recession (blue collar workers, small entrepreneurs and low level white collar workers).¹ This would suggest that the double income is not very stable in the present economic climate because of the looming threat of unemployment.

1.1 CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The fact that the majority of the respondents (74%) only started teaching in the last fifteen years suggests that coloured education underwent a process of rapid stratification fairly recently. The majority of the sample have thus entered the profession during this period of rapid stratification.

It is perhaps important to note that the majority of the respondents have entered the teaching profession at about the same time that the coloured

community entered the present phase of politicisation referred to earlier. Furthermore, a large percentage of these teachers were either at school or at college or university during the 1980 education boycotts.

2. RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION OF THEIR WORK AS TEACHERS.

The purpose of this section is to identify trends, with regard to teachers perception of their work, which may have an influence on how they perceive/articulate their interests and the strategies which they employ to advance these interests.² This will be done by exploring those aspects of their work,

1. which respondents find satisfying, and
2. which respondents find most dissatisfying.

2.1 ASPECTS WHICH RESPONDENTS FIND MOST SATISFYING.

A total of 63% (9,9% strongly agreed and 53,1% agreed) of the respondents agreed that their work as a teacher is satisfying. The percentage of males as compared to females who considered themselves satisfied is very similar: 63,0% and 59,6% respectively. Of the remainder there were 34,6% (6,2% strongly disagreed and 28,4% disagreed) that disagreed. A total of 2,5% indicated that they did not know.

In another question respondents were asked to list those aspects of their work which they found most satisfying. Table II shows those items which received the ten highest frequencies.

TABLE II: MOST SATISFYING ASPECTS

RESPONSE	% OF SAMPLE
1. Teaching/working with pupils.	59,0%
2. Pupil success/development.	28,4%
3. Rapport between colleagues.	13,6%
4. When pupils achieve good results.	12,3%
5. Salary.	9,9%
6. Working hours.	6,2%
7. Counselling pupils.	4,9%
8. Subjects taught.	4,9%
9. Holidays.	3,7%
10. Administrative and paper work.	3,7%

The high frequency for "teaching/working with pupils" suggests that the majority find the actual teaching process satisfying. There is a strong correlation between these findings and the responses received to the question: "What motivated you to become a teacher?". In this question the response "working with pupils/people" reflected the highest percentage of the total responses given.

Whilst Items 2 and 4, in Table II, show a definite pupil-directed interest, it also reflects a strong emphasis on performance and results. Item 3 suggests that the respondents place a strong emphasis on collegiality - something which is not afforded much weight within the traditional functioning of the school environment and within the competitive context encouraged by the system of promotions and merit awards. The researcher discovered, through the follow-up interviews, that almost all the schools in the sample have very little extra-mural activities which make demands on teachers beyond the time allocated to actual teaching. This probably explains why item 6 has a high frequency.

It is also important that those aspects which account for a major part of the teacher's daily tasks, such as lesson preparation and administrative work, were not listed with very high frequencies.

2.2 ASPECTS WHICH RESPONDENTS' FIND MOST DISSATISFYING.

Respondents were also asked to list those aspects of their work which they considered to be most dissatisfying. Those aspects which were listed with the ten highest frequencies are reflected in Table III.

TABLE III: ASPECTS WHICH RESPONDENTS FIND MOST DISSATISFYING.

RESPONSE	% OF SAMPLE
1. Administrative and paper work	32,3%
2. Inspection and evaluation system.	25,4%
3. Teacher/pupil ratio.	12,7%
4. Salary.	5,6%
5. Prescriptive methods.	5,6%
6. Pressure and interference from superiors.	5,6%
7. Bureaucracy and red tape.	5,6%
8. Being a temporary teacher.	4,2%
9. Lack of facilities.	4,2%
10. The present syllabus.	4,2%

Two aspects ("administrative and paper work" and "inspection and evaluation system"), as shown in table III, were listed with considerably higher frequencies than any of the others. What teachers perceived to be a high teacher/pupil ratio was listed with the third highest frequency. It is particularly significant that all these aspects relate to the increasing proletarianisation of the teachers work process: by eroding their autonomy over their work; and by contributing to an increase in the teachers workload (Harris, 1982; and Hyslop, 1987b) - significantly, with work that they find dissatisfying. Furthermore, the aspects considered to be dissatisfying, appear

to be impacting on those aspects of their work which the respondents listed as being most satisfying (such as working with pupils) because the process of interaction with pupils is rigidly mediated through prescriptive teaching methods. Therefore, although most teachers have indicated that they are presently satisfied, many of them also expressed strong dissatisfaction with certain aspects of their work. It appears that the process of proletarianisation is impacting negatively on the aspects which contribute to this satisfaction.

Although it is certainly correct to conclude that mechanical and prescriptive teaching methods appear to be alienating teachers from their work it should be noted that certain ideological factors simultaneously serve to temper this alienation. For example, new teaching methods are presented as a means of improving pupil exam performance - which, as the findings above show, is also considered to be important by respondents. It is possible that the apparent improvement in pupil performance, as measured by the improved matriculation exam results, will mitigate the alienation generated by prescriptive teaching methods.

The strong dissatisfaction expressed toward the system of inspection and evaluation deserves further comment. In a separate question, respondents were specifically asked if they are satisfied with the system of inspection. Here the majority indicated that they were not satisfied: 30,9% most dissatisfied; 34,6% not satisfied; 25,9% moderately satisfied. Only 2,5% indicated that they were fully satisfied and 3,7% that they were mostly satisfied but not fully. These findings confirm that the relationship between teachers and the inspectorate, and hence between teachers and the department, seems to be of a conflictual nature.

It is also important that very few respondents listed salaries as an aspect which they find dissatisfying. One possible reason for this is that, relative to the majority of the economically active coloured people, teachers appear to enjoy a higher income level. This will apply particularly to the female respondents since the majority of the economically active coloured women occupy low income jobs in the private sector (as pointed out in section I). Furthermore, the majority of the sample have qualifications that are equivalent to, or above, matriculation plus three years training. They therefore command salaries that are considerably higher than those at the lower rungs of the teacher salary scales. However, it was evident in the unstructured interviews that the respondents consider their salaries to be depressed relative to that of other skilled occupations, such as computer related jobs, personnel and marketing. Teachers consider themselves underpaid in relation to people with similar matriculation passes, who in some cases have undergone less training (in terms of years). So, although teachers are generally dissatisfied with their present salaries, this dissatisfaction features less prominently relative to their dissatisfaction with other aspects of their work. Furthermore, the extent of this dissatisfaction (with salaries) is strongly influenced by how teachers perceive their market value which is measured in terms of the market value of jobs in the private sector which they consider to be accessible to them. It is not easy to find alternative employment in the present economic recession, which serves to undermine the effect of the latter phenomenon.

Although the majority of the respondents are female, the findings contain very little on gender discrimination, except around the issue of promotions (discussed below). This suggests a general lack of gender consciousness which

is probably reinforced by the depressed expectations expressed by the sample as a whole, and by female respondents in particular. It is certainly also an indication of the lack of radicalism in the history of coloured teacher organisation in Durban.

2.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS.

It is perhaps important to note that both the questions on satisfaction and the ones on dissatisfaction, produced a large number of responses. This suggests that the respondents do not share a common discourse with regard to issues of their work as teachers. Here again, the findings point to an absence of strong organisation and of participation in discussions around issues that affect teachers. One of the consequences of this phenomenon may be that the respondents might seek strategies to deal with their problems as individuals and not collectively.

Although the findings suggest that the dissatisfaction expressed by the sample is a consequence of the process of proletarianisation, it also appears that there are still aspects which the respondents find satisfying. However all the aspects which they presently find satisfying is constantly being eroded by the process of proletarianisation.

The findings suggest that the respondents' dissatisfaction which derive from proletarianisation is strongly linked to the inspectorate and hence, as was argued above, to the department. Therefore this conflictual relationship with the department is also the context within which teachers perceive their dissatisfaction with their work. This finding challenges the notion of teachers as "purveyors of the ruling class ideology", suggesting that this function is

mediated by their relationship with the department (state) which is itself a site of struggle and therefore open to contestation.

Having looked at how the respondents perceive their work as teachers, the following section will focus on the different ways in which they attempt to advance their interests.

3. DIFFERENT WAYS IN WHICH TEACHERS TRY TO ADVANCE THEIR INTERESTS.

According to Hyslop's (1987b) analysis - discussed in Section I - teachers will employ strategies (to advance their interests) that involve an identification with the working class; or a "professional" strategy, which involves an identification with the petty bourgeoisie. The major purpose of this sub-section is to explore some of the options through which the respondents in this sample try to advance their interests, with particular reference to improving their conditions of work and earning power.

The following trends, which arise from the findings, will be discussed:

- * Acquiring permanent status.
- * Upward mobility within the teaching context.
- * Upward mobility outside of teaching as a career.
- * Emigration.

The notion of upward mobility is underpinned by the claim that education qualifications contributes to upward mobility (Dore, 1976). It may therefore be useful, before beginning the discussion of the above trends, to contextualise this discussion by looking at the educational qualifications of the respondents.

3.1 EDUCATION BACKGROUND OF SAMPLE

The overwhelming majority of respondents (91,4%) have completed standard ten of formal schooling. A further 2,6% and 1,3% of respondents have completed standard eight and standard six, respectively.

De Vries (1987) points out that the required qualification for teachers, established in 1953, is standard eight (ten years of schooling) and three years of teacher training. Measured against this state norm, only 5,4% of the sample will be deemed "under-qualified". Furthermore, 87,6% of the respondents in this study have qualifications that are either equal to or greater than an equivalent qualification of matriculation (twelve years of schooling) and three years of teacher training. Just under one-quarter of all respondents (24,7%) are in possession of a university degree and about 5% are in possession of a second university degree. The percentage of male respondents in possession of university degrees is slightly higher than that for female respondents: 33,3% and 21,2% respectively. However, in absolute terms, more females have degrees since there are more female than male teachers in the sample.

