

**THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF  
BASIC EDUCATIONAL DEFICIENCIES  
AMONG BLACK ADULTS, AND STRATEGIES  
TO FACILITATE THE PROVISION OF  
ADULT EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.**

**BY**

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Finally, I declare that this entire thesis, unless otherwise stated is my original work.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Statistics suggest that there are approximately 15 million educationally deficient adults in South Africa (Population Census, 1991). Given the widespread extent of educational deficiency among black adults, and the weak adult education base that exists currently, the study is formulated on the notion that alternative adult education provision can serve as a vehicle to transform the educational status of this sector.

Methodologically the study is a theoretically based one, with a component of empirical analysis which utilizes census data and secondary analysis.

The study applies radical theory to develop a historical perspective of the socio-political conditions of black schooling which were characterized by inadequate access, high drop-out rates, widespread failure, and a low quality of provision. Despite periodic expansionist and reformist strategies black educational provision remained inadequate and inferior. Four changing reformist strategies which reflect contradictory aspects are identified during the period 1953-1990, namely self-help (1953-1963), black education and the bantustan strategy (1963-1973), educational reform for economic expansion and political stability (1973-1983), and the repression of popular mobilization (1983-1990). It is in this context that the widespread extent of educational deficiency among black adults is interpreted as a consequence of poor educational provision within specific socio-political circumstances.

In advancing a critical theory of schooling, the study utilizes a marxist paradigm reflecting deterministic, voluntaristic, and autonomous functions of the black education system in South African society. These changing roles of the educational system have reflected dominant theoretical positions in particular sequence, namely reproduction (1800s-1975), resistance (1976-1990), and transformation (1990 onwards).

This critical theory of schooling is further contextualized to serve as a basis to transform adult education provision, so that it may effectively address the needs of the educationally deficient adult population. To achieve this, the study proposes that adult education provision must be reformulated along the lines of critical literacy and cultural power.

An indepth analysis of adult education as a field of study is provided, focusing on definitions, issues relating to content, purpose, and practice, ideological debates, strategies, purposes, providers, target groups, and factors affecting participation and recruitment.

The main conclusions of the study relate to the conditions of the black schooling system as a contributory factor in black adult educational deficiency, the extent of adult educational deficiency, sociological implications, and current educational provision in South Africa.

The recommendations of the study focus on transforming initial basic educational provision, developing a culture of learning, and the implementation of a policy of adult education.



# CHAPTER ONE

## GENERAL ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

### 1.1. Introduction

South Africa has just entered an era of social justice and democracy. For these ideals to be sustained, the society must embark on a process of reconstruction and development. This reconstruction and development process rests on the empowerment of individuals and entire communities. It implies therefore that the previously disenfranchised and disadvantaged masses need to be empowered at all levels of society in order to participate fully and effectively. The educational institution in collaboration with other institutional structures is suitably poised to act as a catalyst to advance this enabling process through skills development. However the educational institution will need to focus equally on developing both its formal sector as well as the nonformal sector. Whilst the formal education system must be developed to address the needs of young children, the nonformal education system must be geared towards serving the needs of the 15 million under-educated and illiterate adults (NEPI, 1992 : 5). This parallel development approach to both formal and nonformal education is essential to the success of the reconstruction and development process, because the educationally deficient adult population constitutes an important element within communities, the economy, and the political system. However, as adults they remain outside the formal education system, therefore their needs can only be addressed through an alternative nonformal education delivery system. The present study focuses on the development of such a delivery system.

Shirley Walters, professor of Adult and Continuing Education at the University of the Western Cape, and other adult education activists in the country seem to believe that adult education should be included in the Bill of Rights and should be central to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (Daily News, 23 November 1995). Similarly, the African National Congress, the majority party in the Government of

National Unity, has repeatedly stressed the importance of adult education as a basic human right.

The target group of educationally deficient adults, is comprised of those individuals beyond school-going age (ie. 6-19 yrs.), who either possess no formal education, or very little. Of this group of 15 million under-educated adults, it is estimated that approximately 3,5 million of them are aged between 6-34 (Tuchten, 1995 : 230). This particular group is often referred to as constituting a 'lost generation'. In view of the current life-expectancy rate (ie. 65 yrs.), it is probable that these individuals still have a lifetime ahead of them. Thus, for individual and social <sup>etc</sup> development, society has the social responsibility to attempt to improve their skills.

In addition to this already existing large group of under-educated adults, it is highly likely that this trend of under-education will continue for some time into the future. This is mainly because it may take several years before the school system is functioning adequately. Suffice it to say that the problems associated with under-education among adults are likely to remain for some time, and that an improved school system will not be able to address their needs. Therefore it is essential that the country devise innovative ways of responding to the educational needs of the illiterate and under-educated, and especially if it does not want to jeopardize the reconstruction and development programme.

At a recent international conference on adult education and training which was held in Cape Town, and run by the University of the Western Cape based Centre for Adult and Continuing Education and the Centre for Adult Educators at the University of Linkoping (Sweden), Anette Svenson explained that adult education is much broader than just literacy. She elaborated that the aim of adult education is to give adults what they did not get as children, to give them the instruments with which to take part in democracy and to participate in economic reconstruction (Daily News, 23 November 1995). Adult education also involves building self-esteem and self-confidence. In South Africa this is sorely needed, as people who have been oppressed for many years do not think of themselves as having any self-worth.

It is in this context of the need for adult education that the present study focuses on strategies to advance the provision of adult education in South Africa. It is envisaged that the broad social purposes of adult education in this context will include:

- \* compensatory education,
- \* upgrading, and
- \* cultural and political education.

In this sense, adult education offers an opportunity for adults (including young school leavers and drop-outs) to receive a second chance at education. In this compensatory role, adult education aims to compensate those who for whatever reason, were deprived of part or all of the education they would normally have received during the period of initial schooling (Tuchten, 1995 : 230). In the South African context, this type of compensatory education could mean almost any kind of education and training for adults, for example adult basic education, secondary education for adults, civic education, communication skills, financial management, language courses, numeracy, practical skills, supplementation of the school syllabus, technical training, vocational training, and voter education.

Although South Africa has a long history of adult education in various non-governmental organizations, much of it has not been formally recognized. Presently, resources and funding for this type of compensatory education are severely limited. For several years all forms of nonformal education have been severely neglected. Although in the recent past, this educational sector has been increasingly incorporated into education policy debates. Under these conditions for educational transformation, there has been a renewed interest in adult education for the following reasons:

- \* the disaster in the school system and its failure to provide adequate initial education,
- \* rapid technological change in society and the consequent need for training and re-training,
- \* a growing awareness of the relationship between levels of training and productivity and economic growth,

- \* rapid political and social change in the country which has heightened the fact that civil society and its institutions have a vital role in the development of an informed citizenry,
- \* new opportunities for development in South Africa and thinking that stresses the importance of participatory and collaborative approaches to development,
- \* an increased social responsibility to relieve the misery and hardship experienced by the ever increasing number of poor people,
- \* a recognition of the need for redress for the past and present discrimination against women, rural dwellers and the poor. (NEPI, 1993 : 1).

Given this renewed interest in the field of adult education, the organs of civil society must exploit the acknowledged need and importance of this nonformal education **delivery sector**. More important is that community based organizations, governmental and quasi-governmental structures must become instrumental in encouraging people to undertake adult education programmes.

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With the focus on reconstruction and development in South African society, the educational institution has prioritized an agenda for transformation. Whilst educational policy has prioritized development in the formal education sector, not enough has been done to transform the nonformal sector. The present study rests on the view that adult education has an important role to play in the transformation of South African society. There is indeed a need for adult education to serve a large sector of the South African population that does not benefit from schooling. This sector comprises rural people, the poor, the unemployed, squatters, and a more organized constituency in trade unions. To effectively address the needs of this sector, adult education strategies need to also address general political and economic development goals which could serve as a vehicle for transformation. The strategies which are proposed in the present study are aligned with the NEPI (1993 : 1) principles of non-racism, non-sexism, democracy, unity, and redress. Thus, policy makers must recognize that adult education is central to everything the Reconstruction and Development Programme aims to achieve.

In the present study, the researcher situates the adult education strategies, within the more comprehensive and visionary **concept of lifelong education**, which includes formal, informal and non-formal learning which extends throughout one's lifespan, and is aimed at attaining the fullest possible development in personal, social, and economic life. In adopting this sociological perspective, education is viewed in its totality, (ie. including learning that occurs in the home, school, community, the work-place, the mass media and other situations and structures for acquiring and enhancing skills and knowledge).

Although much research has been done on education in South Africa, there remains an absence of information on the education requirements of people who are outside the formal education system (ie. adults, young adults, school leavers, drop-outs, etc.). The available statistics on the education levels of the general population offer some broad insights.

1.2. **A preliminary statistical profile of the educational status of the black adult population**

Statistics on the education levels of the South African population are usually taken from the national census. Statistics compiled from this source are generally regarded as being problematic for the following reasons:

- \* the national census lacked legitimacy, and therefore also lacked the co-operation of the general public,
- \* many South Africans especially those living in rural areas and informal squatter settlements were not included in the national census, and
- \* the homelands were not included in the national census.

Tuchten (1995 : 231) observes that these factors are likely to produce statistics that over-estimate (rather than under-estimate) the education levels of the general population. The reason being that the majority of people included in the national census (ie. in urban areas) are likely to have had more formal education than those

who were omitted (ie. those living in rural areas, homelands, and informal squatter settlements).

The researcher will briefly refer to three different sets of education statistics in South Africa in order to provide a profile on the educational status of the black adult population. Although these different sets of data have been compiled by employing different methods of data collection, they commonly reflect the widespread extent of under-education among black adults.

In referring to statistics that reflect education level according to racial classification, Tuchten (1995 : 232) provides the following data as at 1990:

- \* 24 per cent of black adults have never attended school,
- \* 32 per cent did not complete primary school, this further suggests that 56 per cent of black adults did not complete primary school, and therefore lack even a basic education,
- \* only 7 per cent of black adults have completed secondary schooling.

The second category of data obtained from the 1985 Census (Central Statistical Services, 1985) reveals information on the education of younger adults in South Africa. The following statistics are extracted:

- \* only 14 per cent of adults and young adults continued their education to Standard 10,
- \* as pupils this group had dropped out of school at all levels,
- \* more than 50 per cent of all adults aged between 15 and 39 did not complete primary school.

The third source of data that Tuchten (1995 : 233) presents is obtained by interviewing small samples of people. This data for 1989 suggests similarly high levels of under-education among the black adult population.

For a broader perspective of the problem of under-education, the researcher notes the literacy rates for the different population groups, namely 54 per cent for Africans, 66

per cent for Coloureds, 84 per cent for Asians, and 99 per for Whites are estimated to be literate (NEPI, 1992 : 6). The NEPI Report (1992 : 5) further indicates that there are about 15 million people without a basic schooling. Of these, approximately eight million have had some schooling, and therefore have limited use of conventional literacy skills. The researcher acknowledges that these figures are open to much debate, but for the purposes of this discussion they serve the task of providing a profile of the wide extent of under-education among black adults in South Africa.

This statistical profile suggests that more than half of the people in South Africa, beyond school-going age, did not complete their primary schooling. Hence, they lack a basic education, which further reduces their levels of functional literacy and their use of English language skills. It is also noted that many of those who had received a few years of schooling, may in fact have reverted to illiteracy, as a result of not having used their reading and writing skills regularly.

Having presented a statistical profile of the widespread extent of the problem of under-education, the researcher will now briefly comment on the sociological implications of adult educational deficiency in South Africa. This will serve to further strengthen the rationale for the present study.

### 1.3. Sociological implications

Perhaps the most important consequence of the racially segregated and unequal education provision in South Africa is that approximately 15 million adults have received either no formal schooling, or very little of low quality. Consequently, the lives of these individuals and that of their significant <sup>family</sup> others are most likely affected because they cannot read and write, or because they possess only a level of functional literacy which restricts the educationally supportive role that they ought to fulfil as parents. These people are marginalized as a result of their educational deficiency and are consequently further disadvantaged by their inability to participate in the dominant forms of literacy. They are disadvantaged in job-seeking, they are sometimes unable to participate effectively in training and development programmes, they might be

unable to provide the support required for their children's learning, and they might be unable to respond effectively to critical medical and environmental issues which pose direct threats to their existence.

Tuchten (1995 : 235) suggests that parents lacking education themselves may be made uncomfortable by books. Consequently, they might be less inclined to encourage their children to read and learn. In contrast Tuchten (1995 : 235) observes that adults who pursue education are more likely to take an interest in their children's education and maintain a family 'culture of learning'. In this sense, a family 'culture of learning' and parental encouragement are viewed as the most important factors influencing the success of pupils in school.

The effects of a high illiteracy rate and low education levels are not just that they tend to disadvantage so many individuals -there are serious disadvantages for the wider society also. Efforts to bring about a democratic political culture and the structures of civil society are made more difficult if a large part of the population is unable to participate in the conventional forms of literate communication. Further, a lack of specific literacy skills becomes a social barrier and advantages some people over others. Thus illiteracy and low educational attainment can become mechanisms that differentiate a class of people who are cut-off from the benefits of effective citizenship. A society that is striving for the democratic participation of all its citizens has to address the fact that more than half its adult population might be disadvantaged through being unable to read and write in the dominant forms of literacy.

Furthermore, research on the changing economic world order since the 1980s, has shown that nations with high levels of general education among the workforce have had the advantage over nations where the general educational level of the workforce was low (NEPI, 1992 : 2). South Africa lags behind 48 countries in terms of human capital capacity, according to a report on world competitiveness by the World Economic Forum, from the Lausanne Institute in Sweden (Daily News, 23 November 1995). To build a sound economy, the under-educated masses would require literacy and skills training, such as carpentry, bricklaying, etc. Similarly, to sustain economic



growth, the formal sector as well would require continual training of engineers, health professionals, educators, etc. Therefore, sustained economic growth would require training people across the economic spectrum. Thus adult education, including adult literacy, and basic education programmes have acquired a greater economic importance in terms of national economic development.

As mentioned earlier, an important implication of under-education is that it negatively influences self-esteem and self-confidence. With reference to the black population of South Africa, Professor Walters has suggested that people who have been oppressed for many years do not think of themselves as having self-worth (Daily News, 23 November 1995). Indeed, the lack of self-confidence and self-esteem has a drastic affect on the process of self-actualization. In turn this seriously hampers the psychological and social well-being of individuals, families, communities, and ultimately society too.

From the statistical profile presented above it is discernible that the communities that have been most severely affected by apartheid, have the lowest recorded levels of education, and the lowest literacy rates. In theory at least this suggests a correlation between socio-political disadvantage and under-education. Therefore the strategies that are being proposed in the present study are mindful of this relationship, and hence they aim to facilitate social, economic and political empowerment of the disadvantaged.

In short, with regard to both concerns with equity and with development, the widespread extent of under-education and illiteracy among the adult population constitute a national problem that needs to be creatively addressed through the implementation of alternative educational strategies.

#### 1.4. **The current scenario of adult education provision**

Here the researcher will provide a synopsis of the status of adult education in terms of its background, governance, financing, certification and accreditation, course content, professionalization, learner motivation, and barriers confronting learners.

#### 1.4.1. **Background**

Past provision and participation in adult education programmes is not a reliable indication of the future. This is because the actual provision and opportunities for adult learning have been minimal. Until recently, there was very little official adult education provision in South Africa. This was largely the result of the devastating impact of apartheid policies which in the process of its general onslaught on school education from the mid -1950s, deliberately sought to eradicate night schools and literacy classes for black South Africans (NEPI, 1993 : 11).

Tuchten (1995 : 243-244) adds that adult education work in South Africa has been severely restricted for the following reasons:

- \* promising developments in adult literacy work in the 1940s and 1950s were undermined by the bantu education policies of the 1960s and 1970s. All night schools were forced to register and comply with the guidelines of the Department of Education and Training (DET),
- \* many of these night schools which had been run in churches, had then closed down, the remaining DET night schools were often the only programmes available to adult learners,
- \* the drop-out rate at these centres was very high,
- \* night school teachers were usually not trained in adult education, and they often adopted a pedagogic mode, as opposed to an andragogic mode of teaching and learning,
- \* learners on industrial programmes were expected to attend literacy classes in their 'free' time which was minimal. This coupled with financial and transport difficulties only compounded the problem of attendance,
- \* in the 1980s, progressive literacy agencies such as Human Awareness Programme, Forum for the Advancement of Adult Education, and Forum for Adult Education and Continuing Education were established. These progressive organizations were often harassed by the state because of their anti-apartheid position, and consequently they lacked any assured funding from governmental bodies.

In the past 30 years adult education has tended to be of six main types, namely:

- \* group dynamics and human relations training located within churches, para-church organizations, and the business world,
- \* literacy organizations,
- \* 'projects' within a variety of non-governmental organizations which engaged in a number of para-education activities,
- \* state attempts (after 1976) to provide a 'night school system' for black learners which was totally under its control, and run through its education departments, and
- \* courses run by the few extra-mural departments at universities.

At present there is no adult education 'system' in South Africa, despite the demand and the need for it. There is no central authority responsible for organizing, co-ordinating, and providing this kind of education. Within the context of a rapidly growing and urbanizing population, it is obvious that demands for all kinds of education will increase. This demand captures the rationale that underlies the present study (ie. strategies to facilitate future provision of adult education).

In the past there has been a weak lobby for adult education provision, and little intellectual expertise has been directed at the adult education field. There is scant public recognition of the achievements of adult learners, and most non-formal courses do not lead to more advanced courses.

The motives that underlie existing adult education provision are as varied as the agencies which have become involved in its provision and support. These include conscientization, increased productivity, union demands, Department of Manpower funding, and community development. Given the poor co-ordination of adult education activities and the limited resources that are available, these goals have not materialized in any sizeable proportions to be significant in terms of the scale of the problem.

#### 1.4.2. **Governance**

With respect to governance, it is noted that although there is no 'system' of adult education in South Africa, there are several laws that impinge upon it. These include the following:

- \* South African Qualification Authority Act No. 58 of 1995, which will develop and regulate the National Qualification Framework (South Africa, 1995),
- \* Manpower Training Amendment Act No. 39 of 1990, which regulates the training of apprentices and trainee artisans, and other training centres,
- \* South African Certification Council Act No. 85 of 1986, which established the South African Certification Council which controlled the norms and standards of subject matter and examinations, and the issuing of certificates,
- \* Local Government Training Act No. 90 of 1985, which governs the training of local government body employees,
- \* Education and Training Act 90 of 1979, which governs inter alia the provision of adult education for Africans through the DET,
- \* National Culture Promotion Act No. 27 of 1969, which governs the provision of adult education for whites,
- \* Correspondence College Act No. 59 of 1965, which provides for the registration and regulation of private correspondence colleges,
- \* Several other tax and fundraising laws which also affect the provision of adult education (NEPI, 1993 : 13).

Of the above-mentioned laws, it appears that for the foreseeable future only the South African Qualifications Authority Act will have a significant impact on the nature of adult education. This Act is the first step towards the mass skilling of South Africans. The Act enables the setting up of a South African Qualification Authority whose job it will be to develop a National Qualification Framework, which in turn will aim to throw open the doors of lifelong learning to all South Africans. It further aims to create recognized national qualifications and to improve the quality of education and training at all levels. Another of its objectives is to create an integrated framework for education and training. This is a remarkable achievement since the only other country to have done this is New Zealand.

This Act is significant for the future development of adult education in so far as it aims to bring together education and training. While South Africa cannot train people without an education base to build on, it certainly cannot afford to put millions of adults back into school. Hence, the logical thing to do is to bring education and training together in an innovative alternative delivery system.

Once in place, the National Qualification Framework will revolutionize education and training. People of all ages will be able to receive credit for prior experience and learning, to enter an integrated and modularized education and training system from any starting point, and progress at any pace through set 'levels of learning', to their desired qualification. Learners will in the future be able to move between institutions, and between education and training. But more important, is the fact that the nature of learning will change by moving from knowledge cramming to an emphasis on skills such as problem solving, communication, and information gathering. Thus learning and working will be able to be integrated in new and cost efficient ways.

A central feature of the framework will be its eight levels of learning:

- \* Level One will encompass nine years of compulsory schooling (to Standard Seven), and four levels of adult basic education and training courses, leading to a General Education Certificate,
- \* Levels Two, Three, and Four will lead to a Further Education Certificate (the current matric), either through a further three years of optional secondary schooling or through further education courses,
- \* Levels Five, Six, Seven and Eight will be in the tertiary sector, probably with Level Five leading to an advanced certificate or diploma, Level Six to a degree, Level Seven to a professional qualification, and Level Eight to a masters or doctorate degree.

With these exciting proposals afoot, the South African education sector has already established a structural framework which will revolutionize nonformal education by appropriately linking education and training.

#### 1.4.3. **Finance**

Current adult education provision in South Africa is formulated on a varied financial base of providers which includes a combination of state, industry, business, municipalities, community based organizations, welfare agencies, service organizations, churches, and other religious bodies. The NEPI Report (1993 : 14) suggests that there is little, if any coherence or co-ordination of this provision, even between government departments. This Report (NEPI, 1993 : 14) further states that it is not possible to ascertain the state's total adult education provision costs. It is estimated though that foreign and South African donors have contributed about R100 million towards adult education, which has been channelled through trade unions, non-governmental organizations, and community organizations (NEPI, 1993 : 15).

#### 1.4.4. **Certification and accreditation**

With reference to certification and accreditation of adult education courses, it is noted that this occurs at a very limited scale - mainly within the DET system of provision and also within certain industries. Other bodies that offer certification of its courses include some correspondence colleges and professional bodies. Several commercial training firms are also engaged in offering virtually bogus certificates (NEPI, 1993 : 15). Several well intentioned non-governmental organizations offer certificates for various courses, but these are of limited currency in the absence of a national mechanism for certification and accreditation. Improvements in this area will invariably result in sorely needed linkages between formal and non-formal education, which in the long-run will advance educational mobility within the adult population.

#### 1.4.5. **Course content**

Course content includes a number of categories: agricultural training, administrative and secretarial courses, adult literacy and basic education, building skills, computer training, human relations training, organizational development, and a variety of practical skills and technical training. There are also courses and activities related to health education, environmental awareness, and career information. Despite this wide

variety of options, little course provision seems to be based on an analysis of the education needs of learners. The NEPI Report (1993 : 21) in this respect, states that a recurrent observation is that the lack of basic education (ie. literacy, numeracy, and English language skills) means that many candidates cannot cope with most of the courses on offer, and hence the large drop-out levels.

#### 1.4.6. **Professionalization**

The difficulty in describing the current provision of adult education is a result of the fact that there exists no specialist information systems on adult education in South Africa. This seriously affects everyone in the field - ie. learners, educators, providers, funders, specialists, and researchers. There are no national, regional or local authorities which are responsible for collecting and disseminating information. The confusion as to what actually constitutes adult education compounds the problem (the researcher examines these issues in-depth in Chapter Six).

At present there is no information system for potential learners, and where attempts to provide information has occurred, it has been very localized and ad hoc. Consequently, many potential learners, particularly illiterates are not aware of the range of adult education provision that exists.

Similarly, educators also do not have an information system on materials and methods to use, or ways of improving their own educator skills. More importantly perhaps is the fact that there is no typical conceptualization of who is an adult educator. Instead there exists a wide range of jobs and titles, all relating to education and training: trainer, tutor, teacher, presenter, supervisor, facilitator, etc. Currently adult educators tend to be relatively new in their jobs, and have had little if any formal training in adult education, and usually come from other fields, or without much education per se. There are very few educators given the potential number of learners. Therefore if there is to be any major growth in adult education, the ability to produce more educators and trainers will have to be enhanced.

#### 1.4.7. **Learner motivation**

Despite the varied backgrounds and educational levels of adult education learners, there is a remarkable and consistent trend in the high expectations learners have of adult education. Many learners hope that the courses they are attending will immediately result in finding employment, finding better employment, receiving promotion, making money in the informal sector through newly acquired skills such as dressmaking, baking, etc. Motivation for participating in adult education is usually due to extrinsic rewards, such as the above-mentioned ones. Intrinsic rewards that could contribute to self-actualization are not often mentioned. Once again, this aspect of learner motivation is comprehensively studied in Chapter Six.

#### 1.4.8. **Barriers confronting learners**

In spite of high expectations among adult education learners, there are many factors that inhibit adult learning - these are referred to as barriers. Transport is probably the most powerful barrier affecting participation and attendance. This is because of the poor public transport system and the high costs involved. The high incidence of crime and violence, particularly in the urban areas and townships also act as inhibitory factors. Yet another powerful barrier is the humiliation experienced by learners. Often they are laughed at by friends for 'returning to school' during their adult years. Other barriers include a lack of money for both transport and payment of course fees, limited free time to attend classes, lack of information on available courses, leaving homes and young children unattended, and the dangers of attending classes at night.

#### 1.4.9. **Overview**

In scanning through the current scenario in adult education provision in South Africa, it is apparent that adult education has begun to emerge as an important avenue of education. Although it is still nowhere near gaining the human and material resources needed to deliver adequate provision, there have been important development recently which favour more effective funding and policy initiatives. It is anticipated that the National Qualification Forum Act will unlock the potential of the non-formal



education sector. In so doing it will also facilitate more effective co-ordination and governance, and will attract educational expertise to bolster development in this educational sector. In ushering in these new opportunities, there prevails an optimism that adult education will effectively facilitate capacity-building, whilst overcoming its lengthy history of structural, financial, logistical and political dilemmas.

#### 1.5. **Towards transforming adult education provision**

Given the widespread extent of under-education among black adults and the weak adult education base that exists currently, the present study is formulated on the notion that alternative adult education provision can serve as a vehicle to transform the deficient educational status of this target group.

This argument is developed on two theoretical levels. Firstly, in applying a radical perspective to understand the social conditions of black schooling which resulted in widespread adult educational deficiency. The researcher advances the need to transform the radical theory of schooling so that it addresses the educational and social needs of the present generation of young adults, who are sometimes referred to as the 'lost generation'.

Secondly, the researcher argues that in adopting the critical theory mode of analysis, the field of adult education can be reconstructed by applying a theory based on critical literacy and cultural power (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985 : 131). It is envisaged that a reconstructed body of adult education which uses critical literacy and cultural power as its ideological basis will provide a vehicle for society to re-capture and transform the status of the 'lost generation' and the under-educated masses. To achieve this objective, the adult education movement needs to deconstruct and to re-construct the strategies that it utilizes, so that they are relevant to the real needs of the people and the society at large.

Having presented the fundamental points of departure of the present study the researcher will now provide a overview of the scope of the study.

#### 1.6. Scope of the study

To undertake the theoretical task outlined above, the researcher has to provide substantive theoretical analysis which begins with an account of the provision and expansion of black schooling in South Africa. This socio-historical analysis portrays the black schooling system as one that continually expanded under pressure of increasing numbers. In order to contain the growing demands of the black population for political emancipation, the government responded by instituting reform initiatives in the educational sector. In analyzing this period of educational expansion and reform, the researcher emphasizes that it was not without contradictions.

The study then proceeds to provide a sociological critique of the politics of black schooling. The theoretical insight is drawn from the marxist perspective concerning the role of the educational institution in capitalist society. The researcher stresses that it is imperative to interpret the present as a logical consequence of the past. Therefore it is necessary to theoretically interrogate the policies of black schooling in order to gain insight on the problem of adult educational deficiency. This theoretical analysis advocates reproduction, resistance and transformation as constituting dominant theoretical trends in particular historical sequence.

The study further advances the view that the educational transformation agenda can be contextualized in order to transform adult education provision. In this way it will become possible to society to re-capture its 'lost generation'.

The study also presents a brief statistical overview of under-education among the black adult population. The researcher uses census and secondary data to present a statistical profile of the extent of educational deficiency among the black adult population. This statistical data focuses on three categories of information: illiteracy (no formal education), educational levels of the population, and school drop-out rates. While all three categories even together fail to provide a precise indication of the size of the problem, they are useful in so far as they help to quantify the extent of educational deficiency.

The study further provides an in-depth analysis of adult education as a field of study. This discussion examines the scope of adult education, definition of concepts, identifying its content, purpose and practice, its ideologies, strategies, purposes, providers, target groups, and participation and recruitment factors.

In the final analysis, the researcher presents the main conclusions and recommendations of the study.

### 1.7. **Methodology**

The study is theoretical in nature as opposed to being empirical. The researcher acknowledges the limitations that this creates, and addresses the issue at length in Chapter Four.

The methodological procedures included the following:

- \* a systematic identification and review of relevant literature,
- \* analysis and interpretation of secondary data and existing statistics, and
- \* the use of simple statistical techniques in the analysis and interpretation of the secondary data.

A more comprehensive discussion of these procedures will be provided in Chapter Four.

### 1.8. **Limitations of the study**

The restrictions imposed on the study have generally emerged from theoretical and practical considerations.

Firstly, on theoretical grounds, it has not always been possible to contextualize the data within a uniquely South African context. This is largely due to the limited amount of research in the field of adult education strategies that has been undertaken in South Africa. In contrast, the extensive research into this area of study that has

been undertaken abroad has resulted in the emergence of a wide range of theoretical models to be utilized.

Secondly, practical limitations have arisen from the methodological procedures that have been adopted. An empirical investigation of this nature is beyond the scope and scale of the present study in so far as the financial implications are concerned. Also of significance in this respect is that existing South African population statistics and census data are not only open to some degree of error, but they are also rigidly categorized in terms of race and political differentiation. The statistics that are available for blacks in South Africa only refer to those who are resident in the formerly white designated urban areas of South Africa. Therefore, statistics for the majority of the black population living in the former homelands and independent states are not included in this census data.

It is thus acknowledged that there is a vast difference in the official estimates of the size of the illiterate population and what it actually is. The estimates cited by the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NEPI, 1992 : 6-7), take into account the figures for the former homelands and the independent territories, while the official census data have excluded these on political grounds. At the commencement of the study the researcher attempted to obtain statistics for these regions, but it proved to be extremely difficult. It is for this reason that the study has focused only on the empirical data that was readily available.

#### 1.9. **The general structure**

The study is structured according to seven chapters. The broad focus of each chapter is as follows.

Chapter One introduces the study and provides a preliminary framework for the discussion. In Chapter Two the researcher attempts to contextualize the study. The discussion focuses on the nature and history of the black schooling system. In

essence, the researcher argues that despite expansion and reform of the black schooling system, there have been serious contradictions within the system. It is also suggested that the legacy of a poor schooling system has contributed significantly to the existence of an educationally deficient population.

Chapter Three presents a theoretical framework upon which the study is formulated. The researcher develops a marxist interpretation of the role of the black education system in South African society. It further examines the functions of reproduction and resistance in particular historical sequence.

Chapter Four outlines the methodological orientation of the study. While the study is largely theoretical in nature it does introduce elementary statistical analysis by reviewing secondary data.

Chapter Five develops a statistical profile of the extent of under-education among the black adult population. The data presentation focuses on illiteracy, levels of educational attainment, and school drop-out rates.

Chapter Six focuses on adult education as a specialist field of study. The scope of this chapter is vast as it deals with several aspects, namely the field of study, the purposes of adult education, participation, providers, strategies, target groups and national programmes and organizations.

In Chapter Seven the researcher presents a summary, the main conclusions and recommendations regarding alternate adult educational strategies to facilitate educational provision in South Africa.

The researcher will provide a glossary of the concepts that are commonly used in the discussion which follows.

### 1.10. Definition of Concepts

Those concepts and terminology that are commonly used include the following: nonformal education, formal education, informal education, literacy and illiteracy, under-education, educational deficiency, adult education, adult basic education, adult, lifelong education/learning, continuing education, and recurrent education.

- \* **Nonformal education:** It is defined as educational activities planned for adults and which takes place outside the formal system of schools and tertiary educational institutions, and which does not lead to formal certification (Coombs, et al, 1973 : 10). It is intended to serve an identifiable learning clientele and to achieve a specific set of objectives.
  
- \* **Formal education:** The term formal education is used to refer to the hierarchically structured, chronologically graded system, from primary school through to university, including a variety of specialized programmes and institutions for full-time teaching and professional training (Radcliffe and Colletta, 1989 : 61).
  
- \* **Informal education:** This term refers to the lifelong process whereby all individuals acquire attitudes, values, skills and knowledge from their daily-life experiences and from the educative influences and resources in their environment (Radcliffe and Colletta, 1989 : 60).
  
- \* **Literacy / Illiteracy:** While literacy is the term used to refer to the three basic cognitive skills: reading, writing, and calculating , upon which all educational programmes are based, it has a broader definition in the context of the present study. In this study literacy use is related to its social context, thus the discussion does not proceed on the notion of a single literacy, when in fact multiple literacies may co-exist for the performance of widely varying personal, social and economic functions. It is noted that the available statistics links literacy to the attainment of five years of basic schooling. In South Africa the vast disparities in the quality of educational provision does not yield comparable levels of attainment at the completion of five years of schooling.

