EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL CHALLENGES FACED BY AFRICAN LEARNERS IN RACIALLY MIXED AND CULTURALLY DIVERSE SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

Educational and Cultural Challenges Faced by African Learners in

Racially Mixed and Culturally Diverse Schools

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In this dissertation I provide the results of research on this topic. The struggles of African learners over the years are traced from apartheid to the post-apartheid era by establishing the gap between policy formulation and implementation. The study contrasts the challenges faced by African learners under apartheid education and those faced by learners in the new educational dispensation due to difficulties associated with non mother tongue education and those due to the monocultural schools that have little or no experience with diverse cultures. The findings are that learners who are not taught in the medium of their mother tongue do experience several forms of discrimination, racism and can lead to learners not maximize their academic potential.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ACRONYMS

ANC	:	African National Congress
ANCYL	:	African National Congress Youth League
ATASA	:	African Teachers' Association of South Africa
AZAPO	:	Azanian People's Organization
AZASM	:	Azanian Students' Movement
AZASO	:	Azanian Students' Organisation
BCM	:	Black Consciousness Movement
COSAS	:	Congress of South African Students
DEPSA	:	Democratic Parent Council of South Africa
DET	:	Department of Education and Training
ELRC	:	Education Labour Relations Council
HSRC	:	Human Sciences Research Council
NASCOC	:	National Students Co-ordinating Committee
NECC	:	National Education Crisis Committee
NUSAS	:	National Union of South African Students
PAC	:	Pan African Congress
SADTU	:	South African Democratic Teachers' Union
SAEP	:	South African Education Programme
SAIRR:	:	South African Institute of Race Relations
SANSCO	:	South African National Students' Congress
SASA	:	South African Schools Act

SASM	:	South African Students' Movement
SASO	:	South African Students' Organization
SASP	:	Southern African Students' Programme
SANSCO	:	South African National Students' Congress
SAYCO	:	South African Youth Congress
SGB	:	Self Governing Body
SRC	:	Students' Representative Council
UDF	:	United Democratic Front
UNESCO	:	United Nations Education, Science and Cultural Organization
UNHCHR	:	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

South Africa has been dominated by Europeans. In the last century the cultivation and nourishment of European culture and language was the ultimate aim of education in South Africa. However, the origins of bad schooling for Africans can be traced to the first colonial conquest in the mid-seventeenth century in South Africa (Horrel 1968:51-52).

In 1814, the British took over the Cape Colony. Schooling for indigenous people meant to spread the British language and culture amongst Africans and served as a means of social control (Christie, 1986: 86-120). Christie (1986: 86-120) also states that African schooling was the most neglected sector from the 1920s. As the demand for schooling increased, missionary societies became increasingly unable to fund African schools adequately. Great disparities continued to affect African education during the period of the 1970's and 1980's. The period was marked by protests. The apartheid government responded in the manner of repression, bannings, killings, restrictions and the detention of African people who where strongly against the apartheid education system.

Kallaway (1984) explains that schools continued to be disrupted not only in urban townships but also in many homeland areas. In the 1990, educators' protests, stay-aways and chalk downs added to the struggles against apartheid education.

In 1990, the Minister responsible for white education, Piet Clase announced that white state schools would be allowed to change their status from the beginning of 1991 if a large

majority of parents voted for change. Elections were held, 80% of parents had to vote in an election, with 72% of them voting in favour of a change (Hartshorne 1992:38-40). The inequalities and segregation of races in education continued and resistance to apartheid policies was felt.

Before 1996, three types of governance structures predominated at school level. There were school committees or management councils, mainly in the House of Representatives and in the House of Delegates, Department of Education and Training, KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture schools. The governing bodies of Model C schools and the House of Assembly schools also formed part of governance structures at school level.

In 1994 there has been a marked deracialisation of the previously White or model C schools. The new ANC government took control after the April 1994 elections and was faced with the pressing need to enhance and restructure the educational system in order to promote equality and deal with a wide range of the backlogs that existed.

The majority of African learners flocked into previously white schools in search of a "better" education, which begs the questions:

➢ Are the changes having effect on addressing the profound structural inequalities on the legacy of disadvantage inherited from apartheid education in racially mixed and culturally diverse schools?

➢ Are the African learners afforded equal education opportunities in regards to language and culture as their white counterparts?

➢ Are these educational institutions not maintaining sets of rules and practices, which operate in ways to perpetuate discrimination and racism against African learners?

> ➢ Do individual actions and attitudes toward African learners perpetuate discrimination and racism?

Against this background, this study seeks to answer these questions. First, the researcher examines relevant past and present educational policies and their implications in educational equality, diverse equal cultural development and involvement in racially mixed and culturally diverse schools, with special reference to African learners. Second, the theories of cultural and language diversity are reviewed. Thirdly, the researcher investigates the educational and cultural challenges faced by African learners which impede the actualization of educational excellence. Fourthly, the researcher establishes a conclusion based on the study. Lastly, recommendations are highlighted for future study. The following section will address the purpose of the study.

THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study explores educational and cultural challenges faced by African learners in racially mixed and culturally diverse schools. The struggles of African learners over the years can be traced to the gap between policy formulation and implementation. One of the aspects of education innovation in Africa is the weakness between the policies and the implementation of educational policies in the context of the wider socio-economic and political development processes (Buchert 1994:92).

The study will show that the question of cultural and educational challenges faced by African learners has dominated the history of South African education. It is argued that white nationalist supremacist groups tended to foster images and representation processes which claimed different identities for whites and blacks. On the one hand, they placed

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emphasis on a shallow nationalist culture and romanticized the purity, superiority, strength and destiny of the nations. On the other hand, they reduced the subordinated, oppressed "peripheral" or "marginalized" African to a simple God-given resource for the realization of that destiny (Cross 1990: XIV).

This study re-asserts the centrality of history as a method of inquiry. Randall (1989:48) points out that the history of education is particularly important because the practice of conceptualizing the problems of the present and future historically have not penetrated with success much of education thought in South Africa.

Nkomo (1990:291) affirms this as he points out that the future is embedded in the present as the present bears imprints of the past. Therefore, any project that is designed to contemplate a reconstruction of the future of education in a transformed South Africa must first be grounded on a firm understanding of the genesis, evolution and the nature of the current educational arrangement and the crisis it produced.

In contrast to the existing research trends which have concentrated on the process of resistance to schooling and problems of integration, this study examines the neglected cultural challenges of education policies and practices within racially mixed and culturally diverse schools, which may have a negative impact on African learners' educational ability and academic excellence. This study discusses the challenges faced by African learners in racially mixed and culturally diverse schools. The following section outlines the problem that is the driving force for the undertaking of the research.

RESEARCH PROBLEMS AND PROBLEM FORMULATION

South Africa is in a new dispensation, with many changes that reflect reconstruction in the field of the education system. Education and culture play a salient role in social transformation to cater for learners from diverse communities of South Africa. The triumphant phase of the political struggle against apartheid in South Africa however does not imply an uncritical attitude to the question whether liberation and democracy are meaningful in the areas of education and culture.

Nzamane (2002) contends that education and culture are vital in order for the previously under-privileged to triumph over apartheid. One of the most convenient social institutions in which to alienate or inculcate people to form their own culture is the school.

The challenges that are faced by African learners in the predominantly European culture need to be addressed in order to achieve academic excellence and equity in the face of the continued marginalization of African learners in racially and culturally diverse schools.
In the process of educational transformation, it is a major concern to study the causes of the struggles and challenges of African learners in a culture that is foreign to theirs. The reason for that is based on the democratic right for every learner to receive equal education. The study will them focus on cultural and educational challenges, which may have a negative impact on learners' ability to demonstrate academic excellence.

Curriculum policies could play a more useful and salient role in this regard, by promoting values such as the cultivating of respect for cultural diversity and the building of a positive sense of individual and collective identities, all of which are crucial for social development.

This study seeks to examine the past and present educational policies and their effects in a school where there are mixed cultures and identity issues. Have the new policies contributed to social transformation? This study paves the way for investigating and exploring the opportunities and challenges engendered by the presence of diverse learners in one school.

PRIMARY AIM AND SECONDARY AIMS OF THE STUDY

Primary Aim

The aim of the study is to examine the educational and cultural challenges faced by African learners in racially and culturally diverse schools.

Secondary Aims

Arising from this all embracing primary aim, are the following secondary aims:

a) To study the relevant educational policies of the apartheid era and their negative educational and cultural effects on African learners.

b) To examine post-apartheid policies and their educational and cultural impact on African learners.

c) To discuss the relevant cultural theories that impact on education.

d) To evaluate language educational policy with its implications for African learners in racially mixed schools.

e) To explore the educational and cultural challenges faced by African learners in racially mixed and culturally diverse schools.

f) To evaluate the possibilities of moving away from the Euro-centric philosophy of education towards an Afro-centric philosophy of education.

KEY CRITICAL QUESTIONS

a) What is the educational and cultural impact of the apartheid educational policies on African learners?

b) What is the educational and cultural impact of the post-apartheid educational policies on African learners?

c) What cultural theories that impact on education adequately explicate current educational situations?

d) What are the implications of the language educational policy for African learners with English as a second language?

e) What are educational and cultural challenges that are faced by African learners in racially mixed and culturally diverse schools?

f) What are the challenges for moving away from the Euro-centric philosophy of education towards an Afro-centric philosophy of education?

ASSUMPTIONS

The experience of a new culture is unpleasant partly because it is unexpected and partly because there is the anxiety that results from the fear of losing familiar signs and symbols of social interaction in daily life. Language, according to Luthuli (1981), makes humans aware of their life views and philosophy of life. It is an important symbol of group consciousness and solidarity. It is therefore a symbol of identity and group membership as the cultural mirror of society. Therefore, language is a cornerstone for each racial group in racially mixed schools.

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Discussions of educational policy seek to offer a comprehensive new vision for education. However, they do not devote equal attention to all of its aspects. As a result some issues are extensively discussed and some are neglected. This reality contradicts other policy goals, such as education for democratic awareness and cultural sensitivity.

Many changes have occurred in the educational field since 1994. Despite many changes in policies that help to guarantee social justice for everyone and equity in education, there is still an experience of inequity inherited from apartheid and its justification is firmly entrenched in monocultural supremacy in the minds of South Africans.

Walker (1996:32-73) warns that there is a danger that perhaps many of us feel that somehow we have escaped the effects of apartheid education, but in reality, many of us might have been damaged by apartheid in many ways.

This study arises as a result of the researcher's experience with African learners, whom she feels are severely culturally and linguistically underprivileged. Most educators (White, Black, Indian And Coloured) were trained to serve in monocultural schools and have little or no experience with diverse cultures.

The African learners are not put on a pedestal in the same way as their white cohorts because the schools privilege the speakers of the English language. One postulates that learners of the non-dominant groups who are not taught in the medium of their mother tongue may experience several problems such as discrimination, racism and insufficient cognitive, affective and normative actualization. These problems can lead to learners not achieving success in their academic work. Cultural hegemony could lead to a problem with

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a student's identity. These problems could result in inequalities which will continue to be reproduced irrespective of the policy transformation as long as the mother tongue is ignored as a means of instruction.

RATIONALE

This study will be informed by the current practices, which have African learners integrate with other racial groups and the problems faced by schooling in integrated schools. Existing studies have neglected the dynamics of cultural issues, which impact negatively on learners' academic excellence, outside the English culture. This study moves beyond the rhetoric and investigates the social conditions and school practices that hinder the academic development, academic excellence and equality among learners outside the predominant culture.

The gap is that the challenges faced by African learners and its implications for education justice are not elaborated as to what extent they affect the learning and academic excellence of African learners. The study focuses mainly on educational and cultural challenges which hinder academic excellence encountered by African learners in culturally diverse schools and concomitant teaching challenges their educators' experience.

The study also seeks to investigate the greatest challenges faced by learners confined in another's culture. The study evaluates the educational issues and cultural challenges against the background of academic excellence and equity for all learners. It will contribute to the education sector in the sense that participants in educational transformation, need to realize the danger that there is a need to deschool educators away from existing apartheid mental dimensions with its monolingual and monocultural bases of education. There is also a need

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to revisit the educational policies to ensure that less advantaged learners can have a fair opportunity of receiving education which would enrich their personal lives without being marginalized linguistically and culturally.

OUTLINE OF THESIS

Chapter one constitutes the research design, which encapsulates the background information of the study. Chapter one also reviews the research problems and problem formulation, which further develops the project. The methodology to be used entails a literature review based on relevant educational research policies, language and cultural theories that impact on the study, and empirical research. Primary aims and secondary aims highlight the intention of this study as complimentary to the key critical questions and explicate the organization of the study.

Chapter two outlines the key concepts that inform the research. It provides clarity on the terminology used in the course of the study.

Chapter three provides a careful review of scholarly literature on relevant educational developments. The literature reveals some notable exceptions of apartheid educational policies and their negative impact on the educational and cultural performance of African learners.

Chapter four discusses attempts to reconstruct South African education policies to create equal education for all. This chapter further evaluates the impact of these policies on African learners.

Chapter five reviews the language policy in education and discusses the arguments that prevail in South Africa that places an African learner at a disadvantage if the medium of instruction is English. This chapter also analyzes the cultural theories that impact on mono-cultural schools with culturally diverse learners.

Chapter six discusses the fieldwork that was carried out. The data is then interpreted. Chapter seven evaluates the educational and cultural challenges faced by African learners in racially mixed and culturally diverse schools as articulated by the findings of the research.

Chapter eight first provides the conclusion that explores the main theoretical implications of the arguments developed in the previous chapters. It provides retrospection on the initial problem formulated as the intention for the study. Lastly this section contains recommendations and suggestions for possible further studies to be explored.

METHODOLOGY

In order to facilitate in-depth research, the relevant educational polices of the apartheid era and educational policies after 1994 were examined. The reason for revisiting these policies was to analyze the evaluation of the past and present policies, determine their impact on the African learners and evaluate to what degree African learners are affected by the legacy of apartheid educational policies. This reality is not adequately acknowledged by scholar's intent on the redress of the wrongs of apartheid. The researcher also reviewed relevant literature on cultural and language studies to serve as a background of the survey to be conducted. Interviews and questionnaires were used as research instruments.

MEASURES AND INFORMATION SOURCES

Interviews

The research contains in-depth interviews with African learners about cultural and educational challenges and struggles they encounter in culturally and racially diverse schools. About 80 female respondents range between the ages of 16 -17 and the other 90 respondents range between the ages of 14 -15. About 45 male respondents range between the ages of 16 -17 and 85 males range between the ages of 143 -15. It is significant to know the gender and age of the respondents in order to understand their age influence on their responses. The interviews are on a one to one basis and a focus group of more than 10 learners was also used. The reason for individual interviews is to elicit genuine personal information in an atmosphere of confidentiality and trust. Here an interviewee is supposedly free to participate. The reason for a focus group is that young people are likely to reveal more of their views in the presence of their friends.

Questionnaires

The questionnaires were given to educators to facilitate the filling in of questionnaires by learners of targeted schools. Ten high schools from the EThekwini Metropolitan area participated. The respondents were between 25 and 30 from each school.

PROCEDURE

The Fieldwork

The procedure was to tape-record the interviews and to set aside one to two hours immediately after each session to transcribe it. The answers were drawn from the prepared questionnaire but free discussion was also allowed. The questionnaires for schools were

given to educators to facilitate the answering of questionnaires by learners and were collected the same day.

Analysis of Data

The researcher encoded information according to the themes of the questionnaires. The main areas of focus were cultural challenges, educational challenges, racial issues, language issues and academic performance.

Time Frame for the Research

The research commenced in March 2003 and ended in November 2004. From March to October 2003, the researcher accessed educational policies of the apartheid era and the post-apartheid era, and cultural and language theories that impact on education as well as the preparation of questions for interviews. Letters to gain access in respondents' schools were sent out in March 2004. From April to May 2004, interviews were conducted, and data was interpreted and coded according to the themes that emerged. The research included fieldwork, data collecting, the writing of transcripts and the development of the dissertation.

SUMMARY

Chapter one provides the research design, reflecting on the background to the study, the research problem, aims and objectives, key critical questions, the hypothesis, and theory and methodology. The next chapter, however first deals with the key terms to be used in the study.

CHAPTER TWO

KEY TERMS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the explanation of some key concepts that will be used in the course of the dissertation. The key concepts are presented in alphabetical order.

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

The following is the glossary of terminology used in this study:

Achievement level:

The knowledge a student has previously acquired that relates to what is being taught. Although this knowledge could include learning skills such as critical thinking and decision making, the emphasis is on content, usually consisting of the concepts and generalizations within the subject matter (Goduka 1999).

African:

The term "African" is now used to refer to people classified as "Blacks" in the political system of racial classification that underpinned apartheid education. However the term has gained a new status in the democratic era whereby " African" refers to Blacks which connotes Africans, Coloured and Indians.

African philosophy of education:

An African philosophy of education should be conceived as a philosophy that has special links with the African experience, especially with regard to education.   An African

philosophy of education is explored as something that has to do with reflecting upon, analyzing and criticizing the current African situation and the education system.

An African philosophy of education must also delve into the roots of African traditional thought, subject it to scrutiny and bring it to bear on existing education issues. By implication, an African philosophy of education must critically analyze the culture of Africans, as they are still influenced by it. For instance, indigenous languages will continue to play a key role in contemporary education. It is therefore necessary that they be critically analyzed to ensure that they meet the demands of modern times. In other words, an African philosophy of education should include elements of African philosophical reflection on African culture for effective use in education.

An African philosophy of education must be an attempt to restore the true worth of the essential principles behind African ways of thinking (Mkabela and Luthuli 1997:4-8).

Afro-centric curriculum:

Explanations, cultural characteristics, teaching materials, and other factors related to the heritage, histories, learning styles, cultures and world-views of people of African descent need to be developed as an integrated part of the curriculum.

Afro-centric Philosophy:

Goduka (1996) states that Afro-centric philosophy derives from explanations, cultural characteristics, heritage, histories, cultures and worldviews of people from African descent.

Apartheid:

The term "apartheid" was adopted by the National Party, after it came to power in 1948. A comprehensive doctrine was formed which was characterized by a system of laws of racial segregation and the domination of African people. The basic aspect of apartheid was the exclusion of African people from the participation in central government on the basis of colour.

Africans were assigned to smaller parts of the country. These areas consisted of scattered, poverty stricken and fragmented areas which were officially called homelands. The apartheid system promoted white supremacy which was characterized by hostile behaviors that infringed on the rights of Africans. The segregation laws cultivated aggressive behaviors which were verbal, physical or emotional (Joyce 1990:8-17). It is also an Afrikaans word which, literally translated, means "separateness". It is a system that enabled a white minority to maintain political, social and economic control over Africans in South Africa (Goduka 1999:2-8).

Apartheid Education:

The term Apartheid Education, is also equated to Bantu Education. Bantu Education was introduced in 1953 by the Nationalist Party government. It was a psycho-ideological for the designs of apartheid (Kallaway et al 1997:76).

It is also an education system that engineered a mechanism for differential and unequal educational provisions. The apartheid state's provisions of mass schooling for African people under Bantu Education had impacted on all schooling of black learners, under the strict control of government. The effects of Bantu Education were that less money was

spent on Black Education , classrooms were overcrowded, little attention was paid to Mathematics and Science and the government had strict control over teachers and over what was taught in the schools (Bottaro et al 1999:129). This meant that the apartheid education system was hierarchically mandated for four racial groups in South Africa, with whites on top and black education at the bottom of the hierarchy.

Bill of rights:

A list of freedoms and rights guaranteed to all people in a country. It is used to protect individuals from possible abuse. Protections of this kind are similar to those listed in international human rights documents.

Black:

The term "black" is used to refer to an African as a racial construct dictated by the apartheid system. This classification enables us to describe the full and differential impact of apartheid on the oppressed African or black group. However in the democratic era, the legislated term " black" includes Coloured, Indians and Africans.

Mothata (1998:139-140) states that the term 'African' was used to describe the indigenous people of Africa. The apartheid government also classified people as such to distinguish them from other groups like whites, coloureds and Indians. Whites regarded themselves as Europeans.

Blacks indicate that group of South Africans that was discriminated against on the grounds of their skin colour (Epstein 1993:22).

Code-switching:

This indicates a shifting from one code to another (i.e. language and culture). Speakers of more than one language (e.g., bilinguals) are known for their ability to code-switch or mix their languages during communication. This phenomenon occurs when bilinguals substitute a word or phrase from one language with a phrase or word from another language. According to Heredia (1997:10) traditionally, code-switching has been viewed as a strategy to compensate for diminished language proficiency. The premise behind this theory is that bilingual's code-switch because they do not know either language completely. "This argument is also known as semi-lingualism, which underscores the notion that bilinguals 'almost' speak both languages correctly". However, the notion of language proficiency is not clearly defined. It is not clear whether reading and writing language skills should take precedence over spoken language. This reliance on reading and writing is problematic because most bilinguals receive their formal education in one language, whereas a majority of their social interactions take place in the other language. So, when their reading and writing abilities are tested in both languages, the language in which bilinguals received more formal education will usually fare better (Heredia 1997:10).

Constitution:

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 provides a written plan of government, which provides a legal framework for the organizational structure of government, including the rights of citizens and balances of power. The constitution of the new democratic South Africa secures the human rights of all citizens. The Bill Of Rights lists all the human rights that are now protected in South Africa.

Culture:

Cultures are systems (of socially transmitted behavior) that serve to relate human communities to their ecological settings. These ways of life of communities include technologies and modes of economic organization, settlement patterns, modes of social grouping and political organization, religious beliefs and practices.

Culturally determined norms guide our language, behavior, and emotions and thinking in different situations. They are guidelines of the appropriate behavior within the culture (Binford 1994:323). According to Gibson, Culture is a system of shared knowledge and belief that shapes human perceptions and generates social behavior, and is more attuned to the standards of that particular culture (1994:15).

According to Levine (1986:46), culture is "a shared organization of ideas that includes the intellectual, moral and aesthetic standard prevalent in a community and, the meanings of communicative actions". Giroux defines culture as an object of sociological inquiry that expresses the tradition and values of diverse groups (1988:97-98).

Culture is a set of practices and thought that distinguishes one group of people from another (Williams 1971:17).

Notions of culture are political and historical, but the main characteristic is that culture can be acquired, transmitted, shared and learnt. This raises the question of the nature of education.

Cultural alienation:

This is a condition that occurs when the dominant culture utilizes forms of cultural hegemony to exert domination and control over indigenous people. Cultural alienation is

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an anti-dialogical action that sustains the social, political and economic oppression of indigenous groups (Bennett 1995:79).

Cultural assimilation:

Cultural assimilation is divided into two views, that of a racially oppressed group and that of the macro cultural group. The oppressed group is to give up its original culture and tries to identify with and is absorbed into the predominant Anglo-Western European culture. Contrariwise the macro cultural group accepts members of the other oppressed group and has to give up its original identity. They view the other culture as unacceptable, inferior or as a threat to social harmony and national unity. In the process it suppresses the cultures and contributions of other groups (Cummins 1989:135).

Cultural diversity:

Differences in modes of communication, participation and world view which is brought about by people of different nationalities (Bennett 1995:77).

Cultural pluralism:

Bennet defines cultural pluralism as a continuum with cultural assimilation at one end and cultural suppression at the other. There are degrees of assimilation and suppression with cultural pluralism falling somewhere between the extremes (1995:88).

Cultural relativism:

It is to view the world through the other individual's cultural lens. It is the acknowledgement that another person's ways of doing things, while perhaps not appropriate for us, may be valid for him or her (Goduka (a): 1996: 56).

Cultural suppression:

It is when the macro cultural group regards the other group's culture as inferior and suppresses the cultures of other groups as unimportant for the world at large (Cushner *et al.* 1992:22).

Democratic Education:

Democratic education means that there are no special privileges, restrictions or oppression because of race, class, colour or creed. It means equalization. It means doing away with intolerance, unfair discrimination, racism, and education injustices in every form. It means that every person shall have the opportunity to develop his or her potential to its fullest. It means better education for all (Mkabela and Luthuli 1997:58).

Diversity in the classroom:

Diversity in the classroom is explained by Goduka (1996:74) as encompassing those individuals with ethnic differences, those with heritage that originates in another country, those who have special educational and other needs, those who may share significantly different lifestyles, those whose identity is critically influenced by their gender and also those who are significantly influenced by variations in class, language, culture and religion.

Discrimination:

Behavior based on a person's prejudice. Racial discrimination is putting racial prejudice into practice by treating people unfavorably solely because of their race or colour. Any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment, exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in political, economic, social and cultural life. (UNHCHR 1997: 19)

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Equality:

It is fairness in the distribution of the conditions and goods that affect the well-being of all children and families. The outcome must be equal achievement of students, school attendance, college attendance, university attendance and completion of studies by different ethnic, racial, gender and class populations. (Adapted from a supplement to *The Star* 9 March 1994).