Until about ten years ago, there were very few options available to Durban coloured teachers who wished to upgrade their qualifications through part-time study. Consequently, only a small number managed to complete degrees and the relative percentage of graduates was fairly small. The major option open to coloured teachers was to study for a degree or diploma through correspondence at the University of South Africa (UNISA). More recently, after coloured people were allowed to register at the Universities of Natal and Durban-Westville, many teachers opted to enroll for part-time study at these

institutions. In addition, certain colleges of education began to offer part-time courses through correspondence. These courses are primarily aimed at teachers who are in possession of a two- or three-year teachers diploma and who wishes to upgrade their diplomas to a four-year qualification.

In 1982, the then Department of Coloured Education, implemented policy by which degreed teachers were all allocated to secondary schools.³ This means that primary school teachers are summarily transferred to a secondary school on completion of a university degree. All promotion posts in primary schools, below the level of deputy principal, are presently filled with non-graduate teachers - the minimum requirement being a four-year teachers diploma. Therefore, unlike the case of secondary school teachers, the possession of a university degree ceased to be a de facto requirement for the promotion of primary school teachers. In view of this, most primary school teachers presently tend to pursue the easier option of completing the four-year diploma course. In a number of cases, long-serving primary school teachers qualified for, and was successful in obtaining, posts as heads of department (HOD) in secondary schools on completion of a degree. Consequently, a very experienced primary school teacher could, not only be placed into a position in which he/she has very little experience, but also placed into an advisory/supervisory position over other teachers who may have been serving for a longer period at secondary school level. The problem is further exacerbated by the fact that, in most cases, the degrees taken have very little relevance to, and impact on, the quality of teaching (de Vries, 1987). The consequence of this policy serves as further confirmation that the supervisory function of Heads of Department is emphasised to a much greater extent than their function as advisers to less experienced teachers. A further consequence

is that the growth rate of degreed teachers in the primary schools was considerably lowered.

A quick comparison between the requirements for promotion in primary as well as secondary schools and the education qualifications of the sample suggests that a large number of teachers do at present qualify for promotion. The impact of this phenomenon on the system of promotions as a mechanism of patronage will be explored in more depth later in this report.

3.2 ACQUIRING PERMANENT STATUS

The contemporary discourse on teachers in South Africa pays very little attention to the conditions of temporary teachers and how these conditions impact on the political behaviour of such teachers. According to the findings of this study, a total of 20% of the respondents have temporary appointments. It should be noted that this number is inordinately high compared to the number of teachers in the sample who may be deemed "un-" or "under-qualified" suggesting that qualifications is not the major reason for the high number of temporary appointments. A break-down of this figure in terms of gender reveals that one in every ten males, or 11,2%, and one in every five females, or 20,4%, have temporary appointments - suggesting that females bear the brunt of this phenomenon. It is significant that less than half of the respondents agreed (6,2% strongly agreed and 38,3% agreed) that their job as a teacher is secure [male 55,6% female 36,6%], as compared to 9,9% that strongly disagreed, 19,8% that disagreed and 25,9% who did not know. This reflects a fairly high incidence of uncertainty about security of tenure and it probably relates to the high number of temporary appointments. The apparent oversupply of teachers⁴ is probably one important reason for the high number

of temporary teachers. For the first time, college graduates (who are also bursary holders) have not been able to obtain a teaching post in the department. The HOR has had to contend with cut-backs to its education budget. One of the ways of absorbing this cut-back is to reduce the number of teachers in relation to pupil numbers.

Temporary teachers do not qualify for perks (such as housing subsidy, pension and promotion) which operate to draw teachers away from the experience of the working class. Their uncertainty about whether they will be re-appointed on expiry of their contracts serves to disempower them in their interaction with the education authorities. Many of them experience a sense of dislocation from the rest of the teacher corps, which contributes to a fragmentation of teachers. Morrell (1988)⁵ has argued that these perks also operate to placate teacher grievances and to win their support for, or acquiescence towards, the status quo. The sense of insecurity of tenure brings the experiences of temporary teachers closer to that of the working class. For these teachers the first step towards upward mobility is to secure a permanent appointment.

In the absence of any concerted campaign to address their predicament, these teachers have to bide their time and either wait for a permanent appointment, or seek alternative employment. Furthermore their participation in teacher organisations will be marginal unless their needs and grievances are directly addressed.

3.3 UPWARD MOBILITY WITHIN THE TEACHING CONTEXT

There are two main mechanisms through which teachers may strive for upward mobility within the teaching context:

1. Automatic salary increases for additional qualifications.
2. The system of promotion.

In general, the higher the teachers' qualifications the greater their chances of benefiting from these mechanisms. The discussion which follows seeks to explore the relationship between the respondents' attitudes to the upgrading of qualifications and the above mechanisms for upward mobility.

3.3.1 UPGRADING QUALIFICATIONS.

The majority of respondents felt that their basic training provided them with adequate preparation for their jobs as teachers (3,7% agreed and 55,6% strongly agreed as opposed to 7,4% that strongly disagreed and 27,2% that disagreed). The findings show no gender difference in the responses to this question: males - 59% agreed and females - 57,7% agreed. Of those who engaged in further study, beyond their basic training, 63% felt that it made a definite improvement to their teaching; 19,6% were uncertain; and 17,4% felt that it made no improvement. The overwhelming majority of the respondents (80,2%) indicated that they intended to upgrade their qualifications. There was no significant gender difference in these responses: males 85,2% and females 76,9%. A further 12,3% indicated that they are uncertain and only 7,4% indicated that they did not intend to upgrade their qualifications.

In another question, respondents were asked why they wanted to upgrade their qualifications. The findings are reflected in Table IV.

TABLE IV⁶:REASONS FOR UPGRADING QUALIFICATIONS.

RESPONSE	TOTAL	
	% of responses	% cases
1. Improve salary/earnings	33,7	46,9
2. Improve teaching.	18,0	25,0
3. Learn more.	13,5	18,8
4. For promotion.	10,1	14,1
5. For personal satisfaction.	10,1	14,1
6. Improve qualifications.	3,4	4,7
7. Help pupils with problems.	3,4	4,7
8. Improve employnt. opptnts.	3,4	4,7
9. So as not to stagnate.	2,2	3,1
10. Improve professionally.	1,1	1,6
11. Do something.	1,1	1,6

The findings in Table IV may be grouped into two major emergent categories. The first relates to career mobility, which includes the following responses: "improve salary/earnings"; "for promotion"; "to improve qualifications"; "improve employment opportunities"; and "improve professionally". The composite number of responses in this category expressed as a percentage of the total responses to this question is equal to 50,7%.

The second emergent category relates to a desire to benefit from the course content itself which includes responses such as: "improve teaching; "learn more"; "for personal satisfaction"; and "help pupils with problems". It should be noted that "personal satisfaction" could include some of the following categories: career mobility (for example, through higher earning or promotion), "to learn more" and "to help pupils". The composite number of responses in this category, expressed as a percentage of the total responses to this question is equal to 45%.

It would therefore appear that the number of responses given to both the categories are almost equal. Notwithstanding this it is still important, for the

purpose of this study, that a large number of the respondents are strongly motivated by career related interests (that is, the possibility of improving their earning and chances of promotion) through the upgrading of their qualifications.

De Vries (1987) has argued that in-service training has a stronger impact on the quality of teaching than do part-time study for a university degree. The main reason for this is that most of the degrees taken by teachers have very little relevance to their teaching. Even though a number of teachers indicated that they wanted to improve their teaching by upgrading their qualifications, it appears that the department places very little emphasis on in-service training as a means of improving the quality of teaching. Only 27,2% of the respondents have engaged in any form of in-service training. It would also appear that the dominant teacher organisation, SONAT, does not emphasise in-service training either. Of the respondents that have engaged in in-service training, 77,2% indicated that the training was organised by the department, 1,2% engaged in training organised by SONAT and 3,7% engaged in training organised by non-department agencies other than SONAT. This lack of emphasis on in-service training is particularly important in view of De Vries' (1987) argument above because it suggests that formal study is motivated more by a desire for upward mobility than by a desire to improve teaching skills.

3.3.2 PROMOTIONS.

About half of the respondents (53,1%) indicated that they are keen to receive a promotion. The percentage of male respondents, at 63%, was higher than the percentage of females, at 48%. Of the remainder, 24,7% were uncertain and 22,2% indicated that they were not keen to receive a promotion. A total of

80,2% of the sample occupy non-promotion posts (that of post level one educator). Of those occupying promotion posts, 64,3% (11,1% of total sample) are Heads of Department - all of whom were female, 7,1% (1,2% of total sample) are senior Heads of Department, 21,4% (3,7% of total sample) are deputy principals (all male) and 7,1% (1,2% of total sample) are principals (also all male). According to these figures, one in every five teachers in the sample occupy a promotion post. It is perhaps also important that the majority of those in promotion posts are Heads of Department, who are located between senior management personnel of the school and ordinary teachers. The number of promotion posts were drastically increased when the HOR was established in 1984. This implies that there is very little chance of more posts being created in the near future. The other growth point for posts is in new schools. However, given the stabilisation of coloured student enrolment (Du Plessis, et al., 1990), and the financial cut-backs (referred to earlier), there appears to be very little chance of many new posts being created. It was pointed out above that there appears to be fewer promotion posts available than there are people who are qualified (in terms of the requirements) to fill them. One logical outcome is that emphasis will increasingly shift away from qualifications to an emphasis on a subjective assessment of how "good" the teacher is, as a criterion for promotion. This opens up a greater possibility for the system of promotions to be used as a mechanism of patronage in exchange for teacher support of the status quo and teacher acquiescence.

The respondents were asked to respond to the following statement: "Your chances of receiving a promotions are good". The majority did not agree that their chances for promotion were good (16% disagreed and 32,1% strongly disagreed). Only 16% agreed that their chances were good and 35,8% indicated

that they did not know. Of those who disagreed with the statement, 55,8% were female and 7,4% were male. This seems to suggest that female respondents, more than male respondents, consider their chances for promotion to be poor. This perception appears to be in sharp contrast to the relatively high number of females in the sample that occupy HOD posts. But it corresponds to the absence of females in promotion posts above the level of HOD.