Moreover, instruction in mother-tongue does not necessarily make individuals functionally literate, since the dominant forms of social life operate on a different language medium from that available in black schools. Therefore the concept literacy refers to functional literacy. Since there are no available statistics indicating levels of functional literacy in South Africa, the researcher utilizes data on formal education levels to provide an idea of the extent of the problem of illiteracy. It is therefore acknowledged that this is indeed far too general to be reliable.

Illiteracy refers to an inability to accomplish the three basic cognitive skills (ie. reading, writing and calculating). This is often linked to an inadequate basic education or an absence of basic education.

The study acknowledges that statistics on literacy and illiteracy have several limitations as they only make provision for these two categories, and are therefore insensitive to the complexities of ranges and varying types of literacy. There is a vast range between complete inability to read and write, and high literacy skills. Also the available statistics do not make a distinction between literacy in mother tongue and functional English literacy. The study uses as its foundation the estimate that there are about 15 million adults without a basic schooling, of which one third (ie. five million) have had some schooling and therefore have only limited use of conventional literacy skills (NEPI, 1993 : 5). Thus the census data are based on different definitions of literacy and illiteracy to that which is employed in the present study.

\* **Under-education:** This concept serves to refer to the phenomenon of inadequate basic schooling among the adult population, the consequences of which are illiteracy and low levels of functional literacy.

\* **Adult education:** The broadest definition of adult education would be the totality of facilities and activities that exist to meet the needs of adult learners. This totality fills a very large field - for it is everything that is not clearly and

narrowly definable as time-limited, formal initial schooling and tertiary or post-secondary education. Adult education is a process unrelated to age, whereby persons who have terminated their initial cycle of continuous education, may undertake any sequential and organized activities with the conscious intention of bringing about changes in information, knowledge, understanding, or skills, and attitudes. Thus adult education is a collective term covering the institutions and procedures by which adults are enabled and encouraged to experience the above-mentioned process.

- \* **Adult basic education:** Adult basic education is part of the more general category of adult education. It is differentiated on the grounds of conceptual clarity and redress to educationally disadvantaged communities. It refers to educational provision designed to equip adults with literacy, post-literacy, numeracy and basic education skills.
- \* **Educational deficiency:** This concept refers to limited basic educational attainment at the level of adulthood. The educational background of the individual does not equip him/her with an appropriate level educational proficiency (ie. functional literacy, numeracy and the cognitive skills developed through basic education).
- \* **Adult:** This concept may take on various definitions in different social, cultural, political and legal contexts. In the present study it refers to youth and adults who are beyond the statutory school-going age. This limit is usually set at 19 years of age. However, the study does not exclude individuals younger than 19 years, but who have since dropped out of the school system and are engaged in typically adult life activities (breadwinners, parents, etc.).
- \* **Andragogy:** It is the discipline that is concerned with the art and science of helping adults to learn, and the study of adult education theory, processes, and technology to that end.



- \* **Lifelong education/learning:** Lifelong education refers to the organized provision of opportunities for persons to learn throughout their lives. It is the organized and sequential learning experiences designed to meet the needs of adults. Lifelong learning refers to a process by which individuals continue to develop their knowledge, skills and attitudes over the duration of their lifetime (Lengrand, 1989 : 6). In this sense it refers to self-directed growth, meaning understanding oneself and the world.
  
- \* **Continuing education:** It is a system of education which includes formal and non-formal education which is defined with respect to its various parts and agencies, and in terms of specific educational objectives to be fostered, rather than in terms of ages or circumstances of learners. The system is available to persons of any age, part-time or full-time, voluntary or compulsory, and is financed by a mixture of private and public resources.
  
- \* **Recurrent education:** It is a comprehensive educational strategy for all post-compulsory or post-basic education over the total lifespan of the individual in a recurring way (ie. in alternation with other activities), principally with work activities but also with leisure and retirement activities also (Bengtsson, 1989 : 44). It is a lifelong process consisting of a discontinuous, periodic participation in educational programmes aimed at gradually dissolving the blocks of compulsory education and working life (ie. a front end model).

### 1.11. Summary

Chapter One has attempted to introduce the study. It has conceptualized the study in terms of a specific problem as the starting point of the research exercise. The research problem has stipulated that despite the widespread nature of illiteracy and under-education among the black adult population, little has been done to facilitate adult educational provision for this disadvantaged sector of the community. The field of study is defined as a sociological analysis of the relationship of the educational institution to society in general. To encapsulate this relationship the discussion deals

with the effects of a poor schooling system on educational attainment during adulthood.

The discussion has elaborated the reasons for the renewed interest in adult education, which focus largely on political and social redress, and development in society. The assumptions of the study have been clearly presented. These are informed by marxist theories on the role of the education system in society. The goals of the study have been identified. The researcher has also presented a brief historical analysis outlining the background to the present study. The main thrust of this analysis is the notion of reformism in educational provision and practice in South Africa.

The researcher has also very briefly noted the methodological procedures that the study utilized, and acknowledged certain limitations that were encountered. A synopsis of the general structure of the dissertation has been presented and the most important concepts have been defined.

With these introductory comments the researcher will proceed to analyze the schooling system.

## CHAPTER TWO

### EXPANSION, REFORM AND CONTRADICTION WITHIN THE BLACK SCHOOLING SYSTEM

#### 2.1. Introduction

In order to understand the nature and implications of educational deficiency among black adults, one needs to examine the nature and provision of schooling that had been available to the present generation of black adults. The researcher believes that it is important to provide this profile, since the educational provision of the past is powerfully evoked in educational deficiency that characterizes the present generation of black adults.

In this chapter the researcher argues that historically the provision of schooling for blacks has been grossly inadequate, and the consequences of this have been substantial educational wastage and deficiency at the level of adulthood. Despite substantial educational expansion and varying reformist strategies, schooling for black South Africans was fraught with contradictions.

In the discussion which follows the researcher argues that despite expansion of educational provision which was implemented in the context of changing reformist strategies, the system continued to manifest contradictory aspects. These contradictions have arisen largely in the attempt to maintain the apartheid policies and white supremacy in the face of increasing demands of the black population for equality.

This chapter will firstly examine the expansion of the black schooling system from its early beginnings, the contribution of the missionary movement, government provision, changes in the financing structure, and qualitative indicators of the nature of provision. In the latter part of the discussion, the researcher will analyze the changing reformist strategies which reflect the contradictions within the system.

## 2.2. **The expansion of black schooling**

The indigenous population of South Africa did not have any formal system of educational provision. Their education assumed an informal basis. Knowledge and skills were transmitted from one generation to the next in the course of their daily tasks. Such informal education included initiation ceremonies and rituals, transmission of culture through song, poetry, folklore, etc. which was passed on in the oral tradition.

### 2.2.1. **Early history**

Following the arrival of the European settlers in the Cape in 1652, the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) which was based at the Cape did not render any sort of educational provision for those who settled here. It was the Church as an organized body that first engaged in educational provision (Behr and MacMillan, 1971 : 67). The first school for black people was the one that was opened for adult slaves. The school was opened in 1658 by Jan van Riebeeck, the Governor of the Cape (Horrel, 1963: 3). A second school was established a few years later, in 1663. Notably, during these early beginnings schools were not segregated along racial lines.

During the 1800s many frontier wars were fought during which the indigenous people were dispossessed of their land. Also, this was the period during which the missionaries were establishing themselves in South Africa. The British government increasingly gave more attention to educational provision, as it believed that it was a mechanism for spreading their language and tradition in the colony. More important perhaps, was the fact that education became a means of social control. During this period several schools were established and teachers from England were brought to South Africa in an attempt to develop the educational system. In 1839 the British government established a Department of Education and also provided financial assistance to local (mission) schools. Thus, the organization of schooling was significantly improved with a network of private schools and state schools, state-aided schools and mission schools.

In 1828 and 1833 new laws were passed, which significantly changed the position of the Khoi and the Slaves - they were effectively 'freed'. However a mechanism had to be put into place to ensure a supply of cheap labour. Thus Horrel (1963 : 11) explains, that schooling came to be regarded as a way of instilling social discipline.

### 2.2.2. The missionary movement

During the nineteenth century it was largely the missionary movement that provided schools for blacks. Their primary objective was to engage the blacks in church activities, but also to spread the western way of life and to teach them the certain work values.

The first mission school for blacks was established in King Williams Town in 1799 (Christie, 1986:36). Later other schools were established. In 1841 the government began providing financial aid to mission schools. This was not without gain, as it facilitated some degree of control over the mission schools. The mission schools provided mainly elementary education and sometimes secondary schooling and teacher training also. But they served only a very limited number of black pupils. This changed by the mid-1800s, when the Cape governors became reluctant to provide higher education to blacks since racial prejudice had already become entrenched by the 1800s.

More mission schools were later established. These included Botshabelo and Kilnerton. However, since there was no system of funding mission schools in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, most black children in these areas did not attend schools at all. It was in this way that Adams College (1853), Inanda Seminary (1869), and Marianhill Mission came to be established.

More mission schools were established in the early 1900s. These included the Grace Dieu School (1906) in Pietersburg, and the Temana School (1906) in the Letaba Valley. Horrel (1964 : 23), states that in 1905 there were 184 black mission schools with 310 teachers and 10 000 pupils. Thus the trends that began in the 1880

continued into the 1900s. This meant the while increased government funding and control facilitated educational change for whites, black education was expanded only as a result of missionary initiatives.

During this time, the distribution of and access to schools was unsystematic and more often than not, it was determined by denominational concerns and rivalries, than by any sense of planning to meet real needs.

The 'village schools' were the beginning of educational opportunity for most blacks. These schools also served the dual purpose of providing schooling, but more importantly they served the religious ends of the missions to establish Christian communities and develop church organizations. During this period there was no system of secondary schooling for black pupils. The first departmental subsidy for black secondary schooling was paid in the Transvaal in 1929 (Hartshorne, 1992:61). This took the form of teacher training. Thus, well into the 1930s the route to post-primary education was through teacher training combined with private study leading to Junior and Senior Certificates.

During the 1940s there was a steady rise in school enrolments. Most of the newly established secondary schools were boarding schools at missionary institutions, such as Kilnerton, Lemana, and Grace Dieu in the Transvaal; Adams College and Inanda Seminary in Natal; Moroka and Modderpoort in the Orange Free State; and Shawberry, St. John's, and St. Mathews in the Cape. Several day secondary schools were later established. Hartshorne (1992:63) states that the academic standards of these schools were good, and that the quality of work surpassed that achieved in the subsequent period of 'Bantu Education'.

The period 1945 to 1948 was marked by frequent disturbances and strikes in the missionary institutions. This also spread to the black schools in the locations, where organizations such as the ANC Youth League began to have strong appeal.

### 2.2.3. The role of the government

The discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in 1860, and gold on the Witwatersrand in 1880, brought substantial economic changes which precipitated further changes in social and political arrangements. From 1880 onwards there was considerable industrial growth and development. To a large extent the educational changes that were introduced during this period formed the foundation of the current education system. This became evident with the passing of the Education Act of 1892. This law stated that the government accepted that it was mainly the duty of parents to provide education for their children, but it would become more involved in supporting the educational structures (Behr, 1978 : 13). It then began supporting private schools through a system of grants, in addition the government also began to supervise schools so as to ensure that Protestant Christian education was being transmitted. The government had also given its support to establish an institution for higher education principally for the training of teachers.

When Natal became a British Colony, education was considered to be the responsibility of the government. This was an important move because it formed the basis for the development of a schooling system. But a policy of segregation was enforced in Natal. Blacks were placed in reserves or 'tribal locations' and they were forced to carry 'passes'. This segregation also applied to schools, therefore the government established mission reserves, which were in turn expected to establish mission schools. In 1884 the control and organization of black schools became the responsibility of the government Council of Education (Rose and Turner, 1975 : 212). Subsequently, special curricula were devised for these schools and a system of inspection was introduced.

Following the Anglo Boer War the British administration assumed control over education in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. This marked an important period of development for education, but it was also the period during which a racially differentiated education system was developed. The social reformists viewed education as a way of stimulating social upliftment. Thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century, compulsory schooling was regarded as a mechanism to be used in

solving social problems. Schooling for whites soon was made compulsory, with the age limits set at seven to sixteen years. However, black education was not made free nor compulsory, and it remained the responsibility of the Church.

At the formation of the Union government in 1910, the various provinces were given control over primary and secondary education. But education for blacks came under the control of the Minister of Native Affairs. During the period 1910 to 1925, Hartshorne (1992 : 25-27), cites three important developments that affected black education. Firstly, while some government schools for blacks were established by the provincial government (Natal), the general view was that education should be left in the hands of the missionaries, with minimal assistance from provincial government subsidies. Secondly, the level of the subsidy was substantially increased, with a concomitant increase in provincial control. This was marked by the appointment of school inspectors who were especially responsible for 'Native Education'. The third important development was the introduction of special curricula for black schools. These were introduced in 1913 and 1920 and were designed to place emphasis on manual work as a prelude to industrial training.

Following the newly elected National government in 1948, a Commission on Native Education was appointed in 1949, under the chairmanship of Dr. Eiselen. The newly formed government formalized the black-white segregation that was already in practice by passing several laws. At this point all black resistance that had begun in 1945 had been destroyed. At the onset of the apartheid era, restrictive measures were enforced to control the movement of blacks, and all facets of their socio-political activities.

In 1953 the Bantu Education Act No. 47 was passed, thereby creating a new system of black education. Control over education was transferred from the provincial systems to the Bantu Education Section in the Department of Native Affairs. The most pressing concern at the time was the financing of this new system.



In 1959, the government had indeed fulfilled the targets identified by the Eiselen Commission, whereby both primary and secondary school enrolments had doubled. The main mechanism that was used to achieve this was the introduction of the double-session system practised during the first two years of schooling. Under this system, the teacher was expected to instruct two separate groups of pupils, on a daily basis. Each class group averaged between 45-50 children, who received three hours of instruction daily. When this double-session system was introduced in 1955 it was declared to be an emergency measure, yet it was well into the 1980s before it was dispensed with. Hartshorne (1992 : 38) elaborates that this system was a contributory factor to the inferior quality in the school system. Another factor was that the projected target of teachers had not been attained, despite the 3509 'private' teachers that were employed. However, although the target for enrolment had been reached, the teacher-pupil ratio had increased from 1:43,8 in 1949, to 1:54,2 in 1959. This ratio continued to rise to 1:59 in 1970, and only returned to the 1949 level in the mid-1980s (Hartshorne, 1992 : 39).

The role of the government underwent significant change once the homelands policy was introduced. Generally it meant that all expansion in black education occurred within the homelands and self-governing territories. The researcher will comment further on these initiatives later in the discussion.

#### 2.2.4. **Financing black education**

During the period 1922 to 1925 several laws were passed concerning the funding of black education. The effect of these laws was that government expenditure was fixed at the 1922 level, therefore any subsequent expansion had to be financed out of the taxation paid by blacks themselves. This method of financing continued until 1955, but it did not go unchallenged. In 1935 an important investigation was commissioned by the government. This was the Inter-Departmental Committee. It is worth mentioning that the Committee stated that on average, the school-life of a black pupil was less than three years (Hartshorne, 1992 : 28). Further findings revealed that 98

per cent of black pupils were in primary school, and of which 20 per cent continued beyond standard three. Following this investigation, there was some improvement in the level of government funding.

Following the financial crisis confronting black education in 1945, financial control was removed from the Native Affairs Commission and placed under the Union Department of Education, Arts and Science. Consequently the spending on black education was doubled during the period 1946-1950 (Hartshorne, 1992:31).

In 1953, the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd stated that a direct contribution from the black population was needed in order to earn a subsidy from the government (Hartshorne, 1992:37). This contribution was pegged at R13 million for the next 17 years. This meant that all expansion beyond R13 million was to be dependent on the increasing revenue from the poll tax (four fifth's of which was added to the Bantu Education budget). In effect, this marked a return to the pre-1945 period, and hence it drew widespread protest from the black population. Regarding this development the SAIRR (1954 : 172) stated :

"... in a modern state, elementary education should be provided for all children, irrespective of class or race, the costs of this being borne by the country as a whole. To select the poorest group in which only 40 percent of children of school-going age were at school, and to lay upon it the responsibility of raising sufficient funds to educate progressively the remaining 60 percent, was an unexpected and highly undesirable new principle of public finance."

This iniquitous system of financing education remained until 1972. Thus, the burden for educational expansion during 1955-1972 was placed on the community themselves. Black communities became responsible for financing the running costs of education. Further, whenever the department was not able to provide adequate staffing, parents made further contributions by supporting "private" teachers. Moreover, the communities were also responsible for the capital cost incurred in the building of schools (the R-for-R principle was practised). With such an ineffective system of

financing black education, the gap between the unit costs of black education and white education continued to widen, until it reached a ratio of 1:20 in 1962 (Hartshorne, 1992 : 21-24).

Unlike the earlier decades, the 1970s are marked by dramatic increases in the amounts the government spent on black schooling. For instance, just before the Soweto uprising in 1976, the total spending was nearly five times as great as it had been in 1960 (Hartshorne, 1992:48). In this respect, one may consider the increase in state financing of black education as consisting of two phases: the late sixties and the later seventies. While the first phase was characterized by increased finance and the creation of the badly needed differentiated skilled labour force; the second phase, (after the Soweto riots) was a time when it became increasingly important for the government to use education as a direct means of creating social stability.

Within the Republic, the relationship between white and black per capita costs continued to improve, for instance, from 15:1 in 1972, to 10:1 in 1980, and eventually to 5:1 in 1990 (SAIRR, 1990 : 12).

#### 2.2.5. **The former homelands and self-governing territories**

The National states and the independent homelands have played a crucial role in the expansion of primary and secondary schooling from the late 1960s onwards. Table 2.1. shows the years during which the respective homeland governments were formally instituted.

**Table 2.1.**

**The emergence of education departments in the former homelands  
and self-governing territories**

<b>Region</b>	<b>Year</b>
Transkei	1976
Bophuthatswana	1977
Venda	1979
Ciskei	1981
Lebowa	1972
Qwa Qwa	1974
Kwa Zulu	1975
Gazankulu	1978
KaNgwane	1978
KwaNdebele	1979

(Hartshorne, 1992 : 130).

The introduction of education departments in these territories coincided with the bantustan strategy which was adopted during the period 1963-1973. This strategy focused on the government's withdrawal of responsibility for educational provision for the majority of blacks, and in place it imposed bantustan structures of authority. The development of education departments in these regions had the effect of encouraging the black population to move to, or to remain within these geographical areas. This policy was facilitated through influx control legislation, forced removals, and the re-drawing of bantustan boundaries. Also, the government had decreed that all expansion of school education would occur in the bantustans. This proved to be an incentive to persuade blacks to move to these areas.

**Table 2.2.**  
**The distribution of black school enrolments: 1989**

Distribution of enrolments	Number	Percentage
Department of Education and Training	2 118 921	29,0
Self-governing territories	3 103 136	42,6
Independent homelands	2 076 283	28,4

(Hartshorne, 1992 : 130).

The data presented in Table 2.2. indicate that the decline in school enrolments in the non-bantustan regions had been met with a concomitant rise in enrolments in the bantustan regions. School enrolments for 1989 reflect that 71 per cent of all black enrolments were in the bantustan regions and only 29 per cent of the enrolments remained within the DET.

Although educational provision in the homelands expanded considerably during the 1980s, it was characterised by gross discrimination. For instance, the per capita costs in some of the homeland territories were considerably less than that of the Department of Education and Training. The per capita costs on education in the homeland territories were much worse than that experienced by the DET, for instance in 1989 while R503,78 per capita was spent by the DET, only R346,78 was spent in Gazankulu, R355,21 in Kwa Zulu, and R373,66 in KaNgwane (Hartshorne, 1992 : 128). Other indicators of discriminatory measures are reflected in the size of classes. While class sizes in the DET in 1989, were estimated to be 43 the size of classes in the self-governing territories were 62, and that of the independent states was 53 (Hartshorne, 1992 : 128). Once again it is discernible that the quality of educational provision in the homeland territories was much worse than that of the DET, which in itself was considerably inferior to the educational provision for the other racial groups.

### 2.2.6. Qualitative indicators

As has been stated earlier, racial prejudice had been entrenched as far back as the 1800s, and this was manifested in all facets of social life, including educational provision. From the time the government had introduced educational provision for blacks it was unequal to provision rendered for other racial groups, and it was distinctly of an inferior quality. The researcher will briefly comment on some areas that reflect the inferior quality of black educational provision. This is further expanded upon in the analysis of the educational provision in the homeland territories.

Over the decades there had been very little improvement in drop-out and wastage from the school system, thus reflecting the adverse social and economic conditions, and the lack of the holding power of the school. In general, for most of the children, their stay in school was so short and irregular that even the schooling that they had was of minimal value. Thus the schooling system largely failed to provide the children with a platform of basic literacy and numeracy. Conditions were the worst in rural schools which comprised 54,3 per cent of all black schools (Hartshorne, 1992 : 33).

There are various issues relating to the quality of education. The reasons for the inadequacy of the black schooling system are to be found in several underlying factors. These include wider curriculum issues surrounding language medium policy, the teaching methods and approaches used, the lack of learning materials, the inadequate training of many of the teachers, the size of classes, the limited duration of the school day for children in the first two years of school, the primitive facilities and premises available to pupils and teachers, the fatigue in children brought about by malnutrition and poor home circumstances, and the general neglect in terms of funding and resources that were discussed earlier. All of these factors combined to make primary schooling a matter of survival for pupils in the system.

A central issue to the quality of education is the quality of the teachers within them. Qualification and experience may serve as a rough indicator of this quality. Clearly, there has been a failure to train professionally qualified teachers, as the system is plagued by a largely under-qualified teaching body.

Another factor affecting the quality of education in the last two decades has been the introduction in 1975, of a twelve-year school structure. Until this time, black education unlike the other education systems in South Africa, was based on a 13 year school structure. While the introduction of a 12-year structure was in itself a positive and necessary step, its immediate effects were almost all negative. For example, this caused enrolments in the secondary schools to increase rapidly which created serious accommodation problems. Other effects were that many teachers had to be transferred to the secondary school system, thus creating further disruption within the primary school system. Furthermore, it also created an 'over-loading' of the curriculum from Standards Three to Five, so as to prepare pupils for an earlier entry into the secondary school system.

Yet another factor that affected the quality of education, was the fact that pupils and teachers were expected to make a language medium switch two years earlier than was previously the practice. In 1976 the smouldering issue which was the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, also entered the primary schools. Thus it is observed that the wave of educational protests of 1976-80, 1984-86, and 1990 severely affected large drop-out rates and educational wastage. Consequently, for many, their primary schooling was disrupted or discontinued, thus further contributing to the present levels of under-education among the adult population.

The researcher agrees with Hartshorne (1992 : 22), in suggesting that historically the black schooling system had been accepted as a route from which most pupils would drop-out without ever successfully completing the schooling process. Hartshorne (1992 : 42), adds that only one out of five children survived the system long enough to qualify to go on to secondary education, and only one out of eight managed to do so up until 1970.

With respect to the quality of black schooling, suffice it to say that in practice, it has been characterized by a lack of access, inequality of opportunity, poor structural organization, inadequate human and material resources, and a high degree of educational wastage.

### 2.2.7. **Overview**

In dealing with the expansion of black schooling the researcher has provided a synopsis of the early history, the important contribution made by the missionary movement, the role of the government, the nature of financing, the homelands policy, and the quality of educational provision. While several of the efforts to bring about improvement in educational provision were in theory positive steps, in practice the social and political environment was such that the lack of credibility of the bantustans and the racially segregated education departments, served to reduce the value of these initiatives. However, it is clear that despite gradual improvements, reform within the black educational sector has always been fraught with contradictory aspects because of the priority accorded to the apartheid policy.

### 2.3. **Changing aspects of reformism in black education: 1953-1990**

In the first part of the discussion in this chapter the researcher dealt with various issues relating to the expansion of black schooling. It was observed that this occurred in the context of gross inadequacies which characterized the system. The researcher notes that despite the elements of segregation, inequality, repression, and authoritarianism, which characterised black education, the expansion had elements of reformism. Here, the researcher will examine the changing nature of this reformism, while attempting to locate it within the government's political and economic strategies.

Four distinct periods are identified: the almost incidental reformism of the 1950s and 1960s, the government's utilization of the expansion of black education to underpin bantustan development in the 1960s and the early 1970s, the government's expansion of black education to attempt to achieve economic growth and political stability in the 1970s and early 1980s; and the attempt to uncouple educational demands from more radical political demands in the middle and late 1980s. However, these four periods should not be taken as being completely distinct. Strands of one strategy persisted into a period where another strategy was dominant.



### 2.3.1. Segregation and self-help (1953-1963)

This period of black education was characterised by some expansion in primary schooling, with a preponderance of enrolments outside the bantustans. However there was very little expansion of provision in secondary education. The level of expenditure on black education increased only marginally and per capita expenditure actually fell. Given this picture of grossly inadequate provision, it can be asked whether this was a period of reform at all. However, this minimal level of state provision needs to be seen against the ad hoc educational provision of missionaries and provincial administrations in the earlier period.

In 1945 the Smuts government by its act on financing of black education, had sought to assist the expansion of black school enrolments. The act had transferred the financing of black education from the South African Native Trust Fund, which depended on funds from the sums raised through the African General Tax. Although additional finance had assisted an increase in enrolments, paradoxically much more increases were effected during the period from 1953-1963, when the existing legislation was reversed, thereby making black education exclusively financed by African taxes.

The centralisation of black education under the Department of Bantu Education in 1953, led to the expansion of primary school enrolments, particularly the junior phase of primary school where they nearly doubled between 1953 and 1965. The question that needs to be posed is why was any expansion of education provision made at all. Hyslop (1988 : 43), has suggested that the intention of the black education system in the 1950s was not so much to deny education to all black South Africans, as to differentiate the population. This assumed the form of creating a small urban working class, with some access to education, and a large minimally educated migrant labour force. He contends that it was the inability of the largely mission-controlled black education system to provide for the rapid expansion of low-level education that led to the centralisation of black education under the department of the administration in 1953.

Also, Verwoerd's notorious 1953 speech and the philosophy behind Christian National Education (CNE) seem to indicate additional explanations for the expansion of black education during this period. The first reason for the limited expansion that took place in black schooling was the establishment of a state system of separate schools, which was deemed necessary in order to assist in achieving segregation, which was essential to secure white supremacy. The second reason was that denial of knowledge and power to the black majority provided a guarantee to white supremacy. This however, did not preclude some expansion of basic primary education for blacks which was self-financed.

The third reason for the limited expansion that took place, was because of the investment in education by those black parents who had the means to pay for the schooling for their children, or contribute towards the funds that were needed to build community schools. These burdens of financing black education were in accordance with the ideology of separate development. Perhaps an unexpected consequence of this state strategy of self-help was a real expansion in school enrolments, as parents and communities took the initiative to invest in education, particularly at the primary level.

During this period there were virtually no demands from monopoly capital for an expansion of education for blacks. In this regard, Innes (1984 : 168-169) states that the economy was characterised by an expansion of secondary industry which increased the employment of black workers, but demanded low levels of literacy and skill. Innes (1984 : 150) adds that mine- owners were able to institute their own on-the-job training schemes. Other dominant forces in the society not only did not see the necessity for an expansion in black education, but they opposed it. White farmers resented the migration of labour to the cities, as this was essential to them (O'Meara, 1984:231-238). Similarly, the white working class guarded their positions as artisans and unskilled workers in the manufacturing and mining industries against competition from educated black workers.

During this period, the reformist elements of black education were extremely limited in scope. They centred on the expansion of lower primary school enrolments, and appear mainly to be the results of the differentiation of the workforce. They placed the burden of educational provision on black communities, by promoting self-help, separate development and denial of access to knowledge. However, while little was done to promote black education, equally little was done to obstruct those already progressing through the education system. This group of pupils provided the pool from which the very rapidly growing number of school and university students would be drawn in the next decade.

### 2.3.2. **Black education and the bantustan strategy (1963-1973)**

During this period black education was characterised by a considerable expansion of enrolments. The total of primary and secondary enrolments more than doubled between 1960 and 1975. Government expenditure increased substantially, even taking into account the growth in enrolments. The major part of this expansion took place in the bantustans. The question that needs to be posed is why this expansion took place, particularly given the stress on self-help and minimal provision of education of the previous period.

In the late 1950s the regime faced a widespread popular uprising, focused on a number of issues:

- \* demands for political rights for blacks,
- \* opposition to influx control,
- \* protests at conditions in rural areas,
- \* rejection of imposed chiefs and Bantu authorities, and
- \* opposition to the forced removal of townships.

The regime responded by imposing a State of Emergency, detaining thousands of people and banning organizations. In reaction, foreign owned capital began to be withdrawn from the country.

An additional aspect of the strategy of repression was the imposition of bantustan structures of authority. To those who doubted the bantustan project, it was pointed out that unless limited political rights were granted to blacks in the bantustans, they would continue to demand such rights in a unitary South Africa. The bantustan strategy was intrinsic to the repression of the uprising of the late 1950s. In order to establish the bantustans as even semi-viable political structures it was deemed necessary to develop a black civil service and some minimal infrastructure. Due to the direct link between educational provision and the establishment of a trained black civil service, education was one of the services that expanded under bantustan administration. However, this expansion remained grossly inadequate in relation to the education needs of the mass of the people in the bantustans.

During this period monopoly capital supported the view that an expansion of education provision for black South Africans was desirable. This view was based on perceptions of the link between an educated workforce and economic growth. White farmers and workers who had been vociferous opponents of any increase in black education in the previous period, muted their opposition in the 1960s. On the part of the farmers, this was partly due to the fact that the structure of the labour force on white-owned farms had changed. Mechanised production meant that farmers were less dependent on a large resident labour force. As a result thousands of farm workers were forcibly removed from white-owned farms. A majority settled in the bantustans and were considered as an ever-ready pool of casual labour to be used during peak periods. White workers on the other hand accepted the situation for two reasons. Firstly, union-negotiated agreements with management had succeeded in entrenching their virtually exclusive rights to apprenticeships and setting a ratio of white to black labour that could be employed (Unterhalter, et. al, 1991:61). In addition, the expansion of schooling in the bantustans was itself used as an instrument of influx control to keep people out of the non-bantustan areas of South Africa. The second reason why white workers had accepted the situation is linked to the considerable expansion in white school enrolment and the number of white matric passes in this period.

The reforms represented by the expansion of enrolments at all educational levels in this period were interlinked with the strategy of using the bantustans to repress political opposition. Despite the inadequacies of the black education system in this period, large numbers of pupils advanced through the system. Black education created a form of support for the bantustans in terms of staffing their bureaucracies and winning them adherents through their provision of basic services, but at the same time it was unable to prevent demands for more education, and to obliterate the ideas and organization of opposition which took root in schools. Thus it was the revitalisation of opposition to black education and the apartheid system of which it formed part that posed a growing threat to the regime in the next period. The leading forces in this opposition were workers, who joined unions in growing numbers and organized well supported strikes, and students who organized mass protests in the community. To deflect this threat new strategies were devised by the regime, which entailed a redefinition of the reformist elements in black education.

### 2.3.3. **Education reform for economic expansion and political stability (1973-1983)**

In the decade 1973-1983 there were further significant increases in black school enrolments. The total of all enrolments increased over one-and-a-half times between 1975 and 1985. Government expenditure on black education more than trebled during this period. The bantustans continued to be the major areas where education expansion took place. In trying to characterize the reformism of this period, the question that needs to be posed is why, given the earlier expansion to staff and bantustan bureaucracies and attempt to provide a justification for the maintenance of bantustan regimes, was considerable additional expansion necessary. The bantustans themselves, while growing in population, were not growing at the rate indicated by the figures for the increase in enrolments.

It would seem that the reformism of this period emerged not only out of a desire to maintain the infrastructure of the bantustans, but also out of a new strategy of the regime. This strategy had to be devised because of the increased popular mobilisation in opposition to the regime. Economically this was a period of decline and reduced

growth in gross domestic product. Both unemployment and falling wages contributed to the growth of opposition. The regime's strategy to minimize the threat from these conditions centred on broadening its base of support among the dominated classes by allowing a form of union organization, extended residence rights and home ownership in townships outside the bantustans and some expansion of black local authorities. Overall this approach was presented as a technical rather than as an ideological solution to some of the problems that the apartheid system confronted. This enabled white supremacy and capitalist relations of production to continue to flourish. One aspect of this technical approach to the problems that were confronted, was the threat to economic growth which was presented by the skilled labour crisis. The De Lange Commission of Inquiry (1981) and the White Paper (1983) contained numerous recommendations to expand and reform educational provision in order to provide for the 'needs of the economy' which were seen to be intrinsically linked with social stability.