Equity:

Equity in education means equal opportunities for all students to develop to their fullest potential. Equity further requires different treatment according to relevant differences (Kunisawads 1988: 61-66). Equity means that each citizen, whether man or a woman, black or white or brown, old or young, rich or poor, has equity rights. Equity does not depend on a person's race, religion, gender or position in society.

Euro-centric curriculum:

A curriculum based on the European culture and values that prevents learners from diverse backgrounds from developing and growing in their own identities and personhood. In the school setting, the hidden curriculum functions not only to legitimate the interest and values of whites, it marginalizes and undermines knowledge forms and experiences that are extremely important to Africans (Goduka 1999).

Ethnic Group:

An ethnic group is a group of people within a larger society that is socially distinguished or set apart by others and / or by it, primarily on the basis of languages and traditional ways of life (Gordon 1996:10).

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According to James Banks an ethnic group is formed by members who share a sense of people-hood values, behaviors, patterns and cultural traits, which differ from those of other groups. However, one's attachment and identity with his or her ethnic group varies greatly with the individual, the times of his or her life and the situations and settings in which an individual finds himself or herself (1989:10-12).

Eurocentric:

Explanations, cultural characteristics, heritage histories and worldviews based on people of European descent (Goduka 1996:84).

Integration:

The bringing together of learners of different races, ethnicities, cultures, language groups, groups in the same school (Ornstein 341: 46) The concept of integration has the same meaning as "melting pot". Thoughts about culture have been dominated by the metaphor of the melting pot. Oppressed cultures, like ingredients, are to be added to the dominant culture and be "simmered" in.

Language:

A system of communication that consists of arbitrary symbols used by humans to organize, structure and store experience, knowledge and concepts. Language is the primary instrument with which we express and transmit culture, maintain it, teach it and adapt it. Language is also one of the most powerful media for transmitting our personal histories and social realities, and for thinking and shaping the world (Goduka 1999:102).

Linguicism:

This refers to ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources between groups which are defined on the basis of the language of their mother tongue (Skutnabb 1988:13).

Medium of instruction and the language of learning:

The two terms are used interchangeably throughout. It covers the medium of teaching and learning in education. The word "instruction" suggests the old transmission form of one-way education where information passes from the teacher to the student. The term "language of learning" does not include the teaching component (Heugh and Siegruhn 1995: vii).

Mother tongue:

According to Luthuli (1981) the mother-tongue is the child's only links with the outside world, his or her only bond with those who provide him with feelings of belonging and make the child feel that she or he is one of them. It is the language that the person experiences and on which he or she acts in accordance with cultural, spiritual and political experience.

Prah (1998:196) agrees with Luthuli by defining the term mother-tongue education as a medium of instruction. The mother-tongue is a person's link with the outside world, his or her only bond with those who provide him or her with the feelings of belonging and make him or her feel that he or she is one of them.

Multicultural education:

Multicultural education denotes an educational theory and practice purposely designed to cater for a multicultural society where there is a legitimately accepted diversity of cultures (Gaine 1987: 30).

Multicultural education is both a concept and deliberate process. According to Barruth (1996:3) multiculturalism is designed to teach learners to recognize, accept, and appreciate cultural, ethnic, social class, religious, and gender differences. In the process it instills in learners during these crucial developmental years a sense of responsibility and a commitment to work toward the democratic ideals of justice, equality, and democracy.

Bennet (1995:131) views multicultural Education as an approach to teaching and training that is based upon democratic values and beliefs, and seeks to foster cultural pluralism within culturally diverse societies, and an interdependent world. A comprehensive definition includes dimensions of movement forward, equity, the multicultural curriculum approach, the process of becoming multicultural and the commitment to combat prejudice and discrimination.

Brandt (1986) on the other hand, associates multicultural education with cultural pluralism and criticizes it for being premised on the notion of homogeneous cultures in societies with shared interests. As an advocate of antiracist education, he accuses multicultural education of depoliticizing culture and naively suggesting that we can remove racism by merely promoting cultural exchange and understanding. Multiculturalism is seen as the "spoonful of sugar", which makes the medicines go down. But as is widely known, in scientific terms, not all elements mix and when they do the properties of one or both can be slightly or even drastically changed, if the elements are not "sympathetic" to each other. Thus the "Sugar"

could so drastically change the "medicine" that the latter is made impotent. On the contrary, multicultural education can make impotent, can be seen as the Trojan horse of institutional racism. Multicultural education is seen as an attempt to renew the structure and processes of racism (1986:117).

Kalantzis et al. (1990) argue that besides the lack of consensus about what it means, the multicultural approach may, in fact, be divisive. The multicultural approach may delineate ethnic groups iconographically and stereotypically so they appear to be more distinct than they are, in a complex and contradictory reality. This can increase. Rather, multicultural education is an approach to teaching and training that is based upon democratic values and beliefs, and seeks to foster cultural pluralism within culturally diverse societies, and an interdependent world.

Donald and Rattansi (1992) identify as a positive achievement of multicultural education, the fact that it allows different communities and their claims over their members to be acknowledged and valued with a new respect. However, this celebration of diversity is a drawback when it focuses on superficial manifestations of culture without addressing the continuing hierarchies of power and legitimacy that still exists among the different centres of cultural authority.

Donald and Rattansi further explain that multicultural education is one facet of the politics of difference. In South Africa, apartheid education is the major and demeaning form that the politics of difference has taken in education. Anti-apartheid politics makes it very difficult for South Africans to accept a curriculum which re-validates the politics of difference. As soon as people try to deal educationally with differences, there is the ever-

present specter of apartheid. The celebration of diversity is a drawback when it focuses on superficial manifestations of culture without addressing the continuing hierarchies of power and legitimacy that are still among the different centres of cultural authority.

Prejudice:

Making decisions about people before you have considered the evidence or accept their views. Racial prejudice would be the forming of opinions about ethnic groups based solely on the people's race. Prejudice is thus a set of negative attitudes about a group of people.

This aversion to members of certain ethnic groups manifests itself consciously or subconsciously in feelings of anger, fear, hatred, and wishes for the destruction on of members of that group. These attitudes are often translated into a fear of walking in the groups' neighborhood, fear of being robbed or hurt by group members, distrust of a merchant from the group, and fear that housing prices will be deflated if someone from that group lives next door.

Racism:

This is the "belief in the inherent superiority of one race over all others and thereby the right to dominance" (Lorde 1995:192). It is an extreme form of prejudice. Individuals transfer this into discriminating against other racial groups and the belief that one race or ethnic group is superior to all others. Racism is often based on the belief that humanity can be divided into different racial groups with one group seen to be superior. Most people, who engage in racism, do not believe that racism is a factor in their lives, they may even

question its existence. The people on the receiving end of racism feel the pressure all around them.

According to Bennett (1995:46-47) racism operates on three interrelated levels: "individual, institutional, and cultural". Individual racism is the belief that one's own race is superior to another (racial prejudice) and behavior that suppresses members of the so-called inferior race (racial discrimination). Racism is based on the erroneous assumption that the physical attributes of a racial group determine the social behavior of its members, as well as their psychological and intellectual characteristics.

Racism is conventionally defined as the belief or assumption that there are major differences between different racial or ethnic groups in terms of intelligence, personality and moral characteristics, and that these differences are inherent or biological in nature. Racism assumes therefore that one group is biologically superior to another (Bagley in Verma and Bagley 1975:31).

Such a definition is allocated in what is sometimes termed scientific or old-fashioned racism. In contrast, Carrim and Mkwanazi (1993) defined racism as:
"The systematic oppression of people of colour, which occurs at the individual, interpersonal, and / or cultural level, may be overt or covert, intentional or unintentional".

Jones (cited in Nieto 1992:22) defines racism in three forms. Racism may be institutional or structural, individual and cultural. Institutional/structural racism is manifested through laws, customs and practices resulting from and leading to racial inequalities. Cultural racism is based on a belief about the inferiority or non-existence of the culture of a group.

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Individual racism is personal and is based on a belief about the inferiority of certain groups in relation to others.

Racist:

A racist therefore is an individual who believes that members of another race are inferior and further believes, often unconsciously, that the inferior person's behavior, morality, and intellectual qualities are determined by racial difference (Jones 1981:18).

Stereotype:

This is a mental category based on exaggerated and inaccurate generalizations used to describe all members of a group. The stereotypes are more likely to cause people to perceive the world incorrectly. Steele (1996:67) explains stereotype as a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy in which peoples' low expectations for a group of learners tend to fill the learners with self- doubt, causing their level of performance to drop.

Ubuntu:

It is the art of being human and has virtue. It involves indigenous patterns of thought and the achievement of humanness (Ngubane 1979).

There are different perceptions of concepts by different people. Broodryk (2000:24-26) has articulated a few definitions of *Ubuntu*. He cites Makhudu's definition of *Ubuntu* as the facet of African life which is shaped to embrace *Ubuntu* as a process and philosophy which reflects the African heritage, traditions, culture, customs, beliefs, value systems and extended family structures. As explained, the definition portrays much of the African philosophy.

Another definition that comes from Broodryk is that by Vilakazi, which explains that *Ubuntu* is the value, dignity, safety, welfare, health, beauty, love and development of the human being, and respect for the human being, that are to come first, and should be promoted to first rank before all other considerations, particularly, in our time, before economic, financial, and political factors are taken into consideration. This explanation elaborates on humanism as a philosophy of life.

What is picked up from both Makhudu's and Vilakazi's definitions, is that there is a relationship in both definition which is best articulated by Sparks (1990:14) when he regards *Ubuntu* as a subtle and not easily translatable concept which broadly means that each individual's humanity is ideally expressed through his relationship with others and theirs in turn through a recognition of other's humanity.

Broodryk gives a comprehensive definition of *Ubuntu*. He states that *Ubuntu* can be defined as an ancient African world view based on the values of intense humanness, caring, sharing, respect, compassion and associated values, ensuring a happy and qualitative human community life in a spirit of family (2000:24-26).

White Privilege:
This consists of invisible and visible unearned assets that whites have by virtue of their skin, but about which they remain oblivious. For example, most whites realize that apartheid placed Africans in particular at an economic and educational disadvantage, but

they do not admit one of its corollary aspects, white privilege, which put them at an advantage.

SUMMARY

This chapter has provided an outline the key concepts that inform on the study. The educational, cultural and language of related concepts were explained. The following chapter will review and explicate apartheid educational policies, their effects and educational and cultural challenges experienced by African learners.

CHAPTER THREE

APARTHEID POLICIES OF EDUCATION AND CHALLENGES FACED BY AFRICAN LEARNERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

In order to better understand the present educational practices in relation to racially and culturally mixed schools, it is imperative to revisit the apartheid education policies that created the discrepancies in education. There is a need to revisit apartheid educational policies in order to be able to assess whether the post-apartheid educational policies intended to redress the wrongs of apartheid are successful. In this chapter, the study first examines the apartheid educational policies. Second, I look at their negative educational and cultural effects on African learners.

One of the cornerstones of the apartheid policies was segregated and unequal education for various racial groups in South Africa. In 1951 the Apartheid government passed a Black Education Act to formally separate races from being educated together. However, this act proved to be inadequate to meet the purposes of the apartheid government. Africans still received an education that was unequal, albeit segregated, to their white counterparts (Mncwabe 1990: 67-71).

The nature of education in South Africa is crucially important if we want to consider the educational challenges gripping the country. The challenges that weigh heavily on black learners in a racially mixed and culturally diverse school need to be explored. This study focuses on the policy framework which provides for the education rights of all learners as

to the extent it creates the commitment to "education of equality and opportunity for all". The notion of equal opportunity has been linked to the material welfare of schooling which focuses on the culture and identity of an African learner. The African learner is put at a disadvantage immediately when she or he is set to learn in English as a medium of instruction, whilst the white, Indian and coloured cohorts are at an advantage because English is their home language.

The demand for the reform of schooling in South Africa has been a continuing discourse throughout the twentieth century up to the democratic era. Apartheid education contributed its share of marginalizing African learners since the 1950's. The Bantu education policies exemplify the struggles and challenges faced by African learners, as the root of diversity among racial groups in South Africa. Concerns about the present system of education cannot be addressed without an analysis of the previous education system.

APARTHEID EDUCATION

African Education (1950-1990)

The Nationalist government introduced apartheid education in 1953 which resulted from discontent economically, socially and politically. Industrialization demanded new forms of labour. In urban areas black youth became aware of political issues and its adversities which caused upset to authorities. Urban schooling was proposed to control and respond to the new forms of labour. Apartheid education outlined separate development for separate ethnic groups (Kallaway1990:76).

According to Nkomo (1990:2) apartheid education aimed at producing a semi-skilled Black labor force to minister to the needs of the capitalist economy at the lowest possible cost. Especially after the introduction of the Bantu Education Act, it was intended to blunt competition with white workers.

Nkomo (1990:2-3) further states that apartheid education aimed at socializing black students to accept the social relations of apartheid as natural. This means, to accept the supposed superiority of whites and their supposed own "inferiority", which forged a consciousness and identity accompanied by a sense of "superiority" among whites".

The system further promoted the acceptance of racial or ethnic separation as the "natural order of things", or as an arrangement better suited for South Africa's complex problems of national minorities that can only be solved through the separation of the races or ethnic groups. It promoted black intellectual underdevelopment by minimizing the allocation of educational resources for blacks while maximizing them for whites (Nkomo 1990:2-3).

Apartheid education was a fully-fledged pillar of the apartheid system. Horrel (1968:45-48) states that the Bantu Education Act, promulgated that all Black schools had to be registered with the government and only the government had the power to give approval to its existence. This was to ensure that all Black schools were in alignment with apartheid policies. Thus there was one uniform administration system for Black schools as opposed to various administration systems for other racial groups.

The effects of Bantu Education were devastating. According to Christie and Colins (1984:145-161) by 1959 most African schools were utilizing syllabi emanating from the

government and instilled with ideas of the racial inferiority of blacks. In addition, schools that had been free from inferior education such as Catholic schools were rapidly shut down leaving only Bantu education to flourish. As Bantu education flourished, it signified "education for subservience in cultural domination precisely by imposing outmoded tribal customs and languages to unwilling Blacks" (Christie and Colins 1984:162).

Cross (1990:86) explains that the introduction of the doctrine of separate development into schools' syllabi was also a steady process of indoctrination. The government controlled what was taught.

Christie (1989:173) states that ideologically, Bantu Education clearly envisaged the separation of whites and blacks in political and economic structures, and promoted this ideology through schooling. Pre-dating the promotion of the Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959, which planned the setting up of homeland governments, the Bantu Education Act promoted the notion of political, cultural and economic segregation in broad terms.

Verwoerd's comment as Minister of Native Affairs in 1954 indicated a clear link between schooling and the reserves, i.e. that "there is no place for Africans in the European community and on the level of certain forms of labour". He found no reasons why Africans should receive training which would "create competition with the European community". Until then Africans have been subjected to a school system which "alienate them away from culture and misled them by showing them the green pastures of European society". This attitude was not only "uneconomic because money is spent for an education, which has no specific aim", but it was also "dishonest to continue". "It is abundantly clear

that unplanned education creates many problems, disrupting the community life of the Bantu and endangering the community life of the Europeans" (1989:173-174).

The apartheid education system of mass schooling for Africans under Bantu education experienced a number of pivotal shifts between the 1950s and 1990s. Unterhalter (1997:76) postulates that the changes were informed by changing state strategies which were influenced by socio-economic and political processes. These changes did not derail the authoritarian, unequal and repressive nature of apartheid education.

The objectives of apartheid education were furthered when W.W.M. Eiselen and Prof. .F.R. Tomlinson presented their plans that propagated the idea of total segregation and led to the development of Bantu education. The Eiselen Commission worked on the assumption that there should be differentiation between the education for whites and education for blacks (Report of the Native Education Commission 1949 – 1951:103).

According to Cross (1990:84-85), the Commission recommended the adoption of the concept of "Bantu Education", a concept which recognized that it has to "deal with a Bantu child, i.e. a child trained and conditioned in 'Bantu culture', endowed with a knowledge of a Bantu language and imbued with values, interests and behavior patterns learned at the knee of a Bantu mother". Schools were to be primarily concerned with reinforcing the social institutions of "Bantu" society and more largely with the transmission of ideas, values, attitudes and skills developed in "Bantu" society or in harmony with its institutions.

In contrast to other issues discussed in the report, the aims of Bantu education were generally and vaguely defined. The aims of Bantu education, as viewed by the Commission

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included, "transmitting the culture of a society from its more mature to its more immature members", transmitting elements of the culture not easily or necessarily transmitted by other social institutions, including ideas, feelings and patterns of behavior in an informal way, teaching the virtues and merits of modern hygiene, developing a modern progressive culture and developing the character and intellect of the child and equip her/him for future work and surroundings. Christian character, co-ordination with "native policy", close links with "Bantu" social institutions, the importance of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction, the use of "Bantu" personnel and the emphasis on African languages were among the aspects which should guide the implementation of Bantu education (1990:84-85).

Another commission was appointed under the leadership of Prof. F.R. Tomlinson to further the aims of apartheid. Tomlinson (1955:21-23) consolidated the segregation of blacks and whites by positing that contact between whites and blacks and the concession of equal rights to blacks endangered the existence of European civilization and culture and that if Africans were granted land, education and opportunities for technical training and equal political rights, there would be a "total collapse of European culture".

Cross (1999:86) mentions that the Tomlinson Commission of 1955 endorsed the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission of 1953. These recommendations emphasized that African learners should be trained to serve in their "Bantu Community." The Tomlinson Commission recommended that social development and welfare services of the "Bantu" should be adjusted to the nature of their society and that their national characteristics should be preserved though fertilized by Western culture.

Following the recommendations of these two Commissions, Cross (1990:86) explains that apartheid educational policy developed within the reserves a social and political structure that could preserve "Native culture" or "Bantu culture". This policy was translated into state policy through successive enactments in the 1950's and 1960's, namely the Bantu Education Act of 1954, the Extension of University Education Act of 1959, the Coloured Persons Education Act of 1963, the Indian Education Act of 1965 and the National Education Policy Act of 1967. The education system was fragmented in its structures and content into four separate and hierarchically different schooling systems: "Bantu Education", "Indian Education", "Coloured Education" and "White Education" (1990:86-90).

The divisions caused by apartheid education were felt in many ways. Mda (1997:45) points out that the divisions in schools and in the education systems were, therefore, not only racial but also geographic and socio-economic. "Schools in one province could, for example, fall under the Transvaal Education Department for whites, the Department of Education and Training for Africans, the Department of Education and Culture, House of Representatives for Coloureds, or the Department of Education and Culture, House of Delegates for Indians. They could fall under the Department of Education and Training (with head office in Pretoria, Transvaal), the Transkei Department of Education (under the Transkei homeland government) or under the Ciskei Education Department (under the Ciskei homeland government), all three departments serving Africans in the Cape Province".

Mda (1997:45-47) further says they could be an urban/township, rural or farm school under one department, or a community, state/government, or private school, or a one-roomed

mud structure school, or a face brick, double or triple-storied modern school building, or a school with no owned buildings, housed in a church or any available building, for example, a general dealer's storeroom.

According to Christie (1989:160-168) the Bantu Education Act established segregated educational institutions and administrative bodies for each racial group. Not only were there racially differentiated state education departments, but also state-supported access to schooling was also racially different.

The institutions of the different groups were unequally funded, and this created conditions that further favoured whites and later Indians and coloureds. While white children enjoyed an almost free and compulsory primary and secondary education, Africans enjoyed neither of these provisions. For coloureds and Indians compulsory education was only introduced in 1963 in the Coloured Persons Education Act 47 of 1963 and 1965 and the Indian Education Act 61 of 1965 respectively.

According to Davies (2004:110), there were fifteen departments of education. All these were funded by the state.

Harker (1994:41) states that the apartheid government delivery remained poor and education for whites and Africans remained unequal. An indicator of this inequality was per capita expenditure on education. The unequal funding of each racial group served to justify the racial superiority of whites and racial inferiority of Africans.

The financial disparities are depicted in table one and two. Table one and table two offers the following illustrations:

Table 1

Per Capita Expenditure on Education in South Africa

Year	African	White
1953-54	R 17	R 128
1969-70	R 17	R 282
1975-76	R 42	R 591
1977-78	R 54	R 657
1980-81	R 139	R 913
1982-83	R 146	R 1211
1983-84	R 169	R 1702

Sources: Blignaut, 1981 and SAIRR Surveys

Table 2:

Per Capita Expenditure on Education in South Africa

Year	African	White
1989	R765	R3083
1991	R930	R3739

Extract: from South African Institute of Race Relations 1993

Tables one and two depict inequalities of per capita expenditure on education in favour of whites. The whites were funded at a level of four times greater than were Africans. The direct results of discriminatory funding were the poor quality of education in African public schools.

The continuing of disparity is explained by Harker (1994:41) i.e. that the substantial difference in distribution of teacher-pupil ratio was unequal.

The following table 3 illustrates the teacher-pupil ratio.

Table 3

Teacher – Pupil Ratio

Year	African	White
1989	1:38	1:17
1991	1:87	1:20

Extract: from South African Institute of Race Relations 1993

According to this table there were vast inequalities among the racial groups. The African public schools were afforded one teacher for 38 pupils during the late eighties and later the ratio increased to one teacher for 87 pupils while the white schools had one teacher for 17 pupils during the eighties. Later the ratio increased to one teacher for 20 pupils. The African public schools had great disparities in teacher-pupil ratios which encouraged the overcrowding of classrooms. The consequences of this were high failure rates due to the lack of quality pupil individual attention from the teacher.

The inequalities among the racial groups posed a major threat to both African learners and to the agents of apartheid education. The education and cultural crises amongst Africans in response to the socio-political and educational changes of South Africa took a new leap.

Lemmer (1993:88), states that in March 1990 permission was granted for white government schools to accept learners of all races, which was subject to consensus reached by parent referendums, with the Minister of Education, Mr. Piet Clase. Mr. Piet Clase

announced in October 1990 the "possibility for white schools legally to enroll black pupils into their schools". Conditions for enrolling African children however, included the "cultural ethos of the school needed to be kept intact", and that "white pupils needed to remain in the majority".

Carrim (1995:18) says that the new legislation enabled white schools to choose from three models for admitting students of other races: "Model A" allowed schools to become private, with deep cuts in their government funding; "Model B" provided for state schools serving all racial groups to remain as they were, except that they could now determine admissions policies for themselves; and "Model C" provided for schools to obtain state funding for teacher salaries and admission policies.

According to Penny (1993:98-106) all three models empowered white parents to decide the fate of enrolment in their children's schools. Of these three models, only "Model C" actually facilitated the enrolment of children from different racial groups. The introduction of "Model C" schools in urban areas also increased the number of African, Indian and coloured students in racially mixed preschool, primary and high schools. Despite an increase in the number of diverse groups in white schools, these schools continued to operate with the legacy of white education, and learners of diverse backgrounds were expected to adjust to the school's prevailing European culture. The curricula were grounded in the European tradition and expectations of students were based on the experience of teachers from education programmes that did not prepare them to address diversity in the curriculum.

Christie (1989:92), states that open schools have been undeniably white in orientation. For example, in their staffing, curricula, sporting and other out-of-school activities, they followed the powerful traditions of white education. In 1986, the staffing was predominantly white. In Cape Town, there was no open school with an African principal or deputy principal. There were only 18 black teachers out of a total staff of 1 170, and many of these 18 primarily taught black languages, and parent-teacher associations were predominantly white. "A number of open schools have recognized this, and have been attempting to change their curricula and staffing profiles. However, in a range of ways the legacy of white education predominates in most of these schools and has yet to be broken by the presence of black students"(1989:92-93).

Christie's interviews with open school principals indicated "an acknowledgement of overt racism outside the schools, but a denial of racial differences within the walls of the school". Statements included like "We don't see race" and "We're all the same here". Such statements reflect the "colour blind" approach that often accepts a myth of meritocracy, or assumption of equal opportunity for all learners, regardless of background circumstances (1989:93). Brandt (1986:120) has termed the open school's attempts to address issues of diversity in the curriculum an "assimilationist approach".

The roots of segregated and unequal schooling of South African students are embedded in apartheid educational policies, which have brought about negative effects on African children. The following section discusses the challenges faced by African learners in apartheid education.

THE CHALLENGES FACED BY AFRICAN LEARNERS IN APARTHEID EDUCATION

The significance of the developments in the apartheid education policy of South Africa impacted on African learners in different views. On the one hand, there is a child that for his or her entire schooling years has been educated under apartheid policy laws. On the other hand, there is a child that has undertaken the education in white schools. Both have totally different challenges.