The majority of the respondents (32,1% strongly disagreed and 35,8% disagreed) did not agree that the allocation of promotions are fair, only 3,7% agreed and 28,4% indicated that they did not know. It appears that the major reason why the majority of females considered their chances of promotion to be poor is because they perceived the allocation of promotions to be unfair - 69,2% of female respondents considered the allocation of promotions to be unfair as opposed to only 29,6% of male respondents who felt the same way.

It is plausible to argue that the system of promotions give teachers a sense of being able to move up the hierarchical ladder through upgrading their qualifications and by performing according to what the department considers to be a "good" teacher. It is this sense of upward mobility that will draw teachers to a perception of themselves as professionals whose interests are best served through a professional strategy. Furthermore, it makes it easier for teachers to pursue their interests through individual strategies.

3.4 UPWARD MOBILITY OUTSIDE OF TEACHING AS A CAREER

In addition to the strategies discussed above, teachers may also seek to achieve upward mobility outside of teaching by embarking on a change of career. This section will focus attention on this phenomenon with reference to the findings obtained.

3.4.1 ATTITUDE TOWARDS EMBARKING ON A CAREER OTHER THAN TEACHING.

Even though a large proportion of the respondents indicated that they were satisfied with their jobs as teachers, an alarming number of respondents - a total of 49,4% - indicated that they would change their jobs if they had the opportunity to do so. The percentage for males and females is almost exactly the same: males 48,1% and females 48%. Only 32,9% said that they will definitely not change their job, while 17,7% said that they were uncertain.

Of those who said that they would change their jobs 12,8% did not indicate what job they would most prefer to do. It is interesting that only 5,1% listed professions that required a high degree of specialised training (marine engineering and scientific research); 17,9% listed professions that required a minimal amount of further training over and above their present qualifications (computers - 7,7%, social work - 7,7% and journalism - 2,6%); and the majority, 64,1%, listed professions that required little or no additional training (starting own business - 12,8%, working with children from broken homes - 1, public relations work - 2, human relations - 1, professional management - 2, dress designing - 1, communication - 1, bank clerk - 2, hotel industry - 1, counselling - 1, office work 1, secretarial work - 1, sales representative - 1, drama - 1). The findings suggest that, whilst teachers are certainly pursuing a professional strategy and seeking upward mobility, they are not necessarily looking for an elevation to one of the more established and recognised professions, as suggested by Hyslop (1987b). On the contrary, the findings appear to suggest that teachers are searching for anything that is open to them and which does not require much further training - as one respondent

put it "I am prepared to do anything that's available". This is probably because the majority of the respondents consider themselves to have a high level of specialised training: in response to the statement, "You have a high level of expertise in your area of specialisation (in terms of your formal training)", 8,6% strongly agreed, 54,3% agreed, 4,9% strongly disagreed, 21,0% disagreed and 9,9% indicated that they did not know. The respondents were almost equally divided on whether they considered their skills to be in short supply: 34,6% agreed that their skills were in short supply (1,2% strongly agreed and 30,9% agreed) and 37% disagreed with the statement (3,7% strongly disagreed and 33,3% disagreed). A total of 27,2% were uncertain.

The above findings suggest that although a fairly high number (62,9%) consider themselves to have a high degree of specialisation in terms of their training, very few respondents felt that their skills were in short supply. The respondents appear to be responding to the recent indications of an apparent surplus of coloured teachers in Natal. This phenomenon tends to devalue the "specialised skills" of teachers which become less marketable because of the shortage of vacant posts. Furthermore, the economic recession in South Africa and the consequent stagnation of private sector growth has limited options for teachers to be employed in the private sector. As the findings above show, most of the respondents are not aspiring to the high-status professions, but are prepared to accept jobs as bank clerks and secretaries as an improvement on teaching.

3.5 EMIGRATION

A striking trend among Durban coloured teachers is the large number of teachers who have either emigrated or are in the process of considering it

seriously. This trend, which became evident through the researcher's own experience in coloured schools, featured very strongly in the findings of this study. A total of 14,8% of male and 21,2% of female respondents - which accounts for 18,5% of the total sample - indicated that they are presently thinking of emigrating. A further 13,6% were uncertain (18,5% of male and 9,6% of female respondents). Assuming that even a small percentage of the "uncertain" category do eventually seriously consider emigration, then the figure of those who are definitely considering emigration could be brought up to about one in every five teachers in the sample!

The reasons given by respondents for wanting to emigrate appear in Table V.

TABLE V7: REASONS FOR WANTING TO EMIGRATE.

Response	pct. of responses	pct. of cases
1. Present political situation.	29,4	35,5
2. To gain better opportunities.	17,6	21,4
3. Better future for children.	11,8	14,3
4. To have a better way of life.	11,8	14,3
5. Family ties in Australia.	5,9	7,1
6. High crime rate.	5,9	7,1
7. The economy.	5,9	7,1
8. Unrest.	5,9	7,1
9. For a change of environment.	5,9	7,1

The responses in Table V all fall into two emergent categories: Firstly, a category comprising of those responses which deal with the present situation in the country (these include items 1, 6, 7 and 8), and a second category comprising of those responses which relate to a search for a better life and better opportunities outside of South Africa (these include items 2,3 and 4).

Almost all those teachers who have already emigrated have settled in Australia (98,1%). Canada is the only other country that the small remainder (5,4%) have

emigrated to. It goes beyond the scope of this study to provide an in-depth exploration of the reasons why Australia appears to be such a popular choice for emigrants, however some preliminary comment may be necessary. Australia is one of the few English-speaking and Western industrialised countries that have practiced a fairly relaxed immigration policy with respect to black South Africans. The fact that so many Durban coloured people have already settled in Australia, makes it a progressively attractive option for emigration. The degree of dislocation which is invariably experienced by new immigrants, is minimised by the many people, some of whom will be known on a personal basis, who have already settled in Australia. It appears that South African coloured immigrants maintain contact with each other and have developed a strong sense of community in Australia. Many interviewees pointed out that it has recently become apparent that more and more applications for immigration are being turned down by the Australian authorities. At present, only those applicants who have skills that are in short supply in Australia have been successful in their applications. Therefore, present indications suggest that the chances for emigration are progressively receding with time.

In the follow up interviews and informal discussions the researcher was able to establish that some individuals who are presently active in teacher organisations and in community life are also considering the option of emigration. Most of these teachers are strongly supportive of organisations such as the ANC, COSATU and the newly formed South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU). Their reasons for emigration are similar to those of the sample reflected in Table V.

The above findings suggest that for some teachers in the sample, emigration features as an additional strategy to extricate them from teaching as a career.

This does not necessarily imply that all these teachers are motivated by grievances related to their work as teachers. It is possible to argue that some may be happy with teaching but are considering emigration because of their perception of the present political situation. However, given their perception of the present political situation it is very probable that they strongly associate apartheid education with the present political situation. It is unlikely that teachers will emigrate if they feel that they have a lot to lose by leaving their jobs as teachers.

This high incidence of emigration amongst Durban coloured teachers and the reasons given for wanting to emigrate may suggest that a large number of the respondents, although opposed to the status quo, do not see themselves as political agents within the present political context. This point will be picked up again later in the report.

3.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is through the mechanism of automatic salary increases and promotions (or even the hope of promotion) that teachers are provided with a mechanism for upward mobility and self-improvement. Following on Hyslop's (1987b) analysis, one may argue that this mechanism, by providing an avenue for upward mobility, serves to attract teachers to a professional strategy.

The above discussion shows that the possibility for upward mobility within teaching is becoming increasingly limited. Although the respondents do not appear to be opposed to the system of promotions they appear to be sceptical of the system because they consider promotions to be unfair. Salary increases appear to be the only significant and guaranteed avenue for upward mobility.

However as teachers acquire more qualifications so to do their aspirations for promotions increase. Since these will not be readily forthcoming it can be expected that teachers will become increasingly frustrated.

Bursaries are generally very easy to obtain from the HOR as an incentive to teachers to upgrade their qualifications. It therefore serves to dilute the proletarian nature of a teacher's work and creates the impression that, irrespective of their present grievances, teachers (unlike the majority of the working class) can improve their situation through their own effort.'

It was pointed out above that although a large proportion of the sample would like to embark on an alternative career, not many will be successful in doing this given the present economic recession. It was also shown that the majority of the respondents who want to embark on a change of career are not necessarily striving towards the high-status professions.

Coinciding with the progressive decline of the possibilities for upward mobility through the avenues discussed above, it appears that the effects of proletarianisation of teachers' work is becoming sharper. It would appear that as teachers come to accept that they have limited possibilities for upward mobility, even outside of teaching that they will be propelled towards responding to the source of their dissatisfaction. In the past, the security of tenure served to balance out the negative aspects of their work. It was pointed out above that the respondents are beginning to feel fairly insecure about their jobs at present. This phenomenon will also contribute to the propulsion mentioned above.

It is clear from the findings that there remains very little scope open to the state to placate teacher grievances through the system of patronage. Instead patronage through the HOR has served to alienate teachers even further from the state because of they perceive the allocation of rewards to be unfair.

The content of the dissatisfaction expressed by the respondents; the limits for upward mobility and patronage; and the insecurity of tenure, all militate against coloured teachers developing the sense that they have a stake in a separate coloured education department. This point is reinforced by the fact that all (77,8% strongly agreed and 22,4% agreed) of the respondents indicated that they are in favour of de-segregated schooling. All these factors propel teachers away from an ethnic identity as a means of protecting their interests as teachers.

It is very clear from the discussion of the findings above that the majority of the respondents are presently engaged in an individual strategy to cope with their dissatisfaction and to advance their interests. Although it has been pointed out that the mechanisms for upward mobility are progressively declining, it must be emphasised that these mechanisms have not totally collapsed. One can therefore assume that although teachers are becoming increasingly frustrated they will nevertheless continue to attempt to advance their interests through these mechanisms.

It was noted in the discussion above that the process of proletarianisation is transforming teachers' work to resemble that of the working class. However, it must also be emphasised that this does not mean that teachers' work has been fully proletarianised or that this process of transformation has reached a

stage where teachers' work may be considered to be akin to that of the working class. In other words, notwithstanding the process of proletarianisation, the nature of teachers' work process still affords them sufficient autonomy over their work to distinguish them from the working class.