Considerable educational expansion was taking place at this time, and this was further accelerated following the De Lange Commission of Inquiry. This reformism was ideologically linked with ideas that a more educated workforce would provide for higher levels of productivity and hence economic growth. But this also meant that it would provide for a stratum of better-paid workers with a stake in the system, who would for all intents and purposes be politically pliable. It is through this strategy that the government saw the expanded provision of education as being part of its attempts to create more wealth and maintain its political order.

During this period there was considerable agreement between the regime and the major part of the corporate sector on this issue. Thus, both in partnership with the regime and through their own projects, the major corporations engaged in large-scale investment in education provision. The long-standing opponents of any expansion of educational provision for blacks - white farmers and the white working class - were divided on these new developments. With the development of agri-business, sections of the white farming community were absorbed into the corporate sector. Among the remaining farmers working on a small-scale, there were many who opposed the new

developments. Some members of the working class and lower-paid white collar workers were less amenable to the views about the skills shortage and the demand for economic growth.

The reformism of this period embraced expansion in enrolments, increases in expenditure and changes in the curriculum and the form of administration of black education. While the strategy associated with maintaining education provision in the bantustans continued, the new reform strategies centred on upgrading black education to secure economic growth and political stability. In the subsequent period the failure of this strategy to buy either political stability or economic expansion became evident with widespread popular mobilisations and resistance on an unprecedented level. In these new conditions, the government was forced once again to reassess its education policies.

#### 2.3.4. **Education reform and the repression of popular mobilization (1983-1990)**

This period was marked by a country-wide uprising against the regime, sustained over years and taking numerous forms from strikes and stayaways, to rent and school boycotts, demonstrations, and mass meetings. The common demand in all forms of protest was for political rights for the black majority. This period also saw the growth and development of a wide network of organizations among the dominated classes. The government reaction was to crush this rebellion by using its extensive repressive powers. This wave of repression brought with it a State of Emergency, provisions banning meetings and demonstrations, and widespread use of the military in the townships. The deployment of troops in black schools and on university campuses became commonplace. International pressure, particularly in the form of financial sanctions had a devastating effect on the economy. Thus the economy declined markedly, with very low growth rates.

In terms of education provision, this period was marked by further increases in enrolments. Both primary and senior secondary enrolments increased substantially, and

matric passes also grew substantially. Expenditure on black education was considerably increased. However, the majority of enrolments continued to be in the bantustans, and even the proportion of enrolments in the bantustans continued to rise. Given the manifest failure of the policies of the previous period, including the educational reforms, to provide for either socio-political stability and economic growth that the government had anticipated, and the declining growth rates, the question that needs to be asked is why did the expansion of education provision continue?

The government's strategy for suppressing the uprising depended on a mixture of repression and reform. It believed that by suppressing the organizations that led the rebellion and simultaneously meeting some of the 'bread-and-butter' issues put forward by those organizations, it would be able to deflect the major demand for full political participation. In terms of education policy this strategy compelled the government simultaneously to increase spending on black education, ban student organizations which demanded greater education provision, and detaining activists in the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC), which was campaigning for a transformed education system. Furthermore, the expansion of education provision in this period needs to be seen in terms of the attempts to depoliticise education, and to take away from the radical education organizations their grounds for mobilization. Reform under these conditions had an under-current of repression.

The continuing problem for the government during this period was that it was objectively impossible for it to provide either the financial or human resources for the kind of education system that would enable the mass of the people to realise their aspirations. One of the consequences of the deployment of military troops in the townships was that school premises had been physically damaged by the rebellious youth, and the buildings remained in a state of disrepair for many years. The legacy of decades of inadequate black education provision meant that there was a huge teacher shortage. Despite the repressive strategies of the regime boycotts, demonstrations and widespread mobilisation continued.



In contrast to the earlier account of the expansion of black schooling, the discussion in the latter part of this chapter has focused on the changing reformist strategies that have been adopted by the government, and has further highlighted some of the contradictions that have characterised educational provision for blacks.

#### 2.4. **Summary**

This chapter has dealt with the nature of educational provision for blacks. The discussion has shown that despite various expansionist initiatives and reformist strategies, black schooling continued to be unequal and inferior. Moreover, the discussion has indicated that expansion and reform always occurred in the context of achieving the economic and political goals of the government.

This conceptualization of the provision of schooling for blacks is further enhanced by the marxist theoretical framework which is presented in Chapter Three.

The discussion has provided an in-depth analysis of the basis for the racial dichotomy that played a determining role in the nature of educational provision. The discussion then examined the expansion of schooling from the early 1800s to recent times. In this analysis problems relating to delivery, access, relevance, quality, and funding were raised. In attempts to address some of these problematic areas, several commissions of inquiry were undertaken, with the aim of reforming black education, but the recommendations of these commissions of inquiry were seldom adopted. In the final analysis, this chapter focused on the changing aspects of reformism in the educational sector. Here the researcher provided a sociological perspective on the reform strategies and their effects on the educational system and other societal structures.

## CHAPTER THREE

### BLACK SCHOOLING IN THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE: REPRODUCTION, RESISTANCE, AND TRANSFORMATION

#### 3.1. Introduction

The present can only be understood in the light of the past from which it emerged, and similarly the present character of the educational arena and the nature of the struggles over it after the unbanning of the ANC and other organizations on 2 February 1990, and the inauguration of the era of negotiation, have been profoundly affected by the conditions of the immediately preceding period.

This chapter will focus on different aspects of the educational terrain from the 1950s to the 1990s which are pertinent to the educational transformation which has begun to take shape. The researcher contends that until the mid-1970s education was accorded immense weight as a mechanism of social reproduction. In the decade that followed the Soweto uprisings in 1976, the education system was conceptualized as a site of resistance, contestation, and political struggle. Further, since 2 February 1990, education is increasingly viewed as a mechanism for social transformation within South African society.

Therefore, the argument that the researcher advances in this chapter is that whilst education may be a necessary condition for certain social processes, it is not a sufficient condition, and hence cannot be analyzed as either an essentially determined institution, or as an autonomous social force. In advancing the demand for social transformation, the researcher proposes that the structures and processes of social change must be linked to changes in other social conditions and institutions. Without such linking and inter-sectoral collaboration, changes in education alone will be unable to further the processes of social transformation, and hence also ineffective in addressing the aspirations of the masses of the South African population. Moreover, the researcher proposes that social and educational transformation can only be

achieved by adopting an alternative or critical educational approach. These ideas are theoretically grounded in the discussion which follows.

Prior to the 1990s the differing policies on education which were advanced, were premised on the assumption that either education served to maintain the existing order, or that it was a mechanism for transformation. Neither of these views consider the relationship between education and other social conditions. Furthermore, although Unterhalter et. al. (1991 : 3) are of the opinion that these views existed simultaneously, the researcher proposes that these respective views comprised dominant theoretical traditions in specific historical sequence. The three historical sequences that the researcher identifies are the following: from the emergence of provision of black schooling until the mid-1970s, 1976-1990, and 1990 onwards. These three periods are interpreted respectively in terms of reproduction theory, resistance, and transformation.

It is not the intention in this chapter to provide a complete historical analysis of the various educational policies which have been advanced in South Africa. Rather, the aim is to clarify the central point that is, in the struggle for social transformation, education must be linked to changes in other social conditions and institutions. From this point of view the researcher will provide only a selective analysis of the theoretical assumptions underlying particular education policies advanced during the period 1950 to 1990. To provide a systematic framework, the researcher will present the discussion in terms of the three broad theoretical approaches referred to earlier, namely: reproduction, resistance, and transformation.

Firstly, in examining the role of the educational system in reproducing the social structure and relations, the researcher will apply the political economy, the cultural reproduction, and the hegemonic-state reproduction models. These theoretical models will be utilized respectively to analyze:

- \* the role of the bantu education system in reproducing the racial order,

- \* the role of the bantu education system in reproducing South African capitalism, and
- \* the interventionist role of the state in linking black schooling and capitalism.

Secondly, in analyzing resistance as an aspect of the black education system, the researcher will focus on analyzing the contradictions between education and other changing components of the social structure.

The third aspect that will be examined is social transformation. In focusing on education as an instrument of social transformation, the researcher will contextualize adult education as providing a basis for transformation. By adopting a critical education mode, it is believed that adult education will effectively address the needs of large segments of the under-educated black adult population and when linked with other social, economic, cultural, and political changes, adult education will provide a transformatory role.

In these introductory comments, it has become clear that in this chapter the researcher attempts to provide a sociologically based analysis of the role that the education system has played in an essentially unequal society (changing from being a wholly determined institution to one that is characterized by resistance and contestation); and more especially to map out the future role of this institution in a society in transition. The study makes particular reference to the role of adult education during this critical period of transition. The undergirding argument being therefore that some of the inadequacies created by the unjust educational system can be meaningfully addressed through creative adult education programmes which are meaningfully linked development initiatives in other social structures and institutions. It is necessary to contextualize this analysis within a sociological paradigm.

### 3.2. Marxism: a paradigm for conceptualizing reproduction, resistance, and transformation

To begin with, there are two important distinctions within marxist paradigm, namely:

- \* the theory of society and history (ie. historical materialism). It explains how society changes and how the various parts of society are related to one another, and
- \* the marxist concept of human nature. The notions of 'alienation' and 'communism' are central here.

With reference to the concept 'historical materialism' Marx explains that the basic fact about society is how people produce the means to live. In this sense economic activity is fundamental to society. All else that goes on in society is in some or other way related to or derived from this. This theoretical approach sees society as being composed of two major parts, namely the economic structure (base) and the superstructure (all other social institutions and practices, for example, politics, education, religion, family life, etc.).

Fundamental to this conception of society is the central issue of the 'base and superstructure' and the related controversy of 'determinism versus voluntarism'. Marxists such as Bowles and Gintis (1976), and Althusser (1971), argue that what goes on in the superstructure of society is in some way related to economic activity, but they differ in their views as to the nature of that relationship. While Bowles and Gintis (1976) believe that the economic base determines the superstructure, for example, a society's educational system is a direct consequence of the nature of its economic system, Althusser (1971) believes that as the economic system changes, so too does the other social institutions.

This economic deterministic view is challenged by those who see marxism as granting more independence and autonomy to the various parts of the superstructure of society. For example, marxists such as Gramsci (1971), Apple (1982) and Poulantzas (1975) argue that although the economic base certainly conditions the superstructure it is in turn conditioned by it. In other words, there exists an interaction or a dialectical relationship, between the economic base and other institutions of society. This relationship involves a process of reciprocal influence. This is to say that economic forces certainly have an impact upon the educational system; but the educational

system also helps to shape and change the economic base. Those who interpret marxism in this way, namely Apple (1982), Poulantzas (1975), and Gramsci (1971), usually add that in the final analysis, it is indeed economic forces which are dominant. They explain that the superstructure has only relative autonomy (Blackledge and Hunt, 1985:114). In adopting this theory of relative autonomy, these theorists suggest that this conception of marxism is derived from the writings of Marx himself. They argue that a proper reading of the texts show that Marx was not an economic determinist (Blackledge and Hunt, 1985 : 114). However, Blackledge and Hunt (1985 : 115) explain that whilst Marx and Engels do advance an 'interactionist' view in their work, they also put forward an economic deterministic conception of society and social change.

Among the contemporary marxists, it is the 'structuralists' such as Louis Althusser (1971) and his followers who are the most notable exponents of this deterministic conception of historical materialism. An important feature of the Althusserian position is that it combines a deterministic view (as opposed to a voluntaristic view) of the social process, with an interactionist view of the relationship between the base and superstructure. Althusserians believe that society is what it is, not because human beings make it so, but as a consequence of the operation of certain objective structures and processes. These structures and processes however, are not just economic but also political and cultural in nature. This notion has interesting implications for interpreting the role of the educational system in South African society. This is explored later in the discussion.

Voluntarism has been another dominant interpretation of historical materialism in the twentieth century. The work of Gramsci is an example of this. For Gramsci, (Blackledge and Hunt, 1985 : 120) economic changes and crises provide only the necessary, and not the sufficient conditions for change to a different and superior form of society. Gramsci argues that while technological developments are of great importance, they do not directly lead to major social changes. Such changes only occur when certain subjective conditions also prevail. In other words, he believes that men must consciously intervene at favourable moments in history and grasp the

opportunity which economic progress provides to create a new morality and superior type of social system.

Thus far the researcher has concentrated on the relationship between the economic structure, the superstructure, economic determinism and voluntarism of the marxist tradition. It is important at this point to refer to the notion of class conflict. Class conflict as stated by Blackledge and Hunt (1985 : 124) is said to be a subsidiary form of the basic conflict in history between forces and relations of production. The idea is that the clash of economic forces sets in motion class conflict. In this sense, class conflict has an important role to play in the process of historical development, but not a central determining role.

It is also of fundamental importance to examine the marxist conception of man and society. Central to Marx's critique of contemporary society, is the concept of alienation. Blackledge and Hunt (1985 : 125) explain that Marx's reference to labour is in fact synonymous with 'life activity' or 'life'. Therefore, alienated labour means alienated life.

Another important concept within the marxian framework is that of communism. Blackledge and Hunt (1985 : 126) explain that for Marx, communism involves the complete transformation of human existence. It presents a society in which the essential nature of man is fully expressed. Therefore, under communism, alienation and its accompanying features, (ie. private property, class conflict and domination) will disappear. Conceptually it suggests that what is absent under capitalism, will be present with the realization of communism.

With these introductory comments on marxism as a paradigm for conceptualizing reproduction, resistance and transformation in the educational terrain, the researcher is able to illustrate the use of marxism as a paradigm to explain the relationship between structure, human agency and change in society. The marxist perspective has been selected to provide the theoretical basis for the present study as it proposes that whilst the education institution can create change, it exists within a broader

momentum of social change. Whilst the radical theorists, Bowles and Gintis (1976), and Althusser (1971), suggest that the direction of this change is deterministically derived, other neo marxists, Gramsci (1971), Poulantzas (1975), and Apple (1982) have suggested that change may be the result of the autonomous or voluntarist nature of certain super-structural elements. The researcher adds to this by suggesting that there is a need to reconstruct marxist discourse by going beyond class and economism and also the relationship between social structure and human agency. In this sense the researcher believes that the social movement 'peoples education' which had begun in 1985 must be harnessed to reconstruct a critical theory of education which will advance the transformation project in South Africa. In this sense, the present study advances the idea that adult education as an educational movement which targets a specific minority group, can be instrumental in social transformation. The marxist approach has been selected as the theoretical paradigm in which to contextualize the present study, because it addresses the complex relationship between social structure and human agency. Moreover, it also provides a critical education framework which harnesses the transformatory role of the education institution. In this context, this theoretical approach when appropriately channelled, can effectively link the needs of the social structure to the needs of the educationally disadvantaged.

Essentially South African society manifests deeply rooted class and racial divisions which have also permeated the super-structural components. Historically we have seen that the economic system has had a deterministic influence on the educational system. The researcher believes that the radical marxist theories suitably explain the role of the education system in society up until the mid-1970's, during which time maintenance of the status-quo and hence reproduction was the primary objective; whilst contestation and ideological change was rigidly controlled and prevented by the State. But in the more recent past (ie. mid-1970s to 1990) the educational system has demonstrated a relative degree of autonomy in so far as it has been able to initiate substantial educational reform whilst maintaining its broad political and economic policies (ie. apartheid and capitalism). Finally, the justification for employing a marxist theoretical orientation in the present study has been guided by its notions concerning the structure of society, and the role of education within this structure.



Further, as a cultural reproductive agency, the educational system illustrates the way in which cultural capital operates to incorporate oppositional cultures. Hegemonic-state control is also demonstrated in so far as it reflects the education system as a site for struggle (ie. one which links the coercive elements of social structure with human agency). In the final analysis, the researcher believes that it is necessary to go beyond both reproduction theory and resistance theory; and that marxism offers a basis for the reconstruction of a critical theory of education.

The researcher shall now turn to an analysis of education within the reproductive framework.

### 3.3. **Reproduction theory**

Reproduction theory and its various explanations of the role and function of education have been invaluable in contributing to a broader understanding of the political nature of schooling and its relation to the dominant society. The discussion which follows will attempt to highlight the nature of political and economic determinism and resistance within the educational system. Encapsulating this notion within a historical framework leads one to two distinct theoretical positions. The first emphasizing the idea of direct reproduction of the system by means of socialization and legitimation of the existing status quo. The second, emphasizes indirect reproduction of the system by means of contestation, and ideological hegemony.

In the discussion which follows the researcher argues the relevance of both variants of the reproductive marxist paradigm towards understanding the role of the bantu education system in South African society. It is argued that these approaches are not necessarily contradictory when one conceptualizes their relevance as constituting dominant theoretical traditions in particular historical sequence.

These theoretical positions are identified in terms of three theoretical notions:

- \* The political-economy (economic-reproductive) model of reproduction has exercised a strong influence on radical theories of schooling. This model has

developed primarily around the work of Bowles and Gintis (1976) and also refers extensively to the work of Althusser (1971). This approach poses two important questions:

- how does the educational system function within society? and
- how do schools fundamentally influence the ideologies, personalities and needs of students?

While the theorists who work within this model give different answers to these questions, they generally agree on the relationship between power and domination on the one hand, and the relationship between schooling and the economy on the other.

- \* The cultural-reproductive model is concerned with the question of how capitalist societies are able to reproduce themselves; they attempt to develop a sociology that links culture, class and domination. The mediating role of culture in reproducing class societies is given priority over the study of related issues, such as the source and consequences of economic inequality. The work of Bourdieu (1977) represents the most important perspective for studying this model.
- \* The hegemonic-state reproductive model states that understanding the role of the state is central to any analysis of how domination operates, thus the focus here is on the complex role of state intervention in the educational system. More specifically this approach asserts that educational change cannot be understood by looking only at capital's domination of the labour process, or the way capitalist domination is reproduced through culture. The most important proponents of this approach include, Gramsci (1971), Poulantzas (1975), and Apple (1982). Despite the agreement among these theorists about the importance of the state, there are significant differences among them as to what the state actually is, how it works, and what the precise relationship is between the state and capital, on the one hand, and the state and education on the other.

Radical theorists, Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Althusser (1971), instead of blaming students for educational failure, they blamed the dominant society. Further, schools are considered central agencies in the politics and processes of domination. In this sense schools cannot be separated from the dynamics of inequality and the class and race modes of discrimination. In contrast to the liberal view of education which considers education to be the great social equalizer, radical theorists see the objectives of schooling quite differently. In this approach, schools are stripped of their political innocence and are connected to the social and cultural matrix of capitalist rationality. According to Aronowitz and Giroux (1985 : 70), schools are portrayed as being reproductive in three senses, namely:

- \* schools provided different classes and social groups with the knowledge and skills they needed to occupy their respective places in a labour force stratified by class, and race,
- \* schools are seen as reproductive in a cultural sense, in that they function to distribute and legitimate forms of knowledge, values, and language patterns that constitute the dominant forms of culture, and
- \* schools are seen as part of a state apparatus that produce and legitimate the economic and ideological imperatives that underlie the state's political power.

Radical theorists have used these forms of reproduction to fashion ideas that have shaped the nature of their educational inquiry. These concerns have focused on the following aspects:

- \* the relationship between schooling and the workplace,
- \* class-specific educational experiences and the job opportunities that emerge for different social groups,
- \* culture of the school and the class defined cultures of the students who attend them, and
- \* the relationship among the economic, ideological and repressive functions of the state and how they affect school policies and practices.

From this it is clear that reproduction theory and its various explanations of the role and function of education have been invaluable in contributing to a broader

understanding of the political nature of schooling and its relation to the dominant society. Aronowitz and Giroux (1985 : 78) suggest that a possible criticism is perhaps that reproduction theorists have over-emphasized the notion of domination in their analysis and have failed to provide in-depth analysis of how teachers, students and others come together with specific historical and social contexts in order to create and reproduce the conditions of their existence. Another criticism is that reproduction theorists offer little hope for challenging and changing the repressive features of schooling (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985 : 79). The contradictions and struggles that exist in schools constitute important elements of the role of human agency, that is the actions of students and teachers in concrete school settings are an important facet of the power relations and the influence of structural conditions. The theoretical analysis in the latter part of this chapter attempts to move beyond reproduction theories. This approach emphasizes the importance of human agency and experience in analyzing the complex relationship between schools and the dominant society. This is what is referred to as resistance theory and its emphasis lies in the notions of conflict, struggle, and resistance. We will return to this theoretical position later in the discussion.

In an attempt to apply the political-economy model to the South African context the researcher will discuss the relationship between bantu education and the reproduction of apartheid capitalism.

### 3.3.1. **The political-economy model**

This model has had the strongest influence on radical theories of education. The researcher will refer to the work of Bowles and Gintis (1976), and Althusser (1971) to analyze the influence of the economic structure on bantu education in South Africa.

The researcher believes that this deterministic view suggests that the super-structural elements of society reproduce themselves through the processes of socialization and legitimation which occurs within schools. These processes are integral to one's understanding of the influence that the black schooling system has had on individuals

who were exposed to it. It is argued that the current generation of educationally deficient black adults have been socialized during their childhood, into accepting the idea that it was not important to pursue higher levels of education as this was perceived as being unrelated to their potential economic, political and social activity (Rose and Turner, 1975 : 208).

Similarly, it was by means of a process of legitimation via the reformist strategies discussed in Chapter Two that an unjust, unequal and impoverished educational system continued to exist for decades, without any substantial degree of resistance and contestation. The content and form that the schooling process assumed, served to legitimate the purposes for which it was designed - ie. to provide a subordinate, black labour force equipped with only a functional level of literacy skills, and sufficiently schooled to make a smooth transition from primary school to the labour market (Rose and Turner, 1975 : 213-214 ).

It is through these processes of socialization and legitimation that the black schooling system has facilitated the reproduction of the existing social structure and relations. A detailed analysis of bantu education and the reproduction of South African capitalism follows.

### **3.3.1.1. Bantu education and the reproduction of South African capitalism**

This view explores the intersection of race, class and education. It is an approach that is based on a conception of the relation of education, capitalism and apartheid. From a South African perspective, this approach proposes that bantu education chiefly has to be understood in terms of the needs of the dominant capitalist class. Thus, the theoretical view that is being advanced is that in capitalist society, education is not a means to social mobility but rather an important mechanism for the reproduction of capitalist relations of production, and hence also of the crystallization of class divisions.

It is in this theoretical mode that Kallaway (1984) presents an argument in which the state as an instrument of capital, develops and implements education policies which serve to reproduce capitalism. This broad view has been contextualized in two different forms in the South African literature. The first, focuses on the changing demands of capital flowing from the mechanisation of production and the consequent need for an increase in the supply of skilled labour (Chisholm (1984); Christie and Collins (1984). The second view suggests that the proposed education reforms were no more than a smokescreen to maintain and reproduce the existing unequal racial division of labour (Buckland, 1984 ; Davies, 1984). Common to both these approaches is the assumption that the functional requirements of the capitalist system for a particular labour force produce the means to satisfy those needs. Therefore although Kallaway (1984) describes education as a 'site of struggle', he and the contributors to his work, Apartheid and Education tend to explain the post-1976 policies of educational reform in terms of the notion of reproduction of the capitalist system.

In this study the researcher argues that the existence of capitalist relations do not, of themselves either explain or for that matter guarantee that the reproductive role of bantu education will be fulfilled. Firstly because education is a contested terrain, even when the conditions of the capitalist social formation favour the reproductive role of education. Whether or not that role is realized, depends on the outcome of contestation. Secondly, the contribution of education to reproduction depends on the 'fit' between education and the specific conditions of the social formation.

In further exploring the role of bantu education in the reproduction of South African capitalism, Bowles and Gintis' (1976) work, Schooling in Capitalist America, makes a significant contribution, and so also does Althusser's (1971) work.

Bowles and Gintis (1976 : 53) generally believe that education is tied to society's basic economic and social institutions, and hence they add that the education system in the USA serves to perpetuate and reproduce the capitalist system. The education system is one of several social institutions which maintain or reinforce the existing

social and economic order. It is primarily for this reason that they believe that education cannot act as a force for social change, promoting equality and social justice. Thus, schools play an essential role in the structure of capitalist society. Both, in their form and content, schools socialize pupils to fit into the structure of capitalist society, and through their functioning they also legitimate the existing social structure (Bowles and Gintis, 1976 : 59).

The researcher believes that the bantu education system has had the same effect in the context of South African capitalism. This education system has served a political function (ie, ideological control) and an economic role, as a producer of specific types of manpower relevant to the needs of the dominant systems of production in society. In explaining the relationship between education and the capitalist economy, Bowles and Gintis (1976 : 10) state that essentially schools produce workers, and therefore the social relations within schools mirror the social relations of the capitalist economy.

The form and content of schooling say Bowles and Gintis (1976 : 11), socialize pupils to submit to hierarchical power structures which more broadly reflect the bureaucratic nature of the capitalist economy. Moreover, the motivational system of the school socializes the pupils in a way which favours the smooth operation of the capitalist system. One example would include emphasizing the use of external rewards such as grading (which is reflective of wages in the capitalist economy), instead of encouraging the intrinsic benefits of education (ie. learning and knowledge accumulation). Thus, Bowles and Gintis (1976 : 12) suggest that the school structure is meant to prepare individuals for social functioning within the existing occupational structure.

The researcher adds that socialization within the education system (ie. the development of beliefs, values, sentiments, etc.) emerges in the context of pupils' social relations in the school. In this regard, Bowles and Gintis (1976 : 82-84) indicate that the school culture promotes values that are essential for the maintenance of the capitalist system, namely conformity to rules, respect for authority, and subservience . This theoretical framework advance the view that the education system tailors the self-

concept, aspirations, and therefore also social class identifications, so as to maintain and to perpetuate the social division of labour (Bowles and Gintis, 1976 : 96). It is through socialization that the bantu education system tailored the self-concept, the aspirations and the class identifications of its pupils in order that they would make a smooth transition from school to the occupational structure, thereby reproducing the prevailing capitalist system. Moreover, the educational system legitimated this transition as being the only realistic option available to black pupils (Rose and Turner, 1975 : 213-214).

Bowles and Gintis explain further that these processes of socialization and legitimation are attained by means of the 'correspondence principle' (Bowles and Gintis, 1976 : 130-132). It is noted that socialization within the educational system takes place largely through its form rather than its content. Part of this form constitutes the hidden curriculum of the school. According to Bowles and Gintis (1976 : 131-133), the correspondence between the social relations of education and those of work has four main aspects, namely:

- \* students like workers, have little power, their control over the curriculum is minimal and is similar to that of workers over the content of their jobs,
- \* education like work is seen as a means to an end rather than an end in itself (neither are intrinsically satisfying, but are undertaken for the sake of external rewards, ie. qualifications and wages and also to avoid unpleasant consequences, ie. educational failure and unemployment),
- \* the division of labour at work, which confers on each person a narrow range of tasks and engenders a disunity among the workforce, is repeated in the specialization and compartmentalization of knowledge, and
- \* the different levels of education correspond to, and prepare pupils for the different levels of the occupational structure.

It is in this way that Bowles and Gintis (1976) believe that the socialization in the school prepares pupils to assume their positions in the occupational structure.



Althusser's (1971) analysis is very similar to that of Bowles and Gintis (1976). He believes that schools are an essential site for reproducing capitalist relations of production. Althusser (1971 : 254), suggests that schools carry out two fundamental forms of reproduction, namely:

- \* reproduction of the skills and rules of labour power, and
- \* reproduction of the relations of production.

In this sense, Althusser ascribes a reproductive function to the education system. Althusser (1971 : 254) differs from Bowles and Gintis (1976) in so far as he believes that the education system is part of capitalist society's 'state apparatus', which is composed of the repressive state apparatus (RSA) and the ideological state apparatus (ISA). Althusser (1971 : 254-255) explains that the RSA (ie. the State and its functionaries) intervene on behalf of the ruling class, in the process of class struggles. It accomplishes this by means of force. The ISAs (including education) play an important part in this process of ideological conditioning which is required to reproduce the status quo. Therefore, whilst the RSA operates mainly by the use of force, the ISAs operate by disseminating the dominant ideology.

In the South African context, the State (RSA) introduced the system of Bantu Education and legitimated it through its various policies and reformist strategies. This constituted an extraneous but powerful force that controlled the black population. In a less overt manner the bantu education system as an ISA transmitted the dominant apartheid ideology. More specifically the bantu education system performed its functions as an ISA in the following ways:

- \* it taught the skills and techniques required for the pupils future occupations,
- \* it imparted the rules of good behaviour to ensure the pupils compliance in their potential role in the economic system (ie. modesty, submissiveness, etc.), and
- \* it transmitted the dominant ideology of apartheid capitalism both directly (eg. racially segregated education) and indirectly (eg. curriculum design, funding of the system, poor quality, etc.).

However, this race and class maintaining role of bantu education was largely concealed by the universally reigning ideology that portrays the school as a neutral environment, free of any ideological control. This notion was further reinforced by educational selection and the consequent emergence of a small black middle class which served as a buffer between the capitalist and working class. This also reinforced the notion of educational opportunity and the technocratic-meritocratic ideology which links economic success to educational success (Bowles and Gintis, 1976 : 226-227). Furthermore, Bowles and Gintis (1976 : 236) reject this view which suggests that the most important jobs are filled by the most qualified persons. Instead they believe that an individual's position in the prevailing class structure is an important determinant of his educational success and hence also his economic success (Bowles and Gintis, 1976 : 247-249). In the South African context this would mean that pupils' racial and class locations in the society were important determinants of educational success and subsequent economic success.

With respect to reproduction of the racial hierarchy of the South African society, the educational ISA advanced the apartheid ideology through racially segregated educational systems, which were formulated on policies such as Christian National Education (CNE) and Bantu Education. To complement this system of ideological conditioning, the State (RSA) rigidly enforced laws such as the Group Areas Act, The Separate Amenities Act, the Job Reservation Act, the Population Registration Act, etc. so as to ensure firstly, maintenance of the racial hierarchy and secondly, reproduction of apartheid capitalism.

In considering the way in which the ideological conditioning within the bantu education system proceeded, Bowles and Gintis' (1976 : 266) concept of legitimation is relevant. They explain that in the school system legitimation may assume the following forms:

- \* schools foster legitimate inequality through the meritocratic manner in which they reward and promote pupils, and allocate them to distinct position in the occupational hierarchy,

- \* they create and reinforce patterns of social class, racial and gender identification among pupils which allow them to relate appropriately to their eventual standing in the hierarchy of authority and status in the production process,
- \* schools foster types of personal development compatible with the relationships of dominance and subordination in the economic sphere, and
- \* schools create surpluses of skilled labour sufficiently extensive to render effective the prime weapon of the employer in disciplining labour (ie. the power to hire and fire employees) (Bowles and Gintis, 1976 : 10).

Bowles and Gintis (1976 : 11-12) further explain that the education system accomplishes these outcomes by ensuring a close correspondence between the social relations which govern the workplace and the relations of dominance which characterize relationships between teachers and pupils. Thus, in socializing pupils into accepting these exploitative patterns of conduct, the bantu education system legitimated the relations of the prevailing occupational structure of the South African capitalist economic system.

Having focused on the political-economy model of reproduction, with specific reference to the work of Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Althusser (1971) the discussion has shown that bantu education has indeed been a vehicle for the reproduction of South African capitalism. The theoretical views that have been analyzed suggest that through ideological conditioning (socialization) the bantu education system legitimated the apartheid structure of society and hence reproduced the South African capitalist system. Having dealt with this economic determinist conception the researcher will now examine reproduction from a cultural perspective.

### 3.3.2. The cultural-reproductive model

Theories of cultural reproduction are also concerned with the question of how capitalist societies are able to reproduce themselves. The work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977) represents the most important perspective in studying this model. This theory

attempts to develop a sociology of schooling that links culture, class and domination. The mediating role of culture in reproducing class societies is given priority over the study of related issues such as the source and consequences of economic inequality. Bourdieu's (1977 : 72) theory of schooling attempts to link the notions of structure and human agency through an analysis of the relationships among dominant culture, school knowledge, and individual biographies. In this application the researcher attempts to extract aspects of Bourdieu's (1977) theory to analyse the important role of bantu education in reproducing the racial order, which is also representative of cultural reproduction in its broader sense.

### **3.3.2.1. Education for reproduction of the racial order : The policy of Bantu Education**

In the development of the bantu education policy in the 1950s and 1960s, education was conceptualized as an essential mechanism for the reproduction of specific components of white domination, particularly the reproduction of the rigidly segregated occupational structure in which blacks were excluded from all job categories, except that of unskilled labour, and the maintenance of the ideology of white superiority. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 was the major instrument by means of which the government attempted to shape education to perform these functions (Unterhalter, et. al, 1991 : 4). It led to policies aimed firstly, at the expansion of black education, but only to the levels held to be necessary to meet the labour requirements of the white population; and secondly, at the re-structuring of the content of education in order to inculcate the values of Christian National Education. In this way the bantu education system aimed to socialize blacks to accept their racial subordination within the apartheid system, and by implication cultural inferiority also.