Mda (1997:42-47) affirms that before 1990 racial mixing in private school started in white schools in homeland areas. The admission of learners of different races came about with the "independence" of those territories. Since these were self-governing territories, with Africans in cabinet posts, the schools there did not have to comply with central government's exclusionary practices under apartheid laws.

"Naturally, those leaders in power had to have access to the best areas and best schools. In some areas, even at this stage, admission was not automatic and opens to all who applied. At Umtata High School, for example, the few learners of races other than whites who were admitted were usually the children of politicians and diplomats, who had previously been educated in English medium schools, often outside South Africa". Their admission, therefore, was rationalized on the basis of language of instruction, and the difficulty they would have if they went to schools where an African language, like IsiXhosa, was a compulsory subject (1997:42-47). The curriculum ceilings designed by apartheid education also plagued the African learner's education.

Curriculum Changes

Motala (2001:55) points out that the apartheid education system brought about a shortage of skills and that Africans were educated not to be skilled to meet the demands of the workforce.

The Macro-Economic Research Group (MERG) (1999) warned against educational policies that took the skills shortage created by apartheid as a starting point and stressed only vocational training. This approach, they agreed, was a reaction to market demand and other socially defined needs. The apartheid regime had generated what it required in terms of skills and education, which kept Africans at the bottom level in the work place.

The inequalities that were brought about by apartheid education have further disadvantaged the minds of African students by creating educational ceilings. According to Nkomo (1990:383-390) the lack of attainment in areas such as the natural sciences, business management and mathematics created an imbalance. The pass-rates in physical science and mathematics (key subjects for admission to certain university courses) for Africans in 1983 were 12 percent, while for whites it was around 82 percent in both subjects (1990:383). The apartheid education system favoured whites and disadvantaged Africans.

The following table 4 illustrates passing rates of Physical Science Higher Grade in 1983.

Symbol Distribution in Physical Science HG (1983)

KEY

A:80-100%	B:70-79%	C:60-69%	D:50-59%
E:40-50%	F:34-39%	FF:30-33%	G:25-29%
GG:20-24%	H:0-19%		

PASS

Candidates	Number of candidates	A	B	C	D	E
African	11.379	0.1	0.6	2.8	8.6	12.8
White	3,398	5.7	11.8	19.0	24.0	21.7

According to table 4, Africans were impoverished in Physical Science to the extent that only a 25 percent pass rate was achieved. Whites had 82 a percent pass rate in Physical Science. 75 percent of African candidates failed Physical science whilst only 18 percent of White candidates failed.

The continuing disparity is further explained by the substantial difference in the qualifications of white and African teachers. Nkomo (1990:33-390) illustrates the imbalances and dismal features of African education further when comparisons are drawn between the qualifications of teachers.

Table 5 gives a comparison of Academic Qualifications of teachers who have a Teaching Diploma and Table 6 gives a comparison of Academic Qualification of teachers without a Teaching Diploma in 1983.

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The following tables 5 and 6 illustrate the academic qualifications of teachers

Table 5:

Academic Qualifications of Teachers

Those who have a Teaching Diploma.

Qualifications	African		White	
	No.	%	No.	%
Degree	1,311	2	4,571	34
Std 10	8,608	16	8,743	66
Std 8	33,628	63	—	—
Std 6	9,921	19	—	—

According to table 5 African teachers were under qualified which poorly impacted their teaching approaches. There were about 53, 468 African teachers with teaching diplomas. Only 1,311 had degrees. There were about 43,550 African teachers with standard eight and six education but they were allowed to study for a teaching diploma. White teachers had to have standard ten in order to study for a teacher's diploma. This difference made white educators better qualified teachers than African teachers with 82 percent under qualified.

Table 6:

Academic Qualifications of Teachers

Without a Teaching Diploma

Qualifications	African		White	
	No.	%	No.	%
Degree	181	1	149	32
Std 10	1,755	14	314	68
Std 8	10,688	85	—	—
Std 6	—	—	—	—

Source: R.C. Jones

According to table 6 there were about 12,624 teachers without a teaching diploma. Only 181 had degrees and 12,443 teachers had standard 8 and 10 without any teaching diploma. African teachers were under qualified which poorly impacted on their teaching approaches and consequently lowered the standard of education. Most African teachers had standard eight and six education but they were allowed to teach. White teachers were allowed to have standard ten in order to teach without a teaching diploma.

Lemmer (1993:19) explains that the educational process of Africans in South Africa created social demoralization among the mass of dropouts, and among parents' adherence in the African communities at large. Lemmer further states that apartheid education

generated severe competitive disadvantages even for Africans who passed high school, particularly as a student, and at white-collar and executive levels.

Lemmer (1993:19) describes the other challenges that were faced by African learners. It left African school-leavers with severe disadvantages in the competition for jobs and occupational advancement. It is common knowledge that an African matriculation certificate does not reflect the same standard of performance as its white equivalent, particularly in languages, mathematics and science. Employers frequently complain that Africans do not have an adequate basis for further in-service training. Most African matriculants do not have mathematics and science subjects, which close a range of occupations and training courses for them in any event (1993:19-21). The knowledge gap created by Mathematics and Science subjects was further compounded by the valorization of the English language. This brought about many challenges.

Language Challenges

Mda (1997:67-89) points out that in implementing the apartheid policies, the Nationalist Party came up with the "Bantustan" system, making the black majority non-citizens of South Africa. They were declared citizens of the Bantustan territories, which were established as, "independent states" along ethnic lines.

Mda further says that the government classified all Africans as members of certain ethnic groups or tribes, on the grounds that each had a different language and culture, and granted each major tribe or "nation" its own territory. Even to those who did not live in these territories, by virtue of their ethnicity, were given citizenship in these Bantustans, later

known as "homelands". Four of the homelands Venda, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Transkei which later acquired "independence," became "independent states". In addition,

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urban areas or townships designated specifically for the African population were divided into different language/ethnic sections (199767-89).

The emphasis was on language and cultural differences for physically segregating Africans. Harsch (1980:67) concurs with Mda on the ground that the apartheid regime encouraged tribalism and petty factional conflicts and diverted people's energies away from "the real enemy, white supremacy".

Mda further points out that the apartheid regime further reinforced the divisions among Africans. Schools were segregated according to different language groups and "imposed" the mother tongue as the compulsory medium of instruction throughout the primary schooling system (1997:67-89).

This instilled in children the belief that they belonged to separate African "nations" and Bantustans. This divides and rule strategy also isolated Africans from Coloureds and Indians, who spoke either English or Afrikaans. African parents and students, however, opposed this language policy and preferred to use English as a language of learning out of their antipathy towards the Bantustans and the predominantly Afrikaans-speaking government and public sector. Harsch (1980:67-80) points out that English was also preferred as it is an international language, which provides a cultural bridge to the rest of the world.

Spencer (1985:392) says that the apparatus of political apartheid increased the use of African languages in African education, thus reducing in effect the African child's access to the two languages, English and Afrikaans.

The high esteem given to English served as a limitation if not a ceiling for an African student. African students find no incentives to use since job opportunities and further studying depended on the proficient use of English and Afrikaans(1985:392-393).

The inequality among the languages is also demonstrated by the fact that Africans are usually expected to communicate with white, Indian or Coloured people in English or Afrikaans. The African knows s/he has to switch to the other's language.

African language speakers view English as offering greater socio-economic and educational opportunities. English is given high esteem and make other languages dysfunctional. Choosing English may be a way of marginalizing African languages and culture as well as losing one's identity.

Cultural Challenges

Education is geared towards the survival of every community's unique culture. According to Goduka (1999:103-104) it is necessary to examine the philosophical foundations of the Bantu Education Act and linguicism. These beliefs and ideologies undergird and permeate the curricula, the culture and the language of schooling, and their accompanying teaching practices. They also serve to devalue and denigrate the linguistic and cultural diversity that

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learners, particularly those from indigenous backgrounds, bring to the learning environment.

Wa Thiong'o (1983:87-100) explains how culture evolves and what functions it serves in a community: "In the process of their economic and political life, the community develops a way of life often seemingly unique to that society. They evolve language, song, dance, literature, religion, theatre, art, architecture and an education system that transmits all those plus a knowledge of the history and geography of their territory of habitation from one generation to the next". The culture thus evolved expresses their conception of what they consider right and wrong (moral values), good and evil (ethical values), ugly and beautiful (aesthetic values). From these values springs a community's consciousness, its identity as people who look at themselves and their relationship to the universe in a certain way.

Mzamane (1996:91-101) explains the cultural struggles of African students in the hands of Apartheid Education. Depending, then, on who wields political and economic power, education can be diverted from its course as a means of fostering a national culture of liberation and made to serve narrow class, race, gender or other sectional interests.

Mzamane further brings the issue of colonial education and culture to the fore. Colonial domination imposed an education system which denies the colonized useful knowledge about themselves and their world, while at the same time it transmits a culture that embodies, and is designed to consolidate, a slave mentality. Hence the colonized are taught that they have no history and that their history only started with the arrival of the European conquerors on their mission of civilization (1996:91-101).

Apartheid education imprisoned the African mind with vicious Euro-centric beliefs and prejudices. Among other aspects, which devalued the African culture, was the religious aspect brought into the education system. Biblical Studies was offered as an examination subject, which act as a strong divisive force that accelerates polarization. In the process students are increasingly rejecting existing cultural traditions and lost their identity (1996:91-101)

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Motala *et al* (2001:194-201) explains that the policy of Christian National Education formulated by the ICNO was adopted, which says any system of teaching and education of natives must be based on these same principles, must be grounded in the life and world-view of the whites, most especially those of the Afrikaner nation as the senior white trustees of the native, who had to be led to an independent acceptance of Christian National principles in or teaching.

The apartheid regime then used culture and education to promote ethnicity. Cross (1990:130-131) argues that culture and tradition and the historical past have been romanticized and manipulated to inculcate ethnic-nationalist identities dividing South African society.

Maqhudeni (1999:65-67) says that apartheid policies brought about the culture of white supremacy in South Africa. Fredrickson (1981:65) concurs with Maqhudeni and further says that since the Middle Ages, Europeans have believed that some "men" were so wild and uncouth that they wandered in the forests and had no society of any kind. This category of "ultra-barbarians" or who allegedly lived more like "beasts" than "men",

seemed to many Europeans of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries an appropriate description of people like the Khoikhoi, Hottentots or Caribbeans and Brazilian Indians who were commonly thought to be nomads and utterly devoid of culture.

In South Africa, the Nationalists preached about apartheid, which translates into apartness or separateness. Apartheid upheld the theories of white racial superiority and the inferiority of Africans. Maqhudeni (1999:65) shows how apartheid education consolidated such myths of white supremacy culture. These myths humiliate Africans and dispose them of their right of being respected and their dignity acknowledged as human beings. It became a form of internalized oppression.

RESISTANCE IN BANTU EDUCATION

The objectives of apartheid education did not function without being disputed. Lodge (1983:124) shows that the school boycotts started as early as 12 April 1955, which began in Benoni, Germiston, Katlehong, Brakpan and Alexandra. Children stayed away from school. Here is how Lodge describes the boycott:

"By Wednesday, 3000 Brakpan children were out of school – the highest figure for any single location. In Germiston, parents marched with children in a procession. All Benoni and Germiston schools were empty, and in Katlehong Township only 70 of the 1000 pupils at a community school attended. On Thursday 1955 police broke up a march by women and children in Benoni. By the following Monday, the boycott movement had penetrated Johannesburg. There 3 500 pupils abandoned six primary schools in Western Native Township and New Clare after visits from the Youth League and the Women's League" (1983:124).

Lodge (1983:124) explains that the marches and processions continued more or less daily in the locations, and became increasingly violent. By the end of the week two unsuccessful attempts at arson had been made against school buildings in Benoni and Katlehong. On Friday the total number of children out of school exceeded 10 000, and the boycott had spread to Moroka /Jabavu schools in Soweto, and to Sophiatown.

The struggle continued into the late sixties. Chisholm (1986:14-19) states the students' organizations were born out of the Black consciousness movement (BCM), the South African Student Organization (SASO) and South African Student Movement (SASM). The BCM oriented black youth to the increased alienation of black youth from prevailing political, economic and social structure, and conscientised them about the attempts to inculcate conformist modes of behavior, passivity, and psychological and racial inferiority through various agencies of social control particularly Bantu Education. The need for blacks to reject liberal whites, the assertion of black cultural identity, psychological liberation from notions of inferiority and the unity of all blacks including coloureds and Indians were among its objectives.

During the seventies the struggle took another leap. Christie (1996:237-238) describes the June 1976 protests, as a story that began in 1975 when the Minster of Bantu Education instructed that half of the subjects in Std 5 and Form 1 must be taught in the medium of Afrikaans. There was widespread opposition to this regulation. Some people opposed it for educational reasons, saying that children would suffer. Others opposed it for political reasons.

In examining the resistance of African students, Naidoo (1990:121-142) comments that by 1976 the sociopolitical conjuncture, the structural reorganization of education and sociopolitical changes within the political structure of urban black youth merged to create a volatile situation, which was eventually given expression in the uprising of 1976.

In opposition to inferior education, there were a number of students' resistance initiatives that manifested. Christie (1996:237-238) says that on 13 June 1976 the South African Students' Movement (SASM) decided to hold a mass demonstration against the enforcement of Afrikaans. On 16 June, 20 000 students marched through Soweto in protests against Afrikaans. Protests spread from school to school in Soweto. The government responded immediately. Then Prime Minister Vorster told Parliament that he had instructed the police to maintain law and order at all costs.

Mncwabe (1990:86-88) says that the Soweto revolt on 16 June 1976 began as a protest against the compulsory use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in African schools. The revolt sparked a new dawn for African learners who fought against the grossly inferior provision of schooling and revolts spread nation wide. Mncwabe (1990:86) further points out that many African students rejected Bantu education because they believed that it promoted subservience, and felt that it was irrelevant to their everyday experience. In many cases, students have expressed their disenchantment through demonstrations and school boycotts.

According to Christie (1996:237-238) in the following weeks the uprising spread fast. Townships on the Reef and around Pretoria were soon blazing. The protests also spread further afield. There was violence in Nelspruit, Jouberton (near Klerksdorp), Bothaville

(OFS), Galeshewe (Kimberley), Langa and Nyanga (Cape Town), and also the universities of Turfloop and Ngoye.

Christie (1996:238-240) further describes the events as uneasy as the police responded harshly. They used dogs, guns, teargas, armored cars (hippos) and helicopters against the students. They raided houses and searched people at roadblocks. They prohibited gatherings. They detained without trial and they shot and killed students and huge numbers of people were rounded up. Among them was Biko, the BC leader and SASO founder, whose death in detention in 1977 shocked the world.

Chisholm (1986:14-19) says that in the aftermath of the banning of the Black Consciousness Movement in October 1977, two new student organizations emerged. The Azanian Students Organization (AZASO), formed in 1978, was to cater for tertiary students. The Congress of South African Students (COSAS), was formed in 1979, a year later, to co-ordinate activities such as sport, education and cultural programs. The leadership of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) urged that students should "use our lives as brooms to sweep this world clean of all its evils" and maintained, "The future is bright" (COSAS, National Conference report back, December 1982).

The students' organizations had a significant role in unifying students of all provinces to struggle against apartheid education. As a result a number of students organization emerged.

According to Naidoo (1990:121-142) a number of students' organization emerged. On the next page is a representation of the mushrooming of student organizations.

Diagram 1:

BLACK STUDENTS ORGANIZATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

TERTIARY STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS **SCHOOL STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS**

| SASO 1969-1977 |

| AZASO 1978-1986 |

| SANSCO 1986- |

| SASM 1972-1977 |

| COSAS 1979-1985 |

| NASCOC 1986- |

| AZASM 1983- |
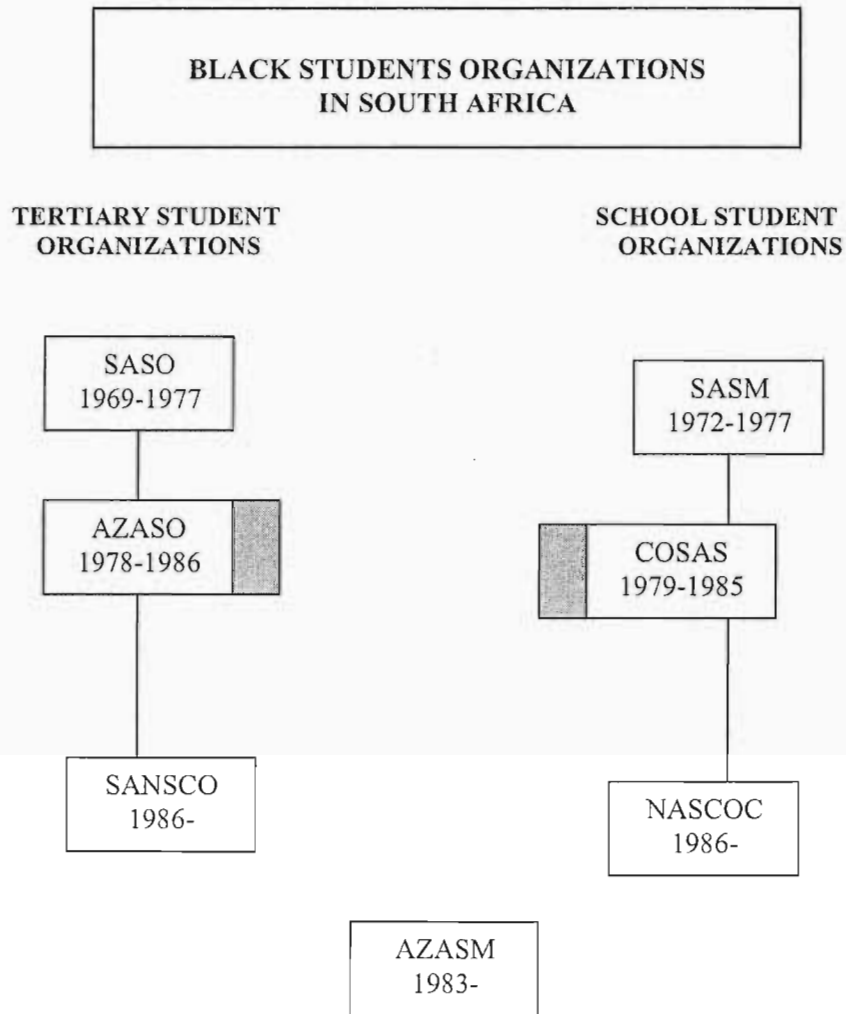
AZASO   Azanian Students' Organization

AZASM   Azanian Students' Movement

COSAS   Congress of South African Students

NASCOC   National Students Co-ordinating Committee

SANSCO   South African National Students' Congress

SASO   South African Students' Organization

SASM   South African Students' Movement

According to Cross (1990:62-63), the formation of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) in 1979 represented the start of a more sustained and systematic mobilization and organization in schools across the country. Following the 1976 Soweto riots, there were similar waves of protests in the 80s. Almost every year there have been public expressions of dismay at the massive discrepancy between white and African matric results.

The 1980's school boycotts, which also spread across the country, albeit unevenly, involved mainly high school students, but demonstrated a much-remarked upon sophistication of organization and consciousness.

Molteno (1983:16) states that resistance took another form in 1984 to 1986. In the early 1980s, there was an uneasy calm in schools. COSAS continued to build itself and to organize students, but it was more low-key than it had been. It mobilized students around issues such as democratically elected SRCs, poor matric results and the unpopular age limit restrictions. AZASO also continued to work with students. During this time, AZASM was set up. Youth congresses were formed all over the country and could organize young people who were not in school. They played an important role in the political activity of this time. In 1984, another period of boycotts and protests began.

According to Christie (1996), COSAS, AZASO and NUSAS launched the Education Charter Campaign in February 1984. The Education Charter Campaign aims are shown on the next page.

The main objectives of the Charter Campaign are contained herein below

The Education Charter Campaign aims:

1. To establish an Education Charter that would streamline student demands and present a view of a viable alternative to our present system of education.

2. To reach out to and consult all students in all comers of our country together with our communities and to receive contributions from them so that the document arises out of the principle of democracy.

3. To develop the organizational network of both AZASO and COSAS and all other participatory organizations.

4. To establish branches of AZASO and COSAS in those areas where they do not exist presently.

5. To demonstrate to South Africa and the entire world that the students and community have rejected the present system of education.

6. To create a document around which students can organize and rally in striving for a democratic and relevant system of education for all.

[Source: *Africa Perspective 24, 1984:74-76]*

Naidoo (1990:132-134) comments that the problems experienced by COSAS was in setting up and maintaining the mechanisms for effective dialogue with their parents. COSAS was banned in August 1985, which meant that some of the students could not continue with.

education because the state had decided to shut down some schools. The formation of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) in December 1985 was a decisive step by both parents and students. The NECC was a response to the banning of COSAS.

The Education Charter Campaign was taken under the wing of the NECC and the work done by the students was incorporated. The schools and universities were important sites for struggle.

SUMMARY

In this chapter the researcher reviewed the policies of the Apartheid Education System and the challenges thereof faced by African learners. The Apartheid Education Policies were introduced by the Nationalist government in 1953. Apartheid education propagated segregated and unequal education for various racial groups. Africans were introduced to Bantu education which intended to blunt competition with whites. The objectives of apartheid education were furthered by recommendations made by Eiselen and Tomlinson, which strengthened the development of Bantu Education.

The effects of Bantu education were devastating and created a major challenge for African learners. The divisions caused by Bantu education were not only racial but were also socio-economic and geographic. The most direct impact on education was the prescription of financial limitations. Another debilitating factor was the low standards of education and poor resources for African schools. The institutions of various racial groups were unequally funded and unequally resourced. This system favoured whites and Africans were underprivileged. Per capita expenditure was highly unequal. Schools in townships

and other black schools were poorly resourced and different syllabi applied to the various groups.

Bantu education was only one of the many other apartheid measures that were beginning to affect African people socially and economically. The education boycotts emerged as early as in 1955 right up to 1960. The highlight of the '60s' was the Black Consciousness Movement and resistance. The inequalities in education brought about educational and cultural challenges.

During the years between 1976 and 1994 the African education system was clouded by a series of dissatisfactions and protests. The Soweto uprising marked a turning point in African education. The uprising sparked a sustained and systematic mobilization and organization in schools across the country. On 16 June 1976 a mass demonstration against the enforcement of Afrikaans was organized.

The challenges of African students are further reviewed on the basis of curriculum, language, and culture. The curriculum served as a ceiling which brought about a shortage of skills. The pass rate in physical science and mathematics for Africans was very poor, which created an imbalance in education. African educators were under-qualified, which demoralized the educational processes for African learners.

Africans were further disadvantaged in terms of language and culture. The emphasis was on tribalism. Schools were separated according to language groups. The reason was to increase the use of African languages and reduced access to the most valued English.

English was then used as a ceiling for better job opportunities, which disadvantaged Africans.

The reason for bringing up this discussion is to show that this era brings about two major pillars that crippled and contributed in the creation of the poor education of African learners. On the one hand this was downfall of students. Some dropped out, some died and some lost direction. Contrariwise students were awakening to claim back their African identity and dignity.

The Black Consciousness Movement was born in the late 1960s, which had a strong influence on student organizations. Most higher education leaders are the products of the BCM. Many student organizations emerged after the BCM was banned. The student struggles in education were bloody and schools were venues for political struggle. The NECC also contributed to the national liberation struggle and was prepared to fight and struggle to the bitter end.

It can be concluded that the South African education system was faced with a major challenge of providing equality in education and qualitative dimensions of schooling. South Africa was the racially segregated in education. It promoted inequality among citizens who ought to have equal access to education and other institutional systems of a society. Whites, Indians and coloureds had benefited from the apartheid education system and Africans were disadvantaged. This chapter considers how educational policies had been problematic for African students in South Africa during the apartheid years. The following chapter examines the impact of educational policies of democratic South Africa on African learners.

CHAPTER FOUR

POST-APARTHEID EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

The democratic elections of 1994 brought about the end of the apartheid regime with its policies. Consequently, the reconstruction and restructuring of the education system has been at the top of the list for the transformation of South African society. The new democratic government made very important policy pronouncements. The policies of government consist of a range of issues in education, politics, economics, sociality, culture, science and many more which represent the voice of the people.

PROPOSALS FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EDUCATION POLICIES

In this chapter, the researcher examines the proposals from the democratic organizations like the Pan-Africanist Congress, the African National Congress and the Azanian People's Organization with regard to education.