4. POLITICAL ORIENTATION.

It is acknowledged that an analysis of the overt political struggles waged against the state is perhaps one of the most effective indicators of the political orientation of a particular social grouping vis-a-vis the major contending forces in the South African social formation. This is clearly not possible in the case of this study given the relative lack of political struggle by coloured teachers in Durban. Whilst the absence of political struggle is undoubtedly significant (which is discussed below) it, nevertheless, does not provide a sufficient basis for the interpretation that coloured teachers support the status quo and, hence, support bourgeois domination. If this were the case then it will also be plausible to conclude that the majority of the working class in South Africa, by virtue of its non-engagement in political struggle with the state, demonstrates an objective alignment with the status quo.

In view of this, the approach in this study is guided by two major questions: The first deals with how the respondents perceive certain aspects of the present political situation in South Africa. The purpose being to identify trends which may clarify the orientation of respondents. The second question deals with the respondents' perception of its political agency.

More specifically, the political orientation of the respondents will be explored by looking at the following:

- * What they consider to be the major political problems at the moment.
- * What they perceive to be the major causes of these problems.
- * Whom they think is responsible for these problems.
- * What they consider to be the most favourable solutions for a future political system in South Africa.
- * Which organisations/social groupings do they think can provide the most favourable solutions for the political problems in South Africa.
- * Their perception of their political agency.

4.1 PERCEPTION OF THE MAJOR POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Respondents were asked to list, in an open-ended question, what they considered to be the major political problems in South Africa at present. Those responses that went together were collapsed into common categories. The findings are reflected in Table VI.

TABLE VI⁸: PERCEPTION OF THE MAJOR POLITICAL PROBLEMS
IN S.A.

RESPONSE	% OF RESPONDENTS
1. Apartheid	42,9
2. Political unrest and violence	27,3
3. Power struggle between political parties.	15,6
4. The education system.	15,6
5. Division amongst blacks.	10,4
6. Segregated and unequal schooling.	10,4
7. Uncertainty about the future.	6,5
8. Lack of progress in the negotiations process	5,2
9. Weak economy.	5,2
10. Poverty.	5,2
11. Unemployment.	5,2
12. Unequal distribution of wealth.	3,9
13. Separate ministries of education.	3,9
14. No vote/democracy.	3,9
15. Unequal opportunities.	2,6
16. Fear of black majority rule.	2,6
17. Lack of inter-racial trust.	2,6
18. Lack of good leadership	2,6

It is perhaps significant that there are forty-three individual response categories to this question (if responses which were listed by only one participant are also taken into account). This wide diversity may suggest that the sample lacks a common discourse on the present political situation. It is generally through active organisation and political activism that people develop a common discourse on political issues. The findings therefore appear to confirm the lack of organisation and activism amongst the respondents.

Notwithstanding the above, a close examination of the findings will show that all the responses in Table VI may be grouped into three emergent categories. These three categories suggest very definite trends in the sample.

The first emergent category includes responses which relate directly to racial discrimination under apartheid. These include the following responses: "apartheid", "the education system", "segregated and unequal schooling", "separate ministries of education", "no vote/democracy", and "unequal opportunities". The composite number of responses in this category, expressed as a percentage of the total responses to the question, is equal to 40,7%. It should be noted that problems related to apartheid education constitute a significant proportion of this category, accounting for 29,9% of the total responses to the question.

The second emergent category comprise of responses related to economic issues. This includes the following responses: "weak economy", "poverty", and "unemployment and unequal distribution of wealth". The composite number of responses in this category, again expressed as a percentage of the total responses to the question, is equal to 10,1%.

Finally, a third emergent category may comprise of issues that derive either directly or indirectly from class contestation and political struggle in the current conjuncture. The responses that fall into this category include the following: "political unrest and violence", "power struggle between political parties", "division amongst blacks", "lack of progress in the negotiating process", "fear of black majority rule", "lack of inter-racial trust", and "lack of good political leadership". Here the composite number of responses, expressed as a percentage of the total responses to the question, is equal to 33,9%.

It should be noted that most of the issues listed in both the second and third emergent categories may be considered to derive either directly or indirectly

from apartheid. It is however necessary to separate them for the purpose of understanding how the respondents perceive these different aspects of apartheid.

The findings appear to suggest that respondents perceive the most important political problems in the country at the moment as those which relate either directly or indirectly to racial discrimination under apartheid (first emergent category). It is perhaps important that apartheid education featured with such prominence. As teachers, they experience the effects of national oppression in the context of their work. This experience serves to mediate the way they function as state employees and as "purveyors of the dominant ideology".⁹ Therefore whilst their location in a state apparatus provides a basis (as state employees) for them to support the status quo, the strong manifestation of national oppression in this state apparatus pushes them away from the state. One can conclude that the function of teachers is subject to contestation.

Inequalities in society that are manifested at the level of the economy are also considered to be important political problems and, in terms of the percentage of responses, may be ranked as being of third highest importance.

The second category, which is placed second in terms of the percentage of responses, is of particular significance and deserves some comment. It appears that while the respondents want to see an end to apartheid and economic inequality, they also express concern about the present unrest and violence. It is significant that they perceive the present period of intense contestation as a power struggle between political parties and as division amongst blacks. This probably relates to the recent township unrest which has been portrayed

in the media as "black-on-black" violence between warring factions comprising of Inkatha on the one side and the UDF, ANC and COSATU on the other side. The immediate impact of this violence appears, in some cases to have been translated into a "fear of black majority rule". Therefore, whilst the respondents would clearly want to see an end to national oppression, they appear not to conceive of the present unrest and violence as a means to achieving this end.

4.2 PERCEPTION OF THE CAUSES OF POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

Having isolated trends with respect to the respondents's perceptions of the major political problems in South Africa, attention will now focus on what they consider to be the causes of these problems.

The respondents were asked to select from a list (see appendix I) those items which they perceive as causes of political problems in South Africa. The purpose being to ascertain their views on specific aspects of the South African political economy. The findings appear in Table VII.

TABLE VII: PERCEPTION OF THE CAUSES OF POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

option	male		female		% of total respndts. ⁴
	prim.	sec.	prim.	sec.	
a) Apartheid	83,3	85,7	93,3	95,5	92,4
b) Unemployment	33,3	85,7	76,7	77,3	72,2
c) Strikes	25,0	21,4	36,7	36,4	31,6
d) Unrest	33,3	50,0	46,7	63,6	50,6
e) Poor living conditions	58,3	85,7	76,7	86,4	79,7
f) Lack of civilised norms	66,7	50,0	60,0	27,3	49,4
g) Ill-discipl. youth	66,7	42,9	56,7	31,8	48,1
h) Sanctions	25,0	28,6	46,7	40,9	40,5
i) Armed struggle	33,3	21,4	36,7	36,4	32,9
j) Exploitation of working people	66,7	42,9	46,7	77,3	58,2
k) Communist influence	41,7	14,3	40,0	22,7	30,4

It may be deduced from Table VII that the majority of respondents perceived the following options as major causes of the political problems: "apartheid" by 92,4%; "poor living conditions" by 79,7%; and "unemployment" by 72,2%. With the following options, the respondents appear to be almost equally divided: 58,2% of respondents considered "exploitation of working people" to be a cause; "unrest" by about half (50,6%); "lack of civilised norms" by 49,4%; and "ill-disciplined youth" by about 48,1%. It may be concluded that the majority of respondents did not consider the following options to be causes of political problems in South Africa: 59,5% did not tick "sanctions" as a cause; 67,1% did not tick "armed struggle"; 68,4% did not tick strikes; and 69,6% did not tick "communist influence".

The above findings suggest that issues related to national oppression and conditions in the economy are considered by the overwhelming majority of the

respondents to be causes of the present political problems in South Africa. Although issues related to the political struggle in the current conjuncture, discussed under "Perception of major political problems in South Africa" above, returned the second highest composite frequencies, it is significant that only about half the respondents considered options such as "unrest"; "ill-disciplined youth" and "lack of civilised norms", to be causes of the political problems at present. It is particularly significant, especially within the context of their perception of the violence and unrest, that a large proportion of the sample did not consider radical strategies, such as sanctions; the armed struggle and strikes; to be causes of political problems. To this extent they may be seeing these strategies as positive contributions to the elimination of apartheid and national oppression. It is possible that the intensification of what is perceived by them as "black on black violence" and a "power struggle" between warring black political groupings, may result in a distancing away from the liberation movement. It needs to be stressed that this distancing away is not necessarily as a result of ideological differences with the liberation movement, but rather as a consequence of the fact that their perception of the violence and unrest is strongly mediated by ruling class propaganda. Therefore, as far as their interpretation of the unrest and violence is concerned, the orientation of respondents can be seen to be a highly contestable terrain, subject to the nature of contestation and tactics employed by the different forces operating in the current conjuncture.

4.3 PERCEPTION OF WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESENT POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

In an attempt to ascertain (more directly) the orientation of respondents to specific organisations and social groupings in the South African political

economy, respondents were asked to indicate (from a given list) whom they considered to be responsible for the present political problems in South Africa.

TABLE VIII: PERCEPTION OF WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESENT POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

option	male		female		% of total respondents.
	prim.	sec.	prim.	sec.	
a) SACP	41,7	12,5	32,0	25,0	29,0
b) Inkatha	33,3	50,0	52,0	56,2	48,4
c) UDF	25,0	12,5	32,0	18,8	24,2
d) African youth	25,0	12,5	32,0	18,8	24,2
e) COSATU	33,3	0	32,0	25,0	25,8
f) Army	16,7	25,0	36,0	43,8	32,3
g) Nat government	58,3	62,5	68,0	75,0	67,7
h) Right wing	75,0	50,0	68,0	68,8	66,1
i) ANC	58,3	25,0	56,0	25,0	43,5
j) Foreign countries	8,3	12,5	20,0	6,3	14,5
k) Big business	0	12,5	8,0	31,25	13,0
l) Police	33,3	37,5	48,0	62,5	48,4

A large majority of the sample considered the Nationalist Party government (67,7%) and the right wing (66,1%) to be responsible for the present political problems. It is interesting, in view of the claimed conspiracy between Inkatha and the South African Police (SAP) (Mare and Hamilton, 1987; Mzala, 1988), that both were selected by exactly the same number (48,4%) of respondents. A fairly large number of respondents (43,5%) also perceived the ANC to be responsible for political problems. Therefore, whilst the respondents appear to be unequivocally opposed to the Nationalist Party state and white domination, they also appear to see both Inkatha and the ANC as responsible for political problems. It should be noted that the present violence in African townships was initially portrayed by the commercial and state media as a struggle

between Inkatha on the one side and the UDF and COSATU on the other. It was only after the unbanning of the ANC that the commercial media has shifted the focus from UDF/COSATU to the ANC. Hence, creating the impression that the ANC contributed to the escalation of violence.