In introducing the policy of bantu education the government had taken for granted the existence of a specific structure of white economic and political power. Therefore the researcher argues that bantu education was not intended to create the system of racial occupational stratification, or ideological subordination, since both these aspects of apartheid capitalism were already in place and rigidly supported by the political and economic order. Thus, the researcher contends that the system of bantu education was

introduced as a mechanism to reproduce the already existing political and economic conditions (ie. apartheid and capitalism).

Despite this functional role assigned to bantu education, its implementation was indeed accompanied by contradictory effects which impeded its smooth operation. Changes in both the economy and the political system, and within bantu education itself, from the 1960s began to undermine the conditions which had facilitated its reproductive function. For a more comprehensive account of these conditions the reader is referred to Chapter Two where the researcher discusses the changing reformist strategies. Further, the analysis of resistance theory which follows this discussion, highlights these contradictory factors that confronted bantu education.

Bourdieu (1977 : 74), unlike Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Althusser (1971) argues against the notion that schools simply mirror the dominant society. Instead he claims that schools are relatively autonomous institutions that are influenced only indirectly by more powerful economic and political forces. He believes that schools reproduce existing power relations more subtly through the production and distribution of a dominant culture that tacitly confirms what it means to be educated (Bourdieu, 1973 : 76).

Bourdieu's (1977 : 78) theory begins with the assumption that class-based societies, and their ideological and material basis are mediated and reproduced through symbolic violence. This implies that the dominant class uses its symbolic power to control the subordinate classes. In so doing, it succeeds in imposing a definition of the social world that is consistent with its own interests (Bourdieu, 1977 : 79). Thus culture becomes the mediating link between ruling class interests and everyday life.

In Bourdieu's (1977 : 80) analysis, education is seen as an important social and political force in the process of reproduction. By appearing to be a neutral transmitter of the benefits of the valued culture, schools are able to promote inequality under the guise of fairness and objectivity. Thus, for Bourdieu (1977 : 80-82) the education

system is able to conceal the social function it performs, and hence performs it more effectively.

Further, the notions of culture and cultural capital are central to Bourdieu's (1977 : 83) analysis of how the mechanisms of cultural reproduction function within schools. According to Bourdieu's theory, the culture transmitted by the school, reflects the cultures that make up the wider society, but whilst it confirms the culture of the ruling class it simultaneously disconfirms the cultures of other groups (Bourdieu, 1977 : 83-85).

This becomes more understandable through an analysis of the notion of cultural capital, (ie. the different sets of linguistic and cultural competencies) that an individual inherits by way of class located boundaries of his or her family. This means that a child inherits from his or her family those sets of meanings, qualities of style, modes of thinking, dispositions which are assigned certain social value and status in accordance with what the dominant class labels as the most valued cultural capital. It is in this sense that schools play a valuable role in legitimating and reproducing the dominant cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977 : 86).

By linking power and culture, Bourdieu (1977 : 87-89) provides a number of insights into how the hegemonic curriculum works in schools. For instance, he suggests that political interests underlie the selection and distribution of knowledge that is accorded priority. These bodies of knowledge not only legitimate the interests and values of the dominant classes, but they also have the effect of marginalizing or disconfirming other kinds of knowledge, particularly knowledge important to the working class and minority groups. For example, within bantu education pupils were subjected to a school curriculum in which the distinction between high status and low status knowledge was organized around the difference between theoretical and practical subjects. Courses that deal with practical subjects are seen as being marginal and inferior.

Bourdieu's (1977) theory is significant for an analysis of racial and bantu education since it allows one to focus on aspects of school and of social control. In politicizing school knowledge, culture, and this model encourages a new discourse for analyzing ideology

Within the apartheid educational structure it is evident that the black schooling system reflected a process of symbolic violence. It involved the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power. The bantu education system was formulated on the basis of a white Afrikaaner perception of social reality and the position of blacks in this reality was circumscribed. Therefore there were conflicting cultural realities that black pupils encountered in the school system. Consequently, this led to the accumulation of cultural capital by some, which reinforced the reproduction of the existing racial hierarchy. Once again, this served as a mechanism to co-opt a black middle class that was educationally successful and economically comfortable.

Having dealt with the reproductive role of culture within the education system, it is observed that the dominant culture as it operates within the school system, has the effect of legitimizing the status quo in the course of socializing its pupils.

### 3.3.3. **The hegemonic-state reproductive model**

Marxist theorists such as Gramsci (1971) and Poulantzas (1975) have argued that understanding the role of the state is central to any analysis of how domination operates. Consequently, a major concern is the complex role of state intervention in the education system. They argue that political factors lead to state interventionist policies that serve to structure and shape the reproductive functions of education.

Despite the agreement among reproductive theorists about the importance of the state there are significant differences among them as to what the state actually is, how it works, and what the precise relationship is between the state and capital, on the one hand, and between the state and education on the other. In the discussion which follows the researcher will refer to two major themes:

- \* the relationship between the state and capitalism, and
- \* the relationship between the state and schooling.

It is in this context that the researcher will analyse the theories of Gramsci (1971) and Apple (1982) to explain the interventionist role that the South African State has played to link black schooling and capitalism.

### **3.3.3.1. The interventionist role of the state in linking black schooling and capitalism**

To begin with the focus will be on the relationship between the state and capitalism. One of the major assumptions in marxist analysis of the relationship between the state and capitalism has been developed around the work of Gramsci (1971). Gramsci (1971) believed that any analysis of the state has to begin with the reality of class relations and the exercise of hegemony by the dominant classes. In Gramsci's (1971) theory hegemony has two meanings:

- \* it refers to a process of domination whereby a ruling class exercises control through its intellectual and moral leadership over allied classes, and
- \* it refers to a dual use of force and ideology to reproduce social relations between dominant classes and subordinate groups.

Therefore, for Gramsci (1971) hegemony is an educational and political process whereby the dominant class articulates a particular world view. But, hegemony is more than just coercion; it is a process of continuously structuring consciousness, and a battle for the control of consciousness.

Gramsci (1971) divides the state into two components: political society (ie. state apparatuses) and civil society ( ie. private and public institutions that rely on symbols). In this view of the state, Gramsci (1971) links power and culture to the traditional marxist emphasis on the repressive aspects of the state.

In examining the second theme that this model addresses (ie. the relationship between the state and schooling) one needs to pose the following questions:



- \* How does the state exercise control over schools in terms of its economic, ideological, and repressive functions ? and
- \* How does the school function not only to further the interests of the state and the dominant classes, but also to contradict and resist the logic of capital ?

As part of the state apparatus, schools play an important role in furthering the economic interests of the dominant classes. For example, through state established certification requirements, the educational system is heavily weighted toward a highly technocratic rationality. This can be seen in the distinction schools make between high-status knowledge (pure sciences) and low-status knowledge (humanities).

The state also intervenes in schools in so far as it influences the development of curricula and classroom social relations. The success of this is measured against how well they 'equip' different groups of pupils with the knowledge and skills they will need to perform productively in the workplace. In the South African context this type of state intervention in black schools is reflected in various educational policies (viz. implementation of the 13 year school cycle and the subsequent change to the 12 year cycle in keeping with the norms of the remaining educational departments, instruction in mother-tongue languages in the primary school, the attempt to introduce Afrikaans as the medium of instruction, etc.)

State intervention is also manifested in the way policy is formulated outside the control of teachers and parents. Usually the economic interest underlying such policy is present in the control, planning, and funding of educational programmes. The researcher has provided a comprehensive account of the nature of state control in planning and funding of the bantu education system in Chapter Two. Furthermore, despite periodic reformist strategies, the researcher agrees with Apple's view that the level of state control was focused on 'negative outcomes' in the accumulation process (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985 : 93).

Another issue relating to the role of the state in the schooling process, focuses on the relationship between power and knowledge (ie. how the state exercises and imposes its power through the production of knowledge about education).

In the South African context, the policy of bantu education was formulated by the state to reproduce the dominant ideology (apartheid). The teachers, as state appointed experts, socialized pupils into accepting the bureaucratic order as being legitimate. More importantly perhaps, is the fact that teachers are instrumental in the selection process (ie. mental versus manual labour) via a network of credentialing. In this way the state utilized its hegemonic control to reproduce the dominant structure of society. In Chapter Five the researcher provides a more detailed discussion of the educational levels and occupational categories attained by blacks. This discussion serves to reaffirm the fact that the education system reproduced the economic structure by channelling the majority of black pupils to the accumulation of low-status knowledge and consequently manual labour.

Finally it must be remembered that the most direct intervention exercised by the state is that which is constituted by law. This links schools to repression rather than simply ideological domination. In illustrating this linkage, the researcher notes that the bantu education system was legally grounded by the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Since this period the state continued to rigidly control black education through various policies. For example, the rules governing expulsion and exclusion since 1987 reflect a political basis rather than educational. Exclusions were based on criteria relating to zoning, restrictions in over-age pupils, political activism, and matric failure (Barnett, 1988 : 208-209). The introduction of these rules had a spiral effect on failure rates, drop-out, and non-attendance.

In concluding this analysis it is noted that theories of the state perform a theoretical service by adding to our understanding of how the processes of social and cultural reproduction function in the political sphere. They draw our attention to the importance of the relative autonomy of the state and its apparatuses (such as schools), and the contradictory character of the state, and the economic, ideological and

repressive pressures the state exerts on schooling. But it is also ε as part of the broader reproduction model, the hegemonic-state possible weakness in focusing primarily on macro and structural issu says little about the influence of human agency at the concrete level in school relations. It is to this aspect that the next discussion will

### 3.4. **Resistance theory**

The preceding discussion on the reproductive models have focused on domination, class conflict, and hegemony, but they have been silent on how teachers and pupils live out their daily lives in schools. Consequently there has been an under-emphasis on how human agency accommodates, mediates, and resists the logic of capital and its dominating social practices.

Studies by Apple (1981) and Willis (1981) have focused on the role of human agency and resistance within the school system. In focusing on conflict and resistance, they highlight the importance of mediation, power and culture in understanding the relations between schools and the dominant society. Resistance in these accounts refers to social activities that are based on political and cultural meaning structures. In linking social structure and human agency, this approach presents a dialectical, interactionist view. To contextualize this theoretical position, the researcher will focus on contradictions between education and other components of the social structure. This will demonstrate the dialectical relationship between human agency and social structure.

#### 3.4.1. **Contradictions between bantu education and other components of the social structure**

Resistance theory addresses the conflict that mediates relationships among home, school and workplace. Willis (1981) in his study of the 'lads' demonstrates that their opposition to labels, meanings, and values of the official and hidden curricula is informed by the ideology of resistance. This culture of resistance emerges from the

shop-floor cultures occupied by their family members (Willis, 1981 : 99-116). The most powerful example of this resistance is the 'lads' rejection of mental over manual labour. Their everyday life experiences embodies a counter-culture which is the basis to their rejection of the dominant ideology (eg. conformity and obedience leads to knowledge accumulation and success). This view provides a dialectical model of domination which suggests that working class subordination is the result of structural, ideological, and self-formation constraints.

Similarly, Fine's (1982) study of drop-outs from alternative high schools in New York City, also illustrates that by rejecting mental labour, the pupils discounted the power of critical thinking as a tool for social transformation (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985 : 98). Initially Fine (1982) had assumed that students who had dropped-out of school were victims of 'learned helplessness', but she subsequently discovered that they were the most critical and politically astute students in the school (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985 : 98). The irony of this is that while these students were capable of challenging the dominant ideology of the school, they failed to recognize the limitations of their own resistance. Based on this view, the researcher would argue that the masses of black pupils who had dropped-out of the school system during the 1976 Soweto uprising and the subsequent school boycotts of the 1980s constitute forms of resistance that challenged the authority structures of the educational system. However, by dropping-out of school the pupils had placed themselves in a structural position that effectively cut them off from political and social avenues for reconstructing the educational system. This further reflects the dialectical interaction between human agency and social structure that Willis (1981) theorized about.

Like Willis (1981), Apple (1982) also demonstrates that the educational institution has a relationship to both political and cultural power. This suggests that there prevail conditions in the school that create conditions for both political and educational action. Like Willis (1981) and Fine (1982), Apple (1982) explains that pupils possess a culture containing values and norms at odds with those of the dominant culture. Thus schools are transformed into sites of resistance when pupils respond to structural contradictions and reproductive crises. Thus, Apple (1982) like Fine (1982) suggests

that the educational terrain can provide a significant structure where transformation can evolve.

Apple (1982 : 26) suggests that rather than being simply sites where culture and ideology are imposed, schools are sites where ideology are produced. In South Africa, the liberation movement among black youth was largely produced and waged within the school system. This process of cultural and ideological production is not without structural contradictions. In many ways the effects of student resistance served the aims of reproduction (ie. school failure and drop-out perpetuated the reproduction of the occupational hierarchy where blacks were destined for manual labour). The state's response to this resistance included limited educational reform, but was endorsed by widespread attempts to intervene in this intense social and ideological upheaval (eg. closure of certain schools, instituting the state of emergency, stationing defence force personnel at schools, etc.). Hence, the overriding structural contradiction is that the resistance led to even more rigid control over schools and the activities of pupils.

In this discussion of the relevance of resistance theory to understanding student activity since 1976, the researcher has dealt with four important ideas, namely:

- \* the limitation of the reproductive models as being overly economic and therefore neglecting the dialectical relationship between social structure and human agency,
- \* the role of culture as a lived experience, with contradictory roles,
- \* the school as a productive and a reproductive apparatus, and
- \* the relative autonomy of culture in facilitating resistance, mediation, and transformation in the educational system.

Despite the advancement of this model over the reproductive one, one should not lose sight of the fact that this model neglects to indicate that not all oppositional behaviour has radical significance, or is a response to domination. Nevertheless, this theoretical view has substantial merit in explaining the complex ways in which subordinate groups respond to structural constraints in the course of producing their own culture. However, to theoretically analyse adult educational deficiency in this study the

researcher believes it is essential to move beyond resistance and focus on educational transformation.

### 3.5. **Transformation**

The point of departure for this part of the discussion is that the theoretical basis of the study needs to move beyond resistance theory. To accomplish this there is a need to develop educational strategies to rescue oppositional cultures from the process of incorporation. To achieve this one needs to link the politics of everyday life to both the processes of reproduction and transformation. In the present study the researcher attempts to achieve this by linking the sociological implications of adult educational deficiency (ie. the politics of everyday life), to class and racial domination (ie. the reproduction of apartheid capitalism) and the implementation of strategies to facilitate the provision of adult education (ie. the dynamics of social transformation).

Within this framework, the researcher has attempted to theoretically conceptualize the historical genesis of adult educational deficiency by utilizing reproduction and resistance theory to illuminate the consequences of an unequal educational terrain. Given this theoretical grounding, the researcher proposes a framework which links this genesis with a radical transformatory education project.

Resistance theory has demonstrated the ability to galvanize collective political and cultural struggle around issues of power and social determination. The beginnings of this transformation agenda was evident in the Peoples' Education movement in 1985. This social movement emerged during the height of the resistance struggle, as an alternative educational project. This project illuminates how pupils drew on limited resources at their disposal in order to reaffirm the positive dimensions of their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977). In developing a critical educational theory the researcher believes that the adult education movement can galvanize strength, to launch an educational transformation project that addresses the needs of the under-educated adult black population.

To facilitate this kind of transformation in schools, Aronowitz and Giroux (1985 : 131) suggest three areas must be addressed to extend the radical theory of schooling, namely:

- \* to recognize the political significance of distinguishing between education and schooling,
- \* to develop a discourse and a set of concepts around which this distinction becomes operational, and
- \* to develop theoretical notions of social and cultural reproduction in conjunction with analyses of social and cultural production in relation to oppositional public spheres and the emergence of critical social movements.

The researcher contextualizes these three aspects of transformation in terms of adult educational provision. This is interpreted as follows:

- \* by distinguishing between, pedagogy and andragogy, and the training versus education debate, the researcher attempts to encapsulate the political significance of situating adult education within the broader scope of lifelong learning,
- \* in analyzing the ideologies, purposes, providers, target groups, and participation and recruitment factors, the researcher develops a discourse and a set of concepts to operationalize the political significance to distinguish between training and lifelong learning, and
- \* in addressing the historical aspects of social and cultural reproduction, the researcher proposes a range of adult education strategies which encapsulate the oppositional spheres of social and cultural production.

It is in this context that the researcher theoretically conceptualizes adult education as a critical social movement which must be built on a rigorous and critical educational theory which dialectically links social structure and human agency within a particular historical perspective.

For this educational transformatory project to materialize, educational theory must become more conscious of its own limitations and strengths in relation to the needs

of the black adult population. Adult education must therefore be viewed as having an important role in the struggle for creating a just society. This implies that adult educators must re-evaluate their teaching material and also the ideological conditions (hegemony) under which they work. The work of adult educators of necessity, must reach beyond educational institutions if it is to meaningfully respond to the oppositional spheres in the course of social and cultural production.

This further suggests that there is a need to develop adult education work in order to redefine the political significance of distinguishing the concepts training and education. The adult education movement needs to develop a new discourse regarding the debate over the nature of its content and what it means as a process of social and self-actualization. Underlying this call for a new discourse about adult education theory and practice lies a dual concern. Firstly, adult educators must reconsider the content and purpose of reforming this sector. Secondly, they need to construct organic links with communities in order to address the injustices which have worked within and through black schools. Therefore, in moving towards the development of a critical adult educational theory, adult educators must become actively involved in community based social movements (eg. peoples education) which are engaged in developing oppositional public spheres around broad educational issues.

This theoretical conceptualization presents a radical and critical view of adult education, namely an educational experience which represents a collectively produced set of experiences organized around issues that facilitate a critical understanding of everyday life activities (including oppression), and the dynamics involved in constructing alternate political cultures.

This critical approach to adult education is aimed at developing an active citizenry and self-actualization among under-educated black adults. Further, this approach provides a form of education that promotes learning (ie. knowledge accumulation, and not simply a system of credentialing) and social and political action that is emancipatory.



To achieve this objective, adult educators need to develop strategies that are based on an understanding of how knowledge and patterns of social relations steeped in domination have characterized black schooling, and how these relations have subsequently determined social, cultural, economic, and political spheres of their everyday life activities. The task confronting adult educators is therefore, to construct strategies that can overcome these consequences and transform the lives of these individuals and society also. The researcher proposes that these strategies must be formulated within an andragogy which advances critical literacy and cultural power. Aronowitz and Giroux (1985 : 131) have suggested that a pedagogy that is based on critical literacy and cultural power can promote educational transformation in schools. The researcher believes that when appropriately contextualized these approaches can also act as a vehicle to transform adult education.

Aronowitz and Giroux's (1985 : 131) interpretation of the concept critical literacy elucidates the connection between knowledge and power. In this framework, knowledge is presented as a social construction based on values and norms. In this approach modes of critique are applied to illuminate how knowledge serves specific social, cultural, economic and political interests. The researcher believes that this approach will be of value in the adult education arena, as it could serve as a tool to help students understand what an unequal social system has made of them (in a dialectical sense) and what it is that they no longer want to remain as. This approach would further define the process of knowledge appropriation in a manner that is both culturally and politically significant. At the level of adulthood, this approach would be linked to self and social empowerment. In summary, the critical literacy approach helps the student to develop an understanding of how knowledge gets produced, sustained, and legitimated. For the present study, it offers an opportunity to under-educated adults to engage in social action and collective struggle. Through this process the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977) of the oppressed will be interrogated in order to learn from it and to build upon it. Moreover, in applying this approach to adult education it would become a vehicle to confirm rather than disconfirm the voices of the oppressed in an institution which has previously been hostile to them.

With respect to the second concept extracted from the work of Aronowitz and Giroux (1985 : 131), namely cultural power, the researcher argues for its relevance in so far as it is believed that oppositional public spheres provide the conditions through which the oppressed are able to recover their self, and to find a basis to validate their life activities. In the present study this would require adult educators to work with community groups to develop pockets of cultural resistance which already exist in the community. Their work would be based on new forms of social relations and practices which have direct relevance to their everyday lives.

By adopting the critical literacy and cultural power approaches, adult educators will help to destroy the myth that training and education are the same thing. In this way the critical adult education movement can serve as a transformative vehicle to the masses of under-educated black adults. Further, this critical approach needs to utilize strategies that establish social relations with social groups in concrete institutional contexts (eg. women's groups, trade unions, etc.). This critical approach to adult education provides an opportunity to create cultural sites where people who share a common language, set of problems, and cultural experience, can come together to critically evaluate their social roles, to accumulate knowledge, and to act collectively to transform their lives.

The researcher does not discount the obstacles that threaten the development of critical literacy and cultural power in the adult education sector. The potential obstacles are numerous (eg. conservative bias within educational circles, the power of the media to promote cultural reproduction and social animation, the influence of capital to ensure reproduction of the economic structure, and the ideological and hegemonic control of the state to maintain the status quo, etc.), but not insurmountable. In light of this, the researcher is optimistic that in developing a new agenda for adult education, it will assume a transformatory role.

### 3.6. Summary

In this chapter the researcher has attempted to develop a theoretical basis in which to ground the educational deficiency that characterizes the black adult population. The marxist framework has been selected as a basis to explain the conflict that characterized social relations in South African society. The discussion further suggested that the deterministic, voluntarist, and autonomous notions of the educational institution are applicable. This applicability is conceptualized in terms of the dominant theoretical traditions that characterized the politics of black schooling in particular historical sequence. These theoretical interpretations include reproduction, resistance and transformation, which correspond respectively to the following historical sequence: the emergence of the education system until 1975, 1976 - 1990, and 1990 onwards.

In explaining the reproductive role of the bantu education system, the researcher examined the nature of economic determinism, the cultural basis of schooling, and the hegemonic influence of the state. At all three levels, the education system was believed to fulfil the function of reproduction of white dominance and capitalism.

The researcher proceeded with the theoretical analysis by suggesting that during the next time-frame (ie. 1976-1990), the educational system was characterized by contestation and resistance. Ironically, the dominant forms of resistance (eg. Soweto riots, and school boycotts, etc.) had the effect of marginalizing and subsequently alienating the pupils even further, because the state responded to these forms of contestation and resistance by instituting new exclusionary clauses that effectively removed the conflict elements from within the school system.

Up to this point, the analysis suggested that the educational attainment of black pupils was rigidly determined either directly or indirectly. The underlying motive was the maintenance and reproduction of capitalism and apartheid. The researcher explains that with the inauguration of the era of negotiation, reconciliation, and nation-building, which began in 1990, the educational institution is well poised to assume a transformatory agenda to advance the broader process of social change.

In the latter part of this chapter, the researcher specifically focused on how the field of adult education can become a vehicle to transform the deficient educational status of the black adult population. The researcher has proposed that this transformatory project must rest on two ideological notions, namely critical literacy and cultural power.

In summary, this chapter has applied the marxist theory to explain the reasons for widespread educational deficiency among the black adult population. But more than just this, the discussion has gone beyond marxist theory, to suggest a critical theory of education which aims to transform adult education provision in South Africa. This critical approach links the influence of social structure to human agency to achieve a new agenda for the adult education movement in South Africa.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter focuses on the methodological procedures that were utilized in undertaking the present study. An attempt is made to explain the nature and selection of the specific techniques and methods that have been adopted in both the data gathering phase and the analysis of the data. The discussion which follows will focus on the research paradigm, the research process, the purpose of the study, the use of unobtrusive research methods, the research technique, theory and inference testing, ethical concerns, and the statistical procedures that were used.

#### **4.2. The research paradigm**

Theory and method are not separate entities, but are inextricably tied together. This highlights the importance of theoretical paradigms in social research. Paradigms serve as fundamental images of the subject matter and hence they establish the theoretical and methodological terms of one's focus. The basic sociological paradigms are functionalism, conflict, symbolic interactionist and ethnomethodology.

Theory plays an important part in research and it is therefore an essential ally to the researcher. Although researchers use theory differently in various types of research, it is always present in social research. In this respect, Neuman (1994 : 35), suggests that researchers interweave a story about the operation of the social world (ie. the theory) with what they observe when they examine it systematically (ie. the data).

It is important as to how theory is used in social research. Therefore, being explicit about the theory makes it easier to conduct research. An awareness of how the theory fits into the research process helps to clarify unclear aspects, and contributes towards better designed, easier to understand, and better conducted studies.

The theories that are utilized in the present study are couched in the conflict paradigm. This paradigm is associated with the work of Karl Marx and it views social life as a continuous series of struggles between competing factions or social groups or classes. The proponents of this paradigm (Bowles and Gintis (1976), Althusser (1971), Bourdieu (1977), Apple (1982), and Poulantzas (1975) suggest that conflict appears to be the organizing principle of life. The present study pursues the notion that the power relations of the social system are maintained through the process of economic and cultural reproduction, as well as the implementation of an ideological state hegemony. Specifically, the study argues that the educational system serves as a mechanism through which these deterministic relations are furthered. The study also examines the neo-marxist concept of resistance as it relates to the educational institution. In the final analysis, the researcher links both these theoretical modes within the marxist paradigm, to suggest that a more critical theory needs to be constructed so as to advance the process of transformation through the educational institution.

It is from this theoretical position that the data in the present study is analyzed. In examining the nature and extent of school drop-out and under-education over a historical period, the researcher suggests that wider socio-structural determinants are inextricably linked to the educational process. These socio-structural determinants constitute the basis for the conflict that characterizes the social system. Educational provision and the educational process constitute dimensions of the nature of this conflict. But perhaps more importantly, it is argued that adult educational deficiency has served as an oppressive and repressive class-maintaining feature of South African society and hence the need for transformation.

This conflict paradigm has also been referred to as the critical social science approach (Neuman, 1994 : 66-72). Other versions of this approach include dialectical materialism, class analysis, structuralism, and realist social science. This paradigm combines both nomothetic and idiographic approaches. In general this paradigm defines social science as a critical process of inquiry that goes beyond illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world, in order to help people to change

their living conditions and to build an improved social environment for themselves (Neuman, 1994 : 68).

#### 4.3. **The research process**

The research process requires a sequence of steps. Different types of research involve somewhat different steps, but according to Neuman (1994 : 16) most seem to follow the stages listed below:

- \* choosing a topic,
- \* focusing on a research question,
- \* designing the study,
- \* collecting the data,
- \* analyzing the data,
- \* interpreting the data, and
- \* reporting the findings of the study.

This seven-step process is indeed over-simplified. In practice, often steps seem to merge with each other. Thus the process is not strictly a linear one, it may flow in several directions before reaching an end. Although this was in fact experienced at several points during the present study, it is possible to distinguish these seven steps that were followed.

##### 4.3.1. **Choosing the topic**

In choosing the research topic the researcher was largely influenced by the current educational crisis. At the beginning of this research project it was disconcerting to note that recent attempts at reform and reconstruction in the educational sector appeared to focus on the children and youth who are still currently in the system, and largely excluded those individuals who were no longer part of the formal school system (De Lange (1981), ERS (1991). It is firmly believed that if South Africa is embarking on a process of reconstruction and development, the issue of redress in the educational sector particularly, has to be at the fore of its agenda. It is against this

background of compensatory educational provision for adults that the present study was conceived. The researcher believed that there was a substantial need to investigate alternate adult educational strategies in order to promote an expanded system of provision that would be suited to both the needs of the country, and the individuals concerned. These were the basic concerns that prompted the choice of the research topic.

#### 4.3.2. **The research question**

In developing the particular focus of the study the researcher identified the need to focus on the schools crises since the 1970s. The turmoil that the educational sector was thrown into during this period highlighted the widespread school drop-out and educational failure among black youth. In looking closely at the consequences of these and other socio-political factors, it was observed that illiteracy and under-education was significantly high among black adults. Clearly this has far-reaching consequences for the society and the individual. Thus, the questions which underlie the research were formulated as follows:

- \* What is the nature and extent of under-education among black adults?
- \* What alternate adult educational strategies would facilitate provision?

In short, the study defines the nature of under-education, and focuses on adult education as a mechanism to facilitate second-chance learning, with the aim of advancing the transformation process.

#### 4.3.3. **The design of the study**

The next step in the research process necessitated the development of a strategy in order to test the theory that underlies the study. This strategy is what is referred to as the research design. Guy et. al. (1987 : 92), define the research design as the plan of procedures for data collection and analysis that are undertaken to evaluate a particular theoretical perspective. Theory is instrumental in guiding one's choice of



a research design. It achieves this by identifying who or what is to be observed, and indicating how these observations are to be interpreted.

Guy et. al. (1987 : 93-94), suggest that the research design is important for the following reasons:

- \* it ensures that the researcher is striving towards objectivity,
- \* it ensures that the researcher's approach to knowledge is systematic and methodical, and
- \* it ensures that the knowledge can be replicated.

Essentially the research design is important because provides a means by which we are able to adhere to the scientific method in our quest for reliable knowledge.

There are three typical research designs, namely the experiment, the survey, and the field study. In deciding which of these designs to adopt, the researcher gave careful consideration to several aspects, for example:

- \* Who will be studied ?
- \* When will they be studied ? and
- \* Why will they be studied ?

The unit of analysis in the present study is the group, as opposed to individuals, organizations and artifacts. More specifically, the unit of analysis in the study is the statistical grouping. A statistical group results from all units possessing some characteristic that is central to the research question, for example educational level, age, gender, etc. In addressing the question pertaining to the time-frame, the researcher locates the present study within a longitudinal framework. In addressing the educational needs of the economically active black adult population, the study limits its analysis to individuals in the age group 19 - 60. To evaluate the educational levels of this group, the researcher's time-frame encapsulates the period 1935 to 1990. The setting for the present study was not determined by the researcher as this constitutes an ex-post facto study. The research purpose in this case is both descriptive and exploratory. Descriptive research concentrates on delineating the way

things are, and it concentrates on completeness and accurateness. Exploration is concerned with uncovering the way things are. The present study is exploratory in the sense that it aims to satisfy the desire for a better understanding, it tests the feasibility of undertaking a more comprehensive study, and to formulate a problem for a more precise investigation (Guy, et. al, 1987 : 103). The final aspect for determining the adequacy of the research design involves the amount of control that is required, the degree of representativeness, and naturalness. In the present study the researcher is primarily concerned with generalizability, hence representativeness is a primary concern of the present study.

Although the present study is largely theoretical, it includes an element of empirical analysis. The design of the study defines the statistical group as the unit of analysis, over a longitudinal time-frame. The study is ex-post facto in nature and is both descriptive and exploratory in its purpose. The design is considered to be adequate on the basis of its representativeness.

It is noted that there is no set of factors that point to a single correct research design. Thus, any choice of design represents a compromise dictated by the many practical considerations that go into social research. Another important point is that a research design is not a rigid blueprint to be followed without deviation. Ultimately, it is the effectiveness of the design that is of fundamental importance.

Now that some of the factors affecting the choice of the research design have been dealt with, the researcher will focus on the design that was employed in the present study.

#### 4.3.4. **Data gathering**

This stage of the research involved an in-depth literature survey as well as the use of existing census data and secondary analysis. The literature survey formed the basis for the formulation of the theoretical conceptualization of the study. It yielded information that grounded a sociological analysis of the politics of black schooling in

South Africa. The literature survey further yielded information on adult educational strategies.

The empirical component of the study utilized two data gathering techniques, namely the use of existing census data and secondary analysis. These will be dealt with in-depth at a later point in the discussion.

#### 4.3.5. **Data analysis**

This stage incorporated both theoretical and empirical analysis. The theoretical analysis extends throughout the discussion, while the empirical analysis is contained in Chapter Five. In analyzing the empirical data the researcher presents the data in percentage tables and bar graphs.

#### 4.3.6. **Interpreting the results**

This stage of the research process is formulated and presented in Chapter Seven, in the form of conclusions and recommendations of the study.

#### 4.3.7. **Disseminating information**

The study is presented in the form of a report which serves the purpose of disseminating the main findings.

Having dealt at length with the research process, the researcher will now examine the data gathering methods that were used.

#### 4.4. **Unobtrusive research methods**

Liebert and Liebert (1995 : 196) define unobtrusive measures as those that do not intrude upon and therefore cannot interfere or interact with the observation being made. There are two broad categories of unobtrusive measures, namely physical

traces and archives (Liebert and Liebert, 1995 : 196). Physical traces refer to those measurement procedures that examine the durable residue of earlier events as evidence for the occurrence of particular actions or processes. There are four types of physical traces, namely erosion measures, natural accretion, controlled erosion, and controlled accretion. The second category refers to archives which are the ongoing and continuing records of society. Liebert and Liebert (1995 : 197) state that archival records of births, marriages, deaths, etc. may be used to test various hypotheses in an unobtrusive manner.