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)

The PAC envisaged a curriculum that would address the problems of academic and professional training in a system in which all Azanians would have equal and free access. It was to be a system whose educational aims and objectives will be the upliftment and development of a free Azania and its entire people (PAC, 1992:11). The PAC's policies had no elaboration in so far as cultural diversity in education is concerned and no detailed outline on how the organization would ensure equal and free access.

The African National Congress (ANC)

The ANC's discussion paper on Educational Policy of 1991, states that the primary aim of educational policy should be, to link the educational system with the broad social goal of a democratic society in which there is political and social justice (ANC, Educational policy 1991:11). This policy did not address the imbalances that would be caused by the dominant culture in the multicultural schools and policy makers had no measures put in place to ensure epistemological democracy.

The Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO)

AZAPO examined the interplay of education and culture in the existing education dispensation within the dichotomy of "white culture" and "black culture". The document challenged the white dominant group for maintaining its position of power by fostering and encouraging ethnocentrisms in the country, which deprived the black people of their own authentic culture and alienated them from popular culture. Such a dominant culture can only serve to rationalize the exploitation and oppression of the masses in the name of civilization it argued (AZAPO, 1984: 236).

The true impact of these proposals was on redressing the injustices of the apartheid education system. The PAC's proposal focused more on addressing academic and professional training; whilst the ANC's proposal highlighted that there should be political and social justice for all. AZAPO's argument was against the perpetuation of the "white dominant culture". All these three proposals had no measures put in place to address the imbalances that would be caused by the dominant culture in education and there was no

detailed outline on how the organizations would ensure equal education opportunities for all.

Mothala (1998:3) explains that for many years there were separate education departments of education for different races, with Africans being at the bottom of the ladder in terms of the provision of resources. The challenge faced by the new government was to create a system that would fulfill the vision of opening doors of learning and culture to all. The paramount task was to build a just and equitable system, which provides good quality education and training to young and older learners throughout the country. To achieve this, the Department of Education and Training published a number of policy documents.

The democratic government made paramount changes, which brought about the Constitution of 1996 and the transition from four provinces, four independent states and six homelands to nine provinces, which were further classified into districts and zones. The Education system provided for national, provincial and local schools levels.

EDUCATION IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Schools operate under the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996. All citizens of South Africa are equal under the new Constitution, especially because of its human rights section.

Maree (1995:1-4) explains that the concept of fundamental human rights stems from a broad set of basic values that informs the way in which humans organize their societies in order to ensure that the values are preserved. The fundamentals are set to be inalienable, universal and inherent rights, enjoyed by, and owed to, all human beings. Maree further refutes the theory that rights enjoyed by any individual, group, class of persons or

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government, can ever be said to be absolute. The Constitution recognizes issues of education as part of this pronouncement. The following part deals with matters relevant to education.

Fundamental rights as recognized in the Constitution are particularly relevant to education. The following sections contained in the Constitution are particularly relevant to education. These are application of the Bill of Rights, basic education, and education in one's preferred language, equality, religion, belief and opinion. Freedom of expression, assembly, demonstration and petition, freedom of association, political rights, access to court, and access to information, administrative justice, labour relations, children, language and culture, education, limitation and interpretation are also included. This study takes a closer look at only a few of the above-mentioned rights. Those are equality, religion, language and culture and basic education.

Equality

In terms of the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa every one is equal and must be treated without being unfairly discriminated against in any way. According to Chapter 2 of the South African Constitution Act 108 of 1996, the clause, equality provides protection against discrimination and oppression for all citizens. Again chapter 2, section 31 states that a person belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community may not be denied the right, with other members of that community to enjoy their culture, practice their religion and use their language and to form, join and maintain cultural religious and linguistic associations with other organs of civil society.

According to section 29 of the Constitution, educational rights are emphasized whereby religious freedom and language and cultural rights are protected and recognized. The provisions have been made to accommodate the self determination of communities within South Africa.

Section 29 provides equality among the diverse communities by creating equal educational opportunities for all. The provision includes a right to education in the language of one's choice in public educational institutions where it is feasible. Section 9 also applies the equality principle, which means that people in different situations should be treated differently in order to attain equality. Section 9 further provides that everyone is equal before the law and has a right to equal protection and benefit of the law. The interacting of section 29 and 9 are closely linked to and supportive of other rights that impact on education.

In the apartheid era African people had no equal rights. There were no provisions in place for admission of children from other races. Mda (2000 48-57) states that in the suburbs most domestic workers and gardeners were Africans belonging to poor socio-economic groups. They had to send their children to schools in historically Black areas. Therefore this provision of equality was going to make it possible for the employee's children to be in the same classroom and receive the same education as the employer's children. Blacks who could afford it, also used the opportunity of schooling their children in suburban schools. This equity clause would afford learners a right to their own language and their own culture. Schools would no longer serve to denigrate and devalue the religion, linguistic and cultural diversity of the learners, more especially African learners.

Religion

Subject to the South African Constitution of 1996, religious observances may be conducted at a public school under rules issued by the governing body if such observances are conducted on an equitable basis and attendance at them by learners and members of staff is free and voluntary. The religion clause would afford learners a right to their own religion without being prejudiced. Under the Bill of Rights everyone has a right to believe what he or she wants and follows whatever religion one chooses.

Language and Culture

South Africa is a land of many cultures and languages, and thus has an obligation to develop and promote all cultures and languages. In terms of the Section 3(4)of the language policy of public schools (Act27 of 1996), policy nourishes the language of communication across the barriers of religion, race, colour or creed. The policy also points out that learning of more than one language should be a general practice to all South Africans. Home language is also regarded as important and should be maintained while providing access to acquire the additional language. When it comes to learning, the right to choose the language of learning depends on the individual and this right should be exercised within the framework of promoting multilingualism.

According to the language policy, there is a fluid relationship between language and culture. It is through language that particular cultural traits, beliefs and practices are transmitted from one generation to another. If properly managed it should give rise to and sustain genuine respect for the variability of the communities that constitute our nation

Basic Education

According to the Constitution section 29 (1), all children and adults have the right to basic education. This implies that no person can be discriminated against because of race or colour. People can set up their own schools, universities, or technikons at their own expense but the constitution does not say that the government must pay some money to private schools. The Bill of Rights ensures that there are no unfair laws, and makes sure that the rights of ordinary people are protected in everyday situations. According to the Constitution, the state is duty-bound to provide basic education up to the level of functional literacy that is, reading, writing, functional mathematics, culture, politics and an elementary knowledge of economics.

The Constitution of South Africa guarantees the rights to education, religion, language and culture, equality and freedom of every citizen. The Constitution of South Africa also intends to strike a balance between the advantages and disadvantages of the past and redress the damages caused by the inequalities of apartheid policies.

The next section, the democratic education policy is discussed more as to how and what measures are in place to construct an education system that is equal, just and fair.

POST-APARTHEID EDUCATION POLICIES

The year 1994 will be remembered as the most important in South African history. The well thought-out apartheid system with its long-term political ideology aimed to keep races separate and unequal as well as enforce of white supremacy. 1994 gave birth to the new democratic era, which is characterized by the Constitution Act 108 of 1996.

South Africans adopted the constitution in order to heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human

rights. It lays the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people. Schools operate under the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 and a number of statutes of which the Schools Act has the biggest impact on education. Every citizen is equally protected by law, to improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person and build a united and democratic South Africa to take its rightful place in the family of nations. The quest for equal education is a salient factor in the Constitution. It also deals with linguistic and cultural diversity in the South African society as a particular challenge.

Mda (2000:47-59) says the new political dispensation leading up to and after the 1994 first democratic elections, made it impossible to practice apartheid and racial segregation in schools. The broad guiding principles in each area of transformation are: "access, equity, quality, efficiency and sustainability, and democratic governance". The education policies of National government are to be found in a number of laws and policy documents.

The Department of Education and Training published a number of policy documents, which are in line with the stipulations of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996. A Constitution is the supreme law of the country. Among other statutes, the School Act has the biggest impact on education. The values that are articulated in the Constitution are entrenched in a Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights (chapter two of the constitution) as well as the School Act 84 of 1996 has provided the new human rights culture in schools. The following section discusses a detailed account on School Act no. 84 of 1996.

The South African Schools Act, No. 84 of 1996

The act provides uniform norms and standards for learners, as well as uniform systems

for the organization, governance and funding of schools. The focus on S.A.S.A. is on its objectives, admission policy to public schools, freedom of conscience and religion at public schools, and language policy. According to the S.A.S.A., a public school must admit learners and serve their educational requirements without unfairly discriminating in any way. This section discusses sections of the School Act. These are: section 5 (1) and (2) which makes provision for admission to public schools, section 7 which provides for freedom of conscience and religion at public schools and section 6 (1), (2) and (3) which provide for language policy at public schools.

Admission to Public Schools

Subject to the admission policy, section 5 (1) stipulates that a school must admit learners and serve their educational requirements without unfair discrimination because of skin colour or race. This would provide for learners to apply and be admitted to the schools of their choice without having to be bothered about their race.

A policy framework to Education and Training 1994 pronounced that there would be free and compulsory education for all learners from Grade 1 to Grade 9 in public schools. Section 5 (2) promulgates that the governing body or any other person of a public school may not administer any test related to the admission of a learner. This would provide learners not to be refused admission to a public school because of discriminating tests achievements.

Section 40 (1) and section 41 of the South Africa School Act which deals with school fees, promulgates that a parent is liable for the school fees and the governing body may lawfully enforce the payment by liable parents. This serves as a limitation to the admission policy

because fees could curb access to admission to a particular school. Parents could refrain from enrolling learners to the school of choice because they cannot afford high fees.

Freedom of Conscience and Religion at Public Schools

According to the abstract in the South African Schools Act, section 7, religious observances may be conducted at a public school under rules issued by the governing body if such observances are conducted on an equitable basis and attendance at them by a learner and members of staff is voluntary.

In terms of section 8 (4) of the Schools Act, every learner has an obligation to comply with the code of conduct. Section 8 (4) of the South African Schools Act serves as a limitation when interacting with section 7 which promulgates the right of freedom of conscience and religion at public schools. The learner could feel at a later stage to associate with a particular religious group or persons of indigenous origin which has not been adopted as a rule issued by the governing body. The governing body could find the learner defiant to the school code of conduct. This could violate a learner's right to freedom of conscience and religion.

Joubert et al (2004:81) states that a learner challenged the school governing body's decision to suspend her from school because she converted to Rastafarianism and wore a dreadlock hairstyle. The school governing body charged the learner with serious misconduct of defiance of the school code of conduct and that "the hair must be tied up". Other limitations of the right are disciplinary measures and include measures for suspension.

Language Policy of Public Schools

According to the objectives of the language policy of public schools in terms of Section 6 (1) of the National education policy Acts, 1996 (Act 27 of 1996), the minister determines the norms and standards for language policy after broad consultation with certain bodies. Section 6 (2) gives powers to the governing body of public schools to determine the language policy of schools subject to the observation of section 6(3) which deals with the implementation of language policy without racial discrimination.

The language policy further promotes and develops official languages and also promotes multilingualism as a salient approach in education. The official languages that are required by learners must receive equitable time and resource allocation. The following promotion requirements apply to language subjects. In Grade 1 to Grade 4 promotion is based on performance in one language. From Grade 5 onwards, one language must be passed. From Grade 10 to Grade 12 two languages must be passed, one on first Language level, and the other at second language level. At least one of these languages must be an official language (The Language Policy of Public Schools 1996).

Section 6 (3) guarantees that no racial discrimination may be practiced when implementing language policy. It is argued that the essence of giving high esteem to one language perpetuates the existing inequalities which derail the transformation of the education system and therefore fails to honour section 6 (3). Section 29 (2) of the South African Constitution serves as a profiled limitation to the right. Section 29 (2) provides that education in one's preferred language is subject to the condition that it must be reasonably practicable.

It is argued that the practicability requirement which is the number of learners, costs and availability of facilities and educators, is just a smoke screen to protect the existing dominating language as a Constitutional right. The essence of the challenge is that individual schools augment their state allocated funds for the improvement of their facilities and capabilities. If the school finds the preferred language right significant, the school could augment state funds to meet the practicability of the preferred language.

It is further argued that parents and learners could feel obliged to choose English as a language of learning because of the value given to it in all the sectors of life in South Africa. Job opportunities are still reserved for people who are proficient in English and this indirectly violates the Constitutional right to freedom of choice. The state has an obligation in this regard, to provide a clearly legitimate mechanism for creating equality and establishing equity in the education system.

The following section discusses challenges of racial integration that are faced by African learners in racially mixed schools.

CHALLENGES OF RACIAL INTEGRATION THAT ARE FACED BY AFRICAN LEARNERS IN RACIALLY MIXED SCHOOLS

Learners bring to school different historical backgrounds, religious beliefs and day-to-day living patterns. These experiences guide the way learners behave in school.

Mothata (1998:143-145) says that racial incidents in some schools, brought about by the integration of the education system, occur throughout the country. For example, the racial tension and confrontation in Potgietersrus in Northern Province came about because white parents of learners in the local public primary school vowed to keep the school for white learners only. Parents of the African learners who were refused admission to the school, together with the Northern Province Education, Arts, Culture and Sports department applied for a Supreme Court interdict on the grounds that the school governing body's refusal to admit their children on the bases of race was unfair and particularly violated sections 9(3) and (4) of South Africa's Constitution.

After losing the battle for control of the school, some white parents withdrew their children and enrolled them in the newly established independent "volkskool" situated 10 kilometers south of Potgietersrus. Although the school, which is registered with the Northern Province Department of Education, claims that everyone is welcome to enroll, in practice it has demonstrated the opposite in that it caters only for the needs of Afrikaans children.

Mothata (1998:143-145) further states that other racial incidents in schools, notably the racial tension between African and white learners in Vryburg High School, coincided with a report by the South African Human Right Commission (SAHRC) published in March 1999, on racism and racial integration in public schools. The report, "Racism, Racial Integration and Desegregation in South African Public Secondary Schools", was released at the same time as the appearance in court of a Vryburg High School black learner who had allegedly stabbed a white learner with a pair of scissors in a racial quarrel. In what the black learner described as "self defense", it was indicated in the SAHRC report, which was conducted over a period of time, that schooling was one area "where apartheid still reared

its head" (*The Star and City Press* 7/3/1999:6). "There have been numerous other examples of institutional racism. It was also found that certain people entrusted with the running of a school are instead misusing their position".

Mda (1997:51) explains that the legacy of apartheid is still felt in South African schools. Mda cites one of the apartheid pillars, the Group Areas Act, as still functioning in one-way or the other. Mda states that the "integrated" or "desegregated" schools under discussion are in areas formerly specified for a particular racial group, that is, in areas reserved for Indians, coloured or whites, and therefore integration becomes assimilation. In inner city schools some learners travel every day from townships to the city schools and thus these learners remain outsiders.

Some schools are still exploiting the Group Areas policy of the past as a gate-keeping mechanism to sift and select learners. Since learners must be admitted to schools nearest their homes, schools have devised their own measures of control. Some of these measures are very similar to the "influx control" system of the apartheid regime, where ethnic classification was turned into national classification, and thus resulted in South African citizens being classified as "Transkeians" or "Vendas" rather than South Africans. Acceptable proof of living in an area (for the purpose of entering these integrated schools) is provided by documents such as electricity bills or rent statements with the prospective learner's parent's name. Many parents live in suburbs as domestic workers, or as tenants or sub-tenants, and consequently their children are excluded from their nearest schools through school policies like these. In effect, only the children of property owners find admission to the schools in their areas (Mda 1997:51).

In most cases, black learners were admitted to schools but asked to go back a class or two. This means that for example, even if a learner is ready to progress to grade 6, he or she would not be taken in that particular grade but would be admitted to grade 5 or grade 4 on the grounds that the township schools have low standards. Such was their desperation for admission of their children that this researcher knows of no reported cases where parents challenged this condition. Some schools required that learners who had not performed well in entrance tests take language classes and return for re-testing before admission. Other schools admitted learners on condition that those judged to be weak take remedial classes in the school.

The lack of knowledge often leads to people responding to differences as personal deficiencies, rather than cultural differences. These misunderstandings may appear insignificant to an observer, but they can be important to participants.

According to Naidoo (1996: 32), learners from historically disadvantaged populations suffer in historically white or racially integrated schools. Learners in his study articulate such suffering. The learners feel ostracized and unwanted. African learners say there is not much communication between African learners with other learners. Educators in some of these schools aggravate the situation by not allowing the opportunities for racial mixing. They do this by having classrooms with Africans only. African learners are made to feel bad and stupid because they are not fluent in the English language. Racism is alive in these schools and is mostly portrayed by educators and other students.

According to Christie (1990: 68-80), in her study of white schools that integrated the races, culturally disadvantaged learners had problems, which manifested in various forms. For

example: A learner says, "I do not think that my white friend and I do understand each other. We do not get enough time to mix and get to know each other better, because the only time we see each other is at school. Racial mixing works while you are at school only."

De Klerk (1996:8-11) examines the day-to-day language struggles in a racially and culturally mixed school. De Klerk describes the African learners as slaves of English. The learner's concern is, "in the township all those who go to white or Indian schools are not playing together with other African kids from township schools. Even at home they speak English, if their parents are proficient in the use of the English language, and no African language at all. Eventually these kids tend to forget their mother tongue. They sometimes cannot spell their names in the African mother tongue."

The differences in language and culture between the groups, and between the incoming learners and the school, also contribute significantly to the situation of "us" and "them". The article "Integrated schools must face issues" (Ntshakala, 1997:5), reports that while, culturally, language is central as an agent of socialization and learning, English as the language of instruction and communication poses a huge problem for the African learners for whom it is a second or third language.

In Soudien's (1997) study of African children in a coloured school in Cape Town, it is reported that the experience of African learners in schools where Afrikaans is the dominant language, is as alienating as the experience with English in the former white schools. Moreover, when the isiXhosa-speaking students in Soudien's study spoke their language to

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one another, some teachers made it clear that this was not acceptable. Because the teachers did not speak or understand the language they misinterpreted the behavior of the students.

Studies of South African desegregated classrooms (Ntshakala 1997; Soudien 1997; Vally and Dalamba 1999; Van Heerden 1998) further report the non-existence of cultural integration. "Cultural alienation, discrimination and harsh treatment" are some of the problems cited by black pupils.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, the researcher highlights the proposals for the reconstruction of education policies by political organizations. The true impact of these proposals was on redressing the injustices of the apartheid education system. The PAC's proposal was more on addressing academic and professional training, whilst the ANC's proposal highlighted that there should be political and social justice for all. AZAPO's argument was against the perpetuation of the "white dominant culture". All these three proposals had no measures put in place to address the imbalances that would be caused by the dominant culture in education and there was no detailed outline on how the organizations would ensure equal education opportunities for all.

Finally the Constitution of Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 was in place and from this, number of documents emanated, of which the School Act has the biggest impact on education. The educational policies serve as a benchmark for examining whether the primary goals of government have been put into practice at the various levels of education, with special reference to racially mixed and culturally diverse schools.

The South African Schools Act, No 84, 1996 provides uniform norms and standards for learners and a uniform organization, governance and funding. The SASA is instrumental to protect the rights of every learner in education. In the light of many positive changes discussed in the policies, there appear to be many Acts that are intended to redress the legacy of the past apartheid and to transform and empower all South Africans. It is concluded that section 5 (1) and (2) which makes provision for admission to public schools is limited by Section 40 (1) and section 41 of the South African Schools Act which deals with school fees. It promulgates that a parent is liable for the school fees and the governing body may lawfully enforce the payment by liable parents. This serves as a limitation to the admission policy because fees could curb access to admission to a particular school. Parents could refrain from enrolling learners to the school of choice because they cannot afford high fees.

Studying section 7 which provides for freedom of conscience and religion at public schools and section 8 (4) of the Schools Act, promulgates that every learner has an obligation to comply with the school's code of conduct. Section 8 (4) of the S.A.SA. serves as a limitation when interacting with section 7 because the learner can choose what has not been adopted as a rule issued by the governing body. The governing body could find the learner defiant to the school's code of conduct. This could violate a learner's right to freedom of conscience and religion.

Section 6 (1), (2) and (3) provides for the language policy of public schools. Section 6 (3) guarantees that no racial discrimination may be practiced in implementing language policy. It is argued that the essence of giving high esteem to one language perpetuates the existing inequalities which derail the transformation of the education system and therefore fails to

honour section 6 (3). Section 29 (2) provides that education in one's preferred language is subject to the condition that it must be reasonably practicable.

Section 29 (2) of the South African Constitution serves also as a limitation to the section 6 (3) right. The policies appear to deny diversity and impose uniformity on the pretext of equality. It is concluded that policies are still marginalizing other official languages, cultures and religions. Learners bring to school different languages, religious, beliefs and different historical backgrounds. There are racial integration challenges faced by African learners in racially mixed schools. The Group Areas Act is still practiced in many schools since learners must be admitted to schools nearest to their homes and an acceptable proof of living in an area for the purpose of entering the integrated schools is required. Educators do not allow racial mixing. They do this by having classrooms with Africans only. There are racial incidents in some schools, where African learners are perceived as dropping standards. Teachers cannot see ways of recognizing the multiculturalism of the school, without compromising the standards of excellence. African learners are made to feel bad because of their different languages and cultures. The following chapter reviews language and culture as they impact on educational equity.

CHAPTER FIVE

EDUCATION, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

INTRODUCTION

South Africa is a multilingual country. According to the National Language Policy Framework 2002, approximately 25 different languages are spoken in South Africa, of which 11 have been granted official status in terms of section 6 of the Constitution (Act No. 108 of 1996), on the grounds that their usage includes about 98% of the total population.

This section commences with a historical background of language in education policies in South Africa. The second section discusses the legislation of language policy in post-apartheid South Africa. The third section describes the Statistics of South African people and speakers per language in South Africa. The fourth section examines how the English language is a gatekeeper and a socio-political weapon of power. The fifth part discusses mother tongue education and this section ends with discussions on culture.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Delpit (1995:95) traces the beginning of language domination as early as the arrival of white settlers. She states that English proficiency has been seen as an important tool in South Africa, to provide access to employment and to use it as a power to control Africans. During the colonial period education was controlled and influenced by the settlers and the missionaries. To their credit, the missionaries recorded some African Languages in written form for language learning. The establishment of the Republic of South Africa brought

about the Apartheid system, which had policies that were marginalizing African Languages.

Taylor and Vinjevold (1999:206-210) explain that language policy is framed and driven by political ideologies and economic interest rather than education theory and practice. They have explored the history of language in education policies including all races. The study focuses on the African languages in Education. In the year 1885 Zulu was introduced into African schools in Natal. From 1935 the Welsh Commission began its investigation. Vernacular language was a compulsory subject in all primary schools and teacher training colleges.

The medium of instruction in all four provinces was, by this time also the pupil's mother tongue. The duration of mother tongue instruction varied from province to province. In Natal it was to be used for the first six years of schooling, in the Cape and Free State for the first four years, and in the Transvaal the first two years. After these initial years of schooling, one of the official languages was to be used as medium of instruction. The vast majority of schools opted for English.

After the National Party came to power, African schools were removed from provincial administrations and placed under the jurisdiction of the Department of Bantu Education. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 changed the language policy of these schools. The main concerns of the new policy were to extend the use of the mother tongue and Afrikaans. Mother tongue instruction was extended year by year from Standard 3 to Standard 6. This ensured that, by 1959, all eight years of primary education were conducted in the mother tongue. Afrikaans and English became compulsory subjects from the first grade. As well

as being compulsory subjects at secondary schools, English and Afrikaans were both to be used as the medium of instruction from the first year of high school.

The Afrikaans language policy was implemented. All teachers in African schools were given five years to become competent in Afrikaans and to this end intensive language courses were offered. There was widespread opposition to this regulation. Some people opposed the Afrikaans language as medium of instruction for political reasons and others opposed it for educational reasons. Protests spread from school to school in Soweto.

Hartshorne (1992:198-199) explains that the Ministry wanted to protect the position of Afrikaans. Meanwhile the Secretary of the Department decided to withdraw the options as far as his department was concerned and to return to the dual medium policy. There were changes in African schooling. This meant that primary schooling was reduced from eight years to seven years and the school-leaving certificate was written in Std 5 and not Std 6. This examination was to be written in English or Afrikaans after pupils had received only one year of instruction in these languages.

According to Taylor and Vinjevold (1999:210) the 1976 resistance to the language policy came from the junior secondary and senior primary schools. This resistance resulted in violent confrontations between pupils and the police, first in Soweto and then in other parts of the country. By July of 1976 the minister had reluctantly agreed to change the dual medium policy to a single medium of instruction to be decided by the school. Although this only became official policy in 1979, the overwhelming majority of African secondary schools adopted English as medium of instruction from the mid-1976.