Commentators such as Mare and Hamilton (1987) and Mzala (1988) have argued that it is in fact the state that is responsible for the violence. By creating the conditions for increased violence, the state hopes to engender the view that different fractions in the African constituency have resorted to violence as the attainment of political power becomes more of a reality. This would simultaneously serve two purposes: firstly, it would create the impression, particularly to non-African minorities, that African people are extremely divided and lack the political maturity to take political power. Secondly, it would serve to incapacitate the liberation movement and dissipate its energy away from direct contestation with the state. The findings suggest that the respondents may have fallen prey to this interpretation of the violence.

It is interesting that the respondents perceive the SAP and the SADF differently in terms of their role in contributing to political problems. This is probably because the commercial media has recently begun to publish detailed accounts of SAP complicity in fueling the violence and of atrocities committed through its covert operations against the liberation movement.

It is of interest to this study that 74,2% of respondents do not view COSATU as being responsible for political problems. A negative orientation towards COSATU may be translated into a negative orientation towards a progressive union strategy for teacher organisation or towards an alliance between

teachers and workers in progressive unions. This obviously does not imply that the findings provide a sufficient basis to suggest that the respondents are favourably disposed towards COSATU or to a progressive union strategy. However, it does appear that respondents do not have any negative perceptions of COSATU which could obstruct positive relationships between coloured teachers and the trade union movement.

4.4 PERCEPTION OF WHO CAN PROVIDE THE MOST FAVOURABLE SOLUTIONS.

Having looked at respondents' perception of who is responsible for political problems, attention will now focus on how respondents perceive the same organisations and groupings in terms of their capacity to provide favourable solutions to the political problems in South Africa. The findings are reflected in Table IX.

TABLE IX: PERCEPTION OF WHO CAN PROVIDE THE MOST FAVOURABLE SOLUTIONS.

option	male		female		% of total respndnts.
	prim.	sec.	prim.	sec.	
a) SACP	0	14,3	9,5	21,4	9,7
b) Inkatha	63,6	42,9	23,8	28,6	32,0
c) UDF	18,2	14,3	9,5	21,4	15,0
d) African youth	0	0	9,5	7,1	5,7
e) COSATU	9,1	28,6	14,3	35,7	20,8
f) Army	18,2	0	14,3	7,1	11,3
g) Nat government	81,8	71,4	61,9	57,1	69,8
h) Right wing	9,1	0	4,8	0	3,8
i) ANC	90,1	71,4	61,9	71,4	73,6
j) Foreign countries	18,2	14,3	33,3	42,9	34,0
k) Big business	36,4	14,3	14,3	42,9	28,3
l) Police	18,2	0	19,0	7,1	13,2

Two organisations were selected with much higher frequencies than any of the others: the majority of respondents (73,6%) selected the ANC as the organisation that can provide the most favourable solutions. Significantly, almost an equal number (69,8%) selected the Nationalist government - this notwithstanding the strong opposition to apartheid expressed in the findings which were discussed above. It can be deduced from the above figures that a minimum of 43,4%¹¹ of the respondents consider both the ANC and the Nationalist government as organisations capable of providing the most favourable solutions to political problems.

This finding, in particular, deserves some comment because it may appear to contradict a basic assumption of this study (and perhaps of the current political discourse): that the Nationalist government and the ANC exert opposing pulls on coloured teachers. One possible interpretation of this phenomenon is that respondents have separated the Nationalist government from apartheid policies, probably as a result of its reformist rhetoric under the new leadership of F.W. De Klerk. However the rest of the findings in this study - the strong opposition to apartheid and national oppression and the lack of any other evidence in the findings that indicate support for the Nationalist Party - makes this interpretation highly implausible. It is more probable that respondents did not select an organisation on the basis of their support for its policies vis-a-vis their own interests, but rather on the basis of which organisation is most capable of bringing about peace and order in this climate of unrest and violence. The strong support for the Nationalist Party may also derive from a view that, as the present government, it should naturally be responsible for solving the present problems. This view, if applicable, demonstrates a tendency for respondents to see "someone else", as

opposed to themselves, performing the task of resolving the present political problems. It appears that the concern about the unrest and violence may have displaced the long-term interests of the sample in favour of finding the quickest solution to the violence. One probable consequence of protracted political violence is that it tends to overshadow wider public debate on political policies. Furthermore, by casting the conflict within an ethnic mould the dominant ideology serves to encourage people to seek recourse from the conflict within an ethnic identity.

It is perhaps important that a large number of respondents felt that foreign countries and big business could provide favourable solutions to the present problems. This is probably because of the role that the major powers increasingly appear to be playing as "honest brokers" in attempts to resolve regional political conflict. The findings suggest that many respondents have little confidence in the capacity of internal political organisations to resolve the present conflict. Local big business has appeared, to a large extent, to be aloof of political conflict - its only public interventions are presented as reasonable pleas for change and intermittent calls for political stability, peace and prosperity within a non-racial free enterprise economic system. The apparent popularity of foreign countries and big business, as expressed in the findings, serves as further confirmation of the view that respondents have made their selections on the basis of the capacity to bring peace and stability rather than on the basis of political policy.

4.5 ATTITUDES TOWARDS A FUTURE POLITICAL SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Respondents were asked to select from a given list of options, those policies which they would support for a future political system in South Africa. The findings appear in Table X.

TABLE X: ATTITUDES TOWARDS A FUTURE POLITICAL SYSTEM
IN S.A.

option	male		female		% of total respondents
	prim.	sec.	prim.	sec.	
a) one-person-one-vote	30,7	61,5	79,3	55,0	62,7
b) apartheid	0	0	0	5,0	1,3
c) vote only to people with min. edn. level	53,8	23,1	38,5	20,0	26,7
d) socialism	7,7	7,7	10,3	15,0	10,7
e) capitalism	46,2	7,7	6,9	15,0	16,0
f) free enterprise	76,9	69,2	62,1	65,0	66,7
g) minority rights	30,8	53,8	37,9	40,0	41,3
h) affirmative action for blacks.	3,5	13,3	27,6	20,0	25,3
i) nationalisation	0	0	13,8	10,0	8,0
j) right to strike	0	30,8	13,8	45,0	22,7
k) peaceful protest	76,9	84,6	79,3	85,0	82,7

Only a tiny minority of the respondents indicated support for apartheid. Just over one-quarter (26,7%) of the respondents showed support for a type of qualified franchise in which only people with a certain level of education will have the vote. About one quarter of the respondents (25,3%) indicated support for a policy of affirmative action for black people. It is significant that a fairly high number of respondents (41,3%) supported a policy for the protection of minority rights. The findings clearly suggest that the majority would strongly support the elimination of apartheid. However, their perception

of the unrest and violence in the current period appears to have generated an emphasis on personal security as embodied in the support for a qualified franchise and the protection of minority rights. This orientation may be ascribed to just over one in every three respondents. It cannot be concluded from this that these respondents are holding on to an ethnic identity because it is not clear how the respondents have defined "minority" in this context.

A relatively small number of respondents indicated support for socialism (10,7%) and nationalisation (8%). In contrast to this, a significantly large number of the respondents, one out of every three (66,7%), indicated that they would support a free enterprise system in a future South Africa. One obviously needs to exercise caution in interpreting these findings and the frequencies obtained cannot be taken at face value. The strong support for the free enterprise system does not correspond to the relatively small number, only 16%, that indicated support for capitalism. This may have a number of explanations; 1) it could mean that the majority of the respondents do not have a very thorough understanding of the nature and implications of the different economic policies, or 2) it could also mean that respondents do not view a free enterprise system as being the same as "capitalism" - which raises the possibility that "free enterprise" may be viewed as a type of welfare state capitalism.

The attitudes expressed towards socialism, nationalism and capitalism needs to be viewed within the context of the present political climate. Coloured people in Durban, given the relative absence of political organisation and activity, are fairly removed from exposure to the input from the liberation movement in relation to the ideological contestation with the ruling classes. Therefore their

major source of information is the media controlled by the state or monopoly capitalism. The media has recently expressed vitriolic condemnation of both apartheid and radical economic policies. The onslaught against socialism has been fueled by events in Eastern Europe and the propaganda of international imperialism. On the other hand, the low support for capitalism is significant, given the fact that it has not been subjected to any serious attacks in the media.

Whilst a very large number of the respondents (82,7%) indicated support for the right to engage in peaceful protest, only 22,7% indicated support for the right to strike. This may suggest that the majority of the respondents do not entertain the possibility of embracing the strategy of strikes in dealing with teacher grievances. It also appears that the respondents may not consider "strikes" to be means of peaceful protest. There is a strong correlation between these findings and some of the findings discussed above - the emergence of a consistent trend which suggests that most respondents show a definite opposition to the status quo, but at the same time also express opposition to forms of resistance which have led to unrest and violence.

4.6 PERCEPTION OF POLITICAL AGENCY.

The overwhelming majority of the respondents (80,2%) felt that teachers have a role to play, outside of the classroom, in trying to bring about political change in South Africa. A further 12,3% were uncertain and only 4,9% believed that teachers have no role to play in this regard. However the majority of respondents (66,2%) also believed that coloured teachers do not have sufficient opportunity to play this role in the present political conjuncture. It needs to be noted that the findings show no significant difference between male and

female respondents and between primary and secondary school teachers in the sample. These findings suggest that the respondents do not perceive of themselves as political agents in the present conflict. The overview of the Durban coloured community, presented in Section I, contain two factors that may be responsible for this perception: Firstly, the relative absence of a history of mass resistance to apartheid and of the participation of coloured teachers in mass-based political organisation means that the majority of coloured teachers have had little exposure to resistance struggles in South Africa. Secondly, and as a consequence of the first factor, the majority of teachers' experience of the unrest and violence is mediated, primarily, through the mass media's interpretation of the unrest as senseless black-on-black violence.