Babbie (1992 : 311) adds that unobtrusive research methods allow the researcher to study social life from afar, without influencing it in the process. This means that those who are being studied are not aware that they are being studied. These research methods are sometimes referred to as nonreactive methods. Nonreactive techniques are largely based on positivist principles, but are also used by interpretative and critical researchers. The techniques that are used include the use of existing statistics and secondary analysis. This refers to the collection of data from existing government documents and previous surveys. The researcher attempts to examine the data in new ways to address the specific research questions.

In selecting these research techniques, the researcher was aware that much information pertaining to the research topic had been collected and was available for further analysis. A vast store of available materials produced by institutions, organizations and individuals is available for research purposes. Some of the uses of these resources are suggested by Kerlinger (1986 : 469), as being the following :

- \* firstly, available materials are used to explore the nature of the subject matter in order to obtain insight into the topic,
- \* secondly, available materials are used to suggest hypotheses,
- \* thirdly, available materials are used to test hypotheses, and
- \* fourthly, available materials are used to check research findings.

The main source of existing statistics are government agencies and certain non-governmental organizations. In these potential sources there exists an enormous variety

and volume of relevant information. Some information is in the form of statistical documents that contain numerical information. Other information is in the form of compilations available in libraries. In either case the researcher faced the task of searching through collections of information, and reassembling the data in new ways to address the research question. In the present study, the single most valuable source of statistical information was the Central Statistical Services. In addition to government statistical documents there are also several other publications containing information of interest. These include the Race Relations Yearbooks, and the various education department yearbooks.

Creating nonreactive measures follows the logic of quantitative measurement. The researcher first conceptualizes a construct, then links the construct to nonreactive empirical evidence which is its measure. The operational definition of the variable includes how the researcher systematically notes and records observations. The theoretical construct in the present study is 'educational deficiency'. This construct was then operationalized as referring to under-education (ie. minimal educational attainment) and no formal education. The variable that was identified as capturing this concept was the level of schooling. This was further operationalized according to school drop-out.

Sometimes the original goal in assembling data is not research related. As a result, there is usually a less than perfect fit between the kind of information that is available and that which would be most desirable. However, Abrahamson (1983 : 234) suggests that the utilization of previously gathered data is increasing. There are compelling reasons for its utilization. Cost considerations are one of these reasons. Historical analyses, especially if they entail a significant time span, necessarily requires the utilization of previously gathered data. Even for studies whose focus is current and non-historical, there may be in existence a more inclusive set of data than any investigator could reasonably hope to assemble; even possibly a virtually complete enumeration of the population in a census document (Abrahamson, 1983 : 235-236).

The researcher will now examine these unobtrusive measures more closely, and as they have been employed in the present study.

#### 4.4.1. **The use of census data**

Scientific research should not be equated with the collection and analysis of original data. In fact, some research topics can be examined through the analysis of data that has already been collected and compiled. The classic example of this can be found in Emile Durkheim's (1897) study of suicide (Golden, 1976 : 424). Interested in discovering the primary reasons for suicide, Durkheim conducted his comprehensive inquiry without collecting a single original datum. Rather, he tested a wide range of hypotheses through the examination of published suicide rates for different geographical areas.

According to Golden (1976 : 424), there is perhaps no larger set of secondary data available for social research than censuses tabulated by the government statistics bureau, namely The Central Statistical Services. Censuses provide a broad base of social science information. Data may be obtained to analyze educational attainment, labour practices, poverty, etc. So extensive are the data provided in the various censuses that opportunities for secondary analyses seem to be limited only by the imagination of the researcher. What makes census data particularly useful for secondary analysis is that most variables are available not only cross-sectionally, but also longitudinally. This enables researchers to measure particular social relationships and to examine their trends historically.

On the other hand, demographers and human ecologists find the information provided in the censuses most appropriate for their research needs. Their studies rely upon broad bases of data on social, economic and demographic characteristics of population groups and geographic areas. In fact, the nature, scope and completeness of data utilized in most demographic and ecological studies are such that they could probably never be reproduced by the individual researcher.

Abrahamson (1983 : 270), defines a census as a complete enumeration of a specific person who lives in a demarcated area, at a specific time, and is conducted at regular intervals. A census is distinct from a sample survey in that, at least in terms of intent a census is a complete enumeration of a population. Generally modern enumerations tend to be carried out for two reasons:

- \* to facilitate governmental activities, and
- \* to provide a data base for diverse research.

Nations vary in the kinds of statistics that are routinely registered, and the frequency and accuracy of their national censuses. In South Africa the kinds of statistics that have been collected and compiled over the years vary considerably. The more recent censuses appear to have more comprehensive and detailed information than that of earlier years. Censuses have been taken in South Africa during the following years: 1904, 1911, 1921, 1936, 1946, 1951, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1985, and 1991 (South African Labour Statistics, 1994). With respect to the accuracy of the census data, suffice it to say that sampling and measurement errors are reduced since census data are tabulated by an experienced staff who strive to achieve a high degree of completeness and accuracy for all reported data. Nevertheless, human and mechanical errors do occur sometimes, and these invariably reduce the accuracy of the data. To mitigate these errors, the personnel of the Central Statistical Services review enumerators' work, verify the manual coding and editing, check the tabulated figures, and utilize statistical techniques such as ratio estimation of sample data to control totals in the complete count. Through such efforts, errors in the published reports are usually kept at an acceptably low level. Thus, secondary analyses of this data will not generally yield misleading results.

The unit of analysis in census data, is usually not the individual. The researcher is often forced to work with geographical units, regions, standards, school levels, income groups, occupational groups, age groups, and sex groups among many others. Thus, by their very nature, most existing statistics are aggregated, that means that they describe groups and not individual cases. The aggregate nature of existing statistics can present a problem, though not an insurmountable one. For example in his study,

Durkheim (1897) wanted to determine whether Protestants or Catholics were more likely to commit suicide (Babbie, 1992 : 329-331). None of the records available to him indicated the religion of those people who committed suicide. Although it was not possible for him to say whether Protestants committed suicide more often than Catholics, he inferred as much. This inference was based on his knowledge that Protestant countries, regions and states had higher suicides than Catholic countries, regions and states. However, there are dangers in drawing such a conclusion. It is always possible that patterns of behaviour at a group level do not reflect corresponding patterns at an individual level. Such errors are said to be based on ecological fallacy. For instance, in Durkheim's study it was altogether possible that it was Catholics who committed suicide in predominantly Protestant areas.

Durkheim (Babbie, 1992 : 330) avoided the danger of ecological fallacy in two ways. First, his general conclusions were based as much on rigorous, theoretical deductions as on the empirical facts. The correspondence between theory and fact made a counter explanation less likely. Second, by extensively re-testing his conclusions in a variety of ways, Durkheim further strengthened the likelihood that they were correct. Thus, the replication of his findings added to the weight of evidence in support of his conclusions. These considerations guided the researcher in the present study.

While the use of census data has the great advantage of economy, that refers to the fact that the researcher is spared the time and cost involved in survey design, collection and tabulation of data, sampling, interviewing, coding the data, etc. - one needs to exercise cautions in using this technique. The reasons to be cautious in using census data, according to Abrahamson (1983 : 275-277), are that detailed sample surveys have shown census enumerations to be systematically incomplete, or biased. The problem of missing data is one that plagues researchers who use existing statistics. In some instances the data had been collected, but had subsequently been lost. More frequently however, it is the case that the data had never been collected. The decision to collect official information is one that is made within government agencies. Also, the decision to ask specific questions and not others, is made by a group of researchers employed by the specific agency. In both cases, those who are



responsible for these decisions, may not always collect data that subsequent researchers are seeking. Characteristically, government agencies start and stop collecting information for political, budgetary, and other reasons. This makes missing information a particular problem when researchers cover a lengthy time period.

Furthermore, parallel errors arise because of systematic efforts by certain segments of the population to avoid any type of possible detection. Errors may also arise due to ambiguities in identifying a category, and hence uncertainty over who to count enters the data gathering process. However, it is generally assumed that such errors are small or randomly distributed, and consequently do not effect rates for an entire population.

Further, Golden (1976 : 425) believes that perhaps a major shortcoming of using census data for social research is that many variables of interest to sociologists are not reported in the censuses. For example, no information is collected about sentiments, attitudes, values or beliefs. Researchers interested in socio-psychological studies must therefore look elsewhere for secondary sources of data, or conduct their own field studies. Similarly, Babbie (1990 : 32) suggests that a possible disadvantage of using census data is that the researcher is limited to data which had been collected and compiled, but which does not exactly represent the variables of interest to him/her. Babbie (1990 : 32) adds that a healthy dose of ingenuity can help to solve this problem. For example he explains that when Samuel Stouffer wanted to examine the effects of the Depression on the family in America, he considered a variety of possible indicators of a hypothesized breakdown of traditional family norms - divorce rates provided one indication, but he also considered the rates of inter-religious marriages, civil as opposed to religious marriage ceremonies, etc. (Babbie, 1992 : 32)

The present study to a certain extent is limited by the ecological fallacy. In other words, it is difficult to determine whether the educational levels of specific age group, holds true for individuals also. But, this limitation is reduced for the simple reason that the purpose for examining the census data was primarily to define the extent of educational deficiency among the black adult population. However, the analysis in

the present study is indeed limited by the completeness of the data for the South African population. On political grounds, data for the former bantustans were not incorporated into the census compilations. The researcher acknowledges this weakness and attempts to address it by obtaining the relevant data from subsidiary sources of information.

In general it is believed that the selection of this data gathering technique for the present study proved to be invaluable, and without it the researcher would not have yielded such comprehensive data on the educational status of the adult black population.

#### 4.4.2. **Secondary analysis**

Secondary analysis is a special case of existing statistics; it involves a re-analysis of previously collected survey data or other information (Neuman, 1994 : 260). The survey data referred to here, were originally gathered by other researchers. As opposed to primary research, the survey focus is on analyzing rather than collecting data. Secondary analysis is increasingly used by researchers (Neuman, 1995 : 261).

The advantages of the technique is that it is usually relatively inexpensive and it permits comparisons across groups, nations, or time. Furthermore, it facilitates replication and analyzing issues that were not thought of by the original researcher. Once again, the main disadvantage of using this technique is that the categories according to which the data are presented may not necessarily correspond with that of the current study.

#### 4.5. **Validity and reliability**

Existing statistics and secondary analysis are not trouble-free just because a government agency or other source gathered the original data. Researchers, must still be concerned with validity and reliability, as well as with certain problems that are unique to this research technique. Whenever one uses data that already exists, one is automatically limited by what exists. Often, the existing data does not cover what one

is really interested in, and consequently the reliability and validity of the study are affected.

#### 4.5.1. **Validity**

Two characteristics of science are used to handle the problem of validity in analyzing existing statistics: logical reasoning and replication.

In the analysis of existing statistics, a little ingenuity and reasoning can usually turn up several independent tests of one's hypothesis, and if all the tests seem to confirm it, then the weight of evidence supports the view that the researcher is advancing (Babbie, 1992 : 334).

One source of problems relating to validity may occur when the researcher's theoretical definition does not match that of the government agency or organization that collected the information. Usually, official policies and procedures specify definitions for official statistics. In the present study, the definition of literacy is linked to a level of skills that renders a person functionally literate. However, the official statistics measure literacy in terms of a specific number of years of schooling. It is for this reason that the researcher explores educational level as opposed to the distinction between literate and illiterate, in determining the extent of educational deficiency. This has contributed towards maintaining the validity in the present study.

Another problem of validity may arise when official statistics proxy for a construct in which the researcher is really interested. This is necessary because the researcher cannot collect original data. For instance, in the present study in attempting to determine the extent of educational deficiency, the researcher focuses on the educational levels for each age group over a lengthy period. In this way it has been possible to ascertain the extent of drop-out for specific cohorts. In this way official statistics proxy for the construct in which the researcher is really interested. However, in using this proxy, the researcher has excluded a segment of the population, namely that group that never enrolled in the school system. To overcome this problem, the

researcher has cross-tabulated these categories as a percentage of the total population for each age group.

A third type of validity problem arises because the researcher lacks control over how the information has been collected. The researcher depends upon the individual who has collected the data to organize, report and publish it accurately. Systematic errors in collecting the information, errors in organizing and reporting information, and errors in publishing the information, serve to reduce the measurement validity of the study. Since these problems are beyond the control of the researcher, the only possible way of guarding against them is to refer to subsidiary sources that contain the same information. The researcher ensured to do this wherever possible.

#### 4.5.2. **Reliability**

Analysis of existing statistics depends heavily on the quality of the statistics themselves: are they accurate reports of what they claim to report? The process of record-keeping affects the records that are collated and reported. Babbie (1992 : 335), states that the researcher's first protection against the problems of reliability in existing statistics is awareness -that is, knowing that the problem may exist.

Investigating the nature of the data collection and tabulation may enable one to assess the nature and degree of unreliability, so that one would be able to judge its potential impact on one's research exercise. Babbie (1992 : 335) stresses that if one also uses logical reasoning and replication, one would be able to cope adequately. Whilst the researcher has employed logical reasoning during the data gathering process, replication was not tested.

Problems of reliability can plague existing data research. Stability reliability problems develop when official definitions or the methods of collecting information change over time. The present study has avoided such problems because the Central Statistical Services has employed definitions of concepts consistently over the years, and has collected its information in a standardized format, with little variation over many

years. Wherever this was the case, the researcher was able to standardize the data presentation with relatively little difficulty.

#### 4.6. **Inference from non-reactive data**

A researcher's ability to infer causality or test a theory on the basis of non-reactive data is limited. It is difficult to use unobtrusive measures to establish temporal order and eliminate alternative explanations. For instance, in the present study the researcher is unable to generalize on the basis of the data pertaining to educational level, as to the effects of under-education. But the researcher could however use the correlation logic of survey research to show an association among variables. It is for this reason that the empirical component of the study is not fully integrated with the rest of the study. Instead it provides a supportive base to the rest of the analysis.

#### 4.7. **Analyzing quantitative data**

The data that have been collected using the non-reactive techniques remain in a numerical form, or as is sometimes referred to as raw data. Researchers need to do several things to the raw data in order to relate it to the research question. In other words, it needs to be re-organized into a form suitable for computers to read, so that the data may be presented in the form of charts and graphs that summarise its main features. This facilitates interpretation and gives theoretical meaning to the results.

##### 4.7.1 **Coding the data**

Before the data is used to test hypotheses, it needs to be presented in a different format. This means that the data has to be coded. This means that the raw data has to be systematically reorganized into a format that is machine readable. The researcher completed this task and thereafter utilized the Harvard Graphics computer programme to present the data graphically.

##### 4.7.2. **Entering the data**

Most computer programmes designed for data analysis need the data in a grid format. In the present study, the researcher extracted only the relevant information from the census data and proceeded to punch this data into the computer, in a grid format using the Word Perfect and Harvard Graphics computer packages.

#### 4.7.3. **Data cleaning**

After very careful coding, the researcher needs to check the accuracy of the coding, or 'clean' the data. In the present study the researcher coded a 10 percent random sample of the data for the second time. This was done in order to ensure that there were no coding errors.

Once the data had been punched into the computer, the researcher was able to manipulate and examine it with specific types of software (in this case, Harvard Graphics).

#### 4.7.4. **Statistical procedures**

In the present study the only statistical procedures that were undertaken were measures of central tendency and frequency distributions.

Frequency distributions refer to the ways to manipulate and summarize numbers that represent data from the study. Descriptive statistics describe numerical data. In the present study, this has been characterized by the number of variables involved (univariate, bivariate, multivariate). The easiest way to describe the numerical data of one variable is with a frequency distribution. It can be used with nominal, ordinal, interval or ratio level data.

Researchers often want to summarize the data about one variable into a single number. They use three measures of central tendency, or measures of the centre of the frequency distribution: mean, median and mode, which are more commonly called averages. In the present study the researcher used the mean as a measure of central

tendency. This statistical procedure is also called the arithmetic average. It is the most widely used measure of central tendency. It can be used only with interval or ratio level data.

#### 4.8. **Summary**

In this chapter the researcher focused on the methodological procedures that were followed in undertaking the present study. These constitute the scientific tools that both define and legitimate the process. To begin with the researcher defined the theoretical paradigm that was employed in the analysis. The researcher then elaborated on the seven stages of the research process. The chapter further dealt with the unobtrusive research methods that the study utilized. The discussion showed that these non-reactive techniques (viz. use of census data and secondary analysis), yield objective, numerical data that can be analyzed to address the research question. In the present study, these techniques were used in conjunction with in-depth theoretical analysis.

The discussion focused on the advantages and the disadvantages of using non-reactive techniques. The researcher examined the issues of validity and reliability when using these techniques. In the latter part of the discussion, the researcher explained the statistical procedures that were undertaken.

With these methodological procedures clearly spelt out, the researcher may now focus on the presentation and analysis of the data. This is the subject matter of the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **EDUCATIONAL DEFICIENCY AMONG BLACK ADULTS: A PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

In this discussion the researcher will present and interpret the statistical data on black adult educational deficiency in the context of the changing economic, political, and educational structural conditions. The theoretical analysis that has been provided in Chapter Three has explained the ways in which these structural conditions have defined and shaped the educational processes within the bantu education system. The point of departure for the present study has been to divide the educational terrain into specific historical sequences which reflect the dominant economic and political processes. This has been theoretically conceptualized according to the processes of reproduction, resistance, and transformation. In the discussion which follows the researcher will first develop a statistical profile to illustrate the widespread extent of black adult educational deficiency, and secondly, the researcher will interpret this background against the theoretical framework that has been provided in Chapter Three.

#### **5.2. Under-education**

In the present study the construct 'educational deficiency' refers to the problem of under-education. As has been stated earlier, approximately one third of the South African population (ie. 15 million) do not have effective reading and writing skills (SA Labour Statistics, 1994). While the problem of under-education among the black adult population is undeniably related to its rapid population growth over the past 50 years, the present analysis views this phenomenon in the context of inadequate and unequal educational provision. It is fundamentally a consequence of the failure of the state to provide universal compulsory schooling to the entire population. A significant consequence of this discriminatory education policy is that presently the society is characterized by a large illiterate population (eight million) and a similarly large sector (seven million) that has received minimal schooling of very low quality. The issue that the present study focuses on, is whether an effective adult education system can be provided to compensate these adults for the education that they were deprived of in their youth. In this sense, adult education provision is indeed an issue of affirmative action,



because while its focus is on development, it is also about redressing the imbalances caused by bantu education.

In this part of the discussion the researcher will refer to three categories of indicators that define a statistical framework for the study. These indicators of adult educational deficiency include measures of illiteracy, levels of educational attainment, and an illustration of drop-out rates.

### **5.2.1. Illiteracy and semi-literacy**

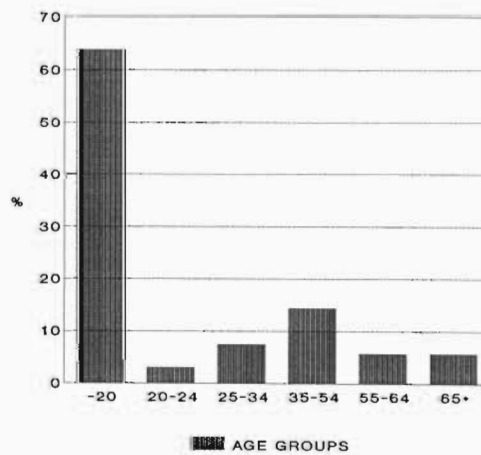
Internationally most researchers use formal education statistics to compile data on the rate of literacy and illiteracy in a particular society. Literacy is one of the most basic skills acquired through education, but there is constant debate internationally about how much education ensures permanent and functional literacy. A generally accepted international standard for measuring the scale of literacy in a country, is five years of formal schooling (ie. the attainment of Std. Three) (Tuchten, 1995 : 236). Some researchers however, have utilized measurements ranging between four and eight years of schooling (ie. Std. Two and Std. Six). But researchers in South Africa have argued that even five years of formal schooling (within the black education department) does not automatically equip an individual with the skills required to cope with what a modern society and economy demand (Tuchten, 1995 : 236). The reason being that the standard of education in South Africa varied considerably among the several departments of education and because people continue to read and write in different languages. Therefore, while statistics may indicate a certain level of education or under-education in a community, they may not be reliable in assessing the reading and writing skills of individuals. Hence it must be borne in mind that statistics might in fact over-estimate the reading and writing skills especially within the black community. On the one hand, there are some people who have never been to school but who are able to read and write because they were encouraged to learn from other sources, but on the other hand there are also people who have received several years of schooling but have subsequently lapsed into illiteracy because they have not used their reading and writing skills sufficiently enough to maintain the skills that they were taught in school. Nonetheless, statistics are useful in that they serve to alert society to the problem of illiteracy. Furthermore, the researcher stresses that these statistics must be considered with caution since they do not include figures for the TBVC states and the independent homelands.

The researcher will first present the data that illustrate the size of the illiterate population (ie. those who have had no formal schooling).

**Table 5.1.**  
**Illiteracy according to specific age groups within**  
**the black adult population**

Age groups	Number	Percentage
-20 years	4 732 314	63,8
20-24 years	225 444	3,0
25-34 years	546 124	7,4
35-54 years	1 071 835	14,4
55-64 years	420 826	5,7
65+ years	421 900	5,7
Total	7 418 444	100

ILLITERACY ACCORDING TO SPECIFIC AGE GROUPS IN THE ADULT BLACK POPULATION



(Population Census, 1991).

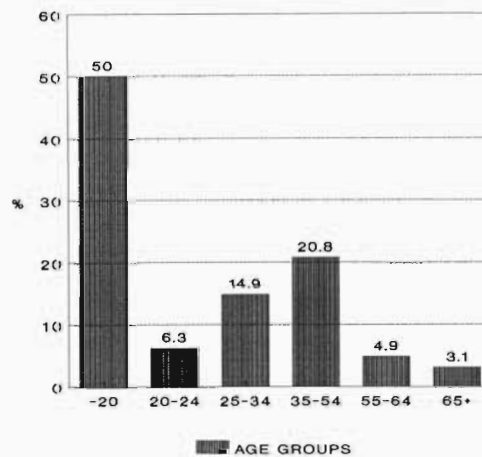
The data presented in Table 5.1. suggest that in excess of seven million adults have had no formal schooling and are therefore taken to be illiterate. In relation to the population spectrum (30 986 920), the data suggest that 34,3 per cent of the population are illiterate. The data presented in Table 5.1. indicate that the three older age categories reflect higher illiteracy rates. This is not surprising since the education provision that these adults would have encountered in their youth, would have been minimal, thereby seriously affecting their educational opportunity. Illiteracy is also significantly high in the second, third and fourth age groups, which together constitute a major proportion of the economically active population and consequently such widespread illiteracy in this group must indeed have severe repercussions for productivity levels within this sector of the labour force.

Perhaps a more accurate measure of the extent of illiteracy among the black adult population would be to also include those adults who have had less than five years of formal schooling as belonging to this illiterate segment. This data are as follows:

**Table 5.2.**  
**Black adults that have received less than five**  
**years of formal schooling**

Age group	Grade 1-Std.1	Std.2	Percentage
-20 years	1 758 422	661 780	50,0
20-24 years	80 436	83 412	6,3
25-34 years	183 503	197 004	14,9
35-54 years	286 739	275 432	20,8
55-64 years	79 771	65 133	4,9
65+ years	56 448	40 984	3,1
Total	2 445 319	1 323 745	100

BLACK ADULTS THAT HAVE RECEIVED LESS  
 THAN 5 YERAS OF FORMAL SCHOOLING



(Population Census, 1991).

It is apparent from statistics presented in the above-mentioned table that if one includes this category of educational attainment as not being sufficient to develop sustained literacy, then the extent of illiteracy and semi-literacy among the black population is far worse than was previously suggested. The data presented in Table 5.2. suggest that 12,2 per cent of the South African population is semi-literate, which implies that 17,4 per cent of the black population is semi-literate. Nonetheless, one

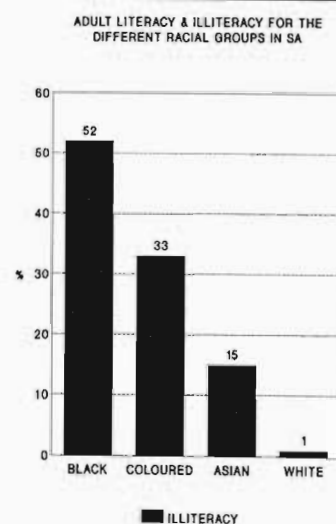
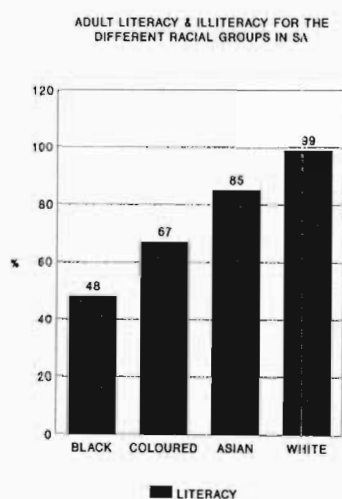
must be realistic in acknowledging the influence of differential and unequal educational provision in South Africa, as well as to recognize the fact that often the language medium of black primary schools was the mother-tongue rather than either of the dominant languages (ie. English and Afrikaans). Hence one will not be over-estimating the extent of illiteracy if one were to incorporate these statistics which adds 3 769 064 to the previously identified illiterate group (ie. 7 418 444). This would now bring the estimated size of the black illiterate population to 11 187 064. The given statistics would indicate that in excess of 7,4 million black adults are considered illiterate and an additional 3,8 million are semi-literate.

It is also noteworthy to compare the extent of illiteracy among the different racial groups in order to ascertain the varying influence of socio-structural and political factors on illiteracy. This data are presented in Table 5.3.

**Table 5.3.**

**Adult literacy and illiteracy rates for the different racial groups in South Africa**

	Black	Coloured	Asian	White
<b>Literacy</b>	48 %	67 %	85 %	99 %
<b>Illiteracy</b>	52 %	33 %	15 %	1 %



(Tuchten, 1995 : 235).

Given this statistical profile of the extent of literacy and illiteracy among the different racial groups, it is apparent that the community most affected by apartheid has the highest recorded level of illiteracy. This suggests that the prevailing political disadvantage further disadvantages specific groups in society.

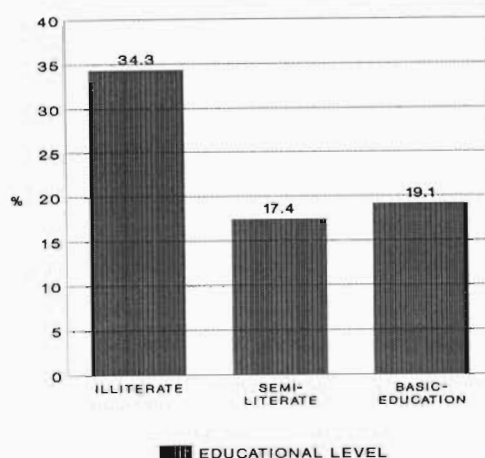
Tuchten (1995 : 239) suggests that approximately 25 per cent of the black adult population is semi-literate. These people have limited literacy skills and are constantly at risk of lapsing into illiteracy as they find most common texts, such as official forms and newspapers too difficult to read. Examples of semi-literate adults would include those who are able to read their own names and addresses, but are unable to read an unseen text, those who are able to read simple words but are unable to write at all, and those who are able to sound out words in English but are unable to understand what they mean.

If one were to utilize the American yardstick for measuring illiteracy, namely the attainment of 7 years of schooling, then it would appear that many more black South Africans would fall into the category of being semi-literate.

**Table 5.4.**  
**Illiteracy, semi-literacy and basic education among the**  
**adult black population**

Educational level	Illiterate	Semi-literate	Basic education
Number	7 418 444	3 769 064	4 126 589
Percentage	34,3	17,4	19,1

ILLITERACY, SEMI-LITERACY & BASIC  
EDUCATION AMONG BLACK ADULT POPULATION



(Population Census, 1991).

The data presented in Table 5.4. indicate that the black community is heavily burdened by the widespread extent of illiteracy and semi-literacy. The statistics indicate that approximately 15 314 097 adults are educationally deficient, in lieu of their having no formal schooling, or having attained minimal levels only. This further suggests that 70,7 per cent of the black population are either illiterate or semi-literate (ie. having had no formal schooling or less than seven years of schooling).

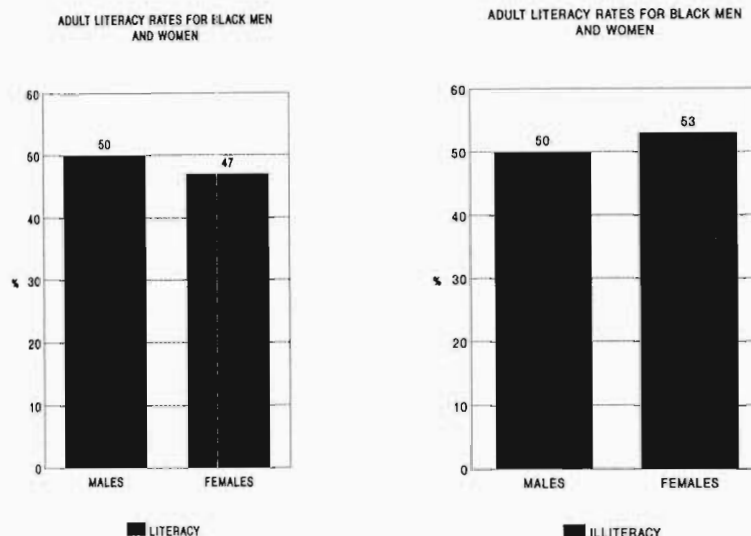
Literacy workers generally estimate that every two out of three illiterate adults are women. This trend is not reflected in South Africa. The overall levels of schooling and literacy rates for men are only a few percentage points higher than for women.

Tuchten (1995 : 237) explains this as an effect of the migrant labour system which encouraged men to leave school and look for work.

**Table 5.5.**

**Adult literacy rates for black men and women**

	Males	Females
Literacy	50 %	47 %
Illiteracy	50 %	53 %



(Tuchten, 1995 : 236).

The data presented in Table 5.5. show that there is no substantial difference of literacy levels between black men and women, as is typically the case in most developing countries. The researcher agrees with Tuchten's (1995 : 236) explanation that the migratory labour system played a major influence in attracting black males to drop-out of school in order to seek employment in the mining and other industries. Therefore, black adult males as a group do not reflect having attained a level of schooling much higher than black women.



In the light of the discussion that has been presented in Chapters Two and Three, suffice it to simply reaffirm the role that apartheid policies have played in creating widespread illiteracy among the black population. The reason being that the apartheid policies have denied many people effective schooling, they have also denied communities the security and resources to ensure school attendance, and most important is the fact that apartheid policies resulted in extensive poverty among the black population. Family and community life have been severely disrupted in South Africa, and this also has contributed to the problem of illiteracy.

Having presented a statistical profile of the extent of illiteracy and semi-literacy among the South African black population it is now appropriate to examine the next indicator of educational deficiency, namely the levels of schooling attained by the adult black population.

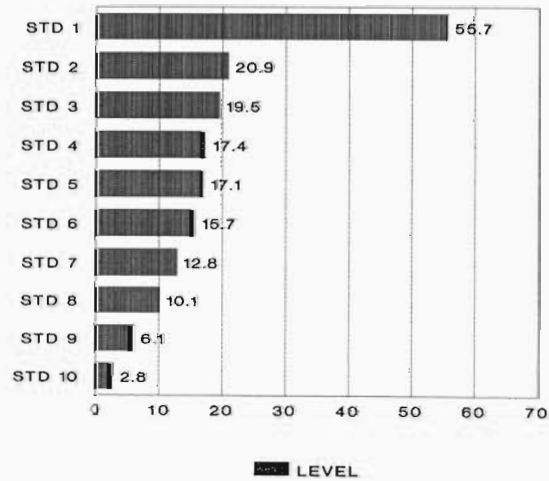
#### **5.2.2. Levels of schooling attained**

To develop a statistical overview of the extent of under-education among the adult black population it is useful to refer to the levels of schooling that have been attained by the various statistical groups. The census data are classified according to the following categories: -20 years, 20-24 years, 25-34 years, 35-54 years, 55-64 years, and 65+ years. In the discussion which follows, the researcher will examine the level of schooling that has been attained for each of these age groupings.

**Table 5.6.**  
**Level of schooling attained among the -20 year age**  
**group of the black population**

Level	Number	% of population
Grade 1 - Std. 1	1 758 422	55,7
Std. 2	661 780	20,9
Std. 3	616 807	19,5
Std. 4	549 258	17,4
Std. 5	541 248	17,1
Std. 6	497 125	15,7
Std. 7	403 469	12,8
Std. 8	317 810	10,1
Std. 9	193 115	6,1
Std 10	88 472	2,8

LEVEL OF SCHOOLING ATTAINED AMONG THE -20 YEAR AGE GROUP  
OF THE BLACK POPULATION



(Population Census, 1991).