The Education and Training Act of 1979 stated that the medium of instruction should be the mother tongue at primary school but that the wishes of parents should be considered after Grade 4. The mother tongue requirement in the primary schools was opposed by many African parents. The De Lange Commission also included the language of instruction issue in its investigation into education provision. Although the Commission proposed three options as acceptable alternatives, including English instruction from the first grade, the implementation of these recommendations was delayed until 1990 when the department accepted an amendment to Act 90 of 1979. This amendment gave parents the right to choose the medium of instruction at each school.

Ngubane (2002:6) describes South Africa's apartheid regime's language policy as failed to recognize South Africa's linguistic diversity. Colonial and apartheid language policies, together with political and socio-economic policies, therefore gave rise to a hierarchy of languages, the inequality of which reflected the structure of racial and class inequality that characterized South African society. This resulted in language inequality. The dominance of English and Afrikaans created an unequal relationship between these languages and the African languages.

Mda (1998:156) affirms Ngubane in that the issue of language in education has always been a political one. Language has been used as a basis for classifying and dividing people, and as the cornerstone of segregationist education policies. Languages in South Africa have not enjoyed an equal status. During the colonial and apartheid eras, Afrikaans and English were defined as "languages", while indigenous African languages were viewed as "tongues" or "vernaculars". While the term "language" carried esteem, rights, recognition and privilege, the reverse were true for "the mother tongue" and "vernacular". African

languages were marginalized as languages of learning and could not usually be used as such beyond the primary school.

Goduka (1999:106) also agrees with Ngubane and Mda when she argues that English and Afrikaans have been privileged as official languages. She states that the major indigenous languages have been undervalued and underdeveloped. Apartheid South Africa's official language policies promoted one-way communication on terms set by the "white" minority government.

This form of language power is what Skutnabb-Kangas calls "linguicism". She defines "linguicism" as ideologies and structures used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources between groups defined on the basis of language.

This situation was reversed only with the advent of democracy in 1994 and the Constitutional provisions on official multilingualism. The following part will discuss the legislation of the language policy after the apartheid era.

LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE POST-APARTHEID ERA

According to the National Language Policy Framework of 2003, Section 6 of the Constitution provides the principal legal framework for multilingualism, the development of the official languages and the promotion of respect and tolerance for South Africa's linguistic diversity. It determines the language rights of citizens, which must be honored through national language policies.

The Constitution emphasizes that all official languages must be treated equally and, thereby facilitate the developing of the status and use of African languages. It is the government's obligation to make sure that the policies are regulated and monitored in the usage of disadvantaged African languages.

The Constitution mandates change to the language situation throughout the country, giving social and political recognition to the disadvantaged language groups on the basis of the expressed needs of communities and interest groups.

Section 6(2) of the Constitution requires mechanisms to be put in place to develop these African languages. Section 6(3) and (4) contain language-related provisions for national and provincial governments, whereby government departments must use at least two of the official languages.

To promote linguistic diversity further, section 6(5) provides for the establishment of the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) to promote multilingualism and see to the development and use not only of the official languages, but also of the Khoi, Nama and San languages, as well as the SA Sign Language. PanSALB is also to cultivate respect for the Heritage Languages spoken by some sections of our community and for those languages that are used for religious purposes.

The Constitution, Section 9(3) further stipulates that languages need protection against unfair discrimination on the grounds of language, while sections 30 and 31(1) refer to people's rights in terms of cultural, religious and linguistic participation and enjoyment.

The department of Education introduced a "Language in Education Policy" (LIEP), which stresses multilingualism as an extension of cultural diversity and an integral part of building a non-racial South Africa. The underlying principle is to retain the learner's home language for learning and teaching, but to encourage learners to acquire additional languages as well. LIEP deals with such matters as language(s) of learning and teaching in public schools, school curricula, and the language related duties of provincial departments of education and school governing bodies.

The Constitution and related legislation promulgate the promotion of multilingualism in South Africa. This policy framework must enhance the status and use of the African official languages in all nine provinces in South Africa. The following section provides an overview of the statistics of South African people and South African languages with special reference to IsiZulu.

SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLES AND LANGUAGES

The National Education Policy Act (Act 27 of 1996) is integral to the government's strategy of redressing the discrimination of the past and building a non-racial nation in South Africa i.e. of transforming society and creating a new South African identity. According to Prof. Bhengu, (the Minister of Education) "Being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being South African" (Statement 14 July 1997).

The population statistics adds value by giving a portrait of languages used in South Africa. The important feature about the population figure provides an analysis of the different language users, out of a population of 43,426,386. It shows how many languages are spoken and which language is the most spoken (Statistics South Africa 2003).

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Number of speakers per language in South Africa (1980, 1991, 1996, 1998 and 2001) is shown in the table on the table below.

LANGUAGE	1980	1991 (a)	1996	1998 (b)	2001 (c)
IsiZulu	6 064 480	8 343 587	9 200 144	10 194 787	10 677 305
IsiXhosa	2 879 360	6 729 281	7 196 118	7 610 435	7 907 153
Afrikaans	4 925 760	5 685 403	5 811 547	5 945 805	5 983 426
Sepedi	2 431 760	n/a	3 695 846	3 832 645	4 208 980
English	2 815 640	3 422 503	3 457 467	3 692 157	3 673 203
Setswana	1 444 908	3 368 544	3 301 774	3 613 925	3 677 016
Sesotho	1 877 840	n/a	3 104 197	3 539 261	3 555 186
Xitsonga	888 140	1 439 809	1 756 105	1 776 505	1 992 207
siSwati	650 600	952 478	1 013 193	1 068 733	1 194 430
Tshivenda	169 740	673 538	876 409	1 227 824	1 021 757
isiNdebele	459 880	n/a	586 961	654 304	711 821
Other	292 360	640 277	228 275	157 767	217 293
Unspecified	n/a	n/a	355 538	10 868	n/a
TOTAL:	26 271 060	31 255 420	40 583 574	43 325 017	44 819 778

Source: Statistics South Africa (2003)

In 2001, according to the statistics, out of 44 819 778 speakers, 10 677 305 are IsiZulu speakers. IsiZulu is the most spoken language as compared to English which is the fifth in rank with 3 673 203 speakers. More than half of the population speaks African languages.

Silva (1996) says that the South African languages are divided into two major groups, Nguni in the east (Zulu, Xhosa, Siswati, Ndebele) and Sotho in the central and northern areas (Sesotho, Setswana, Sepedi). Two far-northern languages, Xitsonga and Tshivenda, are unrelated to the Nguni and Sotho groups.

Despite the fact that English-speakers are certainly out-numbered, Silva (1996) states that English serve as *lingua franca*. The main means of communication in urban areas is English. Many second generation people from Germany, India, Japan, and Italy prefer to speak English as the first language. The other crucial implication is that English language dominates in Higher education, commerce, science, and technology, and as the internal and international language of communication. IsiZulu is one of the marginalized African languages despite the fact that IsiZulu is the most spoken language in South Africa. The following section provides a brief IsiZulu profile as a language. A total of 10 677 305 people in South Africa speak IsiZulu; there are an additional 37,500 in Malawi; 15,000 in southern Swaziland; and 228,000 in Lesotho (Grimes 1992). The main concentrations are in Natal Province and within Natal in KwaZulu; in south eastern Transvaal; and north eastern Orange Free State. It is a "dominant language" in at least a dozen districts in Transvaal, and one large district in the Orange Free State. Afrikaans and English are official languages, but Zulu is considered a "national" language in the Republic of South Africa (Grobler et al. 1990).

According to Grimes (1992) the role of African languages in South Africa is complex and ambiguous. At present Zulu is used in primary schools up to Standard 2, but thereafter is replaced by English although it is studied as a subject in both primary and secondary schools. At the secondary level most schools serving Zulu speaking students use English.

All education at the university level throughout South Africa is in English or Afrikaans, but Zulu is taught as a subject. In KwaZulu-Natal, it is the language of primary education in the lower grades and as subject up to Standard 10. A considerable literature, including both prose and poetry, exists in Zulu. Literacy is high at 70 percent. The South African Broadcasting Corporation has a domestic service in Zulu in both radio (up to 129 hours per

week) and television (15 hours a week by TV2). A number of publications, newspapers, and monthlies are published in Zulu or in Zulu and English or other African languages (Europa Publications 1993).

IsiZulu is a language spoken well beyond its home areas, it is understood by all speakers of Nguni languages and is used as a lingua franca, either in its simplified form or Fanagalo, or more standard variants, by many non-Nguni speakers from Natal to Zimbabwe. Zulu is one of the official languages of South Africa and plays a major role in KwaZulu-Natal Province and throughout the Republic. Despite the fact that IsiZulu is the most spoken language in South Africa, it cannot compete with the English language which is far advanced in terms of development.

De Klerk (1996:8) states that South Africa cannot meet the high cost of multilingualism and the English language is the only available option to government. The continued development of the English language and its status as a *lingua franca,* can lead to personal language loss and that languages could become extinct.

An example of the impact of the "freezing" of these African languages can be demonstrated by looking at the difference in status today between Afrikaans and the African languages. Afrikaans, with only about six million mother tongue speakers serves as one of the two lingua francas in South Africa. This is because of its status during the colonial and especially the apartheid periods. IsiZulu, with nearly eleven million mother tongue speakers, does not nearly have the lingua franca status as Afrikaans. The reason is that isiZulu did not have the same kind of political status as Afrikaans. One reason is that people were not "forced" to make it their lingua franca. Another reason is that it was not

developed as a modern language due to the fact that it was neglected and not highly regarded and developed scientifically.

Oliver (2003) is another scholar who shows that unused or marginalized languages can lead to extinction. This serves as a warning to Africans that if they ignore their languages, these languages are at risk of extinction. The following languages are already extinct. These languages were:

//XEGWI / //XEGWE / //XEKWI / BATWA / BUSH-C / ABATHWA / BOROA / TLOUE / TLOUTLE / KLOUKLE / LXLOUKXLE / AMANKGQWIGQWI / NKQESHE / AMABUSMANA / GI/KXIGWI / KI//KXIGWI
was found near the Swaziland border.

/XAM / KHAM-KA-! K'E, / /KAMKA! E / /XAM-KA-! K'E

SEROA was found in Lesotho. Dialects included: GÃ! NGE (! GÃ! NE) and //KU//E.

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The danger of the complete marginalization of languages can lead to their extinction. Spencer (1985:394) describes how this can happen. He explains that the introduction of the colonial languages into African societies and their medium of education and their use as communicative instruments for the modernizing process froze the opportunities for the functional development of almost all the African languages. It also froze linguistic competition between languages for access to new domains. So to some extent the European languages retarded the extension and development of the existing African vernacular languages.

McKerron (1934:119) indicates that during the early days of the Dutch East India Company, the majority of white settlers spoke Dutch which was the sole medium of instruction in schools. As time went by, the Huguenot families arrived and the use of French was accepted as another means of instruction. The Dutch speakers only tolerated the French language and were told to try and adjust and be able to adopt Dutch as the main language. It established that within a single generation, French Huguenots had disappeared as a linguistically distinct group.

It is concluded that if the language has no importance to the people, the language can become extinct. Thus, for example, language equity is meaningless, if the speakers of certain languages continue to be last in the queue for well-paid jobs because their first languages do not open doors to these jobs. The elaboration, modernization, and educational and scientific development of previously marginalized languages can save languages from being extinct.

According to the Constitution of South Africa, in terms of section 6 (Act No. 108 of 1996), 11 languages have been granted official status however, the South African government promotes the use of English as a matter of survival, in education and the world of business.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AS A GATEKEEPER AND A SOCIO-POLITICAL WEAPON OF POWER

South African society is still clouded by the legacy of the continued influence of the language policies of the apartheid era. In reality English and Afrikaans are still held in

high esteem and also dictate the terms of success and failure in education, as well as the social and economic fraternity.

Mkatshwa (1985:6) says that African languages have been politically and linguistically oppressed, despite the fact that they have had the majority speakers. The language statistics verifies that up to now African Language speakers are in the majority.

This historical domination brings about what Goduka (1999:102) calls "linguistic imperialism", which is a form of territorial expansionism and domination of other countries by those who regard themselves as superior. As Europeans believed in the superiority of their race, the ideology of imperialism made it possible for them to invade and colonize parts of Africa for economic and political gain. By analogy, linguistic imperialism is the process through which an imperialistic state negatively influences, takes over or contaminates a primary or indigenous language.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1997:25-32) warns that South Africa does a lot of lip service as to equal language opportunities for all. She says, people pay lip service to multilingualism and then get on with the business in English.

English is seen as weapon of power. Skutnabb-Kangas (1997:25-32) says, there are three different types of exerting power. The "punitive" one with sticks, with physical force, is the most prevalent one. An example is that "if you do not do what I tell you to do there are negative external sanctions. I will kill you, I will rob you, and my army will come to the Gulf and will crush you".

Skutnabb-Kangas cites another type of power, remunerative ways of exerting power, where you use carrots. "If you know this language you get a better salary, if you agree to assimilation ideology as in my part of the world, you get employment". In this case Skutnabb-Kangas refers to bargaining or positive external sanctions whereby you do what the power-holders want you to do. Skutnabb-Kangas (1997:25-32) says that the powers that be, try to persuade people to think the way he/she thinks. And when you succeed, you do not need any kind of external control anymore because the power holder has moved from being somebody outside you into your head. You start controlling yourself because you believe what the power-holder tells you. You become colonized via ideas (1997:25-32).

The following table 3 illustrates these conceptions of power.

Table 3

Exerting Power: Means, Processes and Sanctions

TYPE	PUNITIVE	REMUNERATIVE	IDEOLOGICAL
MEANS	Sticks	Carrots	Ideas
PROCESS	[Physical] Force	Bargaining	Persuasion
SANCTIONS	Negative external [Punishment] [Shame]	Positive external [rewards, benefits, co-operation]	Internal [guilt: good bad conscience]

SOURCE:::SKUNABB-KANGAS(1997)

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During apartheid, power was exerted remuneratively and ideologically. On the one hand, if people co-operated, they received benefits. For example, if people complied with the language policies, then they received positions in the state structures and were remunerated accordingly. Ideologically these mean that these people would also disseminate apartheid ideas through persuasion with resultant "good" or "bad" conscience. On the other hand, if people did not do this, they would not share the awards and would be marginalized.

Tollefson (1991:73) views former colonial languages as having a rich literacy heritage, elaborate stylistic variation, and powerful artistic achievements worthy of respect, preservation and transmission through the ages. In contrast, local languages are typically described as subordinate and traditional, and lacking higher literary forms. These assessments of value, Tollefson warns, must be understood as reflections of relationships of power and domination rather than "objective" linguistic historical "facts".

According to Mda (2000:162) the continuing state of inequality between the languages points to the difficulty of achieving "respect for all languages", countering ethnic chauvinism or separatism through mutual understanding and in "building a non-racial nation".

There is rhetoric about South Africa being in a state of dynamic change but the question is whether these changes are effective for democratization and the equitable distribution of opportunities and resources of education. These realities impact on the African child in a unique negative way, since the medium of instruction is not their African language. This situation makes the child stand out as being different and deficient. The following section will examine the effects of English as a medium of instruction.

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

English is the medium of instruction in most schools. Large intakes of African learners into racially mixed schools put these learners at a disadvantage since African learners do not have a sound knowledge of the English language. Chick (1992:275-276) shows that this goes as far back as the days when the apartheid government first attempted to impose Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schooling. Chick also shows that the process of doing away with Afrikaans resulted in the enhancement of the status of English among blacks. Thus English escaped the antagonism, which had been directed towards it as an ex-colonial language. Since then the English language has gained popularity, strength and more power than any other language in South Africa.

According to Eggleston (1997:51) the competent use of language for scholastic communication is regarded as a reliable index of educational achievement and excellence. Failure to communicate subject matter in writing and orally means educational failure.

Bennet (1990:79) indicates that learners who lack a sufficient command of a language medium (English) are not able to fully follow instruction and so suffer a high failure rate. Introducing a Third Language, such as Afrikaans, compounds the problem. The inability to grasp concepts will seriously inhibit the acquisition of knowledge in the school curriculum and may even have repercussions on the self-concept and self-esteem of learners and, finally, on the whole attitude to education.

Bennet (1990:37) further implies that if a school represses the mother tongue language that an African child has known since birth, he or she may suffer cultural conflict. When the African child is confronted with Standard English in the classroom, the child often has

learning problems. Since he or she is accustomed to hearing his or her mother tongue mostly at home, he or she becomes frustrated because he or she is not familiar with English and tries unsuccessfully to decode what he hears in the classroom. The lack of success has a negative effect on his self-concept and also creates cultural conflict because he or she feels that he or she is failing at something while the other children are succeeding.

According to Hernandez (1989:56) second Language acquisition is a complex cognitive and social process. On the cognitive side, the pupil is expected to figure out the structure of the new language and determine how meaning is communicated. In this instance, aptitude plays an important role. On the social side, the learner should develop strategies for communicating with speakers of the new language. Personality factors are thus involved. Thereby both cognitive and social abilities are involved.

Banks and Lynch (1985:57) explain that since most African learners do not have an early experience of English and their home language is very different from the language of instruction at school, they are handicapped in their intellectual development. The learner thinks in one language and is compelled to speak his thoughts in another language. This may lead to uncertainty and confusion, especially as parents tend to use their native tongue to communicate at home and so pupils have a "school" and a "home" language and are often expert at neither.

Bourdieu (1999:110) provides statistics to show that the language of instruction is manipulated to satisfy the need of the white or Eurocentric class to exercise control over society. Schools are biased in the use of language. Children who are not members of the dominant group will experience more difficulty at school.

Language is a hindrance for the African learner to equally perform in class. Lemmer and Squelch (1993:110) state that educators in racially mixed secondary schools generally belong to the same racial group as most other learners and so some minority groups are unable to identify with educators. Educators tend to focus more on the majority of learners because of time constraints in completing syllabuses. They cannot find time in the school day to cater for minority learners who require special treatment. For example, an educator may ask questions only to pupils form his own cultural background in order to speed up response time. In this way, pupils from the group other than that of the educator have become sidelined.

Educators also report that when they try to engage African learners in discussion their answers are generally monosyllabic. For example, the educator requests a learner to describe a picture of a person jumping for joy and the learner responds with a single word "happy". The educators are quick to add that this does not reflect on the learner's intellect, but rather that pupils lack a verbal and written Standard English vocabulary. This further stifles communication in class.

Kilfoil and Van der Watt (1989:6) explain that the complex and subtle nature of the interaction between the mother-tongue, the language of instruction, social customs, the culture of the school, and the ethnic culture of the child and the attitudes, values and norms that go hand in hand with these aspects can impede progress through the education system.

In the racially mixed classroom, the language issue cannot be ignored. The child's mother tongue and the child's response to the language of instruction are part and parcel of which the child is, and reflect that child's social origins. Motivation to use the 'target' language

(that is the language of instruction) remains the most crucial factor in the language-learning process. This motivation, however, is impeded by social factors. For instance, there have been findings that the social status of the target language can either inhibit or promote learning. This applies equally to the learner's relation to and identification with, the culture represented by that language.

The communication becomes a problem between the educator and an African learner. Moreover, a learner may be able to converse in English but when it comes to subject content learning, some learners experience problems when expected to do their work.

Naidoo (1996:143) says that some educators experience problems when they give projects, assignments and homework to African learners. Some learners may not fully comprehend the requirement and so may submit sub-standard work. Learners may submit work that is inadequate or incomplete: for example, an essay may require a five page written response and they submit one or two pages. Therefore they receive low marks and their self-esteem in some cases may be affected. This stifles communication between educators and learners.

The monolingual English education raises problems as regards to African learners. It fails to produce the desired effects of equality in education for all. The inequality among the learners also manifest when African learners are expected to communicate with white, Indian and coloured cohorts in English. English is given more power than African languages.

In the *Teacher* newspaper of September 2002, Jabu Mashinini, director of Transfer of African Language Knowledge, (Talk), an NGO that promotes African languages, believes that apartheid can still account for the negative mindset towards African languages:

"Parents migrated to where they thought their children could get a good education in former model C schools, indirectly fostering other values and losing their own culture and language," he says. Mashinini adds that the number of teachers attending to their own languages has decreased in recent years and attributes this to "the many demands they have to take on at the same time".

Mda (1997) explains that many African parents fear that their children could lack socio-economic access and mobility if they are taught in their home languages. They also fear polarization and non-access to the perceived economic benefits attached to English.

All these fears pose a threat to the redress and democratization process in South Africa. Power is injected more in English because it is seen as potentially unifying a linguistically diverse nation.

According to PRAESA (1998:3) African languages are perceived to be underdeveloped and unable to cope with scientific, technical and technological subjects. One stands to argue the effectiveness of policies if there are huge leading factors militating against the success of policy implications that all languages are equal and are to be treated equally.

Mda (1997) further states that this view may have some validity because African languages were only taught as subjects and were not used as languages of learning across the

curriculum – especially beyond the foundation phase – and were not developed to have more functions and roles. English and Afrikaans, on the other hand, were developed for specialized purposes and have, for instance, "Business English" and "Sake Afrikaans" applications. However, most of the arguments against the use of African languages for such purposes especially when propagated by African language speakers are evidence of self-depreciation and dependence, resulting from years of colonialism and oppression.

In conclusion, the self-depreciation and denigration of African languages also derives from the reference to African languages as "black" languages. This construction of the apartheid government has been internalized by some African language speakers. They do not see the situation of Africans as similar to that of other people all over the world, that people in Europe are Europeans, and speak European languages, or that those in Asia are Asians speaking Asian languages. It is clear that English has power in education and in socio-political arenas irrespective of the clause which says, "equal opportunities for all". The power of English is retained and further strengthened as it is preferred as a lingua-franca and language of learning. Can one testify that democracy is progressing in South Africa or should we rather confess that it is still only a dream?

There are no "equal opportunities for all" by merely providing learners with the same facilities, textbooks, curriculum and teachers for learners who struggle to understand English. Martin (1979) states that ignoring the existence and use of mother tongue language cannot afford equal opportunities for all learners. The following section discusses mother tongue education.

MOTHER TONGUE EDUCATION

Prah (1998:196) defines the term "mother tongue education" as a medium of instruction as, "the language which a person has acquired in early years and which normally has become his natural instrument of thought and communication". Prah further argues that the mother tongue need not be the language which one's parents use nor need it be the language he first learns to speak, since special circumstances may cause one to abandon this language more or less completely at an early age.

Skutnabb Kangas (1988) favours the idea of mother tongue education, agreeing on the premise that effective literacy acquisition and second language proficiency depend on well-developed first language proficiency. Luthuli (1981) agrees with Skutnabb Kangas that a child learns more effectively through the medium of his mother tongue. He further states that there has never been any doubt in the mind of educationists that the mother tongue is the most suitable form of communication for effective learning. This becomes very obvious because the mother tongue is initially the child's only link with the outside world, the child's only bond with those who provide him or her with feelings of belonging and make him or her feel that he or she is one of them.

Mother tongue education does not receive positive attention from other people. Linguicism is always in the picture. Prah (1998:198) argues that linguicism is always linked to pressure towards monolingualism and a denial of the reality that multilingualism is a global norm. In this regard, Western aid packages to Africa are accompanied by linguicism in the sense that they place a high status on the former colonial language, and a low status on local languages. These packages tend to support subtractive rather that additive bilingualism.

While providing for choice from a range of language-in-education policy models, the S.A.S.A., identifies additive bilingualism/multilingualism as the normative orientation of the language-in-education policy. It assumes that learners learn other languages (including the dominant language) most effectively when there is the continued educational use of the learners' first languages and, therefore, respect for the cultural assumptions and values implicit in them. This is an additive approach. The assumptions that learning English should commence as early as possible, that maintenance of the first language is unnecessary and perhaps undesirable, and that the best way for speakers of other languages to acquire English is submersion, is a subtractive approach. This currently is the only option offered by most schools that in the racially-segregated schools of the apartheid era served exclusively Indian, "Coloured" or English-speaking white learners.

Finally, unlike education via former colonial languages, mother tongue education has hardly been associated with access to economic resources, employment, or higher education, the latter being the key to accessing whatever employment or resources are available. On the contrary, former colonial languages are put on a pedestal and continue to enjoy as much prestige as they did in the colonial era.

According to Schiffman (1995:198) the elite group of people feels comfortable with monolingualism. They use the preferred language for intra-elite communication which is a lingua franca amongst the elite group, which is a different communication language for the masses. In order to preserve the privileges associated with the knowledge of the preferred or "elite" language, the elite tend to resist any language policy that seeks to promote the language of the masses.

Mother tongue education was opposed by parents because of the stigma it carried during the apartheid years. Taylor and Vinjevolt say this happened because the mother tongue policy was "seen as a strategy by the government to prevent African upward mobility and thereby to ensure a perpetual reservoir of cheap labour" (NEPI 1992b:29). But it was also because of the low status of African languages and the obvious social and economic benefits of being fluent in English (1999:220-222).