It can therefore be argued that the sample's political orientation is strongly mediated by factors in the present political conjuncture - which, in the present period, is overdetermined by their interpretation of the current unrest and violence. In addition, and as consequence, the majority of respondents do not consider themselves to have adequate opportunity to play a role as political agents. In view of this, for a large number of respondents their long term interests have been relegated to a secondary position in favour of an immediate interest in peace and stability.

Although there has recently been strong indications that an end to apartheid is in sight, only about half the respondents felt that the political future in South Africa looks optimistic, of which, 4,9% strongly agreed and 43,2% agreed. Of the remainder, 6,2% strongly disagreed; 22,2% disagreed; and 21% were uncertain. Here again, the findings show no significant difference between

male and female respondents and between primary and secondary teachers in the sample.

In this regard it would appear that there are two major processes at play in determining the perception of the respondents: one that suggests that the future looks better because apartheid will be eliminated; and another which suggests that the future looks worse because of the unrest and violence. As a consequence of these contradictory processes, a large percentage of the respondents have focussed on a capacity to bring about peace rather than a capacity to bring about, what they may consider to be, desirable social reform.

4.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS.

One may argue that the most significant trend to emerge from the above findings relates to how the respondents perceive their role and capacity as political agents. It would appear that this perception impacts strongly on their political orientation and is certainly a major determinant of their strategic orientation in the current conjuncture. Although there may be many reasons why the respondents do not consider themselves to be in a position to play out a role as political agents in South Africa, two reasons, in particular, have a strong manifestation in this study. Firstly, the effects of national oppression and their exclusion from state political institutions coupled to a relative lack of strong mass political organisation may have contributed to a sense of political disempowerment. It should be noted that although the respondents felt that they do not enjoy adequate opportunities to play a political role, the majority felt that teachers do have a political role outside of the classroom.

The second reason relates to the concern about the current violence and unrest in the country. The respondents appear to consider the major political

actors at the moment (the Nationalist government, the ANC and Inkatha) to be responsible for the present violence. Therefore whilst they are inclined to support the liberation movement for its programme against national oppression, they appear to be simultaneously alienated from it because of how they perceive the present violence and unrest and the apparent role of the liberation movement within it. However it should be noted that the respondents did not indicate any strong opposition to the armed struggle and sanctions, which suggests that they are not necessarily opposed to all forms of radical strategies.

It is also significant that the respondents' perceptions of the present violence and unrest appears to be mediated by state and ruling class propaganda with very little exposure to propaganda from the liberation movement.

There appears to be a strong feeling amongst the respondents that "someone else" will take care of the process of political change. Their concern therefore converges on which organisation or social grouping is in a position to bring about an end to the violence and potential disruption to themselves. It is possible, because of their perception of their role as political agents, that the respondents will embark on individual strategies to improve their living conditions and to cope with social upheaval. This probably explains the popularity of the free enterprise system which may be viewed as a system of "equal opportunities for all" that the liberal press claims will materialise after the elimination of statutory apartheid. Their continued support for this option will depend on the extent to which they are presented with opportunities (which are fairly limited at present) to expedite their individual strategies. The inevitable continuation of structural apartheid, after the elimination of

statutory apartheid, will serve to frustrate the individual strategies of the respondents. This frustration will be aggravated by the shortage of jobs as a result of present economic recession. The relative lack of support for socialism and capitalism may suggest that the respondents may be in favour of "welfare capitalism" and the system of a "dual economy".

A strong tendency of opposition to the present state is manifested in the findings. It also appears that the respondents will be opposed to any other political organisation that has not demonstrated a definite orientation away from national oppression and exploitation. Notwithstanding the strong support for the free enterprise system, there is no other evidence to suggest that the respondents have been coopted by capital. Instead the coloured middle class have for a long time experienced a frustration of their aspirations because of the lack of incorporation into the economy.

ENDNOTES:

- 1 The impact of the economic recession on these occupations was discussed in more detail in the overview of the Durban coloured community.
- 2 It should be noted that these interests may be perceived, conjunctural or real.
- 3 The HOR retained this policy when it over control of coloured education.
- 4 Information obtained from interviews with SONAT officials.
- 5 Although Morrell was referring specifically to African teachers in Natal/Kwa-Zulu, his arguments do apply equally to coloured teachers.
- 6 Responses reflected in order of frequencies.
- 7 Responses reflected in order of frequencies.
- 8 Findings listed in order of highest to lowest frequencies. Responses which returned a frequency of less than one have been excluded from the table.
- 9 As suggested by Harris (1982) and the Ehrenreichs (1979).
- 10 The options given in this question were not mutually exclusive. These percentages, therefore, only reflect the number of respondents who ticked the particular option and cannot be used as a comparison with any of the other options. (The same applies to the findings reflected in the following tables: VIII, IX and X).
- 11 Calculated as follows: the total percentage of those who selected the NP government (69,8%), minus the percentage of those who did not select the ANC (26,4%), equals to the minimum percentage of those who selected both the NP government and the ANC (43,4%).

GENERAL CONCLUSION.

The concluding remarks in the different sub-sections of section II have covered much of the conclusions of this study. The purpose of this general conclusion is to integrate these comments into a final conclusion.

It is clear from the findings that while a large number of the respondents expressed satisfaction with aspects of their work, there is also a growing dissatisfaction with certain other aspects of their work. The dissatisfaction expressed is important because of its link to a process that appears to be eroding teacher autonomy over their work and because it brings their experience closer to that of the working class. It was also emphasised that notwithstanding this process of erosion, the conditions of teachers work cannot, at present, be considered to be fully proletarianised.

The size of the teacher corps relative to the rest of the middle class in the coloured community in the Greater Durban Area, suggests that teachers constitute a strategically important sector. To the extent that if the state wishes to coopt the coloured middle class it will inevitably have to focus on the cooption of teachers. The most powerful avenue open to the state is to use its control over education to coopt teachers through the system of patronage. Although the HOR drastically increased the number of promotion posts in schools, this was not sufficient to reward a significant number of teachers. The HOR has not used its control to effect any significant reforms in education which may have given it some popular appeal.¹ This inability to deliver is one of the reasons why the HOR appears to have lost the support of some of its own allies. The majority of teachers presently appear to be opposed to the HOR. Many because they are opposed to the tri-cameral system

on political grounds and because of the perceived negative impact of the HOR on education; and others who have become disillusioned because they have been bypassed by the system of patronage.

It is also important that the findings show a discernible link between the respondents' perception of their dissatisfaction and their attitudes towards the education department. The relationship between teachers and the department appears to be a conflictual one and cannot be described as one of 'trust'.² It also raises the possibility that teachers will not operate as passive purveyors of bourgeoisie ideology and that the way they actually function is subject to contestation. These observations raise serious doubts about the way notions of trust (Hyslop, 1987b) and function (Ehrenreichs, 1979; and Carchedi, 1980) have been used to define the class location of teachers.

The findings also clearly suggest that coloured teachers are presently engaged in individual strategies to acquire upward mobility. It was already emphasised that they appear not to be striving towards the traditional high-status professions, which is a reflection of the extent of their dissatisfaction with teaching. Furthermore, present indications suggest that teachers will increasingly become frustrated as the options for upward mobility, in line with the strategies that they are presently engaged in, become more and more limited. It is therefore very probable that teachers will respond more directly to the source of their grievances. Teachers may resort to a combination of a professional strategy and a popular radical strategy. It needs to be stressed that a professional strategy in the present context will not necessarily draw teachers away from the popular working class-based organisations. Much will depend on the content and politics of such a strategy.

The form that teachers' response will take in the future is strongly contingent upon conditions in the education and political contexts. One notable factor that will certainly influence this response is whether or not they have access to strong organisation that can successfully harness their frustrations and draw them into a collective strategy. In short what this suggests is that the strategies which will appeal to individual teachers in the present is not only contingent upon their work process, but also on the strategies employed by teacher organisations themselves.

A central conclusion of this study is that coloured teachers are subjected to a number of processes, which simultaneously exert contradictory pulls on them, in relation to the dominant political forces which obtain in the South African social formation. The petty bourgeois nature of their work affords them with the opportunity to seek upward mobility by employing the strategies discussed earlier in the report. This leads them to strive for better conditions of employment and rewards in the private sector. However, the extent to which these aspirations are satisfied, determines the extent to which they will align themselves with capital. Their exclusion from the economy; the presence of structural apartheid; the effects of unemployment; and their interconnectedness with the working class all militate against their alignment with capital. The fact that monopoly capital in South Africa is essentially white also serves to alienate coloured people from capital.

Notwithstanding the strong opposition to apartheid, there are still a few factors which exert a pull on coloured teachers towards the present state. The respondents' perception of their political agency and of political change

results in a tendency for them to support the present state, albeit only because they consider it the role of the present government to resolve the present political conflict. This tendency is probably reinforced by the government's present reform stance. Another factor relates to the fact that they are state employees. The state is still in a position to use the dual mechanism of patronage and victimisation to secure teacher acquiescence. However, given the limitations of patronage at present, the state will have to increasingly resort to the mechanism of victimisation. The present atmosphere of reform severely limits the extent to which the state can resort to this mechanism.

Over and above the above factors there are still indications that the coloured teachers are acutely aware of the effects of national oppression on their lives. One can contend that national oppression provide an objective obstacle to the pull of both the state and capital on coloured teachers. Conversely, it creates an objective basis for coloured teachers to identify with radical popular orgainsations. The findings suggest that the respondents' perception of the present violence and unrest serves as an obstacle to the pull of the liberation movement on coloured teachers.