In attempting to interpret these statistics, one needs to consider them in the light of the total size of this particular age group, which is 10 445 706 (Population Census, 1991). Of this group, 4 732 314 (45,3%) have had no formal schooling. A further 2 420 202 (23,2%) have attained less than five years of schooling and are therefore semi-literate. A total of 4 127 539 belonging to this group (39,5%) have attained a level of basic schooling (seven years). A total of 1 499 991 (14,4%) have attained a level of schooling beyond the basic seven years.

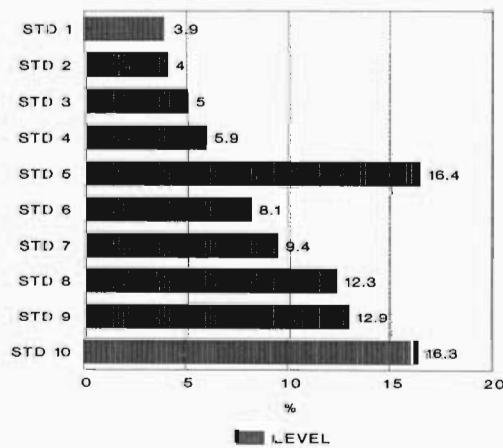
It is evident that there is a large under-educated segment within this age group. These young adults are probably the ones most in need of adult education programmes because educational disadvantage at this critical stage in their occupational careers will have a deterministic effect, invariably restricting occupational and social mobility.

**Table 5.7.**

**Level of schooling attained by the 20-24 year age group of the black population**

Level	Number	Percentage
Grade 1-Std. 1	80 436	3,9
Std. 2	83 412	4,0
Std. 3	103 998	5,0
Std. 4	121 874	5,9
Std. 5	177 715	16,4
Std. 6	168 368	8,1
Std. 7	196 758	9,4
Std. 8	256 279	12,3
Std. 9	269 637	12,9
Std. 10	339 537	16,3

LEVEL OF SCHOOLING ATTAINED BY THE 20-24 YEAR AGE GROUP OF THE BLACK POP.



(Population Census, 1991).

The size of the black population belonging to this age group is 2 082 285. Of this, 225 444 (10,8%) are illiterate, 380 507 (7,9%) are semi-literate (less than five years of

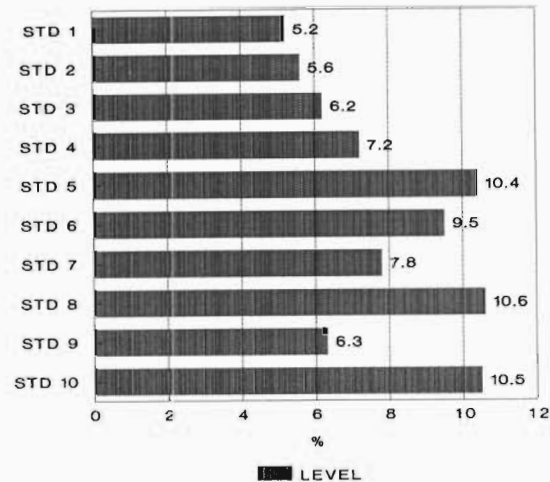
schooling), and 567 435 (27,3%) have attained a level of basic schooling (seven years of schooling). Of this group, 1 230 579 (59,1%) have attained a level of schooling beyond the basic seven years.

Once again, these statistics reflect a low level of educational attainment of black adults belonging to this age group. Compensatory education programmes are crucial if this age group of young adults are to realize their potential as parents, workers, and citizens.

**Table 5.8.**  
**Level of schooling attained by the 25-34 year age group of**  
**the black population**

<b>Level</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Grade 1- Std. 1	183 503	5,2
Std. 2	197 004	5,6
Std. 3	220 598	6,2
Std. 4	255 588	7,2
Std. 5	366 626	10,4
Std. 6	335 815	9,5
Std. 7	276 977	7,8
Std. 8	375 410	10,6
Std. 9	221 284	6,3
Std. 10	370 244	10,5

LEVEL OF SCHOOLING ATTAINED BY THE  
25-35 YEAR AGE GROUP OF THE BLACK POP.



(Population Census, 1991).

The number of blacks falling within this category is 3 534 204. Of this group, 546 124 (15,5%) have had no formal schooling, 380 507 (10,8%) have had less than five years of formal schooling and are therefore semi-literate, and a further 842 812 (23,8%) have attained between six and eight years of schooling. It appears that 1 223 319 (34,6%) adults within this group have attained between one and seven years of schooling (ie. basic schooling). It is also indicated therefore that only 1 579 730 (44,7%) of this group have attained a level of schooling beyond the basic level.

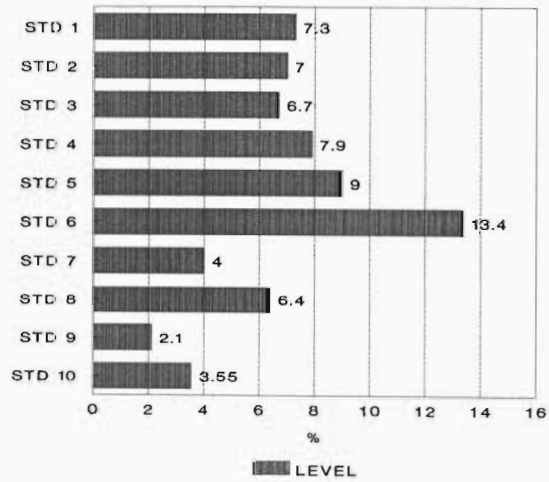
This age group constitutes the category of young adults who still have many years of potential development in all fields, namely personal, social, occupational, and academic too. Therefore, it is probable that this group together with those who are younger represent the target group that are most in need of compensatory adult education programmes, especially if social reconstruction and development is to be realized at a personal, community, and a societal level.

The researcher will now examine the schooling attainment for the next chronological age group.

**Table 5.9.**  
**Level of schooling attained by the 35-54 year age group of**  
**the black population**

Level	Number	Percentage
Grade 1 - Std. 1	286 739	7,3
Std. 2	275 432	7,0
Std. 3	262 399	6,7
Std. 4	308 032	7,9
Std. 5	351 539	9,0
Std. 6	524 452	13,4
Std. 7	157 021	4,0
Std. 8	251 692	6,4
Std. 9	81 362	2,1
Std. 10	135 610	3,5

LEVEL OF SCHOOLING ATTAINED BY THE  
35-54 YEAR AGE GROUP OF THE BLACK POP.



(Population Census, 1991).

The total composition of this age group is 3 920 540, of which 1 071 835 (27,3%) has had no formal schooling and are therefore illiterate. A further 562 171 (14,3%) have attained

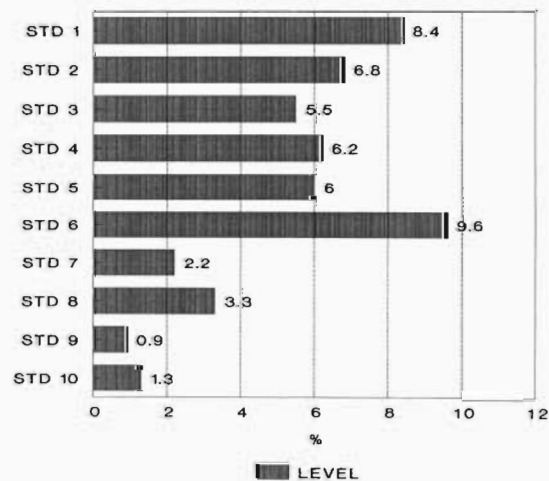
less than five years of schooling and are therefore only semi-literate. In total, only 1 484 141 (37,9%) of this group have attained a level of basic schooling and 1 150 137 (29,3%) have attained a level of schooling beyond the basic seven years. It is apparent that the level of educational attainment within this group is significantly lower than that of the younger age groups. A possible explanation is that in view of the difficult and limited schooling available to these adults during their youth, together with other factors, contributed to large drop-out rates. The researcher will now examine the educational attainment of older adults.



**Table 5.10.**  
**Level of schooling attained by the 55-64 year age group of**  
**the black population**

Level	Number	Percentage
Grade 1 - Std. 1	79 771	8,4
Std. 2	65 133	6,8
Std. 3	51 989	5,5
Std. 4	59 141	6,2
Std. 5	57 669	6,0
Std. 6	91 053	9,6
Std. 7	20 655	2,2
Std. 8	31 487	3,3
Std. 9	8 661	0,9
Std. 10	12 639	1,3

LEVEL OF SCHOOLING ATTAINED BY THE  
55-64 YEAR AGE GROUP OF THE BLACK POP.



(Population Census, 1991).

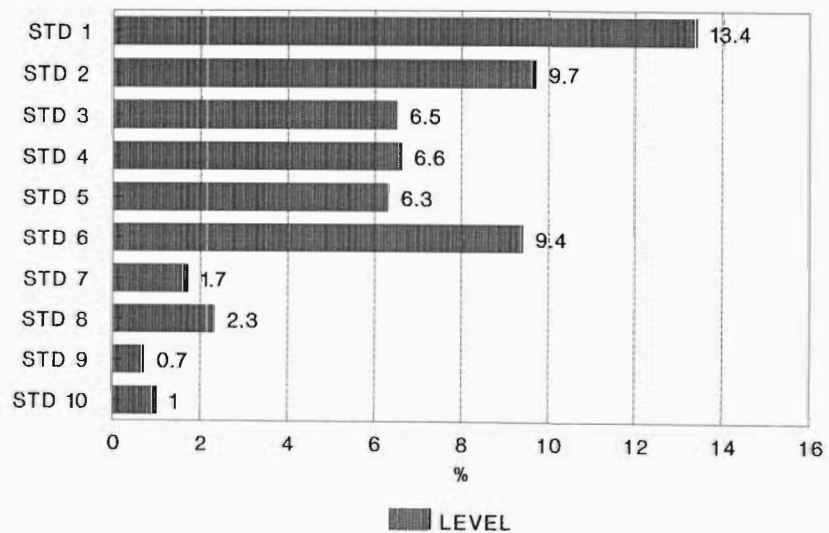
The size of this age group is 953 272 of which 420 826 (44,1%) have had no formal schooling, and are therefore assumed to be illiterate. A further 144 904 (15,2%) have attained less than five years of schooling, and therefore taken to be semi-literate. A level of basic schooling has been attained by 313 703 (32,9%) who belong to this age category. In total, 164 495 (17,3%) have attained a level of schooling beyond the basic seven years. Once again it appears that illiteracy and semi-literacy are very high among the older adults. The reasons for this relate to limited educational opportunity, restrictive socio-economic circumstances, poor educational ambition due to limited occupational opportunity, and minimal educational reform during their youth. Despite their advancing age, it is believed that this age group can still benefit from adult education programmes in several ways, least of which lies in the area of self- actualization. The researcher will now present a statistical profile of the educational attainment of the 65+ age group.

**Table 5.11.**

**Level of schooling attained by the 65+ year age group of  
the black population**

Level	Number	Percentage
Grade 1 - Std. 1	56 448	13,4
Std. 2	40 984	9,7
Std. 3	27 428	6,5
Std. 4	28 039	6,6
Std. 5	26 640	6,3
Std. 6	39 785	9,4
Std. 7	7 242	1,7
Std. 8	9 540	2,3
Std. 9	2 824	0,7
Std. 10	4 156	1,0

LEVEL OF BASIC SCHOOLING ATTAINED BY THE  
65+ YEAR AGE GROUP OF THE BLACK POP.



(Population Census, 1991).

The size of this age group is 710 463, of which 421 900 (59,4%) have had no formal schooling and are therefore illiterate. A further 97 432 (13,7%) have attained less than five years of schooling and are therefore only semi-literate. With respect to the attainment of basic schooling, it is estimated that 179 539 (25,3%) have attained seven years of basic schooling. It is therefore suggested that only 63 547 (8,9%) adults belonging to this age group have attained a level of schooling beyond seven years. The pattern of higher illiteracy and semi-literacy among older adults that was earlier identified in once again repeated for this age group. The reasons provided earlier will also apply here. Also, despite the advancing age of this group, it is believed that specifically designed adult education programmes to cater for the needs of this group could in fact improve the quality of life experienced by this group.

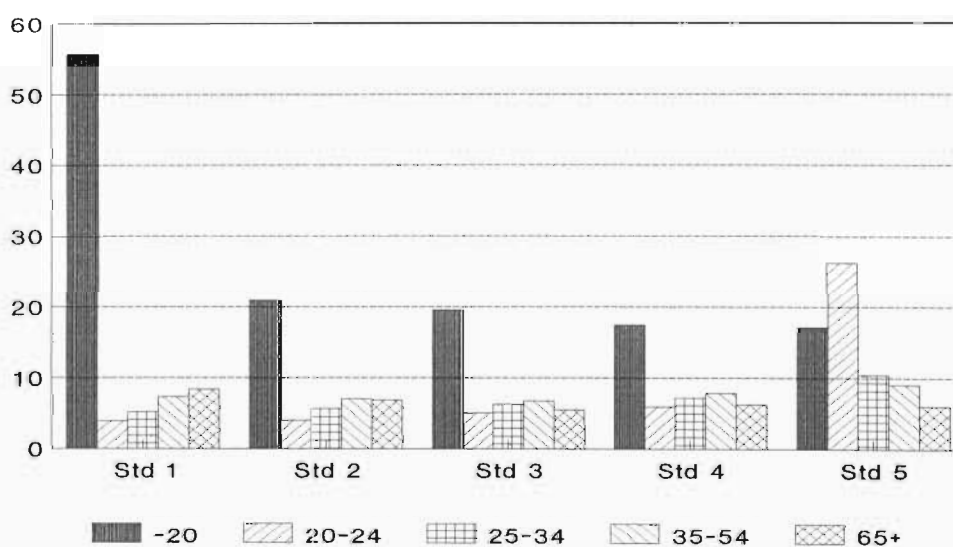
The data that was presented in this part of the discussion provides a comprehensive picture of the levels of schooling attained by the various age groups within the black adult population. This is presented graphically as follows.

**Table 5.12.**

**Levels of basic schooling attained by the adult black population**

Level	- 20	20-24	25-34	35-54	55-64	65+
<b>Gr.1-Std.1</b>	55,7 %	3,9 %	5,2 %	7,3 %	8,4 %	13,4 %
<b>Std.2</b>	20,9 %	4,0 %	5,6 %	7,0 %	6,8 %	9,7 %
<b>Std.3</b>	19,5 %	5,0 %	6,2 %	6,7 %	5,5 %	6,5 %
<b>Std.4</b>	17,4 %	5,9 %	7,2 %	7,9 %	6,2 %	6,6 %
<b>Std.5</b>	17,1 %	16,4 %	10,4 %	9,0 %	6,0 %	6,3 %

**LEVELS OF BASIC SCHOOLING ATTAINED BY THE ADULT POPULATION**



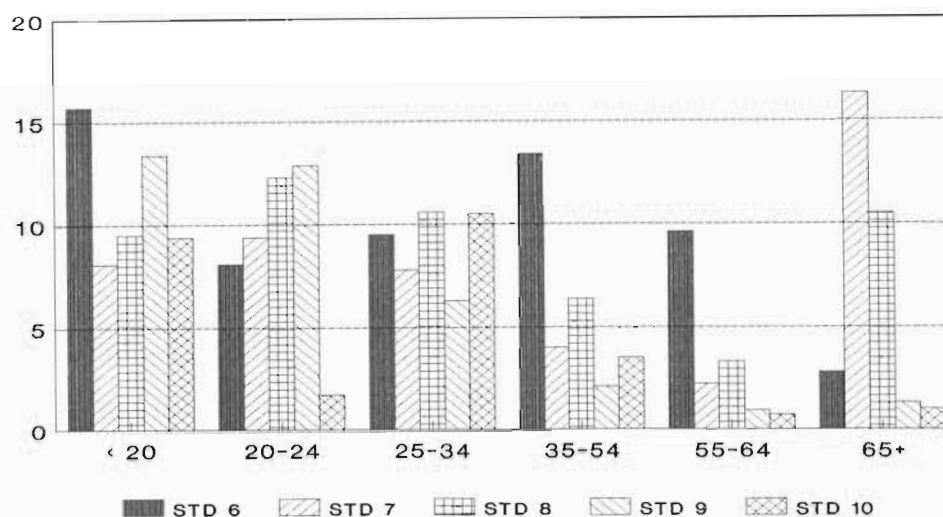
(Population Census, 1991).

This statistical profile suggests that the level of schooling attained by the black population in general has been extremely low, and invariably it can be assumed that this educational deficiency has created set-backs on both the individual level and the societal level.

**Table 5.13.**  
**Higher levels of schooling attained by the adult**  
**black population**

Level	<20	20-24	25-34	35-54	55-64	65+
Std. 6	15,7 %	8,1 %	9,5 %	13,4 %	9,6 %	9,4 %
Std. 7	12,8 %	9,4 %	7,8 %	4,0 %	2,2 %	1,7 %
Std. 8	10,1 %	12,3 %	10,6 %	6,4 %	3,3 %	2,3 %
Std. 9	6,1 %	12,9 %	6,3	2,1 %	0,9 %	0,7 %
Std. 10	2,8 %	16,3	10,5	3,5 %	1,3 %	1,0 %

HIGHER LEVELS OF SCHOOLING ATTAINED BY  
 THE ADULT BLACK POPULATION



(Population Census, 1991).

The data presented in Table 5.13. indicate that the attainment of higher levels of schooling by black adults are minimal. Once again the pattern that was observed earlier is repeated here, this means that younger adults appear to have attained higher levels of schooling than older adults. This trend can be understood in the light of the educational reform that had been implemented since the 1980s, during which time a substantial proportion of young adults would have been enrolled in the school system. Therefore,

the low educational attainment of older adults must be understood primarily in terms of limited educational opportunity that they experienced as youth, although various other factors have also influenced their present educationally deficient status (eg. the socio-political circumstances, poverty, etc.).

Having dealt with the levels of schooling attained by the black adult population, the researcher will now examine the third indicator of educational deficiency, namely the school drop-out rates.

### **5.2.3. Drop-out**

The holding power of the school, or its reciprocal connotation the drop-out rate, is determined by both external and internal factors. Among the external factors are the regulations of the education authorities, the socio-economic, political and other structural conditions. The internal factors include the educational provisions made by the school, and their suitability in meeting the needs and abilities of pupils. Clearly, the drop-out rate within the bantu education system was largely determined by the hurdles set up by the school system, by way of examinations at different stages, the inferior quality of schooling, and the inadequate provision - all of which were deliberately introduced into the black schooling system in order to fulfil the requirements of the political and economic systems.

In the discussion which follows the researcher will illustrate the nature and extent of drop-out during the period 1970-1991. The purpose of including this category in the analysis is purely to illustrate the phenomenal drop-out rates, rather than to provide a historical account on enrolment for successive cohorts during this period. The reason for having selected this time-frame is that these school drop-outs constitute the present generation of young adults whom it is assumed will benefit the most from an improved adult education system. Adult educationists cite this age group as forming the largest target group that current programmes are able to attract.

The procedure for the analysis is based on examining successive cohorts of primary and secondary enrolments for the period 1970-1991. The researcher has chosen not to analyze each successive 12-year cycle of cohorts, since the intention of this analysis is to illustrate the pattern of high drop-out within the black education system, and not to provide a detailed statistical account of enrolment and drop-out. Even if this was the intention it is believed that it would be extremely difficult to collate a data base since most of the statistics on enrolment in the various black education departments are not readily available. Thus it is emphasized that in the present study the reference to the drop-out rate is only intended to illustrate the high incidence of educational wastage that has characterized black schooling, and consequently resulted in widespread adult educational deficiency among the present adult population.

The researcher is mindful of the fact that this method of cohort analysis has distinct weaknesses, such as the fact that it ignores the number of pupils that are repeating a particular standard at any one time, the number of pupils who will possibly return to continue their schooling after an absence of a few years, and off-course it also does not take into account the small number of pupils who have left the schooling system as a result of death. Despite this limitation the researcher believes that this method has the benefit of being cost-effective, and yields data that is easily accessible. Given these limitations the researcher once again emphasizes that it is used in the present study in an illustrative and supportive role.

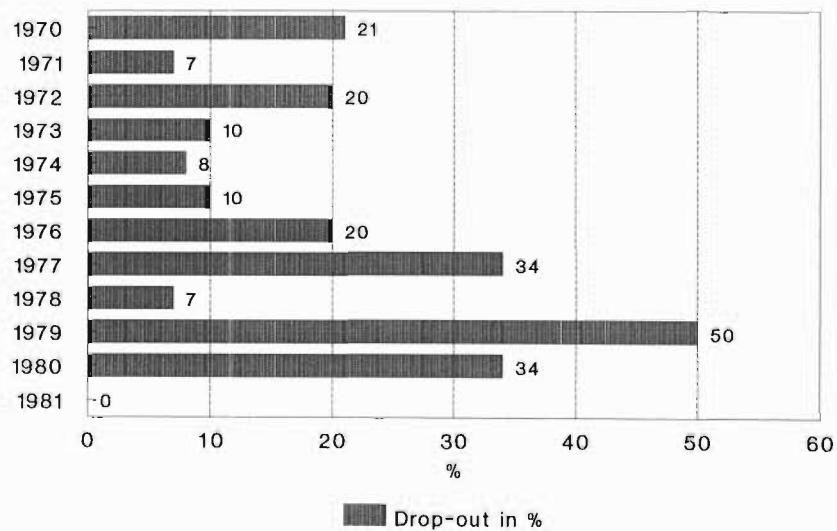


**Table 5.14.**

**School drop-out for a selected cohort of black pupils:  
1970-1981**

Year	Level	Number	Drop-out in %
1970	SUB A	645 285	21
1971	SUB B	511 224	7
1972	Std. 1	475 848	20
1973	Std. 2	383 026	10
1974	Std. 3	343 301	8
1975	Std.4	280 434	10
1976	Std.5	253 331	20
1977	Std. 6	203 613	34
1978	Std. 7	134 303	7
1979	Std. 8	124 678	50
1980	Std. 9	62 125	34
1981	Std. 10	40 800	-

SCHOOL DROP-OUT FOR A SELECTED COHORT OF  
BLACK PUPILS : 1970-1981



(SA Labour Statistics, 1994).

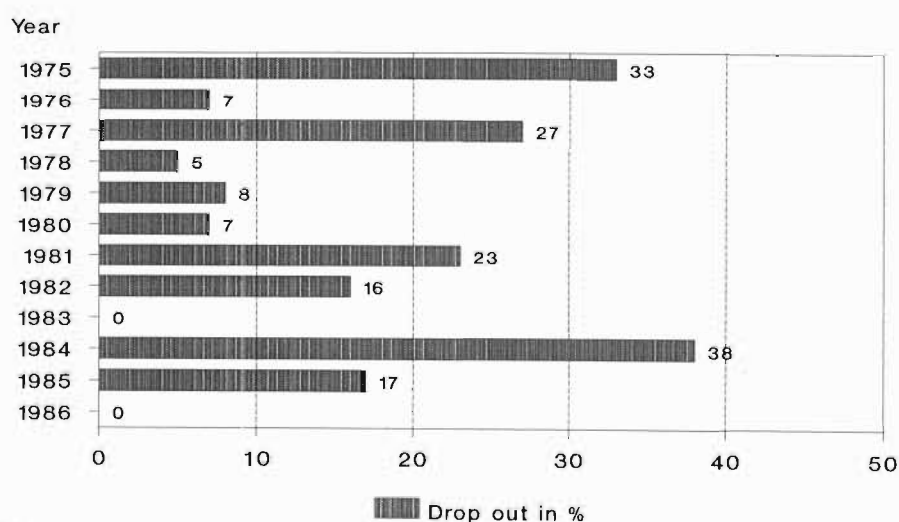
The drop-out rate for this educational cycle is almost 94 per cent. The highest drop-out during the primary phase appears to be at the end of the first year of schooling, and later at the end of the third year of the schooling cycle, as well as the final year of the primary school phase. During the secondary school phase, drop-out appears to be most dramatic at the end of Standard Six, and Standard Eight and Standard Nine. A startling estimate of 58 per cent of this cohort appears to have attained less than five years of schooling. Given the poor quality of educational provision and mother-tongue instruction during the primary school phase, it would not be surprising if the majority of this cohort do not have a functional level of literacy in either of the dominant languages. As a point of illustration of the high incidence of drop-out the researcher will refer to two additional cohorts, covering the period 1975-1988 and 1980-1992.

**Table 5.15.**

**School drop-out for a selected cohort of black pupils :  
1975-1986**

Year	Level	Number	Drop-out in %
1975	SUB A	808 251	33
1976	SUB B	542 898	7
1977	Std. 1	506 635	27
1978	Std. 2	368 841	5
1979	Std. 3	349 345	8
1980	Std. 4	287 441	7
1981	Std. 5	268 498	23
1982	Std. 6	205 747	16
1983	Std. 7	173 341	-
1984	Std. 8	174 341	38
1985	Std. 9	108 228	17
1986	Std. 10	89 591	-

**SCHOOL DROP OUT FOR A SELECTED COHORT  
OF BLACK STUDENTS : 1975 - 1986**



(SA Labour Statistics, 1994).

The drop-out rate for this educational cycle is almost 89 per cent. Again the highest drop-out during the primary phase appears to be at the end of the first year, the third year, and the final year of the primary phase. The drop-out levels for this cohort, are as high as 43 per cent in the first five years of schooling. During the secondary phase, drop-out appears to be most significant at the end of Standard Six, Standard Eight, and Standard Nine. Although the overall drop-out rate for this cohort shows a slight improvement from the previous one (ie. from 94 per cent to 89 per cent), it is observed that enrolment had increased considerably (ie. 20 per cent). Thus, although the drop-out rate had improved only slightly, there were significantly more pupils passing through the school system.

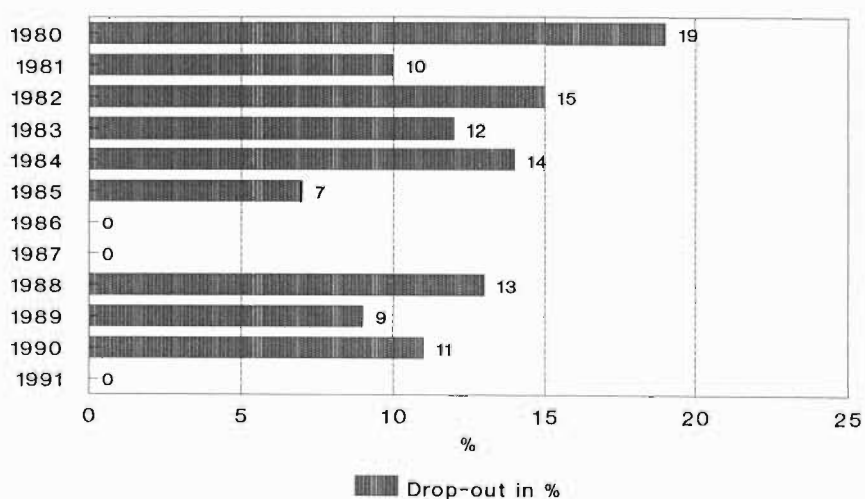
It is also important to indicate that rather than observing a drop-out of pupils between Std. Seven and Std. Eight (1983-1984) this cohort reflects a growth in enrolment. Although this is not a general pattern, it has not been unusual within the black schooling system, since pupils who have dropped out in earlier levels sometimes do return to continue their schooling. Another possible explanation is that the black schooling system is plagued by high failure rates and as indicated earlier, the pupils in a given standard at any one time represent all those who have just entered that level as well as those who are repeating the level. A third explanation for this growth in enrolment is that many pupils did in fact return to complete their schooling as a result of the educational reform that was implemented during this period. The researcher will now examine drop-out levels for the next cohort.

**Table 5.16.**

**School drop-out for a selected cohort of black pupils :**  
**1980-1991**

Year	Level	Number	Drop-out in %
1980	SUB A	663 191	19
1981	SUB B	539 526	10
1982	Std. 1	484 209	15
1983	Std. 2	413 743	12
1984	Std. 3	405 151	14
1985	Std. 4	348 840	7
1986	Std. 5	323 461	-
1987	Std. 6	339 175	-
1988	Std. 7	293 951	13
1989	Std. 8	268 144	9
1990	Std. 9	238 400	11
1991	Std. 10	244 616	-

SCHOOL DROP-OUT FOR A SELECTED COHORT  
OF BLACK PUPILS : 1980-1991



(SA Labour Statistics, 1994).

Although the pattern of attrition in this cycle is not as distinct as the earlier analysis because of the increase in enrolments during 1987. Nevertheless, it is evident that the drop-out at the end of the first, third and fifth years appear to be most significant. What is further disconcerting for this educational cycle is that there was a minimum of 10 per cent drop-out at the end of each year which is significantly higher than that of the previous cohort. The drop-out rate during the first five years was as high as 38 per cent. Similarly, the drop-out after seven years of schooling was as high as 52 per cent.

The researcher will now refer to the secondary level of this educational cycle. The pattern of the drop-out observed in the previous education cycles are not reflected in this cycle. It is clear that pupils who had for some reason dropped out of the school system earlier, had returned to complete their schooling. On the other hand, the increase in the enrolment at the beginning of this cycle of secondary school enrolments could be the result of the high failure rates at the end of the primary phase, experienced during the preceding years. It must also be borne in mind that around this period, the black youth had been urged to comply with the 'back to school' campaign that had been launched by the ANC. Thus, although contestation and resistance in the educational sector continued, it had become transformed. The reformist strategies during this period facilitated educational expansion through improved funding. At its broadest level, the reform efforts of the government, were aimed at ensuring political stability. A total of 37 per cent of this cohort remained within the school system during this 12 year cycle, and 63 per cent had dropped-out at some stage.

In referring to the drop-out rate during the past two decades, the researcher has attempted to highlight the trend of very high attrition that characterised black schooling. The discussion has not only served to identify a trend in drop-out patterns, but it has been most insightful in suggesting that a very high proportion of the black population emerged from the schooling system with only a basic education. The serious implications of this becomes clearer when one realises that much of this education was given in a medium of instruction that was other than the dominant language forms. In effect therefore, many of these school drop-outs would in fact be only semi-literate even after having completed the primary school phase.

Having dealt with the three indicators of the extent of under-education among black adults, the researcher will now provide an analysis of this statistical overview.

### 5.3. **Sociological implications of educational deficiency**

This part of the discussion will examine the educational terrain that the black adults experienced in their youth. It has been argued earlier (Chapter Three) that this educational terrain whilst being largely deterministic in nature, did undergo some degree of change as a result of reformist strategies that were implemented at different points. The sociological implications of educational deficiency are interpreted according to the broad marxist theoretical notions of reproduction, resistance and transformation.

#### 5.3.1. **Reproduction**

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 was introduced primarily as a mechanism to protect white workers from the threat of competition from blacks, for skilled jobs and also to meet the demands of white farmers for unskilled black labour. Thus, the state's education policy targeted both reproduction of the economic and political structures. While the Bantu education system aimed to equip blacks with limited skills so as to gear them for a future of unskilled labour, it also served to maintain white privilege and dominance.

Due to a very limited scale of organization within the school system, the opposition from the black community lapsed and the state imposed its rigid control over all aspects of black schooling. The introduction of proscriptive legislation, the enlargement of bureaucratic apparatuses involved in controlling the political sphere, and the expansion of the powers of the state's coercive apparatuses, resulted in virtual abolition of all opposition from the black community. Thus Wolpe (1995 : 4) explains that a structural closure was effected and this severely limited any opposition to Bantu education from the community.

However, the political and economic demands during this period, largely determined the nature and character of expansion in black education. The period of political 'stability' had blunted opposition within the black community, and the economic boom of the 1960s gave rise to a demand for semi-skilled labour and there was a corresponding decrease in the demand for unskilled low-wage labour. This also gave rise to a demand for more skilled, manual, technical, administrative and clerical black workers in the manufacturing industry, as well as in the state bureaucracies (mainly in the Bantustans). These demands of the economic system gave rise to significant reform in the educational sector, which was realized in terms of a vast growth in enrolments. The statistical data has illustrated this numerical growth, although the majority of enrolments were concentrated in the primary levels.

As suggested in Chapter Three the central objective of Bantu education was to produce a black population who were educated not only to a level that was considered adequate for unskilled work, but to produce a people that would accept this subordination and inferior education as natural. Given the poor quality of educational provision for blacks (ie. low and unqualified teachers, overcrowded classes, inadequate funding, and inadequate facilities), it is not surprising that Bantu education generally succeeded in limiting the educational advancement within the black population. This also had the effect of blocking the acquisition of basic skills (ie. numeracy, literacy, life-skills) for large segments of the population. However, this 'success' seems to have boomeranged in the current economic and political climate, for it has been among the root causes of current shortages of skilled labour, and under-education among black adults.