Despite all the attributes associated with former colonial languages, there is strong evidence that education in these languages has failed to deliver literacy in the continent. Tollefson further observes, that even though vast resources are directed toward language teaching and bilingualism involving English and an indigenous language, more people than ever are unable to acquire the language skills they need in order to enter and succeed in school, obtain satisfactory employment and participate politically and socially in the life of their communities. In the South African scenario, the major indigenous languages are undervalued and underdeveloped and continue to institutionalize linguistic oppression.

The issue of mother-tongue education is also favoured by Goduka (1996:107) when she says, "It is important to emphasize the many benefits of the home or native language to each child and its family. Native languages and native cultures are at the heart of the communicative process for all families. Intergenerational communication is a vital part of child-rearing patterns because it promotes and nurtures young children's social, emotional, spiritual and cognitive well-being. When parents, grandparents and the extended family members impart values, beliefs and cultural wisdom to children, those children will attain a healthy sense of self".

In conclusion, there are ambivalent ideas towards the use of mother tongue education. Teachers in racially integrated schools regard mother tongue as a barrier in the acquisition of the English language. According to these teachers only English is the important language and there is no need for learning other languages. Some scholars state that a child learns more effectively through the medium of the mother tongue. According to these scholars, colonial languages have been used as a weapon for cultural imperialism and promoted self interest. Language should be perceived as a means to achieve ones cultural understanding. Languages and cultures are at the heart of the communicative process for all families. The language and culture that learners bring to school inevitably affect how and what they learn.

Because of the complexity of culture, further discussion on culture and the factors impacting on culture follows. This is followed by a focus on how education is culture-bound and the roots of cultural diversity in the classroom, and two cultural theories explaining what happens when diverse cultures meet.

FACTORS IMPACTING ON THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE

Race, ethnicity, language, social class, and religion are factors impacting on culture. This section will examine Race and relation to culture.

Race

Cohen and Mannion (1983:12-13) state that at the most fundamental level, the designation of an individual as a member of a particular race has traditionally been limited and has indicated that a particular individual or group of people is descended from a common

ancestor and that they are a special division, or subdivision of mankind. The criteria for identifying the different races were normally based on physical characteristics such as hair texture, body size, and shape of the head, eyes, ears, lips, nose and the colour of the skin, eyes and hair.

Hobbs (1987:19) explains that the physical characteristics of a particular race are important only in terms of the social significance that is attributed to them. In other words, physical attributes are relevant only when they are considered to be so. There is no scientifically or socially accountable method of proving that the physical characteristics of a race entitle it to better or worse treatment in terms of humanness or the right of existence of any of its members.

On the other hand Goduka (1999) views the concept of race as an arbitrary artificial concept with multiple meanings and thus with very limited usefulness in describing groups of people. Montagu (1974) supports Goduka when he calls it "man's most dangerous myths". Appleton (1983) comes up with a biological definition of race that maintains boundaries between various human groups. This classification by Appleton affirms the classification of races during the apartheid era although it does not justify the different treatment of different races.

Categorizing people by race does not allow for the fact that genetic diversity within racial groups is probably as great as the diversity between different racial groups (Cohen & Manion (1983:12).

Racial considerations can actually confuse the issue of understanding what culture is. A racial grouping might include several ethnic groups. For instance, the Zulu people and Suthu people are both considered belonging to the same race grouping yet the two display very different cultures.

Auther (1992:50-52) explains that the social and educational significance lies in the fact that race and culture are frequently linked in many people's minds and this link provides a primary basis for the categorization of self and of others. All manner of value judgment and subjective opinions are attached to racially determine physical attributes. This gives rise to the unrealistic stereotyping of members of a particular race.

The idea of race mainly operates in terms of culture which in turn operates both to limit the range of activities that are culturally valuable, having potential as the basis for personal and social improvement, and to discriminate qualitatively among different components of the culture so delimited. Educationists are apt to characterize a culture in terms of a limited range of skills and forms of knowledge variously labeled "worthwhile activities", "culturally valuable activities", "academic disciplines" and "subjects". Thus, however widely the notion of relevance is interpreted, no matter how disciplines or subjects are conceived, and whatever the case for integrated courses of study, some limit is always imposed on what the curriculum will contain. Even in the most "open" of curricula, the skills of the underworld, the hardest of drugs, sexual practices would not be taught. Nowhere is there curricular carte blanche with reference to the total culture and in most societies's curricula limits is drawn much more tightly around a core of conventional subjects or disciplines (Mncwabe 1990:24 – 29).

Culture

The concept culture is defined in a variety of ways. Camilleri (1986) stated that between 1871 and 1950 more than 160 definitions of culture were used worldwide. Bennet (1995:55) says Taylor defined culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by a person as a member of society".

Spradley (1975:5) has a contradicting definition. His definition of culture focuses on shared knowledge and belief system, rather than on habits and behavior. While Garber's definition (in Roux 1997:8) tries to bring together all different perspectives of different researcher's definitions, he categorizes existing definitions of culture as definitions which focus on that which is ideal or excellent; definitions which concentrate on fixed concrete embodiments and artifacts; definitions expressing the daily activities of ordinary people and definitions describing culture as a dynamic strategy for adaptation to the environment.

Roux (1997:9) also defines culture as a universal, distinguishing characteristic, symbols and acquired aspects of a particular human society. Material culture includes objects, technology, and the arts, whereas non-material culture refers to language and other symbols, knowledge, skills, values, religion and customs.

Giroux (1983:196) has a rather complex political definition of culture. He expresses culture as a political phenomenon. It refers to the power of specific meanings, message systems and social practices in order to "lay the psychological and moral foundations for the economic political system and control". Within the dominant culture, meaning is

universalized and the historically contingent nature of social reality appears as self-evident and fixed.

Amongst all the definitions that come up, Roux (1997:9) has another simplified definition of culture. He states that culture is "the sum total of HOW we live and WHAT it is that distinguishes us from others; it is what we consider IMPORTANT (values), what we accept as the TRUTH (faith) and how we believe we should DO things (norms)". The concept of culture needs to be scrutinized in view that culture has profound implications for a racially mixed and culturally diverse school. The following part will examine education as the means of transmitting culture from one generation to the other through.

EDUCATION IS CULTURE-BOUND

This section of the study reviews culture and its relation to education. Firstly, education is always "culture-bound". This means that each group of people transmits its own culture via education. Thompson (1981:23) states that on the one hand, education is also acquired informally, through the family and the home environment and the social contacts revolving around that family and its environment. On the other hand, education is transmitted formally, in establishments where teachers are appointed to assist in transmitting the "cultural capital" or heritage to the succeeding generations.

All societies have, at all times, sought to develop in the rising generation the behavior patterns and ways of doing things which a specific society considers valuable and worthy. Over the centuries, a particular society learns how best to advance its own interests, and to protect its members by upholding certain customs and codes of conduct. In order to perpetuate this protection and advancement, society seeks to encourage its youth to pursue

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whatever knowledge and skills have been passed on by previous generations and been shown to work. The question is whether Thompson's argument is possible in a monolingual and monocultural classroom.

The problem is that the skills, knowledge and understanding, which form the cultural possessions of one group, will not necessarily coincide with those of another. This does not imply that the cultural heritage of one group is inferior or superior to that of another. In fact, there is really no criterion for measuring the superiority or inferiority of a culture. But this fact does not resolve another question namely that what is valuable to one nation may not be so for another.

For example, the behavior of pupils or teachers can become problematic. In one society where children are encouraged to think and act independently, a teacher from another culture might view their critical attitude as offensive and provocative. The selection of the content that is to be taught is another important consideration. Members of one cultural group might consider the study of ancient European history as being of paramount importance. Members of another cultural group might well regard that particular area of study as totally irrelevant. One views this kind of scenario as totally sidelining learners of the other language group. Bennet (1995:84-85) has referred to this as cultural assimilation, which she defines as a process in which persons of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds come to interact and where members of a certain group has to give up their original culture and are absorbed into the dominant culture of the host society.

According to Van de Walt (1989:7) what one teaches and learns, how one teaches and learns, and the environment in which that teaching and learning take place are all, to a large

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extent, culturally determined. The multicultural classroom can therefore (though not necessarily) become the site of conflict arising out of the reactions of teachers and pupils from different cultural groupings. These social factors are culturally determined in that they reflect the culture of the social group to which the child belongs. So, apart from the normal skills and abilities that the second language user has to acquire, an appropriate orientation and response to the second language is also required.

Second-language users who are struggling to cope in a racially integrated school environment, may, because of limited language proficiency, be branded as intellectually inferior or recalcitrant. On the contrary they may be battling to come to terms with the culture elements that are inherent in a language that contains a universe of meaning and action that is foreign to their personal experience of their social group.

The language spoken by a particular group is one of the symbols of the cultural unity of that particular group. In many instances it can be related to both the particular race of that group and to its ethnicity.

Roux (1993:125-126) says that in order to perpetuate its protection and advancement, society seeks to encourage its youth to pursue whatever knowledge and skills have been passed on by previous generations and been shown to work.

Coombs (1985:244) states that education's prime task in all societies is to conserve and protect an inherited culture and transmit it intact to each generation. Thompson (1981:125) again explains that culture is acquired formally at school and informally at home. Teachers are appointed to assist in transmitting the cultural heritage to the succeeding generations.

Goodey (1997:16) analyses the relationship between culture and education and he also says that education is responsible for the exposure of culture to learners. On the other hand, cultural innovation and progress have a significant impact on education. Education is and remains one of the most significant instruments in the process of cultural creation, development and dissemination.

In the South African context, the problem is that the skills, knowledge and understanding which form the cultural possessions of one group will not necessarily coincide with those of another. This does not imply that the cultural heritage of one group is inferior or superior to that of another. In fact, there is really no criterion for measuring the superiority or inferiority of a culture. But this fact does not resolve the issue that what is valuable to one nation is not necessarily considered valuable by another.

Bullivant (1989:37) points out that the plural character of the contemporary South African society thus reformulates the issue of the relationship between education and culture. Culture must be transmitted to each new generation of children if the social group is not to collapse and be absorbed into another society or even become extinct. However it must be done in such a way that it does not marginalize other cultural groups.

Lynch (1989: xiv) explains that all cultural groups need to work together to prevent conflict. What is needed is consensus through discourse, human justice in the sense of equality of opportunity and an active commitment to combating prejudice and discrimination; and social inclusion meaning education for full access to social rewards and resources and for responsible citizenship, including both political and economic citizenship within a pluralistic democracy.

Most researchers are obsessed with multicultural education as a solution to the cultural diverse school, but Claassen's (1989:72) conception is different from the rest. Claassen emphasizes that the mere existence of a variety of cultural or ethnic learning groups in a particular learning situation is not necessarily an indication of multicultural education. Therefore, education offered to learners of different cultural groups cannot be equated to multicultural education out of hand.

Culture is a complex concept if one takes into cognizance what Van Staden (1998:15-17) explains about culture. Van Staden states that a multitude of definitions of culture exists in both colloquial and academic discourse. Culture is both a political and historical concept. He further explains that it is political in certain political effects, whether these effects are politically conservative or progressive. Historically, it distinguishes between two broad dimensions of culture. The first is an anthropological view which sees 'culture' not in the singular but rather "cultures" as a category of the beliefs, practices and systems of meanings of specific groups of people. The second sees 'culture' as a universal term that is associated with progress and civilization.

Van Staden describes Mamdani's view of culture as he mentions that both concepts have been negatively used in South Africa by the apartheid regime and by English colonialists. This has been done by distinguishing between people of South Africa, on the one hand as some citizens with civil rights and some non-civilized inhabitants on the other hand to divide the non-civilized inhabitants of colonial territories into tribal subjects for indirect rule purposes (1998:15-17).

The same argument raised by Van Staden about culture is affirmed by Mkabela and Luthuli (1997:14-15). They also view culture as a universal term when they explain that culture can be said to have developed because of struggle or survival. They also see culture as 'cultures' (not in a singular) as a category of language, aspirations, food, shelter, customs, beliefs, art, music, literature and morals.

The point being made in the above discussion is the relationship between culture and education. While it is acknowledged that culture is transmitted through education, the question whose culture is transmitted in a racially mixed and culturally diverse school with a multilingual medium of instruction is of paramount importance. The following section discusses the roots of cultural diversity.

THE ROOTS OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Africans in South Africa are also the victims of colonialism like many other Africans in the continent. The African culture was invaded and lowered to a level of nothingness. Maqhudeni (1997:102) says the cultural invasion is a condition that occurs when the dominant culture utilizes forms of cultural hegemony to exert domination and control over indigenous people. "Cultural invasion is an anti-dialogical action that sustains the social, political and economic oppression of indigenous groups".

Clarke (1993:12) states how the African continent was thought to have savages and fierce beasts like people with no culture. The people who inhabited Africa was regarded by Europeans as insignificant and not dignified.

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During the twentieth century, most white South Africans and Europeans shared the same racial assumptions. For example, based on these assumptions, people of South Africa were divided into four different racial groups; these were Africans, Asians Coloureds and Whites. These racial groups could be scaled in terms of culture and civilization, with whites at the top, Asians second and the Africans last. These assumptions were based on a belief that the culture of persons of European descent was superior to all cultures, particularly to the African cultures. There are several theories of the National Party that propagated white racial superiority and the inferiority of Africans.

The reasons for diversity is well articulated in Eckholm (2000:12) when he says cultural diversity lie in the combination and interdependence of geographical, economic and ethnic factors. Horn (2000:5-6) further defines the historical cultural diversity as ethnic and religious. Cultural differences are of course also found in Europe and continue, albeit in a modified form, to this day.

Wong et al. (1995:10) explain diversity as the variety created in any society by the presence of different points of view and ways of making meaning which generally flow from the influence of different cultural and religious heritages, from the differences in how we socialize women and men, and from the differences that emerge from class, age and developed ability.

Wong further explains that the term diversity has emerged as a verbal short form that encompasses race, class, ethnicity, national origin, religion, gender, sexual orientation, age and ability, as well as scholarly contestations about the meaning and interpretation of these categories across time and space.

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In the South African situation Mncwabe (1990:28-29) explains that separatism is entrenched in education where society comprises many cultural groups and peoples. Roux (1997:1-3) views South Africa as a country with a rich cultural diversity with the concomitant multilingualism, in which human rights and language issues remain the focal point.

The new Constitution of 1996, laid the foundations for integration on which the South African Schools Act of 1996 is built. Integration of the education departments, of schools and of learners of all races was the major tool in transforming the legacy of apartheid. This brings more to the fore differences in modes of communication, participation and world view which are brought about by people of different nationalities (Bennett, I. 1995:77).

According to Lum (1986) culture is a way of life in which people share a common language and similar values, religion, ideas, habits of thinking, artistic expressions and patterns of social and interpersonal relations.

Baruth and Manning (1992) identify five main elements in culture. These are universal where humans are biologically alike. The ecological indicates people's location on earth and determines how they relate to the natural environment; the national where people are influenced by the nation in which they live; the local and regional where local, regional differences create cultures specific to an area; and the ethnic where people reflect their ethnic heritages.

These cultural categories of diversity can be divided into macro culture and micro culture. McCown *et al* (1996:100-106) says, on the one hand, macro culture represents the core

values of a society. Their characteristics are commonly identified as important for education because public schools are embedded within the macro culture. Schools tend to emphasize particular values. Cultures are not only confined in macro cultural categories but cultures do exist at other levels.

Banks (1994) in Driscoll *et al* (1996:102) defines a micro level whereby smaller groups share many, but not all, of the dominant values. Religious practices can define a micro culture. The classroom situation represents a micro culture in which learners learn a set of values, beliefs and behaviors valued by the educator.

In the South African context, cultural diversity is classified broadly by means of race labels as they functioned in the Apartheid era, which was fermented by the policy of racial segregation. Lemmer (2000) explains that race is a biological concept, even though one speaks of the human race as distinct from that of the animal kingdom. Mda (1996), again, describes diversity in the classroom in terms of race, ethnicity and language.

Diverse races portray different cultures. According to the South African population registration system , people are classified as Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Whites as indicated in the Statistics of the South African Population.

The above mentioned groups are further classified as ethnic groups. McCown *et al* (1996:100-106) say that racial identity is not, in and of itself, a good indicator of cultural difference. It is sometimes a component of ethnicity. People from the same ethnic group derive a sense of identity from their common national origin, religion and sometimes physical characteristics. The notion of racial classification does not mean that the diversity

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ends there. These racial groups themselves are characterized by diversity. A number of nations form Africans.

McCown (*et al* 1996:104) further says that even though members of ethnic groups may display some common characteristics, not every racial group or ethnic group will behave in the same way or hold the same beliefs as the majority in that group. The role of education is to transmit the values of a culture. In the South African education system a diversity of value systems are transmitted to the learners.

Van Niekerk in Lemmer (1999:56) states that differences in background and experiences include the different socio-economic and historical-political backgrounds of learners depending on whether they come from urban black townships, rural villages or white privileged neighborhoods in rural or urban areas. It has been established that background and exposure to different lifestyles have led to more differences in value systems and attitudes than ethnic roots. These differences do impact on education. Van Niekerk further establishes that the diversity of learners cannot be ignored by educators.

Banks (1994:127) too engages the concept of cultural pluralism. For him this is a view of diversity that embraces cultural differences. From this perspective, it is important for individuals to develop ethnic attachments, because participation in the larger society is done from the ranks of the ethnic group. A salad bowl analogy has been used to describe pluralism. All the ingredients that go into the salad are equally important to the final product, so they are coequal. But they also coexist in the final product, each contributes something to the salad, but each maintains its integrity and uniqueness. According to the pluralist, society works in a similar manner. Ethnic groups are assumed to have

independent norms, values, and beliefs. Oppressed ethnic minorities must build their strength from within in order to compete in the wider society, which is typically controlled by a dominant group. The ethnic group provides both psychological support and a sense of identity, which protect the individual from discrimination likely to be experienced in the broader society.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE CLASSROOM

In recent years, enormous demographic changes have occurred in the South African educational field which has diversified the makeup of South African classrooms. Most of South African classrooms reflect a growing cultural diversity. Driscoll *et al* (1996:100) report that an individual's cultural and ethnic identities, beliefs and values, and experiences as members of culturally defined groups shape the broader context within which their classroom learning takes place. They further say that cultural awareness is, therefore, a critical part of educators' self-knowledge and knowledge of learners.

Educators face classrooms full of learners whose backgrounds vary widely from one another. Among many other differences, there are learners of different ethnic and racial identity, different languages and cultures, different religions and different socio-economic statues. All of these differences affect the beliefs and the attitudes learners bring with them into the classroom. The following section will discuss the diversity of learners. Sources of diversity are examined that affect teaching and learning in the classroom.

CULTURAL THEORIES THAT EXPLAIN EDUCATION WHEN DIVERSE CULTURES MEET

This section discusses the cultural theories and explicates the effects experienced in a culturally diverse classroom. The following discussion will show how schools function relative to cultural diversity.

CULTURAL PLURALISM

According to Bennet (1995:89) cultural pluralism can be visualized along a continuum with cultural assimilation at one end and cultural suppression at the other. There are degrees of assimilation and suppression, with cultural pluralism falling somewhere between the extremes. Kallen (1956:33) says cultural pluralism follows from democratic ideals and does not deprive the human person of his dynamic relations with his neighbors, nor converts the ever-ongoing communications between them to pre-ordained ineluctable harmony. On the contrary, it recognizes that these are important relations and that communication does truly inform and persuade without coercing. It signals the ways that people who are different from one another do, in fact, come together and move apart, forming and dissolving the groups and societies wherewith they secure to one another their diverse safety and happiness. It is what the Democratic Idea intends, and designates the cultural idea natural to a free world.

Bennet further says, in cultural pluralism, the dominant culture benefits and has advantage. The traditions of the main culture are retained such as language, religion, artistic expression and social customs.

The minority culture adopts aspects of the dominant culture such as language and social customs. The minority group identifies itself with the dominant cultural group. This type of acculturation brings about cultural assimilation.

CULTURAL ASSIMILATION

In the case of cultural assimilation, Roux (1997:12) says diversity is sacrificed for the sake of common aspects in order to form a new culture. Commonalities are thus absolutised whereas diversity is ignored. Micro cultures within a society are assimilated by the macro culture. No provision is made for the uniqueness or diversity of cultures. African students face two cultures, a home culture and a school culture.

SUMMARY

This chapter discussed the current status of language in education. The constitution mandates that all eleven official languages must be treated equally. The implication of the language statistics is that most speakers per official languages are IsiZulu language speakers as compared to the English language that is on the fifth place out of thirteen languages spoken in South Africa.

The post-apartheid era came about with new policies aiming to redress the wrongs of apartheid. The language policy is in place as it is stipulated in the South African Constitution. The policy and principles aim at the development and empowerment of languages that were formerly disadvantaged by past language policies. Unfortunately, there are many factors that inhibit the realization of these aims and principles. It has been highlighted that South African society is still clouded by the legacy of apartheid, that

English and Afrikaans are still held in high esteem and also dictate terms of educational and socio-political power. The constitution has granted the use of all languages but in practice, English is still the medium of instruction in most schools.

The statistics show that IsiZulu, as an African language, has the most speakers in South Africa as compared to other languages and yet it has no place in the new dispensation. However, English is used as an education and socio-political weapon of power. English as the language of instruction is not of natural occurrence. Africans are expected to conduct their interactions in the English language, not because it is an inherently better language for instruction or communication, but because of the sociopolitical power attached to English. African people have a perception of English as a vehicle to better education, to better job, opportunities and to a better life.

African languages are still stigmatized as powerless and useless languages. The continuing state of inequality between the languages points to the difficulty of achieving respect for all languages. People who were advantaged in the past are benefiting the most in the democratic system because terms are still dictated in their language, hence language is power. Tollefson (1991:167) encourages us when he says "the foundation for rights is power and constant struggle is necessary to sustain language rights". The challenge of making true democracy in South Africa will always linger, and Africans will always struggle for human rights. The fact that English monopolizes political, social and educational power therefore determined that it is a national and international symbol of power.

Ntshakala (1997:5) reports that while, culturally, language is central as an agent of learning, English as a language of instruction poses a huge problem for the African learners for whom it is a second or third language.

Prah (1998:262-263) recommends that in order to reclaim African languages by Africans, it is important to elevate the status of African languages in a manner that it provides the framework for enriching these languages to cope with the social and technological developments of the twenty-first century.

Prah cites Zimbabwe as the country that successfully developed their African languages. Zimbabweans had commenced the process by compiling the monolingual Shona dictionary. The linguists involved in developing this dictionary traveled to all parts of Shona-speaking areas to collect the terms used by people at present to depict concepts. In writing up each item, the different uses of each word and words in other dialects of Shona, which express the same concept, were included. This is one means of harmonizing the language, breaking the marginalization of certain dialects by compelling Shona speakers to adhere to a standard.

Prah further states that another means of providing evidence of the adaptability of African languages is to write textbooks in those languages. Prah also mentions the successes of Tanzania and Somalia who have spearheaded the development and grounding of their African languages, at least for the primary school level, but books need to be written for the sciences to illustrate the capacity for African languages to express scientific concepts. The experience of Tanzania has illustrated that as the language is used in increased spheres, the terms needed to express new concepts will be generated (1998:262-263).

Afrikaans is not a hundred years old, yet it serves as the language of instruction up to university level in South Africa. Other languages in Africa are equally capable of developing in the same way. Integration of races in schools has allowed the intake of African learners in racially mixed schools. The discussions have indicated that learners who lack sufficient command of a language are disadvantaged and cannot equally perform with the first language speaker cohorts.

This part draws on important cultural theoretical implications for education. It focuses on two resilient factors of culture namely race and language. Others view race as an artificial concept and just a myth. Race is a form of classification used in the apartheid era, which still has a place in this democratic era. In this chapter it is discussed that the racial issue can confuse the understanding of culture.

This section also discusses the cultural value of each learner in class. There are many differences among learners but prime differences are diverse cultural backgrounds. There are many factors that impact on the concept culture. McCown et al. (1996:103) argues that racial identity is not, in and of itself, a good predictor of cultural difference, but is sometimes a component of ethnicity.

Baruth and Manning (1992) say that for the notion that people from the same ethnic group, derive a sense of identity from their common national origin, religion, way of life, they share common values, languages, traditions and customs.

Culture is transmitted from one generation to another by means of language. The home language becomes a salient component of the learners' life. Each learner comes to school with the home language and this language links them to their culture.

African learners come to school with different modes of communication, participation and world view and meet non-African learners and educators who also bring a different language from theirs. The racial and language differences are an important source of misunderstanding in racially mixed schools.