The above analysis seem to converge on the following key points:

Firstly, that coloured teachers' perception of their political agency, and particularly, the opportunities available to them to participate in social change, will influence how they relate to the liberation movement. Secondly, their perception of the violence and unrest, which is strongly mediated by ruling class propaganda, needs to be contested by the liberation movement. Thirdly, given their petty bourgeois location, they have access to mechanisms to allow

them to pursue individual strategies to address their political interests at the moment. However, none of these mechanisms derive from ethnic structures of patronage or from ethnic privileges. This suggests that coloured teachers have little to benefit from an ethnic identity and will probably not pursue this as a strategy to address their interests. One factor that may encourage an ethnic identity is their apparent fear of the violence and unrest in African townships.

More concretely, the future political orientation of coloured teachers in the current conjuncture is heavily dependent on the extent to which the liberation movement manages to counter ruling class propaganda and the extent to which they are exposed to, and have an opportunity to participate in, strong teacher and political organisation.

It is perhaps appropriate to make some comment on the theoretical issues raised in this study. A description of teachers as part of the "new petty bourgeoisie" appears to satisfactorily explain the political orientation of coloured teachers. A consistent trend that has emerged in the study is that the political attitudes and aspirations of coloured teachers in the present period is heavily influenced by conjunctural factors. This phenomenon confirms the importance of a conjunctural analysis in explaining the political and strategic orientation of teachers. It was also shown that the national question plays a major role in determining this political and strategic orientation in the present conjuncture. It is therefore most appropriate to conceptualise coloured teachers as part of the black middle class. Stated differently, coloured teachers are part of the "new petty bourgeoisie" but are subject to processes of proletarianisation. Whilst class is important in

determining the political behaviour of teachers, the specific relationship between race and class in the current conjuncture results in a situation where political behaviour is also strongly mediated by national oppression.

It is therefore politically dangerous and methodologically unsound to theorise the class location, and consequently the political behaviour, of teachers in a narrow economistic manner. An economistic approach (in the main) tries to reduce complex phenomena to one over-riding causal principle in assessing the strategic orientation of teachers - defined at the level of the means of production. A failure to theoretically grasp all those factors which impact on teachers' orientations in the different historical conjunctures could result in the abandonment of potential allies of the working class to the ruling classes.

In view of this it would appear that the CST thesis, with minor additions for the purpose of elaboration, has the greatest potential in understanding the political and strategic orientation of coloured teachers in the current conjuncture. It should however be stressed that black people cannot be conceived of as a homogeneous group. This study shows that the specific conditions of coloured people mediate the way in which they experience national oppression. It is therefore important to account for these specific conditions when applying the CST thesis.

Although there are a number of processes at play which exert contradictory pulls on coloured teachers, this study also shows that there is an objective basis for coloured teachers to be drawn into an alliance geared towards the establishment of a national democracy in South Africa. It can therefore be concluded that the political orientation of coloured teachers is highly contestable in the current conjuncture.

ENDNOTES:

- 1 The majority of respondents in this study (70,4%) disagreed that the HOR has had a positive impact on education.
- 2 Which is one of the criteria used by Hyslop (1987b) to define the class position of teachers.

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SURVEY OF TEACHERS IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA

Thank you for agreeing to complete this questionnaire.

This research is being conducted as part of a M.ED degree registered at the University of Natal (Durban). The goal of the survey is to contribute to the understanding of the attitudes and aspirations of teachers employed by the House of Representatives (Department of Education and Culture). The study is conducted under the auspices of the Education Projects Unit (based at the University of Natal) and will be used for ongoing investigation of policy options for a future education in South Africa. The information will also be made available to the Society of Natal Teachers (SONAT) and other individuals and organizations interested in promoting the organization of teachers in South Africa.

The questionnaire ensures that all respondents remain completely anonymous, so please feel free to answer all questions as you wish.

Please pay particular attention to the following:

1. Do not write anything in the right hand column - this is reserved for computer use only.
2. It is a good idea to use a pencil - you may want to change your answer later on.

Thank you once again for your time and willingness to fill out this questionnaire.

Bobby Soobrayan

RESEARCHER: BOBBY SOOBRAYAN.

SURVEY OF TEACHERS IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA.

Where empty boxes are provided please indicate your answer with an "X" in the box. If the answer is provided in the box, then mark a very large "X" across the box containing your answer.

A. PERSONAL DATA:

1. Sex: male [] female []

2. Marital status: married [] single []
 divorced/separated []

3. Spouse's occupation: _____

4. How many children do you have?: _____

5. Which of the following applies to your present accommodation?:
 ownership [] rented [] live with relatives []

6. Are you presently drawing on a housing subsidy?
 Yes [] No []

B. EMPLOYMENT DATA:

1. Teaching experience (in years): _____ years.

2. What std/s are you presently teaching?: _____

3. How many pupils do you teach
 - a) in your biggest class?: _____
 - b) in your smallest class?: _____
 - c) on average per class?: _____

4. Is your appointment: permanent [] or
 temporary []

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1.		
2.		
3.	3.	
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.	9.	10.
11.		
12.		
13.		
14.		

5. Position in school (not your acting position):

- Principal [] Deputy Principal []
 HOD [] Senior HOD []
 Teacher (post level 1) []

15.

C. EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS:

1. Highest standard passed at school: std. _____

16.

2. Tertiary education:

name of degree/ diploma	obtained at which institution (eg. Bechet col.)	did you study full/part time time

17.

18.

19.

20.

21.

3. Your basic formal teacher training has prepared you adequately for your work as a teacher?

strongly agree

agree

strongly disagree

disagree

don't know

22.

4. If you have engaged in further study beyond your basic formal teacher training, has this improved your teaching?

No further study [] Uncertain []
Definite improvement [] No improvement []

23.

5. Do you intend upgrading your qualifications?

Yes [] No [] Uncertain []

24.

6. If yes, why do you want to upgrade your qualifications?

7. Have you ever participated in any in-service training?

Yes [] No []

25.

8. If yes, who arranged for the training?

	26.
--	-----

D. SATISFACTION WITH TEACHING:

1. In general, my work as a teacher is satisfying

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know
----------------	-------	-------------------	----------	------------

27.

2. Which three aspects of your work do you find most satisfying? (list in order of priority)

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____

	28.
--	-----

	29.
--	-----

3. Which three aspects of your work do you find most dissatisfying? (list in order of priority).

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____

	30.
--	-----

	31.
--	-----

4. What motivated you to become a teacher?

- _____
- _____
- _____

	32.
--	-----

	33.
--	-----

5. Your job as a teacher is very secure

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know
-------------------	-------	----------------------	----------	---------------

	34.
--	-----

6. You have a high level of expertise in your area of specialization (in terms of your formal training).

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know
-------------------	-------	----------------------	----------	---------------

	35.
--	-----

7. People with your level of expertise are in short supply.

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know
-------------------	-------	----------------------	----------	---------------

	36.
--	-----

8. How would you describe the morale amongst teachers employed by the House of Representatives at present?

very high	moderately high	very low	moderately low	don't know
-----------	-----------------	----------	----------------	------------

27.

9. The house of Representatives has had a positive impact on education under its control.

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know
----------------	-------	-------------------	----------	------------

28.

10. List three positive changes that have resulted from the transfer of education to the House of Representatives.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

	29.
--	-----

	30.
--	-----

11. List three negative changes that have resulted from the transfer of education to the House of Representatives.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

	31.
--	-----

	32.
--	-----

	33.
--	-----

	34.
--	-----

12. How satisfied are you with the following aspects of your work?

	FULLY SATISFIED	MOSTLY SATISFIED BUT NOT FULLY	MODERATELY SATISFIED	NOT SATISFIED	MOSTLY DISSATISFIED
a) Your present workload					
b) The quality of your teaching					
c) The number of pupils per class					
d) Your freedom to explore new ways of teaching					
e) The present syllabus					
f) The way things are taught					
g) Teacher salaries					
h) Pupil discipline					
i) Motivation of pupils					
j) Pupils' academic performance					
k) The way teachers are viewed by the community					
l) The amount of paper work (records, forecasts, etc.)					
m) Hours of work					
n) Facilities in your school					
o) Cooperation of parents					
p) Inspection					
q) Advice from subject advisers					
r) Working with pupils					
s) Relations with the principal					

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58.	59.
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60.	61.
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62.	63.
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E. CAREER:

1. If you had the opportunity to change your job would you do so?

Yes [] No [] Uncertain []

64.

2. If yes, what job would you most prefer to do?

	65.
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3. Are you thinking of emigrating to another country?

Yes [] No [] Uncertain []

66.

4. If yes, why are you thinking of emigrating?

5. How many teachers from your school have emigrated?

	67.
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6. To which country?

68.

7. Are you keen to receive a promotion?

Yes [] No [] Uncertain []

69.

8. Your chances of receiving a promotion are good.

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know
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9. The allocation of promotions at present is very fair.

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know
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70.

71.

10. What in your opinion will improve the image of teachers in the community?

11. Please rank the different occupations listed below in terms of the prestige accorded to each

a) by members in the community.

b) by yourself.

Give each one a number between 1 - 11 (eg. If you think builders enjoy the third highest prestige then enter a "3" in the block next to builder. If you think that any two or more positions are viewed as having equal status then give each of them the same number):

	a) community	b) yourself
Shop assistant		
Artisan (eg. welder)		
Doctor		
Teacher		
Engineers		
Priests		
Shop owner		
Builder		
College lecturer		
Nurse		
Private school teacher		

71.	77.
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73.	78.
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74.	79.
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75.	80.
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76.	81.
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12. In what rank order is the status of the following positions viewed

a) by teachers in general?

b) by yourself?