However the Bantu education system failed to entrench a servile population, despite the ideological control of the state. During the mid-1970s schools and universities became transformed into sites for struggle, thus reflecting the development and expression of an oppositional ideology. During this decade the educational system was transformed into a site for struggle and resistance.



### 5.3.2. Resistance

The development and expression of an oppositional ideology was translated into organized political action which was situated in schools and universities during the period 1976-1990. This opposition was directed against bantu education as an instrument of white domination. This opposition was due to the rising unemployment, falling living standards brought on by economic recession, and deteriorating conditions within black education. During this period protest activity in schools included strikes, sit-ins, demonstrations, and boycott of classes. These oppositional struggles erupted with the Soweto student uprisings of 1976, which was followed by a period of extreme state violence.

Resistance theory has offered an interpretation of political and education struggles which were initiated inside schools, by pupils and their organizations. This period of resistance initially focussed on boycotting schools, but it was also part of the political mobilization of pupils with the aim of abolishing the Bantu education system. A most significant part of these struggles is that the black community was drawn into it. This broadening of the educational struggle advanced the realization that Bantu education could not be abolished unless apartheid itself was dismantled. Thus educational struggles became part of the broader political struggle for democracy. In large part this resistance movement was in fact student-led. This involved 'stay-at-homes', demonstrations, and other oppositional action. The action of pupils provided a stimulus which accelerated the action by political organizations, and eventually the intervention of the masses as a political force. This leadership role of pupils was not maintained for long because of the centralization and militarization of state power, and also the emerging role of civil society in developing an organized structure of opposition.

Throughout this period of resistance, the boycott strategy gained widespread support. Wolpe (1995 : 18) states that at one point 650 000 pupils and hundreds of schools were involved. The DET had responded by closing many schools, student activists were harassed, arrested and detained by the police, many pupils were also killed during the protest activity (Wolpe, 1995 : 18). At the height of this era of protest and resistance, the South African Defence Force occupied several black townships and school grounds.

Throughout this period (1970-1990) but particularly during 1976, 1980 and 1985, black schooling had become comprehensively disrupted. The oppositional strategies during this era was student action which involved attempts to re-open schools that had been closed by the DET, oppositional strategies in relation to the writing of examinations, etc. By 1985 the boycott strategy had clearly succeeded in rendering schools unworkable and ungovernable. The slogan around which this oppositional culture was formulated was, 'liberation first, education later' (Wolpe, 1995 : 19). By 1985, the educational struggle had reached a crisis point. Out of the concern of the community about the effects of the boycott strategy, was borne two community conferences to address the education crises. It is in this context that the Soweto Parents' Crises Committee was formed in 1986. Two conferences were held in December 1985 and March 1986. It is important to examine the conditions that provoked these initiatives.

The central issue of concern was the failure of student organizations to exploit these conditions of resistance to win their educational demands. This was because of the continual adherence to the boycott strategy which had effectively resulted in the breakdown of the schooling system. This meant that large numbers of pupils, particularly secondary school pupils were being deprived of continuing their schooling uninterrupted. This meant that they were being deprived of even the limited 'skilling' that was offered by the black education system. For many parents this concern overshadowed any political gains of the boycott action.

Moreover, the continuing boycott had deprived pupils of a meeting place in which they could engage in discussion and organization of their oppositional actions. Thus, the capacity to organize pupils was reduced and their organizations began to lose coherence and tended to disintegrate. This subsequently tended to isolate the student movement from the community.

During the cycle of resistance the student movement had come to regard the boycott strategy as an end in itself. This obscured its limitations under changed conditions. Despite the success of this tactic in mobilizing support, it could not be sustained indefinitely. the success of the boycott strategy in rendering schools in-operative, marked

the beginning of an era of negotiation and transformation which incorporated the community into the educational struggle and the broader political struggle.

The statistical data have indicated the high incidence of drop-out at both the primary and secondary levels during the period 1970-1990. However, the periodic reform strategies had the effect of stimulating numerical growth in enrolment, which continued to be coupled with high failure rates and drop-out.

It is now appropriate to analyze the next era which began in 1990. This period was characterized by the spirit of negotiation and transformation.

### 5.3.3. **Transformation**

Although the state had begun to reform black education during the cycle of resistance, serious efforts to transform the system had begun around 1990. While these were partly a response to the demands set forth by the student movement, they were more aligned to the broader political demands. In 1991 the Committee of Heads of Education Departments submitted a report (Education Renewal Strategy Discussion Document) that had been commissioned by the government to investigate the major problem areas in education and to develop an educational renewal strategy. This investigation was guided by the following principles to reconstruct and transform the education system: equal opportunities, a balance between commonality and difference, freedom of choice, relevance, linkage, state and parental responsibilities for formal education provision, a balance between administrative centralization and decentralization, the professional status of educators, and continuing research (ERS, 1991 : 20-21). Among the recommendations that were made by this committee were the following: education should not be structured along racial lines, education should promote national unity, and centralization of the education authority with regionally based departments (ERS, 1991 : 21-26). Importantly the findings of this investigation stressed that mere organizational changes, or simply increasing funding will not in itself solve the problems that had plagued black education. The transformation ethos was marked by the committees recognition that tangible meaning had to be given to equal educational opportunities.

In 1991, the ANC discussions around education policy made a significant contribution to the transformation debate. This document spells out the symptoms and effects of the educational crises, which include the following: shortages of facilities and resources, high drop-out and failure rates, low levels of literacy and numeracy among blacks, the absence of adult education facilities, and the narrow base of training that workers receive (ANC, 1991 : 11-17). The consequences of these crises are reflected in the destruction of human potential, the destruction of the learning environment, and the imbalance between academic and technical education (ANC, 1991 : 11-17).

In this cycle of transformation, the ANC had defined the following educational aims : democratization, developing human potential, developing an integrated education system, recognizing the role of the state in educational provision, and responsibility to the Southern African region (ANC, 1991 : 11-17).

The policy issues that the ANC identifies for the transformation agenda include democratic access to education, the institutions of decision-making, and education and wealth creation. In democratizing access to education the ANC identifies three specific target populations: those who have had no schooling, those who have had very limited schooling and are unemployed, and those who have had very limited schooling but who will not have another chance to be involved in education, except for what their employers might provide.

The researcher stresses the recognition given to the under-educated adult population in the education transformation debate. This is an important milestone for educational development, since 24 per cent of black adults have never attended school, and 32 per cent did not complete primary school (Tuchten, 1995 : 232). This suggests that at least 56 per cent of the black adult population have not attained a level of basic education to equip them with the skills that are demanded by a modern economy.

The need to transform adult educational deficiency was further stressed in the National Education Policy Investigation Report which was published in 1993. Extensive debate involving the key role-players in the provision of adult education resulted in consensus

that this sector is in need of total transformation, which will render it more accessible to the under-educated masses. More recently, this ethos of educational transformation has become a reality with the passing of legislation to put into place a National Qualification Framework. Therefore in transforming the adult education sector in South Africa, the researcher has stressed the compensatory or 'second-chance' approach. This can be achieved by adopting a philosophy of critical literacy and cultural power, as these incorporate the principles that have guided the transformation debate. In this way individuals and entire communities will be empowered to drive the development process at the local level.

#### 5.4. **Summary**

In this chapter the researcher has presented the statistical data relating to educational deficiency among the black adult population, and has also analyzed the changing role that the black education system has played.

To illustrate the extent of under-education the researcher has referred to three indicators, namely illiteracy and semi-literacy, the levels of educational attainment, and the drop-out rates. Data on all three indicators have served to illustrate the extent of educational deficiency among the black adult population.

In providing an analysis of educational deficiency, the researcher has utilized the theoretical framework that was developed in Chapter Three as a conceptual base. Thus three key dimensions were identified, namely the processes of reproduction, resistance, and transformation of the educational system. This has served to conceptualize the reasons that underlie educational deficiency among the black adult population, and to justify the need to transform adult educational provision.

## CHAPTER SIX

### ADULT EDUCATION AS A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF ADULT EDUCATIONAL DEFICIENCY

#### 6.1. Introduction

In addressing the problem of under-education among the black adult population the researcher proposes that adult education provides a possible solution to the problem. Since the discussion in Chapter Six is so extensive the researcher will present an overview of the field of study. Thereafter, an attempt is made to ground the philosophy of adult education within the broader principles of lifelong education. This helps to advance the view that education is a process that continues throughout the lifespan and should therefore be reflective of the changing needs and circumstances of its participants.

In emphasizing the sociological approach to adult education, the researcher finds it necessary to highlight the link between the content, the purpose, and the practice of adult education. This view allows one to conceptualize adult education holistically. In other words, instead of presenting a technicist, pedagogic view of adult education, it allows one to see it as an educational activity that is aimed at self-actualization in the context of the social world in which one is situated. Following from this notion, the researcher will examine the range of ideologies that guide adult education provision. These respective ideologies inform the different strategies upon which adult education provision is based. Invariably the strategy that one selects is dependent on the purposes that it is directed toward, and also the characteristics of the target population that it is meant to address. Strategies, purposes, and the nature of the target groups largely determine patterns of participation and recruitment.

These introductory comments provide a framework for the present chapter. Before embarking on this lengthy discussion it is appropriate to present a brief profile of the historical development of adult education across the globe.

Measures of organized instruction for adults dates as far back as 1816, to the work of Dr Thomas Pole (1816) and later that of JH Hudson (1851). Since these early beginnings adult education has advanced considerably as a field of study. During these early beginnings of the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in Europe and North America, educational programmes for adults increased in number, penetration and scope, but it was not considered to belong to a coherent field of education.

Between the two World Wars, those who were involved in the provision of education for adults, felt a sense of movement, and thus launched adult education as constituting a substantive field of education. By 1945, the world map of adult education included several countries in Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand, and some of the territories colonized by England and France. Subsequently, the four world 43-153 conferences, organized by UNESCO in 1949, 1960, 1972 and 1985, did much to establish adult education as a specialized field within education.

## 6.2. **The scope of adult education**

In the discussion which follows the researcher will focus on developing an understanding of the concept adult education by referring to various definitions. Furthermore, the discussion will also focus on the field of study and highlight certain important dimensions of adult education as a specialized field of study.

### 6.2.1. **Definition**

The difficulty in defining adult education is increased by the profusion of terms used to describe the totality of facilities and activities that exist to meet the needs of adult learners. This includes virtually everything that is not clearly and narrowly definable as time-limited, formal initial schooling and tertiary or post-secondary education.

The importance of achieving conceptual clarity is enhanced by the fact that adult education policy decisions need to be built on a foundation of conceptual clarity. The NEPI Report (1993:3), suggests that adult education should be recognized as encompassing the whole field of education provision outside the conventional formal

system of initial education, including the vocational education and training, human resources development, and adult literacy and basic education.

In 1976, at a General Conference of UNESCO (UNESCO, 1979:15) , a widely accepted definition of adult education was launched. This definition is as follows:

" The entire body of organized education processes, whatever the content, level, and method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools , colleges, and universities as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons regarded as adult by the society to which they belong develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications, or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behaviour in the twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic, and cultural development."

Another definition that had emerged, from the Exeter conference is as follows:

" Adult education is a process whereby persons who no longer attend school on a regular full-time basis... undertake sequential and organized activities with the conscious intention of bringing about changes in information, knowledge, understanding, of skill, appreciation, and attitudes; or for the purpose of identifying or solving personal or community problems."

(Liveright and Haygood, 1968 : 16).

The researcher believes that these comprehensive definitions should be taken as guidelines because they conceptualize the adult education process in the context of education and development processes, and include both formal and nonformal education.

The former definition has become widely accepted, but like most definitions it must be borne in mind that there is usually a vast difference between a definition which describes an ideal type, rather than what is true in reality. To clarify this distinction it is necessary to refer to the field of study.



### 6.2.2. The field of study

The field of study refers to the informing principles and processes called adult education . It is important to examine the growth of the professional language of adult education. The concept of adult education as a discreet sector of education has only recently been recognized in many countries. The concepts and terminology of adult education reflects its multi-disciplinary nature. Adult education has this multi-disciplinary context because practitioners gained entrance into the profession through their practice rather than through a background in educational theory. These practitioners brought to their practice the concept and terminology of their specific academic backgrounds and work experience.

Adult educators have for long, debated the meaning and use of the concept adult education. While some have defined 'adults' (in the context of adult education) in terms of age, maturity or persons who have terminated their initial schooling, others have described adult education from perspectives of class, vocational education, trade union education, social education and citizenship education. From the perspective of initial education, adult education has been defined as further education, continuing education and formation education. What is apparent from these different perspectives and definitions, is that adult education is usually described in terms of its function.

A contentious point within the broad field of study, is the use of age as a determining factor of what constitutes adulthood. When, adulthood is reached, is dependent on one's culture, social or economic responsibilities, and the legal system in place. Educators however, are concerned with assisting individuals to be self-directing and autonomous persons. Indeed, such a process has little to do with chronological age. In this respect Livewright and Haygood (1968 : 8) have defined adult education as a process unrelated to age, whereby persons who have terminated their initial cycle of continuous education, may undertake any sequential and organized activities with the conscious intention of bringing about changes in information, knowledge, understanding, skills, appreciation and attitudes.

Titmus (1979 : 135) suggests that the term adult education is a collective term covering the institutions and procedures by which adults are enabled and encouraged to experience the process. For further clarification of the field of study one may also refer to the UNESCO (1976) definition which was presented earlier.

In the present study, the researcher uses the term adult education as a collective one, referring to the institutions and procedures involving the process of adult learning. The concept 'adult' within this broad definition is unrelated to chronological age, rather it refers to individuals who have terminated their initial cycle of schooling and are engaging in sequential organized learning activities to facilitate self-development and self-actualization (incorporating skills and knowledge development - ie. capacity building). This conceptualization of who is an adult, is also linked to cultural, social and economic responsibilities that confront the individual.

There is also a lack of consistency in the use of certain concepts within this broad field of study. This includes the concepts: 'non formal education', 'informal education', 'formal education', 'life long learning', 'lifelong education', 'recurrent education' and 'andragogy'. For clarification regarding their use in the present study, the reader is referred to Chapter One, where these concepts are defined. It is hoped that these definitions help to further clarify the field of study of adult education.

The researcher will now refer to the important dimensions of adult education which distinguish the variance between theoretical formulations of adult education and practice.

### 6.2.3. **Varying dimensions of adult education**

These dimensions that are dealt with here distinguish the gap that exists between theoretical notions of adult education and the practice of adult education. They include issues relating to participation, curricula, processes of learning, the nature of provision, financial resources, networking and research.

The question of participation alludes to this gap between theory and practice. While adult education might in principle be aimed at every adult, in practice it is far removed from this. There prevails a sense that it has continued to be seen and to operate as a remedial activity, offering to adults what they had not received in childhood. It is essentially this compensatory perspective that we need to plug into, in South Africa. In terms of the nature of provision, it is often stated that educators tend to provide what they perceive ought to be provided. This being the case, there is much risk of the educationally disadvantaged missing out from such provision. Therefore, it is of utmost importance that both content and method must appeal to the target group. In addition, to attract the under-educated adult population to attend, incentives need to be provided to demonstrate both public and private concern for this group. Further, with regard to participation, there is a notion that often non-participants are restricted from participating, by factors that adult education alone is unable to change. These would amount to wider socio-political and economic conditions that confront the individual. An element of these conditions is that often people are influenced by their school experience to believe that they are incapable of further learning and also that they would not enjoy it, or that it has nothing of value to offer them. Another factor inhibiting participation is that often the negative attitude of family, neighbours, friends or work mates which prevent participation. Further, usually there are competing claims on the time that the individual has. The growing acceptance of adult education may remove some of these disincentives.

It is probable that conditions can be created to attract most adults to study during some time of their adulthood. In this regard, the purposes or motives of providers could be crucial to attracting and encouraging participation. Courses need to be tailored to cater for the specific needs of disadvantaged groups, and provision should be aimed at development.

The diverse purposes of adult education have bred varied curricula and lively debate about adult education. Thus it has been presented in various forms (ie. education versus training; education for living, education as an end in itself versus education as a means to other ends). Generally, it appears that adult education is viewed as an

opportunity to master a body of knowledge and to acquire competence which may subsequently be used outside the study environment. It may be used in widely different situations, namely in the home, leisure and recreational activities, social and community roles, and in job related contexts. The content of adult education programmes is equally diverse, since it is widely agreed that the adult should be allowed the opportunity to study whatever he/she wishes to. However, there are boundaries restricting human and financial resources, thereby creating practical boundaries to purpose and curriculum.

Within the broad scope of adult education, attention has been given to the process of adult learning, the methods of teaching and the modes of instruction. Adult education has the task of presenting knowledge in a manner that facilitates learning. In this respect it is an accepted notion that adults are different from children - physically, psychologically and socially, and hence they require distinctive approaches to instruction. Thus the term 'andragogy' differentiates the science of teaching adults, from 'pedagogy', or the science of teaching children. This difference between adults and children, has had an effect on the methods and techniques that are utilized. Distance education (correspondence teaching), self-directed learning, computerized learning, small group work, case study, and role play are some of the methods and techniques that are used in teaching adults.

In order to make opportunities known to prospective participants, the nature of adult education provision has to be well structured and organized. This system of organisation varies from country to country. Some countries (including South Africa) lack any coherent form of national organization. Several factors have prevented this; namely there are several non-governmental sponsoring agencies (who usually compete with each other); a comparatively simple structure such as that of the school system is inappropriate to the context of adult voluntary participation; and the need for participatory involvement in organizational issues and decision-making has often forced the organization of adult education provision to remain at a local/district level.

The provision of financial resources to adult education is far more complex than schooling. Funding for programmes range from being self-financed by the individual participant, employer-financed, support by private associations, to being partially/totally state financed. Increasingly, financing is becoming dependent on regional or local government subsidy. Historically, those engaged in the administration of adult education and teaching, have either been unpaid volunteers, or have not been dependent on the meagre income derived from this form of 'employment'. Worldwide trends suggest that part-time, ad hoc staff are inadequate to serve the needs of adult education. There is a sense that the skill that is needed in running large-scale operations and the importance of adult education to development necessitates not only full-time paid staff, but also people who have been professionally trained in the field. Consequently, training programmes and institutions have been established to facilitate advancement in this area.

Adult education as a specialized area of study has responded to and encouraged international contacts, meetings, programmes, and publications, perhaps more than certain fields of education. Such international networking and collaboration has facilitated consensus about the social and economic goals, the range of methods and procedures, the setting of standards and making available practitioners and financial assistance to developing countries. Some industrialized countries have emphasized their support of adult education as a form of development assistance (eg. Sweden's support to Tanzania, and support given by Germany, Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia in the form of aid and vocational training; the USA, UK, Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Australia and Canada have also provided support to adult education in various developing countries). In addition to international, associations like UNESCO and the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) there are numerous regional organizations which often operate through international ones; these include inter-governmental associations such as the Council of Europe, and the Organization of American States.

Advances in adult education have taken place as pragmatic responses by practitioners to perceived needs. They have not been derived from a body of theory built on or

confirmed by research. What research has been undertaken, has been closely linked to the needs of practice.

This part of the discussion has indicated that the scope of adult education is indeed diverse, and is clearly an area where it is difficult to point with confidence, to specific worldwide trends. There is general agreement however, that primary efforts should be directed to what is termed the 'under-educated' - the poor, the illiterate, the handicapped and specific target groups such as rural people, women, the elderly, the unemployed, and ethnic minorities. Government interest in adult education appears to be directed to its use as an instrument of economic and social policy.

In advanced countries, the prospect of greatly increased leisure time for adults, as a result of early retirement, technological advances, and high unemployment rates, seems to open up a new area of opportunity and responsibility for adult education. On the other hand, in many developing countries, the principal function of adult education for some time to come will certainly be to offer opportunities for basic education to the millions who have had none or very little during childhood. One other trend that is apparent throughout the world is that despite the changing form and emphasises that adult education assumes, the education for adults will continue to grow and to occupy an increasingly important place in the process of lifelong education.

With these introductory comments the researcher has attempted to highlight the themes that will be covered within this chapter (viz. the field of study, theory and principles of adult education, content, purpose and practice of adult education, ideologies in adult education, thematic variations, participation, providers and target groups.) This introduction has also referred to the emerging international trends in most of the categories listed above. The researcher will now provide an in-depth analysis into each of these aspects of adult education.

### 6.3. Linking the theory and principles of lifelong education to adult education

It has been stated above, that as a field of study adult education emerged as a response to perceived practical needs, rather than as a body of ideas looking for application. Adult educators have largely derived their ideas about what education is, from the formal system of schooling and higher education. In short, they had no other theoretical model to work from. Adult education was viewed as a marginal activity, and its function was seen to be compensating for and supplementing initial education. Even though the constant need for adult education has long been established, the practice continues to be influenced by theories and practices of schools and universities (ie. by following them, or reacting against them). Clearly, it is not possible to ignore this influence, as adult education practitioners often have to deal with the consequence of initial education or the lack of it. This study has acknowledged the influence of the schooling system, and argues that it continues to influence adult education provision in South Africa in very specific ways.

The social conditions that adults are embedded in, demand that it is impossible to impose a uniform pattern which characterizes initial education, onto adult education provision. Attempts to develop a coherent foundation of theory in which to ground practice have been pursued since the 1940s. There now exists a diverse and rich body of ideas which is continually changing with the realities of practice. The researcher will briefly refer to those aspects of theory and practice that appear to have the widest application.

Theoretically, adult education is firmly located within the broader scope of lifelong education. Lifelong education has come to be considered as a guiding principle of universal education. The researcher proposes that in this context, adult education provision in South Africa must be couched within the principle of universal education. In this regard, Lengrand (1970 : 122) states that lifelong education can be considered an alternative to the shortcomings and insufficiencies of traditional education.

The existence of a broad and vigorous system of adult education impacts on all educational thinking and practice; firstly at the university level, then the secondary and

primary school level, and beyond that in the family and community in which it is applied (Lengrand, 1970 : 130). The principle of lifelong education suggests that each period of a person's life represents a preparation for future stages. Further, since all aspects of education are interwoven into an organic whole, this view suggests that it would be illogical to introduce vital reforms in the first phase, unless there was an active and well organized system of adult education. This notion has particular relevance to the educational transformation occurring in South Africa.

Another important theoretical position of lifelong education focuses on the process of learning as meeting the needs of successive phases of life (Lengrand, 1970 : 134). This raises two important ideas. Firstly, that there can be no question of an age limit for education (ie. education becomes a way of life). Secondly, the notions of failure and success lose their significance. Individuals will continually be learning something new, thus in this context a failure in school will be only a relative one, and will therefore not have a deterministic effect on one's future prospects.

Similarly, a success in school will also be relative to what one pursues later in life. Thus, the broad aim of such educational provision, is that, it increases each individual's chance of expressing himself/herself in various life situations. In the broader picture, this approach will encourage society to move away from being divided into two groups: the academic and the non-academic. This has important implications for the labour market, and hence for the economic system.

Acceptance of the principle that education should be available during the entire life-cycle, and that this access should be practicable raises the question of how this ideal is to be achieved, namely, what structural, organisational, administrative, and procedural characteristics would be necessary.

The reason why learning in the adult years is receiving increased emphasis are partly practical and partly idealistic or moral. On a practical level it is argued that the 'front-end' or traditional education model (ie according to which individuals are loaded with all they need to know during an intensive preparation in childhood) is



financially impossible in certain poorer countries, and is also inappropriate in settings where large segments of the already adult population do not possess an adequate level of basic education (as is the case in South Africa) (Lengrand, 1970 : 142). On a moralistic level it is argued that the traditional model does not promote democratization, equality of opportunity, etc. (Lengrand, 1970 : 145). The rigidity of this model negates the empowerment process.

In this discussion the researcher has briefly explored some of the most important principles of lifelong education and their implications for the provision of adult education. It is clear that an implementation of lifelong education requires considerably more than simply the extension of conventional adult education to a wider audience. It requires a re-conceptualization which must be guided by the practical and ideal considerations noted above.

#### 6.4. **Content, purpose and practice**

At the outset it needs to be pointed out that this being a sociological analysis, the researcher makes no attempt to analyze the notions of content, purpose and practice from an educationist's point of view. While it is necessary to comment on these important aspects of adult education provision, the discussion is guided by sociology, and not pedagogy or andragogy, as its theoretical base. With this in mind, attention will be given to the interrelationship of content, purpose and practice of adult education. Content is taken to refer to that which is taught and/or learned within an educational setting (Jarvis, 1985 : 198). Purpose refers to the underlying policy and philosophy that informs content and practice (Jarvis, 1985 : 200). Practice, in this context refers to both method and organization (Jarvis, 1985 : 201).

##### 6.4.1. **Content**

With regard to content, there is a central debate that links the processes of teaching and learning with knowledge (Paterson, 1979 : 68). It is suggested that if knowledge is objective, then education can be about the transmission of worthwhile knowledge,

but if it is socially constructed, one needs to examine whose construction is presented in the educational context (Berger and Luckmann, 1967 : 94-95). Sociologists (Bottomore and Rubel, 1963 : 93) have suggested that in most forms of teaching and learning, knowledge that is incorporated, reflects a middle class construction of social reality. Westwood (1980 : 43) claims that adult education, and especially that offered by universities, contains a similar middle class bias. However, it is noted that much of this 'knowledge', which assumes the form of content, is presented as if it were objective reality, thus demonstrating the way in which cultural hegemony operates in the educational system.

In South Africa the course content of adult education includes a number of categories: agricultural training; administrative and secretarial courses; adult-literacy and basic education; building skills; computer training; human-relations training; organizational development; and a variety of practical skills and technical training. There are also courses and activities related to health education, environmental awareness, and career information. A recurrent observation is that inadequate basic educational attainment, (ie. literacy, numeracy, and English-language skills) means that many candidates cannot cope with most of the courses on offer, and hence they drop out or perform very poorly.

Selection and entry-level requirements have not been established for most non-formal courses, and learners find themselves dealing with course content for which they are educationally under-prepared. This contributes to a high drop-out rate. An important factor here is that, due to inconsistent school standards in South Africa, levels of education are found to be unreliable in assessing learner abilities in any subject. Thus training institutions have to resort to designing their own tests as entry level requirements.

From the above discussion it may be said that although adult education has begun to emerge from the repression of the apartheid era and is now guided by a rich variety of sophisticated concepts of education and training for adults, it is nowhere near gaining the human and material resources needed to deliver adequate provision. In

terms of course content, provision appears to reflect a middle-class construction of reality, and generally the course content is presented as if it were the objective reality. In this sense the content of adult education programmes perpetuate the prevailing cultural hegemony. In addition, participants are often educationally under-prepared and have difficulty in coping with the course content.

#### 6.4.2. **Content and purpose**

The content of adult education curricula changes in response to varying needs and social policy, thus content is inextricably linked to purpose. In this regard, Finch (1984 : 53) suggests three approaches to analyzing social policy in education, namely the welfare, beneficiary and social engineering approaches. In the welfare model, the government makes temporary provision to meet temporary needs (eg. rapidly expanding educational activities to overcome a temporary problem such as adult illiteracy). The beneficiary approach suggests that a commodity should be offered to all because of its value (eg. political adult education). The third approach is social engineering, this involves a change in education to change educational outcomes, change in social policy, and change in education designed to produce other social changes. Thus, it is noted that content varies in relation to purpose.

Jarvis (1985 : 215-232) has developed six important curricular models which suggest that purpose relates to more than just the selection of a curriculum by the teacher or learner. In this respect Jarvis (1985 : 218) examines the purpose of adult education at a number of different levels: the learner, the teacher, the teacher-learner transaction, the educational institution, the prescribing agency, and the government. Influence over the selection of content could be exercised at each of these levels.

In examining learner-centred education, Jarvis (1985 : 219) distinguished between the individual and the group. He explains that content could be selected by the learners, since most often there are no external examinations involved and consequently the status of content is considered to be low. In this sense learner-controlled selection of content is considered to be one manifestation of curriculum. The second model,

namely teacher-oriented education involves teacher-controlled selection of content (Jarvis, 1985 : 223). The third model suggested by Jarvis (1985 : 225) refers to the teacher-learner transaction. This suggests the possibility for a negotiated curriculum, involving a transaction between the teacher and the learner/s. The learning contract is an example of this approach. It synthesizes control by both parties, says Jarvis (1985 : 225). The merit of this approach is acknowledged by Knowles (1980 : 187) in his statement that this approach offers the benefit of allowing learners to pursue their own learning whilst ensuring that they produce supportive evidence to demonstrate that they have fulfilled the contract.

The fourth model put forward by Jarvis (1985 : 228) refers to institutional purpose as it relates to content. Entrepreneurial organizations usually offer a limited number of popular courses which attract learners. There are also institutions that offer a general education to adults. The latter structure appears to be best suited to the demands of the market. The fifth model that Jarvis (1985 : 229) proposed refers to the role of the prescribing agency. Most often this involves a professional association that attempts to ensure that new entrants into the profession are competent to practice. There is a considerable amount of control in formulating content under this model. The final model that Jarvis (1985 : 331) suggests involves the role of government policy or social policy. With respect to social policy there are three approaches: welfare, beneficiary, and social engineering. It is noted that whilst education is generally regarded as having beneficial purposes, it might also be used to exercise control over people and in so doing it might inhibit egalitarian changes in society.

Having examined the notions of content and purpose of adult education, the researcher will refer to the aspect of practice.

#### 6.4.3. **Content and practice**

Here the researcher focuses on the procedures and processes that are involved in the provision of adult education. This includes teaching methods and policy issues.

#### 6.4.3.1. Teaching methods

Jarvis (1983 : 112-157) has suggested a wide range of methods that might be employed in teaching adults. These are classified into didactic, socratic, and facilitative. Didactic methods are usually teacher-centred and the content is frequently teacher chosen and presented. Socratic methods are teacher-centred, in that the teacher poses the questions to be answered by learners, but the direction that this assumes will be guided by the learners' responses or the teacher's intent to achieve a specific objective. Facilitative methods enable the students to direct their own learning as a result of the learning experience that the teacher provides.

#### 6.4.3.2. Policy

The practice of adult education is guided by policy. There appears to be two distinct variants of policy, namely a free-market model, and a centrally planned model. The free-market model is based either on supply or demand. This model is based on the liberal notion that individuals are free, rational, and able to follow their own interests (Gross, 1977 : 287). Hence, the consumers of adult education are able to select courses that suit their needs and interests. This model is one that makes an offering to the potential consumer, based on the notion of a deficiency in knowledge. Examples in practice would include adult basic education, and continuing professional education.

In contrast, the centrally planned model frequently becomes a model of control (Gross, 1977 : 288). Central planning occurs in countries where adult education has become institutionalized and is implemented by legal statute. Rather than viewing these models and being exclusionary, in practice they materialize according to points along a continuum.

This analysis has shown that **while** content and purpose are invariably linked, they cannot be divorced from **practice**. The interrelationship of these three aspects at the classroom level constitute the basis for any model of curriculum in education, and this holds true for adult education also.

## 6.5. Ideologies in adult education

The advancement and support of adult education has stemmed from economic, social and religious forces which have mobilized to achieve varied goals. Thus adult education provision has been influenced by varying ideologies. The researcher will only examine a few of these ideologies. Ideologies range from orthodoxies to debates about basic skills and knowledge that will lead to an improved economic position. Many adult educationists for example both, Freire (1970), and Bhola (1984) have argued about the fundamental importance of ideologies.

In Western countries adult education is at best conceptualized as consisting of liberal education which is pursued for its own sake. This perception reduces the pursuit of adult education to a leisure activity. It is criticized that this ideological conceptualization serves the interests of the middle class only, and ignores that of the disadvantaged groups in society.

This has prompted discussion of how to 'restore' adult education to the educationally disadvantaged. Attempts have been made in this regard to make the curriculum and teaching methods more appealing to the educationally disadvantaged. A second aspect relates to the control of adult education (independent of state authority). The argument for independence in control, is that the objectives of adult education can only be secured when institutions are freed from control by the socially and educationally privileged (Lovett, 1975 :63). Ivan Illich's (1970) concept of 'deschooling' has also been applied to adult education. He argues that adult education needs to be 'deschooled' in order to disassociate it in the perceptions of disadvantaged adults from that institution where, as children they experienced failure, thus prompting the conclusion that education is irrelevant to their needs.

It is however noted that the notion of independent control is not free of problems. A major source of problems is the economic aspect. By its very nature, independence implies private provision. Private organisations lack the economic means to fund adult education on a large scale, which is what is needed to make it universally available. Thompson (1980 : 122-125) states that a possible way out of this situation, is that as

an instrument of social change, the provision of adult education need not reach all adults within a country. In Europe, social gains have been achieved by the disadvantaged, through what Gramsci (1971) called 'organic intellectuals' (ie. those from the working class who have availed themselves of adult education in order to provide leadership for their fellow workers (Thompson, 1980 : 128).