The roots of cultural diversity can be traced back to the policies of apartheid which propagated racial segregation. The cultural differences of groups are evident when skills, knowledge and understanding which form the cultural possession of one group do not coincide with those of another. In this case education is culture-bound, that is, each group op people transmit its own culture via education. The racially mixed and culturally diverse classrooms operate on the basis of one language and one culture. On the process of teaching and learning, some other cultural theories surfaced as they explicate their impact on education.

The learner who comes from a different culture and language, apart from the English language which is the medium of instruction, is indirectly forced to succumb to that culture and suppress his or her own culture. A good and equal education cannot be based on one culture and therefore if only one culture exists in culturally diverse schools, inequalities are the order of the day. In the next chapter the researcher will explain the fieldwork that was carried out for the purpose of this study.

CHAPTER SIX

FIELDWORK AND DATA PROCESSING

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an account of the questionnaire the researcher administered and then discusses the fieldwork that was carried out for the purpose of the study. It also explains the procedure used to process data from questionnaires.

MEASURES AND INFORMATION SOURCES

Interviews

The researcher embarked on an in-depth dialogue with African learners about cultural and educational challenges they encounter at school.

The interviews ranged from one on one, with 10 individuals, to a focus group of more than 10 learners at a time. The reason for individual interviews was to elicit the genuine opinions of learners and secure a sense of confidentiality. Where an interviewee was free to participate one on one interviews were conducted. The reason for a group focus was that young people were likely to reveal more of their views in discussion groups.

Questionnaires

The questionnaires were given to educators to facilitate the filling in of questionnaires by learners of targeted schools. The questions were drawn from the prepared questionnaire but also opened up for the surfacing of new questions. The questionnaires were given to educators to facilitate the answering of questionnaires by learners and were collected after completion. It was an anonymous questionnaire for grades 9, 10 and 11 learners. Each

respondent was required to read the questionnaire and mark each response by placing a tick or a cross in the appropriate place or by writing the appropriate information where required.

Questionnaire Design

The following is a detailed breakdown of types of questions that were posed to respondents in this survey.

- In questions 1 to 4, respondents are asked about their personal details;

- In questions 5 respondents are asked information regarding their religion;

- Questions 6 to 13, relate to the respondents' experiences at school;

- In questions 14 to 22 respondents articulate their involvement in school work;

- In questions 23 to 28, respondents are asked about cultural issues;

- In questions 29 to 41 the respondents are asked about their communication problems; and

- In questions 42 to 50 the respondents are asked about racial issues at school.

THE FIELDWORK

The general procedure was to tape-record the interviews and to set aside one to two hours for interviews. Two weeks time was set aside to write out the transcript of what was said. The data was collected and analyzed. The formulated questions attempted to capture the participant's perspectives, their perceptions and understanding of what they are experiencing, and related to the researcher's perspectives.

PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS

This survey was conducted at 10 high schools in the Durban Metropolitan area in KwaZulu-Natal. The survey was conducted in racially mixed and culturally diverse schools.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The researcher encoded information according to the themes. The areas of focus were cultural challenges, educational challenges, racial issues, language issues and academic performance.

TIME FRAME FOR THE RESEARCH

The research was conducted between March 2003 and October 2004. From March to July, the researcher accessed educational policies of the apartheid and post apartheid eras and cultural and language theories that impact on education. Questions were prepared for interviews. From August to November, interviews were conducted, data was gathered, and critical reflection on the research took place. The research included fieldwork, data collection and the writing of transcripts.

SUMMARY

This chapter explained the procedure that was followed when conducting the survey. The breakdown of questions that formed the questionnaire is presented. Measures as to how the research was carried out and an account of procedures that were followed are discussed. The next chapter presents the results of the study.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the results of the survey. It will give an account of the findings and illustrate data by means of graphs. The research findings aim to identify and explicate educational and cultural challenges faced by African learners, who are in racially mixed and culturally diverse schools.

The learners interviewed and those who answered questionnaires are Zulu speakers. Their educational experiences have been influenced by their integration with other racial groups at school. Participants expressed a wide range of views concerning the challenges they encounter in day to day experiences in schools. Many challenges impacted negatively on the learner's educational achievement. The data analysis provided the demographic characterization of the respondents and the following patterns emerged: religion, general school issues, academic involvement and achievement, cultural and communication challenges and racial issues.

Demographic Representation of the Respondents

Gender and Age of the Respondents

The participants are between the ages of 14 and 17, with 170, (57%) females and 130, (43%) males.

MY RELIGION
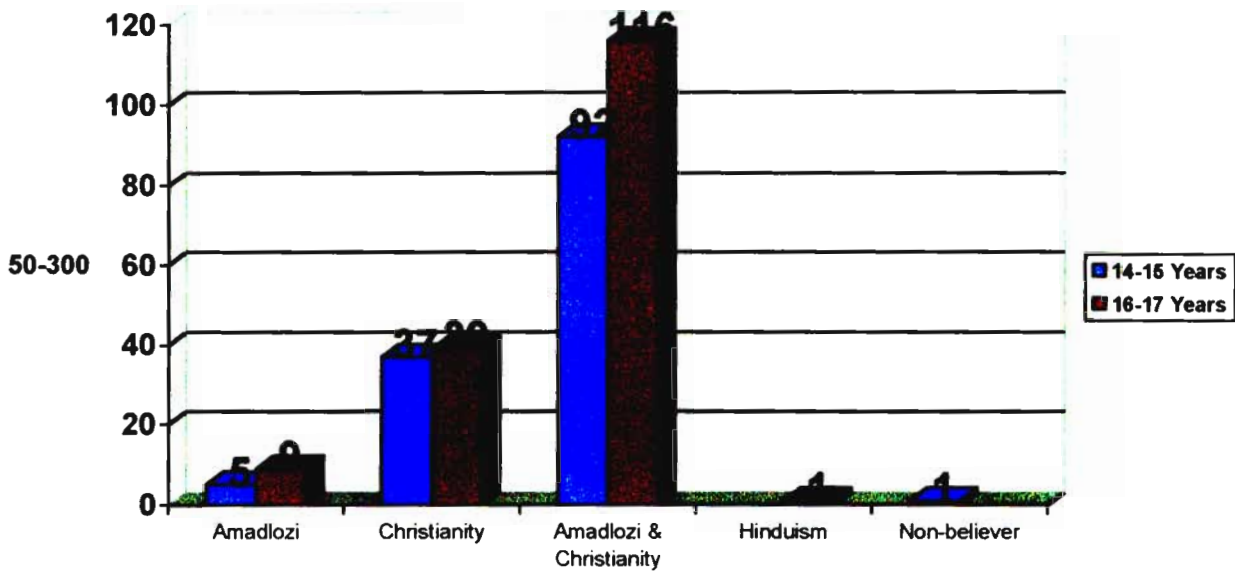
The above graph shows the influence of religion among the participants. About 5 participants range between the ages of 14-15 are influenced by Amadlozi and 9 participants range between the ages of 16-17 also influenced by Amadlozi.

About 37 participants range between the ages of 14-15 and are influenced by Christianity and 39 participants range between the ages of 16-17 and are also influenced by Christianity.

About 92 participants range between the ages of 14 -15 and are influenced by Amadlozi and Christianity and 116 participants range between the ages of 16 -17 and are influenced by Amadlozi and Christianity.

Only 1 participant age 16 is influenced by Hinduism and 1 participant age 15 is a non believer.

The younger respondents have a shallow understanding about issues of religion but older

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Participants are firm and very clear in their belief systems.

General School Issues

This has provided a broad overview of complex challenges that are faced by African learners in racially mixed and culturally diverse schools.

It is based on the assumption that African learners are severely culturally and linguistically underprivileged. Most educators were trained to serve in mono-cultural schools and have little or no experience with diverse cultures. The African learners are not put on a pedestal as their white cohorts because of their language and culture, which privilege the speakers of the English language. One postulates that learners of the non-dominant groups who are not taught in the medium of their mother tongue do experience several problems such as discrimination, racism and insufficient cognitive affective and normative actualization.

According to Thompson (1981) the problem is that the skills, knowledge and understanding, which form the cultural possessions of one group, will not necessarily coincide with those of another. This does not imply that the cultural heritage of one group is inferior or superior to that of another. In fact, there is really no criterion for measuring the superiority or inferiority of a culture.

For example, the behavior of pupils or teachers can become problematic. In one society, where children are encouraged to think and act independently, a teacher from another culture might view their critical attitude as offensive and provocative.

The findings are that some teachers simply write examples on the board and give learners sums to make. If learners ask questions trying to understand, teachers would tell learners

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that it is not their fault that they do not understand, but when a white child asks questions, she or he gets.answers.

Black learners are not given much chance to express themselves. One learner says: "When you put up your hand, the teacher ignores you. Sometimes other white learners will tell the teacher that the other child's hand is up. She will then give you attention and also add that you must not ask stupid questions and waste her time. Next time you feel you need to ask something, you get shy and end up not understanding anything".

Under school issues, the findings are that educators are not sufficiently aware that learners are suffering in their hands. There is a false impression that African learners have a low potential when it comes to academic work. The educators carry this burden with them into the classroom. African learners feel underestimated, not given enough chance to improve their grades since educators believe that achieving symbols 'D s' and 'E' is their best that they can offer whilst they encourage their first language cohorts to do better than 'D' and even better than 'C'.

The dilemma which confronted learners here is that they are subjected to teachers who underestimate them intellectually on a daily basis and other learners who are sometimes mean and horrible to African learners and even tell them that African learners do not belong in white schools. Respondents feel that some teachers enter the classroom with a bad attitude and as a result they get intimidated and it becomes difficult for them to ask questions. For example one learner said: "When you tell the teacher that you do not understand she will make you feel comfortable about the fat D's or E's results that you get. She will tell you that you will hold up the whole class if she has to explain a simple thing. In anyway she will pass you".

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Learners find themselves that they have to battle to be loved, understood and taken seriously by educators. One of the major hiccups that face the African learners is that educators misinterpret them as slow-learners or sometimes they say learners are dumb simply because they are not sharp, and English is a second language to them. The fact that they excel in IsiZulu as a subject, proves that the English language is their major problem.

In most cases, African learners are discouraged to take Mathematics as a major subject; they are made to believe that Mathematics is very tough in higher grades. Even those African learners who take Mathematics complain that their mathematics teacher is always upset. As a result they end up confused and do not understand him. It becomes worse when the Mathematics period is the last period of the day.

African learners are burdened by long distances between home and school. This has a negative impact on their time management. For example, one learner says: "There are a lot of homework and assignments and at home we are expected to do our daily chores. It's so tiring after traveling an hour or more from school, and you have to be up before 05h00 a.m. so that you won't come late at school".

Another issue that surfaces is that when an African child struggles with something in a subject, no detailed explanation will be given by the teacher but when a white child struggles, the teacher helps her to understand better. For example, one learner says: "We do not do very well, not because we are retarded or disturbed, but sometimes you'll find that you do your best to catch up and teachers do not understand that they need to consider second language speakers. We try hard to speak like them because sometimes they do not

understand what you are saying.   We are made to feel that when you speak you are wasting time".

African learners feel that teachers are sometimes biased in their judgement to the extent that when some other children are speaking in class, its fine for some teachers. But when a black child speaks, the teacher gets irritated and everyone has to stop speaking.   At other times white children will shout at that particular black child saying that she has spoilt their fun. She was not supposed to speak, the teacher hates her voice.

Among the problems they encounter, most African learners feel that the domination of English comes first as their hindrance to achieve excellent academic results.   There is no awareness that cultural differences can cause academic difficulties for African learners. Teachers do not allow learners to speak IsiZulu but Afrikaans and English speakers are allowed to speak their languages. Learners find this very unfair.

The participants find the schoolwork sometimes difficult and that contributes not to do well in their academic achievements.

Academic Involvement and Achievement

Respondents were asked about their academic achievement

Respondents	Ratings
41%	40-49%
53%%	50-59%
5,%	60-69%
3%	70-79%
0%	80-100%

According to the above table, about 41% or 123 respondents out of 300, are achieving between 40% and 49 % that is symbol E. The majority of about 53% which makes out 159 respondents are achieving between 50% and 59 % that is symbol D. Only 5% which makes out 15 respondents are achieving between 60% and 69 % that is symbol C. Only 1% which makes out 3 respondents are achieving between 70% and 79 % that is symbol B. None are achieving in the range of 80% -100%.

The participants experienced various problems which made it difficult for them to achieve good marks in their school work. Among many issues, the following graph depicts a number of underachievement causes.

69%	Poor Communication between learners and educators
74%	Language Problem, learning material is in English only
95%	Domination by English language speakers
63%	Eurocentric Bias in teaching and learning
19%	Other

According to the above table, about 69% (207) learners say that poor communication between learners and educators is one of the main causes of underachievement, 74% (222) of learners agreed that there is a language problem, and that learning material is in English only. The majority of about 95% (285) of learners feel that domination by English language speakers causes a major hindrance to them achieving good marks. About 63% (189) of learners feel that Eurocentric bias in teaching and learning. Only 19% (57) of learners feel that some other problems that they encounter hinder them to achieve good marks.

Equity in education does not exist in culturally diverse but monolingual schools. There is no equal input if the educator's input is not put through to the learner and when learners do not understand. It has been mentioned in chapter six that education is culture-bound and education is transmitted through the mother tongue language.

Mda in Lemmer (1999:224) says that equal education is not determined by equal input but by equal output. Working on this idea, he explains that treating unequal people equally is as discriminatory and harmful as treating equal people unequally. The following section reports on cultural and communication challenges that are faced by African learners.

Cultural and Communication Challenges

The learners who were interviewed and answered questionnaires represent IsiZulu language speakers. Most participants expressed moderate involvement in cultural activities with few who have no interest at all. Those who are active are encouraged by parents and some families are still strongly embedded in cultural beliefs. Some show some interest in cultural issues though there is no platform to become active.

ARE YOU ACTIVE IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT YOUR CULTURE?

According to the graph, about 2 participants with ages that range from 16-17 and 7 participants with ages that range from 14 -15 have no interest in learning more about their culture. About 42 participants with ages that range from 16-17 and 26 participants with ages that range from 14 -15 have a little interest in learning more about their culture. About 95 participants with ages that range from 16-17 and 11 participants with ages that range from 14 -15 are moderately active in learning more about their culture.

About 41 participants with ages that range from 16-17 and 7 participants with ages that range from 14 -15 are interested but not active in learning more about their culture. About 69 participants with ages that range from 16-17 are very active in learning more about their culture. Participants mostly between ages 14 to 15 have shown and expressed little
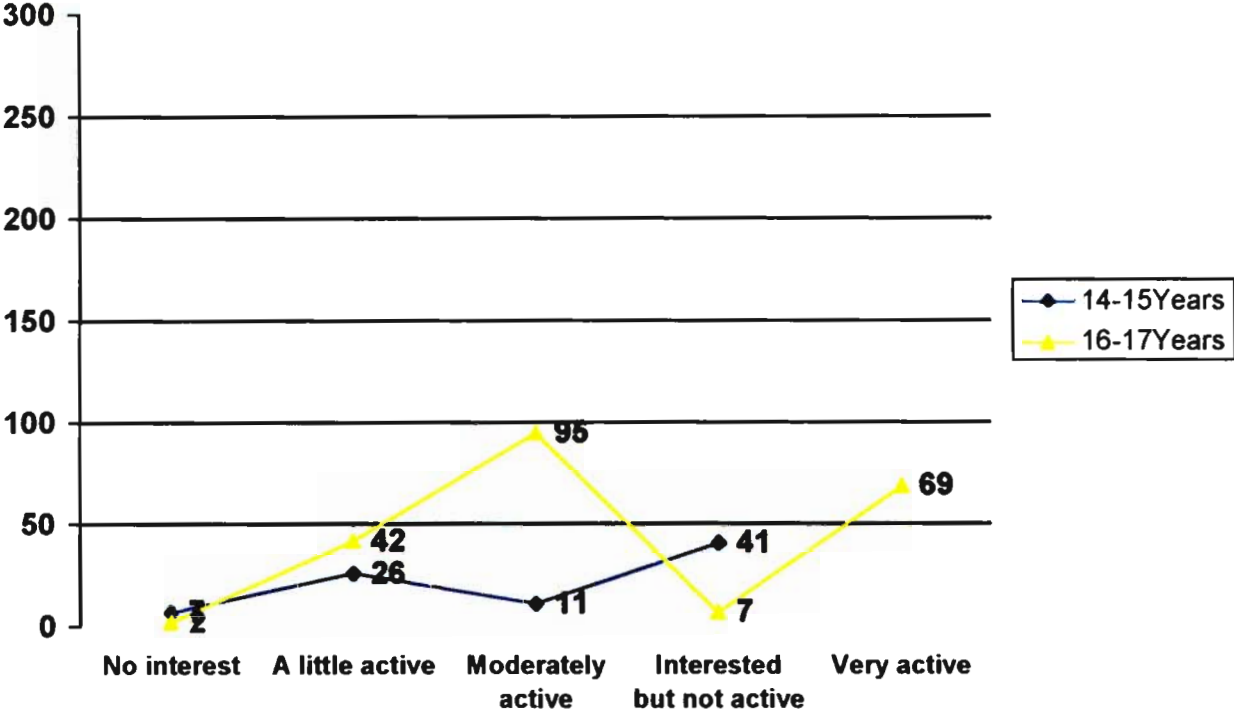
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knowledge and some no knowledge at all. They say at home they do some things but sometimes it does not make sense to them. As a result none of the participants with ages that range from 14-15 are very active in learning about their own culture.

Although many participants have pride in their cultural traditions, some find cultural tradition insignificant to them. These participants seem to drift away from their cultural roots. They express that what matters, is what makes sense to them. But when asked whether they are against their cultural traditions, what surfaced is that they are not aware of many cultural issues. As a result they find themselves very distant and find that it can be interesting to learn about their culture. These were the perspectives of the learners.

Respondents were asked if they were active in learning more about their culture.

Respondents	Answers
53%	No interest
23%	A little active
24%	Very active

According to the above table respondents were asked if they were active in learning more about their culture. About 53% (159) respondents have no interest in learning more about their culture. About 23% (69) of respondents are a little active in learning more about their culture. Only 24% (72) respondents are very active in learning more about their culture.

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Respondents were asked if they had pride in their cultural traditions.

Respondents	Answers
25%	A lot of pride
28%	Some pride
47%	No pride

The above table shows that a majority of respondents have no pride in their cultural traditions. About 25% (75) respondents have a lot of pride in their cultural traditions. Only 28% (84) of respondents have some pride in their cultural traditions. The majority of 47% (141) respondents have no pride in their cultural traditions.

Respondents were asked if their family cultural traditions were relevant to them.

Respondents	Answers
0,6%	Never
66%	Usually not
9%	Some of the time
24,4%	Most of the time

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The above table shows that only 1% (3) of respondents mention that their family cultural traditions are never relevant to them, with 66% (198) of respondents mention that their family cultural traditions are usually not relevant to them, 9% (27) of respondents mentioning that their family cultural traditions are some of the time relevant to them and about 24% (72) of respondents mention that their family cultural traditions are most of the time relevant to them.

Respondents were asked if their behaviors were misunderstood because of their different cultural background. Learners felt alienated by the school culture. They feel left out from the dominant culture at school and yet they are not rooted in their own culture. This brings about a lot of anger and a lack of developing a fixed identity.

Respondents	Answers
92%	Most of the time
7%	Some of the time
1%	Never

According to the above table, learners were asked if their behaviors were misunderstood because of their different cultural background. About 92% (276) said most of the time, 7% (21) respondents said some of the time and only 1% (3) said they were never misunderstood.

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Participants said that their concern is not that they do not want their culture, but little or nothing is about their culture is present in any of the subjects offered. If it happens that it is talked about, it's when it's referred to dancing and thatch houses. Sometimes some other non-African learners talk about most of African traditions as stupid and not necessary. Recently it was "ilobola".

Another participant said at least once a year they get to know more of their own culture when their IsiZulu teacher organizes an IsiZulu Festival. That is when they realize that they are missing a lot of interesting things.

Parents do little or nothing to give their children the cultural background they need in order to identify themselves with cultural traditions.

Participants said that some of their parents need to be blamed for not standing up for their cultural issues at schools, because as kids they cannot say anything. they can be expelled such views. Participants felt that maybe their parents are not interested anymore because they are the ones who sent them to study in these schools. African learners feel that their culture is useless and whatever they do or say are negatively scrutinized. Some say black kids' opinion are not needed, they cannot talk for all of the learners at school. They felt that their opinions are not appreciated. For example, one learner says: "Recently another black guy came to school with a shaven head and was called and then told this was not a gangsters' school. Why was his head shaved? Whilst trying to explain, he was told this is not a black community, so he came here and so must respect rules here. The guy shaved his head because the family lost their grandmother. It's a ritual thing to remove all your hair as a sign of mourning or respecting the dead".

Learners feel that there is a lot of division in the school. White teachers teach a lot about white things and Indian teachers teach a lot about Indian things. The blacks feel that they are just in the middle, they feel that the examples the teachers use do not make sense most of the time. Black students have to live a double life because they have to switch to what Indian teachers like them to do and switch to what white teachers want them to do, which is totally different from African cultural expectations.

Learners find that they have to battle to understand other learning areas because English serves as a major hindrance. Learners felt that English is not a difficult subject but it is not the same when you are a second language speaker. The boys who do very well are the ones who use English at their homes. For example, one learner says: "English as a subject is easy but in other subjects like EMS, HSS, and Maths, it is difficult. Here English is rather tough but we are coping".

Respondents were asked if they would teach their children about their cultural heritage.

Respondents	Answers
17%	Not thought about it
18%	I will if they asked
36%	I will probably teach selected things
29%	I will definitely teach as much as I can

According to the above table, respondents were asked if they would teach their children about their cultural heritage. About 17% (51) said they have not thought about it, and 18% (54) said they will if their children asked. The majority of 36% (108) said they will probably teach selected things and about 29% (87) said they will definitely teach as much as they can about their cultural heritage.

Racial Issues

The racially mixed schools, in good intentions, are painting a beautiful picture of settled harmonious situations of mixed races, but challenges that face African learners are deeper than they shallowly appear. This study focuses on racism. It is needed to reflect on this because of what learners experience as forms of racism.

Learners feel that teachers discourage them from taking Maths for Grade 10. They say only a handful of black children will survive Maths. Even if they pass, they are told that they passed because, it's easy in Grade 8 and 9 but in higher grades, Maths becomes tougher and this could minimize and limit passing chances.

It is evident that educators unfairly discriminate against African learners and that they are not given equal chances like their white counter parts. This is the perspective of one learner: "At the beginning of the grade 8 year, we were asked to choose a second language. Two of my friends who were Tswana speakers decided on Afrikaans. The Afrikaans teacher took an exception saying that they are going to make her job difficult. She cannot manage African learners in her class. Why can't they go and study Zulu with other Africans".

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The focus of educators on IsiZulu language tends to be stereotypical. They regard IsiZulu as a useless language. Irrespective of the fact that isiZulu is one of the official languages. The institutionalized racism and prejudice against African learners not only alienates them but it also lowers their self-esteem. This is how the educators marginalize isiZulu language. For example, one learner says: "When 5 other white girls wanted to choose IsiZulu, they were discouraged, and were told that IsiZulu is a useless language. They are just wasting their time. They were given letters to take to their parents. A week later, not even one white girl was doing IsiZulu as an additional language".

African learners experience resentment, hatred, anger and humiliation from their teachers. Unequal treatment of learners surfaced whereby learners say that teachers do not treat them equally. If one of them has done something wrong, it becomes a big case. Other students of other races do the same thing wrong, and are just told not to do that again. For example, this is the perspectives of the learners: "Other learners declare that there is nothing exciting about school. Sometimes they even tell you that if you happen to ask what and why, the educator does not like you. The answer will be "I'm not in the business of liking you, I'm here to educate you".

"When you happen to have a fight or argument with a white kid, when it comes to the teacher's attention, the teacher would not hear both sides of the story. She will simply tell you straight that you cannot come wherever you come from and cause trouble here. If you are lucky, you do not get punished".

"The teachers' attitude towards us, make us feel as if there is something wrong with us. They will shout at you for no good reason. I become withdrawn sometimes because you will never know when and where you go wrong. However the white kids are free to speak. They even say what you have said but they get a polite answer. I do not know what is wrong. Some other black kids tend to become rude trying to match the teacher's attitude which is not right".

Racism is perpetuated by people whom learners should trust but to the learners' dismay, educators are the ones with issues. Some of the teachers discourage white learners to have black friends, saying they are going to corrupt them. African learners say they do not know how because they know that white kids are the ones who use cocaine and marijuana at school and nothing is done about it. If a black child could be the one who is caught with drugs, maybe she could be expelled.