(If you think that any two or more positions are viewed as having equal status then give each of them the same number):

	a)By teachers	(b)By you.
Principal		
Senior Secondary teacher		
Junior primary teacher		
Head of department		
Deputy principal		
Senior Primary teacher		
Junior Secondary teacher		
Senior Head of Department		

82.	86.
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83.	87.
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84.	88.
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85.	89.
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F.ROLE OF TEACHERS:

1. To be a good teacher do you think that one should

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NOT SURE
a) get actively involved in campaigns for political justice.					
b) organize sporting activities					
c) get involved in community issues					
d) impart skills					
e) obtain high pass rates					
f) keep up to date with paper work					
g) maintain pupil discipline					
h) provide moral guidance to pupils					
i) teach pupils to think critically					
j) raise pupil's awareness of the injustices in society					
k) help pupils to fit into the business world					
l) encourage non-racist attitudes					
m) discourage student protest					
n) encourage pupils to appreciate their future employers					
o) get pupils to work hard					
p) get involved in teacher organization					
q) constantly try to improve one's teaching					
r) satisfy the requirements of the inspector					
s) try to make education relevant to the wider society					
t) try to ensure that pupils grow up to be good Christians					

90.	91.
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92.	93.
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94.	95.
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96.	97.
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98.	99.
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100.	101.
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102.	103.
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104.	105.
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106.	107.
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108.	109.
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2. List three items from the list above which, in your opinion, the department considers to be most important in relation to the role of the teacher. (Write down only the relevant letter).

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

110.

111.

112.

G. EDUCATION CONTEXT:

1. How does the education controlled by the House of Representatives (HOR) compare with education received by pupils in the other education departments?

	Better than HOR	Almost equal to HOR	Worse than HOR
a) Indians			
b) Africans			
c) whites			

113.

114.

115.

2. Which of the following education departments do you believe have severe shortcomings?

	Yes	No	Uncertain
a) Indian			
b) African			
c) white			
d) "coloured"			

116.

117.

118.

119.

3. If you answered yes to (b) or (d) above, what do you think are the major causes of the shortcomings in these departments?

i) African: _____

ii) "Coloured": _____

4. Which of the following do you feel must be introduced to improve education in South Africa?

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	UNCERTAIN
a) make education more responsive to the needs of the majority in S.A.					
b) make education more responsive to the needs of big business					
c) allow pupils to form student representative councils					
d) open all schools to all races					
e) privatise education					
f) overcome poverty					
g) give parents greater decision-making powers					
h) continue with racially separate departments but have equal education					
i) clamp down on student unrest.					

120.	121.
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122.	123.
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124.	125.
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126.	127.
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128.	
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H. TEACHER ORGANIZATION:

1. Do you belong to a teacher organization at the moment?

Yes [] No []

129.

2. If no, why have you not become a member?

3. If yes,

a) which organization/s do you belong to?

b) have you benefited in any way by being a member?

Yes [] No [] Uncertain []

130.

4. Which of the following is essential for a teacher organization to be involved in?

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	UNCERTAIN
a) fight for better salaries					
b) get teachers involved in political issues					
c) help teachers to improve their teaching					
d) protect teachers from undue interference from the department					
e) improve the professional status of teachers					
f) work toward improving the whole education system					

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QUESTION 4. CONTINUED

	S.A.	A.	S.D.	D.	U.
g) fight for better conditions of service					
h) organize teachers to improve their bargaining power					
i) challenge the authorities when necessary					

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140.

5. Are you aware of the new teacher organization, the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU), formed recently?

very aware

moderately aware

unaware

141.

6. Do you support this organization?

Yes []

No []

Uncertain []

I. POLITICAL:

1. What do you consider to be the major political problems at the moment?

2. What in your opinion is/are the cause/s of these problems?:

- a) apartheid []
- b) unemployment []
- c) strikes []
- d) unrest []
- e) poor living conditions []
- f) lack of civilised norms []
- g) ill-disciplined youth []
- h) sanctions []
- i) armed struggle []
- j) exploitation of working people []
- k) communist influence []
- l) other (please list) _____

3. Who, in your opinion, is responsible for the problems at the moment?

- | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------|------------|
| S.A. Communist Party [] | Inkatha [] | UDF [] |
| African youth [] | COSATU [] | Army [] |
| Nationalist govt. [] | Right wing [] | ANC [] |
| Foreign countries [] | Big business [] | Police [] |
| other (please list) _____ | | |

4. Which of the following organizations do you think can provide the most favourable solutions to the political problems in S.A.?

- | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------|------------|
| S.A. Communist Party [] | Inkatha [] | UDF [] |
| African youth [] | COSATU [] | Army [] |
| Nationalist govt. [] | Right wing [] | ANC [] |
| Foreign countries [] | Big business [] | Police [] |
| other (please list) _____ | | |

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153.	154.	15
156.	157.	151
159.	160.	161
162.	163.	164

165.	166.	16
168.	169.	171
171.	172.	17
174.	175.	17

5. Which of the following options would you support for a future political system in S.A.?

- a) one-person-one-vote []
- b) apartheid []
- c) only people who have a certain level of education should be given the vote []
- d) socialism []
- e) capitalism []
- f) free enterprise system []
- g) protection of minority rights []
- h) affirmative action for black people []
- i) nationalization []
- j) the right to strike []
- k) the right to engage in peaceful protest []

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6. Do you think that teachers have a role to play, outside the classroom, in trying to bring about political change in S.A.?

Yes [] No [] Uncertain []

189.

7. If yes, do you feel that "coloured" teachers presently have sufficient opportunity to play a role in finding solutions to the political problems?

Yes [] No [] Uncertain []

190.

8. On the whole, the political future in South Africa looks optimistic.

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know
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191.

THANK YOU ONCE AGAIN FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Is there anything else you would like to add to the above?

SOCIETY OF NATAL TEACHERS

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51 MITRIE HOBBE
110 STANGER STREET
DURBAN
4001

22 November 1989

Our Ref.:

Your Ref.:

Attention: Mr B. Soobrayan
University of Natal
King George V Avenue
DURBAN
4001

Dear Mr Soobrayan

Questionnaire - Grievances of Teachers.

Here are some of grievances that were raised by teachers at a recent Branch Meeting of S.O.N.A.T. members.

Teachers found that their lives were too ordered and tailored to suit a particular role by the H.F. Verwoed. Afrikaans was made compulsory, resulting in a high failure rate. Good teachers shied away from the profession as a result. Principals made to feel different, elevated position, were given power and improved salaries. The school committees gave parents awesome power, and parents and professionals became suspicious of each other. Parents did not hold teachers in high esteem resulted in a soul damaged being. Hence Afrikaans idiom; "so dronk soos 'n kleurling onderwyser". Bureaucratic overload, viz: more files and over-prescription.

All this has resulted in:

- * most teachers opting out
- * teachers demanding amends
- * damage process intensified by shift to own affairs, (House of Representatives)
- * teachers shackled by fears
- * children not getting a fair deal at school
- * the need for teachers organisation to be part of the promotion of teachers, that is, to act as scrutineers
- * the need to break away from the neo-colonial structures and become part of a trade union.
- * principals fail to answer to problems of teachers, because of administration policy, often give very purile answers.

The second part of the problems or "grievances" were as follows:

- i) The Specialist Problem - specialist were not appointed at primary school level (fundamental level) but at secondary school level.
- ii) Workload of H.O.D's - discrepancies in workloads of H.O.D.'s in most schools. In some H.O.D's had three non-teaching periods but in other schools up to twenty non-teaching periods.
- iii) Workload of Teachers - Teachers weighed down by clerical work and inspections by H.O.D.'s, Principals, subject advisors and inspectors. This did not include the panel inspections.
- iv) Evaluation - Inspectors found to be most negative in their evaluation of teachers. Evaluation could be discussed, but most teachers not made aware of this. The role of the inspector was questioned. Is he a safety check on the evaluation given by the principal?
- v) Merit Award System - This was the main grouse. negative attitudes of inspectors/subject advisors added to this evil. In some schools teachers had received 3 awards, but in others some had not even received the first award.
- vi) Role of Principals - Teachers saw principals acting as conduits of the Administration.

What Action to take:

Teachers felt that:

1. Principals were not to be part of management, but part of the workers.
2. There was a need for negotiation with the Department not consultation, viz need for Teacher Unions.
3. Teachers to make demands not requests.
4. Teachers could not act without negotiation - (Trade Union Action) as consultation had failed dismally.
5. Teachers were to be inspected in first year, second and third year instead of unnecessary and repetitious inspections which churn out the same reports annually.
6. Inspection reports were farcial as an inspector proves to be totally inadequate to inspect teachers across the curriculum.
7. Need for a healthy teacher morale to ensure the child gets the best out of education.
8. Communication is one-way i.e. top-down. There is a need for two-way communication, between teacher-principal, principal - inspector etc.
9. As principals are removed from the classroom pressures/problems they should be more tolerant in handling frustrated teachers.
10. Teachers who are outspoken and fight their own cases are intimidated by principals who threaten to call in inspectors.
11. Principals are to impliment department policy and are therefore not the most suitable negotiators.
12. Fear has stifled and muzzled the teacher.
13. S.O.N.A.T. has been made ineffective by Department policy and regulations.
14. Principals need to be taught management skills.
15. S.O.N.A.T. needs to employ a full time Organising Secretary, not part of the profession, who can voice problems of teachers without fear of Departmental regulations.

These were grievances raised by both teachers and principals towards the end of the meeting.

- * work pressure - too much clerical work, overcrowded classrooms
- * supervision - teachers complained of over-inspection
- * non-specification of duties - viz. HODs, senior HODs etc.
- * lack of professional guidance (primary schools) - no H.O.D.s
- * no subject-advisors - at primary school level
- * merit assessment - unfair system of awards. Some inspectors would only award merits after two years. This implies that he did not trust the principals/ judgement/assessment of his teachers.
- * lack of specialisation in primary schools - this guidance was needed at fundamental/primary level and not just secondary level.
- * Inspectors demanded specialist knowledge from teachers not trained or qualified in this field.
- * need to alleviate workload of principals in country schools - principal served as a teacher, supervisor, inspector, secretary etc.
- * far too many promotion posts eg. H.O.D., Senior H.O.D., subject advisor etc.
- * lack of senior staff - stds 8,9,10 in country schools.
- * H.O.Ds do not have adequate time to supervise
- * teacher - pupil ratio not reasonable
- * poor staffing of schools - financial cutbacks - affected teaching and resulted in inefficiency.
- * improper/poor quality of maintenance and repairs to schools.
- * political interference in promotion posts - cause of deep frustration among teachers.

I have tried to give you a gist of what was discussed and some of the burning issues. I hope this will be of use to you. I also have a tape-recording of parts of this session which I hope to give to you later.

Yours faithfully



H.V. CLARK
ORGANISING SECRETARY