African learners in general feel that teachers do not like them. Some however feel that other black kids are lucky, and that teachers do like them because of a special reason. They say some of the reasons are that the child is from a wealthy family or maybe one of his parents is a respected official person or maybe is not a South African. African learners resent themselves a lot and do not know what is wrong about them. No matter how hard they try to be liked, nothing works. The following is a learner's direct perspective:
"Some teachers intimidate us learners. They will tell us that it does not matter if white kids misbehave. This is where they belong. But if black kids misbehave they will expel us and send us back to township schools, because these are our schools".

Learners say that teachers make them feel that they are different and that difference is not acceptable. Such behaviors are not appropriate because a multiplicity of problems encountered by learners is associated with the concept of race. According to Arthur (1992:50), race is part of human reality and is one of the facets of the "bodily ness" of man. "The social and educational significance lies in the fact that race and culture are frequently linked in many people's minds and this link provides a primary basis for the categorization of self and of others". The result of this categorization is discrimination against other people as is happening in these schools.

Some learners say that sometimes they do better than other white kids in class or in sports but because they are black, they cannot be chosen for teams. Sometimes they choose one or two not more than that. The black kids that are in prefect positions, are sometimes referred to as a window dressing exercise or sometimes they have proven to be the best of the best. These are the perspectives of learners: "Some teachers look down upon us. Even if you come up with a brilliant idea, they ignore you. If there is a selection of a particular sport, they judge you by the colour and do not give you equal opportunities. Some teachers even tell us that they only take one or two blacks not more than that. Indian teachers dislike black kids a lot. They make sure they scold us and tell us there is no Mandela here".

"Whites are given first preference in almost everything and we feel left out, for example in committees".

"Teachers want it purposely that school sports are dominated by a certain race. They will limit you in displaying your full potential and restrict you. I feel I am robbed of the recognition and achievement I deserve".

Learners feel that they are treated as outsiders even in sports. They say that the school spends a lot of money on sports activities like rugby and cricket, but that soccer is an outcast because it is a black child's favorite sport. They will also take a white teacher who does not know soccer to come and manage the black teacher just because blacks (that is what they say) cannot manage things.

African learners feel that rules are made to be respected by black learners only and for white learners rules are lenient and can be bent. For example, one learner says: "Discipline is for black students. Indians and whites can get away with murder. If you question that, they say Indians and whites are more sensitive than Africans, they deserve light and soft punishment".

Educators are racist and are consciously and carelessly passing on prejudice to learners. Teachers are the ones who make students to behave in a racist way. They treat learners differently from everybody else. When the other learners call them names, and a black learner happens to report, teachers will call those learners. When they deny their name calling, the case comes back to the black learner, and he is told not to create racial tensions in the school. It will not be tolerated.

The learners feel that there are many restrictions in the schools which are designed for black kids. This agrees with Mda (1997:51-52) when he says that the legacy of apartheid is still felt in South African schools since some schools are still exploiting the Group Areas Act of the past as a gate-keeping mechanism to sift and select learners. Indians and white boys are easily accepted into schools. Boys staying far away from school are admitted. Some Indians and whites who stay as far as Portshepstone, Verulam, and Amanzimtoti are

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admitted, no matter where they come from. When it comes to African learners, they have to prove that they are living in the school vicinity. Some other learners lie and borrow electricity bill letters in order to be admitted. "We feel that teachers hate us. They do not think that we are young and have nothing to do with whatever makes them hate us so much. Teachers switch to Afrikaans if they do not want black kids to hear what they are saying. It is upsetting when this is done by adult people like teachers. When teachers hear us speak Zulu, they will shout at us in most of the cases, i.e. when one child tries to explain school work to other kids".

Learners say that teachers discriminate against them in many ways. Learners feel that teachers focus on blacks only when there is something wrong. The whole school is then informed about that. When other students do the same things they will hush about it. Some teachers do not treat black children well and even other children from other races are aware of this. These are the learners 'perspectives: "Some of the white students are more liked and black students are not any teacher's favorite, only hatred is shown to them. When you ask something, they rebuff you". "We are not given a fair chance to put forward our views or arguments. Teachers think just because you are black you should be treated or talked to differently. In short with no respect".

Cultural alienation, discrimination and harsh treatment are some of the problems cited by black pupils. These are the learners' perspectives: "I had plaited my hair and when I unwind the plait my hair was beautiful and afro like. Everybody loved my hair until an H.O.D. teacher came to me and said, this kind of hair is not allowed in this school, but I told her that this is my natural hair. She then told me to make it unnatural, stretch the hair so that I could tie them at the back. I said my hair is not long as the white and Indian kids,

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I cannot tie them at the back. She just said, "cut them short". "Teachers forget that we are individuals. If one black child does something +wrong, they generalize as if every black child does that. Teachers tend not to like black children. If you do not excel in sports or in class, nobody cares about you. You are as if you do not exist".

The racially and culturally mixed schools promote what Gibson (1988:30) calls "structural inequalities". This is when emphasis is put on the status of a particular social class or group within the socioeconomic structure of the host society and the other group disadvantaged.

SUMMARY

This chapter has provided a broad overview of complex challenges that are faced by African learners in racially mixed and culturally diverse schools.

It is based on the assumption that African learners are severely culturally and linguistically underprivileged. Most educators were trained to serve in monocultural schools and have little or no experience with diverse cultures. The African learners are not put on a pedestal like their white cohorts because of their language and culture, which privilege the speakers of the English language.

One postulates that learners of the non-dominant groups who are not taught in the medium of their mother tongue do experience several forms of discrimination, racism and insufficient cognitive, affective and normative actualization possibilities. These challenges violate the cultural and linguistic rights of African learners and can lead to learners not maximize their academic potential. Cultural hegemony could lead to a problem with a

student's identity. These problems could result in inequalities, which will continue to be reproduced irrespective of policy transformation as long as mother tongue is ignored as means of instruction. Teaching in the mother tongue can lead to increased social, cultural, academic and economic mobility and also put African learners on an equal footing with English language speakers.

Under school issues, the findings are that educators are not sufficiently aware that learners are suffering in their hands. There is a false impression that African learners have a low potential when it comes to academic work. The educators carry this burden with them into the classroom. African learners feel underestimated, not given enough chance to improve their grades since educators believe that achieving symbols 'D s' and 'E' is their best that they can offer whilst they encourage their first language cohorts to do better than 'D' and even better than 'C'.

Learners find that they have to battle to be loved, understood and taken seriously by educators. One of the major hiccups that face the African learners is that educators misinterpret them as slow-learners or sometimes they say learners are dumb simply because they are not sharp, since their English is a second language to them. The fact that they excel in Zulu as a subject, proves that English language is their major problem.

In most cases, African learners are discouraged to take Mathematics as a major subject. They are made to believe that Mathematics is very tough in higher grades. The academic achievement of learners varies between 40% and 59% with only a handful who happen to achieve 60% and above.

All learners and educators need to know and understand that"different" does not imply "wrong" (Young 1994: 56). Currently educators perceive learners to be lacking in what Bourdieu (1977:126-143) calls the "capital culture", that is the European culture. Among the problems they encounter, most African learners feel that the domination of English comes first as their hindrance to achieve excellent academic results. There is no adequate awareness among teachers that cultural differences can cause academic difficulties for African learners.

Banks (1997:128) says that students from diverse regional, social-class, religious and racial groups often achieve at different levels in the common schools. Banks explains that the students from the dominant culture tend to score better on achievement tests and experience more success than students from a different culture. He further mentions that a family language different from the language of the school, places such a learner at a disadvantage in learning.

Mda (1999:224) says equal education is not determined by equal input but by equal output. Working on this idea, he explains that treating unequal people equally is as discriminatory and harmful as treating equal people unequally. Further, there is no equal input if the educator's input is not put through to the learner in clear terms and when learners do not understand. It has been mentioned in chapter six that education is culture-bound and education is transmitted through the mother-tongue language.

Equity in education does not exist in monocultural curricula as is the case in racially mixed South African schools. Bennet (1995) warns that equity in education must not be confused

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with equality or sameness of results or even identical experiences. Equity needs different treatments for different learners according to relevant differences without being partial.

The truth about racism at school has been avoided as something that occurs at one or two particularly schools in the remote areas. The findings of this study show that racism is perpetuated on a daily basis in all schools that were engaged in the survey.

According to the article extracted from *Fairlady Magazine* 2004 January, racism still exists. In this article it is established that racism is still a problem in the rainbow nation. The rainbow nation serves to plaster over the festering racism that still does exist. People deflect, deny and explain away, anything to avoid admitting that racism is still part of daily life.

The findings of this survey establish that educators do not treat learners equally and African learners experience negativity, resentment, hatred, anger and humiliation from their educators.

I wish to agree with the author of the *Fairlady*'s article who refers to Andre Keet (2004 January) of the Human Rights Commission who said that drives to make South Africa "multicultural," failed. Soudien explains that, racism is perpetuated unchallenged because people are not dealing with racism as the incredibly complex beast it is. The focus tends to be stereotypical, such as "how to make whites more tolerant" or "how to treat Afrikaners".

"Multicultural" is really the thing we want to become but this suggests racial or cultural separation, categories and difference. People are not learning to interact as individuals with different personalities.

It is believed that racism is a socially engineered system and therefore there is no reason why people can't engineer a system to reverse and undo this. The answer to change the mind set of people doesn't depend on government policy and it doesn't rest with international conferences and charters. It depends on how each person is prepared to review and change the way they go about their daily life. People need to accept the fact that racism is alive, the next step would be talking about these often-uncomfortable and personal issues. "While this is the stuff real miracles are made of, it only stands a chance in a South Africa where the vast majority live side by side in multi-racial neighborhoods, just like they do in those happy, heart-warming advertisements. And this is only really going to happen when the line between wealth and poverty is no longer predominantly the difference between white and black. The rainbow does not have to remain a comforting, post-storm illusion "(*Fairlady Magazine* 2004: January).

Take the case of a white educator who, according to the findings, tells learners that it's okay when white learners misbehave because this is where they belong but black learners cannot commit that same offence without being told that they will be expelled and sent back to townships where they belong.

Soudien (*Fairlady Magazine* 2004) feels that this is the result of the attitude of most white parents. He explains that the "new rainbow democracy" concept has distorted things to the

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point that it's easy to forget the extent of apartheid oppression and how it shattered family systems, obliterated community hierarchies and entrenched poverty. And this is what makes it easy for many white people to insinuate innate incompetence and inferiority when they blame black people for the fact that democracy hasn't immediately fallen into place to create a prosperous, peaceful South Africa. At this point many people bail out of discussion by arguing "I'm too old and set in my ways. My children will have more chance of being colourblind". Parents are, consciously, carelessly or unwittingly, passing on their prejudice. (*Fairlady* 2004: January).

Educators are also racist in the sense that racism is still imprisoned in them. Take one case in this study whereby the African learner explains that discipline is for black learners because Indian and White learners are disciplined differently from African learners. If an African learner questions this behavior, the educator will say Indians and Whites are more sensitive than Africans so they deserve a light and soft punishment.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the significant findings of the study are highlighted. The study aims to examine the educational and cultural challenges faced by African learners in racially mixed and culturally diverse schools. The third chapter reviews the implications of the Apartheid education policies and educational and cultural challenges that were faced by African learners.

One of the cornerstones of the apartheid policies was segregated and unequal education for various groups in South Africa. Bantu education was tailor-made as a form of social control over blacks.

The Eiselen Commission furthered the social confinement of Blacks. Blacks were set to follow their social constructs whilst being prevented from engaging on their own terms. The Tomlinson Commission further disadvantaged the Black child. The recommendations prevented black social development and welfare.

The Bantu Education Act established segregated educational institutions according to races and ethnic groups. Blacks received inferior education and whites received superior education. The funding of each racial group was unequal. Blacks were the lowest funded race. The challenges that were faced by African learners in apartheid education were taking its toll. Curriculum designs of apartheid education for blacks created the skills

shortage in areas such as the natural sciences, business management and mathematics which created imbalances.

Language status implemented mother-tongue education as the compulsory medium of instruction throughout the primary schooling which was good but the complete switch from the mother-tongue to English was detrimental to the black child because it created low levels of competency.

Apartheid education was geared to enforce the curricula, the culture and the language of schooling which devalue and denigrate the linguistic and cultural plurality of learners. Apartheid education imprisoned the African mind with vicious Euro-centric beliefs and prejudices and brought about the culture of white supremacy in South Africa. The highlight of the system was when the department of education introduced Afrikaans as a compulsory medium of instruction in African schools.

This was disputed by students and parents, strikes, boycotts spread the whole country, and in June 16, 1976 many students were killed by police. Students' organizations emerged to control and monitor the struggle. The struggle was both educational and political.

The discussion engaged in this chapter brought up two main dimensions of history in the lives of African students. On the one hand we have the retardation of moving forward with whatever apartheid brought before them. On the other hand they were determined to lose everything to gain their dignity and their identity as blacks.

The wrongs that were created by Apartheid Education policies served as a prelude to identify the challenges faced by African learners then. The Democratic era moves forward to redress the wrongs of the past. The post-apartheid policies are created with reference to the New Constitution of the country. The Democratic government made paramount changes.

The post-apartheid educational policies were discussed and assessed as to whether they do have relevant meaning in culturally diverse schools. According to the constitution, all citizens of South Africa are equal. The implication of policies is that there would be free and compulsory education. There would be no discrimination in admission of children in open schools.

Racially integrated schools created challenges for African learners. However, the legacy of apartheid is still felt in South African schools. Some schools are still exploiting the group areas act as a gate keeping mechanism to sift and select learners. The learners feel unwanted and ostracized. African learners are made to feel bad and stupid because they are not fluent in the English language.

Since culture is derived, transmitted and preserved in language, the status of language in education is discussed intensively. According to the National language framework, for multilingualism to succeed, the development and the promotion of the official languages as well as respect and tolerance for South Africa's linguistic diversity are needed. The right to use the official language of one's choice has been recognized in the Bill of Rights. English has been adopted as a medium of instruction for all subjects in many schools. This approach privileges English language first speakers and disadvantage African learners as

the second language speakers of English. Learners are put on equal footing in education with other English first language speakers, which does not produce sought-after results.

According to South African statistics, Zulu is the most spoken language in South Africa and English is sixth. About 10 677 305 speakers of Zulu are marginalized and cajoled to speak English.

The slow freezing of African languages in educational institutions will put the languages at the risk of extinction. The English language was given power during Apartheid, English and Afrikaans are still held in high esteem and dictate terms of success and failure in education.

Mother-tongue instruction is ignored on the premise that it is no feasible for interracial schools. The suppression of the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction creates a cultural conflict in the minds of African learners in believing that one has no control over one's own academic achievement and thus they develop a passive acceptance of average achievement and even failure, as natural.

Education is culture- bound in the sense that each group of people transmits its own culture via education. African learners are faced with challenges of cultural alienation, discrimination and harsh treatment in racially mixed schools. African learners find that skills, knowledge and understanding which form their cultural possessions, do not coincide with those of the English language educators and learners.

The gist of the survey was to evaluate the educational and cultural challenge of African learners. According to the findings, African learners are marginalized, educationally and culturally. The findings show that educational underachievement is usually the result of being instructed in English as a first language. The second language speaker's mother tongue is completely ignored in education processes, and the educator has no knowledge of the mother-tongue of the learner.

Evans (2001) concurs with the findings when she shows that being instructed in a second language and be forced to read and construct one's own knowledge in a second language cause numerous problems for learners who are also members of economically disadvantaged and otherwise marginalized social groups. This perpetuates the educational disadvantage to such students.

According to the findings of this survey, African learners are prevented from speaking their language in the mist of other English first language speakers. The education which is offered in the English medium of instruction causes little education and more mis-education in the minds of African learners.

Students who have to study in a second language, particularly one in which they are not proficient, are quite likely to perceive that they are not in full control of their own academic achievements and are thus unlikely to be academically successful.

All these students are mostly influenced by Christianity and Amadlozi traditions. Some are influenced by Christianity only. This gives the impression that African learners are

influenced by both African and western traditions in terms of what Johnson Hill 1998 calls "double worlds".

The racially mixed schools, in good intentions are painting a beautiful picture of settled harmonious relations of mixed races, but challenges that face African learners are deeper than they shallowly appear. The challenges are associated with internalized colonialism and racism.

Colonialism has the notion that English was and a weapon of power. Still, after liberation, English still has power over African learners. In order to pass and get a good job, English is a prerequisite.

Racism emerged as one of the major obstacles for African learners to achieve better educationally. The perspectives of African learners expressed a wide range of views concerning the challenges they face in schools. These challenges can be grouped as cultural which includes language issues and racial issues which have negative impacts on their educational achievement.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings have established the major areas which hinder the equal opportunity for all learners. These derived from Culture, Language and Racism which seem to create problems for African learners to excel in their academic potential.

The notion that there are eleven equal languages is just a myth of democracy since it is dysfunctional. The English language is perceived as vital for international economics and the labour market. Luthuli (1991) says the eleven official languages are used as a smoke-screen for monolingualism.

Luthuli further says that Africans begin to describe each other in terms of being either Francophone or English speaking Africans. African philosophy of education is the only draw card. Africans have to bring back the identity of the African child.

Luthuli (1996:51) explains that the African philosophy of education has a great challenge in cultivating a growing awareness among Africans since English has contributed immensely to the inferiority complex of Africans.

There is a need for mother-tongue instruction which will enhance and encourage Africans to respect and love their own culture. The government need to realize that there is an urgent need to develop the lexicons of indigenous languages, to the extent that the Technology, Sciences and Mathematics can be taught up to tertiary education.

The African philosophy of education is embraced by Ubuntu. According to Makhudu (in Broodryk Ubuntu) is a process and philosophy which reflects the African heritage, traditions, culture, customs, beliefs, value systems and African languages.

South Africa has huge linguistic, cultural, tribal, economic, social and religious disparities which make it difficult for democracy to flourish. Ubuntu as part of the African philosophy of education should be at the forefront of bringing nations together with their uniqueness.

The African philosophy of education will bring about a new school of thought for the deschooling in racism and language oppression.

Madhubuti (1992) explains that our survival lies in our ability to produce a secure, competent, work-oriented, incorruptible generation of black men and women, who will operate out of an African frame of reference based upon a proven black value system that incorporates a sense of African love and responsibility.

The gap still exists in education and culture. Questions to be answered in future are:

➢ How can racism be uprooted in schools?

➢ What are the challenges that are faced by the South African education system to bring about a true African philosophy of education linked to teaching of Ubuntu?

➢ What are the challenges of using the mother-tongue as a language of learning and teaching?

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ADDENDUM 1:QUESTIONNAIRE

ANONYMOUS QUESTIONNAIRE FOR GRADE 8 LEARNERS

ABOUT CHALLENGES FACED BY AFRICAN LEARNERS IN RACIALLY

MIXED AND CULTURALLY DIVERSE SCHOOLS.

(i)   I need your help to identify which challenges are faced by African learners in a racially mixed and culturally diverse school.

(ii)   This is a voluntary, anonymous and confidential survey. Your name will not be linked to your responses.

(iii)   I would like everyone to take part in this session.

(iv)   Tell me about the problems that you encounter at school, how you feel, what are your views and beliefs?

(v)   Read each question carefully and take a moment to think about each answer. Please use a pen to mark your responses by placing **a tick or an X** in the appropriate spaces, or by writing down the appropriate information where required.

(vi)   Please do not change any of your responses, otherwise I have to set aside your questionnaire.

(vii)   Do not scratch out or tip-ex any of your responses.

MY PERSONAL DETAILS

1. I am _____ years old.

2. I am in grade _____ .

3. I am a <u>female</u> male.

4. I am <u>Black</u> <u>White</u> <u>Coloured</u> <u>Indian</u>

MY RELIGION

5. I believe in the principles of

Amadlozi	Christianity	Amadlozi as well as Christianity	Another religion
Islam	Judaism	Hinduism	I am a nonbeliever

GENERAL SCHOOL ISSUES

6.What do you like about the school?

7. What do you dislike about the school?

8. Are certain rules of the school culturally biased?

Yes	Unsure	No

9. Is there equal punishment for equal offence for every student?

Never	Sometimes	Always

10. Do you think after school extra-curricular activities discourage students who travel to and from school by bus to participate?

Yes	No	Sometimes

11. Do team names symbolize the supremacy of a particular group?

Yes	No

12. Does the school emblem symbolize the supremacy of a particular group?

Yes	No

13. Do the yearbook titles symbolize the supremacy of a particular group?

Yes	No

MY SCHOOL WORK

14. Do you find the schoolwork difficult?

Never	Sometimes	Regularly

15. How well do you understand your subjects or learning areas?

Badly	Well	Very well

16. How do you averagely rate your academic achievement?

40%-49%	50%-59%	60%-69%	70%-79%	80%-89%	90%-100%

17. There has been a recent prize-giving day in the school. Did you get any certificates on that day?

Yes	No

18. What are the problems, which make you unable to achieve a certificate on the prize-giving day?

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Choose from the following list of options:

Different educational background.
Euro-centric bias in teaching and learning.
Poor communication between learners and educators.
Language problem, learning material is in English only.
Domination by English language speakers.
Racial hostility.
Other.

19. Are there any open discussions of race and racial issues in your class?

Never	Sometimes	Always

20. Do educators support and encourage interracial contact?

Never	Sometimes	Always

21. Is there an interracial cooperation to achieve a common goal?

Never	Sometimes	Always

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22. Members of racial groups share equal status.

Never	Sometimes	Always

CULTURAL ISSUES

23. Are you active in learning more about your culture?

Avoid being active	No interest	Interested but not active
A little active	Moderately active	Very active

24. Are you attached to your cultural roots and traditions?

Most of the time	Some of the time
Usually not	Never

25. Do you think family cultural traditions are relevant to you?

Most of the time	Some of the time
Usually not	Never

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26. Can you say, you feel that your behavior at school is misunderstood because of your

different cultural background?

Most of the time	Some of the time
Usually not	Never

27. Do you have pride in your cultural traditions?

A lot of pride	Some pride	A little pride	No pride	Dislike

28. Would you (if possible) teach your children about their culture and their cultural

heritage?

Probably not	I have not thought about it	I will if they asked	I will probably teach them, select things	I will definitely teach them as much as I can

COMMUNICATION ISSUES

29. How often is your name mispronounced by your teachers?

Most of the time	Some of the time
Usually not	Never

30. Do you find it uncomfortable speaking an African language in your school?

Most of the time	Some of the time
Usually not	Never

31. How do educators react when learners speak African languages amongst themselves?

Positively	Negatively

32. How many African educators are in your school?

------	None

33. Do they teach African languages only?

Yes	Not always the case

34. Do you think you relate better with your African educator in your school?

Most of the time	Some of the time
Usually not	Never

35. Do you think all learning areas in English is an advantage to your passing rate?

Yes	No

36. Do you feel your mother-tongue is just as important as the English language?

Never	Always	Most of the time

37. Is your mother-tongue relevant to you?

Most of the time	Some of the time
Usually not	Never

38.Can you say learning all subjects in one language provides an equal opportunity for all?

Yes	No	Maybe

39. Would you like to learn all the learning areas in an African language?

No	Yes

40. Do you believe the idea that learning in African languages will drop the standards of education?

Yes	No	Maybe

41. Will African languages have a place in South African education ten years from now?

May be in some areas	Yes	No

RACIAL ISSUES

The following is a set of scenarios. Each scenario is followed by four options. Please imagine yourself in those situations, and place a circle around the letter of the alphabet next to the option you consider the best. Remember, there are no correct answers, only your opinion of the most right or appropriate for you. There are a total of four situations.

42. Your friend uses a racial slur to insult a classmate. What do you think of the behavior?

Badly	Acceptably	Well

43. You are white and have a new part-time job in a sporting goods store. Your boss asks you to make a note of any black person who cashes a cheque in the store. What do you think of the behavior?

Badly	Acceptably	Well

44. You feel that your teacher is a racist because white students get away with serious offences and you get punished for much less. What do you think of the behavior?

Badly	Acceptably	Well

45. One of your best friends in school is white. This friend wants to invite you to a birthday party but the parents say no. How do you react?

Badly	Acceptably	Well

46. Do you ever find yourself as an object of racial discrimination?

Most of the time	Some of the time
Usually not	Never

47. Do you think you are a changed person as compared to other students in the township?

A lot	A little	No

48. Do you support the idea that some people are insensitive?

A lot	A little	No

49. Do you think your own self- respect is more important than acceptance by others?

Never	Always	Sometimes

50. Do you find yourself being ostracized for associating with students from other racial groups?

Never	Always	Sometimes

Thank you for your valuable time and your honest opinion.