Another line of reasoning that has prevailed is that social change would be more comprehensive and radical if everyone were politically educated (Thompson, 1980 : 132). This has inspired the community education approach to adult education. The latter focuses not on the disinterested pursuit of knowledge from the traditional disciplines, but one that concentrates upon the problems of local communities. This approach suggests that the majority decline to participate in adult education, not because of apathy or hostility towards education, but because existing provision is indifferent to its dilemmas.

In South Africa, investigations by the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NEPI,1993:2), suggest that adult education policies will need to relate to more general strategies of political and economic development that seek to transform and modernize South Africa and address race, gender, class, and regional imbalances. Furthermore, this is in line with the five National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) principles of non-racism, non-sexism, democracy, unity and redress (through corrective or affirmative action).

Adult education practitioners have generally accepted the following beliefs, namely:

- \* society can and should be improved,
- \* learning should continue throughout life,
- \* all adults should have access to the means of learning the things they need in order to function in society,
- \* all adults can learn and should be treated with dignity and respect,
- \* adults have as much right to education as children (in particular those deprived of education as children), and

- \* adults should be educated in a different way from children, not because their cognitive processes are dissimilar, but because their education, life context, and background of experience is different, (NEPI, 1993 : 5).

These beliefs of adult education practitioners working in South Africa are reflective of the social purposes attached to adult education provision.

In the South African context, the social purposes of adult education may be broadly identified as being the following:

- \* compensatory education, which replaces missing, incomplete, or inadequate initial general school education and is a recompense for the inequities in education fostered by apartheid. This includes adult literacy and ABE, night-schools and continuation classes, and various forms of bridging and academic support programmes,
- \* upgrading, which refers to work related to continuing education which is specific and aims to increase competence and knowledge and can aid in bringing black people into skilled and managerial occupational categories as well as generally improving employment prospects, and
- \* cultural and political non-formal education, which aims at social reconstruction and conscientization, and is found in networks of community, worker, student, and service organizations (NEPI, 1993 : 5-6).

This discussion has identified the fundamental ideologies that characterize adult education provision. There is a clear distinction between the traditional liberal education which is rooted in the arts and natural sciences, and the radical instrumental ideology which is rooted in the utilitarian principles that advocate social change. Lovett (1975 : 279) suggests that a possible resolution of the clash between 'liberal' and instrumental ideologies, might be approached through the dialectic of a pedagogy which incorporates both approaches. Similarly, Freire's (1970) 'pedagogy of the oppressed' advocates that adult education should be a dialogue requiring a reciprocal relationship between teacher and learner. Thus the conceptualization that only when



every teacher becomes a student and every student a teacher, can education avoid degenerating into tyranny (Lovett, 1975 : 280).

The dominant adult education ideology in South Africa emphasizes that through the institution of affirmative action policies, adult education has an indispensable role to play as an agent of compensatory education. When these compensatory programmes are holistically based they will facilitate empowerment of individuals and communities; this in turn will drive the development process. Thus there prevails an ideological basis that stresses the integral role that adult education can play in the transformation process.

## 6.6. **Strategies**

Strategies refer to the various forms that adult education assumes in the contexts in which it is practised. These thematic variations, will be addressed in terms of recurrent education, community education, socio-cultural animation and nonformal education.

### 6.6.1. **Recurrent education**

Three key aspects will be dealt with. Firstly, an overview of recent developments in recurrent education, secondly, an analysis of emerging socio-economic trends and their impact on recurrent education, and thirdly, the possibility of expanding recurrent education opportunities for both youth and adults.

Although many educational developments possess specific recurrent education characteristics, they have to be seen as a number of sequential developments. Hence, for the majority of people the dominant life pattern remains to be education, then work, followed by retirement. The aim of the recurrent education proposition as it was presented in the 1970s, was the modification of the existing educational system, so that access to it was not confined to the individual's early years, but was available

at intervals throughout the life-cycle, in alternation with work and other activities (Titmus, 1989:43).

Since the concept was developed, it is possible to identify further development at the policy level, at the level of educational institutions and practice, and at the level of supporting policies outside the educational sphere.

Regarding the policy sphere, it is believed that recurrent education has been accepted in principle as a policy objective in several countries. The notion that education cannot be limited to the 'front-end' model, in the context of rapidly changing cultural and socio-economic conditions has been widely accepted (Bengtsson, 1989 : 44). But there exists a gap between verbal adherence to the concept, and actual policy practice.

At the level of educational institution and practice, it is noted that actual changes in content and structure have been less marked. The demand for education later in life has increased and post-secondary institutions have responded in innovative ways (Bengtsson, 1989 : 45).

Further, the growth of distance teaching methods and extended use of facilities have contributed to the expansion of access to learning opportunity. However, these expansions have occurred on the periphery of the post-secondary system, thus leaving the traditional institutions fairly unaffected (Bengtsson, 1989 : 45).

With regard to supporting policies it is apparent that recurrent education as an educational strategy, is dependent upon it. Paid educational leave is one such strategy that is dependent upon supporting policies. Educational leave schemes have also tended to draw attention to the notion of alternation between work and education.

Socio-economic factors have a significant influence on the future of recurrent education. The reasons being as follows:

- \* as a strategy for re-distributing educational opportunity it is invariably linked to people's work lives, domestic and leisure activities, and hence with the socio-economic forces that shape these activities,

- \* it extends into socio-economic policies (ie. it cannot stand alone), and
- \* they are organized outside the formal educational system, (Bengtsson, 1989 : 45).

Further, there are several socio-economic trends that impact on recurrent education, namely:

- \* rapid technical changes which affect employment and unemployment levels,
- \* the increasing number of women who seek paid employment,
- \* demographic changes (eg. increases life expectancy), and
- \* changes in the distribution of work and non-work time.

The underlying notion for expanding recurrent education as an adult educational strategy is that individuals will have systematic access to education throughout their lives. This would necessarily involve careful organization and planning, facilitating access to existing institutions, a re-distribution of education and financial resources, and the use of innovative approaches to new clientele. International experience suggests that developing such co-ordination takes time and effort to materialize.

There are however, certain things that could be done immediately by educational authorities to bring policies of recurrent education to fruition. The expansion of the secondary schooling and adult education 'systems', could be used effectively in the introduction of a recurrent education policy. This policy should specifically target the 16-25 year age group. As has been discussed elsewhere, pupils who 'leave' the formal education system (without completing their schooling) enter the labour market inadequately prepared, and invariably the job they acquire is fairly unlikely to form part of a promising career structure. Recurrent education schemes that target this population are likely to provide a varied and intensive job preparation; thereby also facilitating increased educational opportunity to educationally disadvantaged groups. However, recurrent education must not be seen only from a narrow perspective of 'job-training' - it does indeed reach beyond this. When properly organized the strategy of recurrent education would facilitate a flexible transition from work to education, at intermittent stages (ie. the principle of alternation and/or combination of education

and work) thereby increasing the possible options for work and education. Bengtsson (1989 : 48-49), identifies two particular target groups of youth for whom a recurrent education alternative might be an important option. The first group consists of those 16-19 year olds who have opted for some form of upper-secondary education, but who for different personal, motivational and social reasons would prefer a less rigid and less traditional form of education at this level. The second group consists basically of those who left school at the end of compulsory education and who after some years of varied labour market experience recognize the importance of some kind of education and/or training in order to get a firm foot into the labour market.

The adult education sector can also play a more concrete role in recurrent education, by distributing educational opportunities over the lifespan of an individual, in a recurring way and in alternation with other activities.

This discussion has briefly focused on recurrent education as a strategy of adult education. The analysis has shown that recurrent educational activities are inextricably linked to other life activities, thereby being significantly influenced by socio-economic factors. It is an educational strategy that has merit for societal and personal development, when it alternates or is combined with other activities. The researcher will now refer to community education as another thematic variation of adult education.

#### 6.6.2. **Community education and development**

Although there are varied definitions, it is generally agreed that the concept 'community' means a local environment of people who have interests in common, as well as differences of interests (Bell and Newby, 1972 : 38). A community has an identity, a sense of place, and it represents the collective significance of a distinctive name (it distinguishes 'us' from 'them').

Community education refers to the participation of communities, in the educational sector; and community development involves the committing of educational activities

to the welfare of host communities (Lovett, 1980 : 154). In essence, community education means bringing educational centres into active service for social life. The aim of education and development in this context include major changes in what is taught and in the role of the teacher. There are contrasting strategies being pursued by the westernized nations and the newly independent nations. While the former emphasize community education, the latter usually give priority to community development. Lovett (1980 : 157) suggests there exists a First World Model and a Third World Model to guide the understanding of contrasting practices.

Community education is normally understood as the process of transforming schools and colleges into educational and recreational centres for all ages. The early achievements of community education include Grundtvig's Folk High Schools (Denmark); Mott's Community Primary Schools (USA) and Morris' Village Colleges (England) (Lovett, 1980 : 160). Much of the contemporary initiatives have been influenced by these early examples. Community education creates the possibility for control at a local level - schools form associations which can raise and retain revenue, debate and decide upon priorities.

As mentioned earlier, Third World community education is usually set in the context of development (ie. both planning and participation). In the planning model, projects are proposed to the community and the method involves having community members realize that the project is consonant with their interests (Lovett, 1980 : 162). The participatory model involves securing co-operation of the local community, through an interactive process, where problems are identified, needs expressed, new methods and techniques are tried, and evaluation of these undertaken (Lovett, 1980 : 163). Sensitivity to the values of the community is crucial to gaining co-operation.

Both community education and community development encourage the development of creative and critical capacities by means of, celebratory events, festivals, participatory music, drama and play. Sometimes it is difficult to maintain the momentum of community development, when it has taken the form of a limited term project, fed by outside money and human resources. Community development appears

to also encompass the notion of community education, as it includes programmes in literacy and numeracy, individual training, and collective determination. Thus it is possible to conceptualize a fusion between community education and development.

From the discussion it appears that as an adult educational strategy for South Africa, community development offers the potential not only of expanding educational opportunity at the level of adulthood, but more importantly of facilitating capacity building in all areas of social and economic life. The researcher will now analyze socio-cultural animation as the next educational strategy.

### 6.6.3. **Socio-cultural animation**

Socio-cultural animation may better be defined as a movement rather than a theory. It involves a broad range of loosely associated and sometimes inconsistent ideas and its practitioners vary as to which parts of its ideology and techniques they emphasize. Socio-cultural animation, as an educational strategy originated in North America (Mennel, 1979 : 235).

Socio-cultural animation occurs in conditions where there is relatively average material circumstances but 'cultural poverty' (Simpson, 1985 : 54). Thus, the expressed aims of such projects are cultural (ie. concerned with the quality of social life and expressive behaviour). In practice though, projects often also incorporate physical and economic conditions too. Simpson (1989 : 54) defines animation as everything which facilitates access to a more active and creative life for individuals and groups, and which increases capacities for communication and participation in community life. Animation according to Mennel (1979 : 236) refers to the mental, physical and emotional life of people in a given area, which moves them to undertake a wider range of experiences through which they find a higher degree of self-realization, self-expression, and awareness of belonging to a community which they can influence. Simpson (1989 : 54) believes that animation is an egalitarian movement, and further elaborates that animation seeks to reduce a so-called 'culture-gap' between the culturally affluent and other broad sections of society, which he says, suffer from

'cultural poverty'. He defines cultural poverty as a condition that exists when there is a restricted range of experiences from which the individual may choose. This restriction is usually the consequence of a history of under-privilege, exclusion and ignorance, together with low self expectation.

This strategy acknowledges the principle of cultural democracy which suggests that culture is the framework of behaviour and communication patterns specific to any community (Mennel, 1979 : 238). It further suggests that there is a need to take account of the co-existing plurality of cultures within different societies. Furthermore, it is believed that since all cultures have equal validity, cultural policy should not privilege any particular culture over another.

The aims of animaters working with a community, is to multiply occasions for group life, to foster community consciousness and participation; and to promote as many community and neighbourhood events as possible so that public life is enriched (Simpson, 1989 : 55). However, the practice of animation often ignores these principles, thereby often confusing cultural animation with community development. Suffice it to say that cultural animation as a strategy, poses many challenges for the South African context. Being a society that has been divided by race and ethnicity, cultural differences are seen in a historically politicized context. It is difficult to imagine the use of this strategy in the short-term; but it may be feasible in the long-term. At this point in time, one needs to promote sensitivity towards the co-existing cultures in the wider context of national reconciliation. In this context, socio-cultural animation might be useful in conjunction with another strategy.

#### 6.6.4. **Nonformal education**

Coombs and Ahmed (1974 : 110) define nonformal education as follows:

" Any organized educational activity out-side the established formal system - whether operating separately or as an important feature of a broader activity - that is intended to serve identifiable learning clientele and learning objectives."

In distinguishing nonformal education from informal education Coombs and Ahmed (1974 : 12) suggest that the latter is a lifelong process whereby every individual acquires attitudes, values, skills, and knowledge from daily experience, and the educative influences and resources in the environment (including family, friends, work, leisure activities, the labour market, the mass media, etc.). By distinction, formal education refers to the hierarchically structured, formally graded education system, running from the primary school to the tertiary level (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974 : 113). In practice, no hard lines of demarcation exist between formal, non-formal and informal education. The researcher will focus on the purpose/function of nonformal education as an educational strategy, rather than discuss its structure and format.

The re-discovery of nonformal education as an educational strategy is associated with the contribution it could offer to human resource development. It is important to note Coombs and Ahmed's (1974 : 114) observation that universal compulsory formal education (which has high costs and is labour intensive) is not necessarily the most effective means for meeting the diverse needs of a developing society. They further argue that the cost per student of nonformal programmes is less than that of formal education (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974 : 114). For many countries, the provision of universal compulsory primary and secondary level education is not financially affordable. In this context, nonformal education, by re-allocating resources, offers the possibility of extending educational opportunity to a wider target group. Therefore, this alternate delivery system is seen as one that is either complementary to, an addition to, or even an alternative to the formal education system. In South Africa, this educational strategy would facilitate a spread of educational opportunity beyond the capacity of currently limited resources of the formal educational system, more especially, it could be used to counteract the inequities that the school system has perpetuated.

With reference to the methodological orientation of nonformal education, in comparison to formal education it is less structured and more task, and skill oriented, and more immediate in its goals (Coombs, 1985 : 86). It is also more decentralized in organization and locally specific in application. Rewards tend to be more tangible



and immediate. Knowles (1970 : 127) suggests that non-formal education is more flexible and learner-centred, and that it is more concrete (vs abstract) and experiential (vs theoretical) than formal education. Thus on the basis of its methodological orientation, it could be argued that non-formal education is a far more appropriate educational strategy for meeting the needs of adults, than the formal education system is.

Freire (1970 : 38) argues that since nonformal education relates more directly to learner interest, and relies on intrinsic learner motivation, it is a political process involving conscientization. This is also linked to the fact that it is usually more decentralized, community inspired and democratic. Radcliffe and Colletta (1989 : 62) state that nonformal education is also an appropriate means for mediating across a cultural divide, and matching indigenous or local resources with extraneous assistance or technical solutions. Both Freire's (1970) and Radcliffe and Colletta's (1989) comments regarding nonformal education, emphasize its suitability as an adult educational strategy for South Africa. This strategy not only encourages community participation, but also facilitates conscientization. From what Radcliffe and Colletta (1989 : 63) have stated, all of this is feasible under current development conditions in South Africa.

Nonformal education is thought to have the potential to achieve some of the goals that formal education had failed to accomplish. Firstly, it offers an alternate route to upward mobility. It would provide educational opportunity to those for whom schooling was not a realistic alternative, and it provides the means to circumvent the cultural obstacles that prevent some people from utilizing the school system effectively. Secondly, nonformal education facilitates the learning of specific occupational skills, which enhances productivity and facilitates occupational mobility (Radcliffe and Colletta (1989 : 62). Training for a modernized work force, rural development, and political incorporation are some of the other goals that nonformal education is directed towards. However, Bock and Bock (1989 : 67-9) argue that often, few of these broad goals of nonformal education are achieved. While some reasons are peculiar to specific programmes, the more general reasons for failure

include the difficulty of reaching the very poor and people who have had no formal education (often also the ones for whom the programme is designed). This is largely because they cannot afford the time (time off from work means a loss of earnings). Social distance (ie. those who are 'uneducated' and 'under-educated' feel marginalized from those better educated), drop-out and lack of motivation are some of the problems that are related to the failure of nonformal education programmes.

Despite the promising goals of nonformal education as a strategy, it alone cannot be viewed as a solution for those development problems that the formal education system has created or failed to solve. At best, it must be seen as an alternative form of educational provision, (ie. an additional tool among an array of tools) to be used in engineering national development. In South Africa, the nonformal education strategy could be effectively integrated into other development programmes, as outlined in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994). There is potential to integrate nonformal adult education strategies with agricultural and industrial programmes, with health, nutrition and family planning, with literacy and other community development and social action programmes. In the long-term this would produce the effect of reducing costs, through the sharing of resources by having adult education 'ride piggy-back' on other programmes. The researcher will now analyze mandatory continuing education as the next strategy.

#### 6.6.5. **Mandatory continuing education**

This educational strategy is usually associated with the continuing education of professionals either through rules passed by a professional organization or through laws passed by state or federal governments, whereby certain professions are required to participate in educational activities to keep their membership in the organization or to maintain their certificate or license to practice.

Beyond government mandated continuing education, many professional organizations, (eg. law and engineering) require further education as a condition for renewal of certification. There are several reasons that necessitate this form of education. For

example, in the context of the 'knowledge explosion era', forcing the public to participate in continuing education is one way to insure that they will be exposed to new knowledge in their fields. Another reason is that it serves to demonstrate greater professional accountability to the public.

From the theoretical position of the present study, mandatory continuing education has a role to play in the re-socialization of professionals working in the community. In other words, to facilitate socio-political transformation, many professionals need to be exposed to the new political ethos of democratizing society; and it is in this context that this strategy can contribute. However, its role is minimal in so far as the main thrust of this study is concerned (ie. to facilitate educational development among the under-educated masses). It is of limited use, in facilitating community development through literacy and numeracy programmes, and the development of skills among the under-educated masses.

This part of the discussion was devoted to strategies of adult education. The researcher has considered five broad strategies, namely recurrent education, community education and development, socio-cultural animation, nonformal education and mandatory continuing education. These adult educational strategies are bound within specific ideologies about education, and are further linked to the purposes of adult education. Therefore, in proposing suitable alternatives in specific circumstances, one has to be guided by the underlying ideological notions and the purpose that is being pursued.

#### 6.7. **The purposes of adult education**

In the field of adult education the question of purposes may be treated on three levels, namely:

- \* what the purpose of education is,
- \* the purposes specific to the adult, and
- \* the purposes of specific manifestations of adult education.

Firstly, since adult education is conceptualized as an integral part of education it shares the general purpose of education, which is social and intellectual development of skills and knowledge. Secondly, educational provision for adults differs from that of children, in so far as the adult learner is not considered as being in a subordinate position to the educator, therefore the specific purpose of adult education is that it provides adults with a second chance to receive an education. Thirdly, it is noted that new needs arise in adult life, and adult education provision must respond to these.

In the discussion which follows an attempt will be made to address the ways in which, and the extent to which, some of the purposes of adult education are achieved. The purposes that are referred to include adult literacy, employment, role education, and education for change. In each instance the researcher will provide definitions, and examine principles and issues surrounding these varied purposes.

#### 6.7.1 **Adult literacy**

World illiteracy is still one of the great social problems of our time. Illiteracy has a close correlation with poverty, and although the vast majority of adult illiterates are found in the least developed countries, there is still an illiterate population in many of the industrialized countries. The solution to the problem depends largely on the political will of the governments concerned, but also calls for international solidarity and support.

Adult illiteracy is not easy to quantify. Exact statistics are not readily available, and often data is not always presented in the same way. UNESCO has however, developed a system of presenting statistics which provide estimates based on previous census returns or surveys in its member states. Statistics relating to South Africa are not available by this method as the country was not a member of the United Nations until 1994. According to UNESCO statistics published in 1978, 814 million adults would still be illiterate in 1980 (UNESCO, 1978 : 10). This translates as follows: out of every 10 people in the world over the age of 15 years, three cannot read, write, or do simple arithmetic. Asia has by far the largest number of illiterates - over 70 per

cent, followed by Africa - over 20 per cent, and 0.5 per cent in Latin America. In addition to the illiterates who have never received formal education, there are a growing number of early school leavers who have not acquired sufficient education to play an active part in their societies. They usually play a peripheral role in political, social and economic life.

On the positive side, since the 1950s, there has been a gradual fall in the percentage of illiteracy from 44,3 per cent in 1950, to 34,2 per cent in 1970, to 28 per cent in 1980, and an expected 25 per cent in 1990 (UNESCO, 1978 : 11). These improvements are due to considerable efforts by many Third World countries to extend and improve primary school facilities, and the introduction of compulsory primary schooling in some countries. Simultaneously, there have been major efforts to eradicate adult illiteracy through mass national campaigns, with target dates for complete eradication. Countries such as Afghanistan, Brazil, Cuba, Ethiopia, India, Jamaica, Nicaragua, North Korea, Somalia, Tanzania and Vietnam opted for such campaigns with varying degrees of success (Bhola, 1984 : 92-94). In countries where campaigns have not been feasible, 'selective' programmes that have focused on specific sections of the population have been adopted.

The researcher has provided a statistical profile of illiteracy in South Africa in Chapter Five. At this point, suffice it to say that illiteracy presents a major threat to the development process.

Despite the worldwide efforts to reduce illiteracy, the absolute number of illiterates is still increasing. It is expected to reach 850 million before the end of the century (UNESCO, 1978 : 14). This growth is largely due to the rapid population growth, but inadequate and misdirected educational provision is also a factor. Beyond ineffective education policies, illiteracy is largely the result of political and social inequalities. The mass eradication of illiteracy is thus primarily a political problem, with economic and social implications which must be tackled in conjunction with educational efforts. The problem of illiteracy in the context of development, calls for solutions of a global

nature : integration into overall national social and economic plans, with strategies that mobilize all possible resources (UNESCO, 1978 : 22)

An important notion in defining literacy is that the definition varies according to time and place. What it means to be functionally literate in one society at any given time is quite different to what it means at another time or in another society. What is important is the degree to which individuals and groups are able to function effectively within their own societies.

The developed countries still have a substantial number of basic illiterates among the adult population. Italy is one such country which had a large illiterate population during the 1950s. Following an intensive campaign to eradicate this problem, in 1974 only 5 per cent of the adult population remained illiterate. However, since 1974 there remained the massive task of basic education, since 33 per cent of the population over the age of 16 years, had not successfully completed five years of primary schooling, and 77 per cent did not possess a lower secondary school certificate (Hunter, 1989 : 85). This profile of illiteracy is very similar to that of South Africa.

The eradication of illiteracy was also a major task confronting some of the European Socialist countries, after the Second World War. Poland had three million illiterates, or 12 per cent of its population. A large-scale campaign helped to overcome the lack of basic reading and writing skills by the early 1950s (Hunter, 1989 : 85). Bulgaria and Hungary also faced similar circumstances. In the countries that have been mentioned here, illiteracy among adults may be principally attributed to a failure by the state to provide universal childhood education of adequate duration. Once again, this is also true for the illiterate adult black population of South Africa.

In other developed countries, the scale of functional illiteracy, especially in countries that have had universal childhood education is alarming. This applies to both the UK and the USA. Although many of those who have completed five years of schooling do function adequately later in life, the majority are found to lack specific skills. This large group of adult illiterates include those who have never learned to read and write,

those who suffer from severe mental and physical disabilities, the dyslexic, and those who have slipped through the school net in childhood, for family, health or economic reasons. There is also a segment who have been to school but after a while had given up trying, or dropped-out because the school environment was not conducive. Those who experience failure with the school system also were often the ones that dropped-out of the system. It is probable that this group of adults are also included in the statistics on other major social and economic disadvantages - viz. poverty, unemployment, racial discrimination, inadequate housing, deteriorating communities, lack of access to health services, etc. The unfortunate reality is that for individuals facing these social problems, the lack of the ability to perform literacy related tasks, are of far less concern in their plight to resolve their immediate problems.

In the South African context it might be argued that illiteracy among the poorest sectors of the population is only a symptom of basic social, economic, political and cultural contradictions. The satisfaction of their needs depends more on basic social and economic changes and on the political will than entirely on remedial programmes.

Beyond efforts on a societal level to eradicate illiteracy, there is the ethical or moral issue of the individual's right to literacy. The right to literacy is an essential element in the 'right to education' as proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations (1948), which states that every child, man or woman learning to read and write does so for individual as well as social and economic reasons (Lazarus, 1989 : 89). Similarly, the right to education is entrenched in the Constitution. Being literate also means that adults can assume their full responsibilities as citizens, and play a more decisive role in the exercise of political power in their local communities as well as at the national level. Thus, apart from being a tool for modern living, literacy is a basic human right.

Adult literacy is probably the longest running purpose of adult education. This is partly because the value of being able to read and write lies not in itself, but in other skills and knowledge to which it opens the way. Literacy campaigns focus on teaching functional literacy (ie. the achievement of a level of reading, writing, and

numeracy adequate for effective participation, in community life. The lack of such technical competence is not seen merely as a cause, but also as a consequence of exclusion from effective participation (Bhola, 1984: 42). This exclusion is seen as a product of social, cultural, economic, and political conditions, rather than educational ones. When literacy and numeracy programmes incorporate training in life-skills, they are designated as 'adult basic education'.

In the discussion which follows the researcher will focus on literacy and numeracy policies, some of the conditions which favour literacy, and the issues to be confronted in the formulation of literacy policies, including the problems of language, ideology and organizational structures.

A literacy policy consists of the purpose, principles, priorities, and plans which guide government action in the promotion of literacy. Bhola (1984 : 46) stresses that a successful policy must include three main aspects:

- \* the generalization of primary schooling,
- \* programmes of instruction for out-of-school youths and adults, and
- \* the fostering of economic and social conditions favourable to the promotion and maintenance of literacy.

With regard to literacy programmes and campaigns, the developed and developing countries adopted different strategies. The developed countries relied on the school system to diffuse literacy and the developing countries used both the expansion of schooling and adult literacy campaigns (Bhola, 1984 : 153-158). A statement made by President Nyerere of Tanzania serves to indicate the general way in which the developing nations sought to overcome the problem of mass illiteracy and under-education:

"First we must educate adults. Our children will not have an impact on our economic development for many years to come. The attitude of adults ... on the other hand have an impact now. The people must understand the plans for development of this country ... they must be able to participate in changes which are necessary ..."

(Bhola, 1984 : 134).



Literacy policies, like all social policies are implemented in a particular socio-economic environment. The favourability or adversity of this environment is the principal determinant of the success or failure of such policies. The individual's motivation to learn is also closely tied up to these socio-economic circumstances. The underlying notion therefore is that the landless peasant or impoverished urban resident will not be made literate until the basic conditions of their lives are transformed. Thus it is imperative that literacy policies are conceptualized as leading to a fuller participation in culture and society.

Bhola (1984 : 167) suggests further that certain structures are most favourable to literacy, namely:

- \* those that aim at endogenous and harmonious development of society (and not at dependent growth),
- \* those that do not promote the reproduction of established hierarchies,
- \* structures that facilitate localized control, and
- \* structures that encourage interaction and participation with authorities that provide basic services to the community (eg. agriculture, welfare, health, family planning).

From the above list, it appears that the need and motivation for literacy arises from processes of transformation. Thus, literacy programmes need to be linked to the broader currents of change, if it is to reap success (ie. literacy and development go hand in hand).

There are several issues that are significant to the formulation of literacy policies, namely language issues, organizational and professional support, and the uses and maintenance of literacy (Bhola, 1984 : 172). In multi-lingual societies the choice of language is an important consideration. This is also often an emotive issue and is crucially linked to the success of the programme. Political, social and economic factors influence this choice, for example the assimilation of smaller groups into larger ones, cultural and political integration, financial and technical aspects linked to budget allocations, availability of trained staff, etc.

There appears to be consensus internationally that initial literacy should be achieved (wherever possible) in the learner's mother-tongue (Bhola, 1984 : 172). This is because learners who begin in their mother-tongue, move easily to a second language. But there are certain problems related to teaching literacy in the mother-tongue; for instance the multiplicity of languages that are spoken in developing countries, the limited scale and restricted uses of most of these languages, and the paucity of resources (financial and human) in rendering purely spoken languages into effective media for literacy (Bhola, 1984 : 173). Many of these problems pertaining to language are applicable to South Africa and they need to be resolved.

Another important issue involves programme goals and strategies. These are usually expressed in methodological terms, namely comprehensive versus selective approaches; education versus training, etc. The various approaches are rooted in divergent philosophies of development and the mission they assign to literacy. The researcher will refer to three influential approaches : the campaign strategy, functional literacy, and literacy as cultural action.

The campaign is an organized large-scale series of activities, focuses on specific objectives which are to be achieved within a specific period (Street, 1984 : 216). Advocates of this strategy argue that it is the only approach that is commensurate with the scale of the problem. The campaign facilitates social mobilization. In this sense it is a means for mobilizing citizens nationally to pursue a comprehensive set of goals (economic, socio-structural and political). Thus, a successful campaign is both an educational and a political event. Campaigns usually involve millions of participants. Successful campaigns have been conducted in the Soviet Union, Vietnam, China, Cuba, Burma, Brazil, Tanzania and Somalia (Street, 1984 : 218). The essential nature of the campaign is that it focuses national attention on illiteracy, and by setting unequivocal goals, commits national authorities to energetic action to overcome it. The usefulness of such efforts will depend upon the extent to which the economic, social, political and cultural conditions in which illiteracy is rooted are transformed. Advocates of this strategy recognise this, and thus insist that literacy is not the goal in itself. Literacy is considered essential to the emergence of new individual and

collective identities and to the development of a society in which participation and concerted national action for development are possible.

The second approach is that of functional literacy. The concept is usually associated with the experimental World Literacy Programme which was carried out in 11 countries, between 1967 and 1973, under the auspices of UNESCO and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (UNESCO, 1976:9). It was formulated as a reaction to the campaign strategy, which its critics considered to be too general, too diffuse, and too weakly structured to be effective. The initial idea was that literacy training should not be restricted to the three R's, but should constitute a preparation for social, civic and economic roles.

Subsequently, courses were offered for particular occupational groups, which integrated literacy with elements of vocational training. This was called the 'selective and intensive' approach (Street, 1984 : 220). The aim was not just to raise the general educational level of the population, but to achieve specified economic/employment outcomes, and functional literacy with the increased interest in manpower planning. This approach has been applied in many developing countries. A criticism has been that it proposes a narrow view of the development process and the role of literacy therein.

The third approach is that of Paulo Freire - 'literacy as cultural action'. For Freire (1970) illiteracy is an imposed condition, it constitutes the consequence and evidence of oppression. The goal of 'cultural action', (the term Freire prefers to education or literacy work), is to overcome oppression through thought and action based upon a critical awareness of reality (Freire, 1970 : 27-30). This suggests that learning to read and write are not ends in themselves, but ways through which the oppressed come to understand their environment and learn to mould history. The pedagogy of the cultural circle does not have as its objective the teaching of fluent reading, but the rediscovery and re-interpretation of reality through critical analyses of a limited lexicon of 'generative words', chosen for their socio-psychological connotations as much as their suitability as linguistic building blocks (Freire, 1970 : 37-39).

Freire's (1970) work offers a 'pedagogy for the oppressed' (ie. an instrument for identifying and defining injustice). The goal is fundamental change in social relationships. Since this usually does not appeal to established governments, these methods have been used primarily by voluntary organisations working with disadvantaged groups, and by governments of radical persuasions. Unlike functional literacy, cultural action is difficult to apply on a large scale. Freire (1970 : 46) differs from proponents of other strategies in that he views illiteracy as a symptom, and oppression as the disease in society.

Historically widespread illiteracy, has been seen as a major instrument of oppression and social control. It is considered to be a gross impediment to the attainment of citizenship and mass participation in democratic political institutions. Freire (1974 : 87) views literacy as an avenue towards 'conscientization' and 'liberation' of the person. Thus Freire (1974 : 87-88) explained that all that the pursuit of this essentially political objective (through the education of adults) required, was the transformation of both its content and method. This means that the vocabulary of the literacy programme had to be intricately connected to the lives of the learners. Therefore, the literacy approach that Freire (1974) proposed is based on the identification of a culturally realistic vocabulary aimed at "the problem of teaching adults how to read in relation to the awakening of their consciousness." In other words, the vocabulary to be used should be familiar to their articulation of daily life predicaments.

Freire (1974 : 92-107) elaborates that the teacher charged with the task of 'liberating the oppressed' had to begin by learning the vocabulary of the oppressed. In this way, there would be no imposition of a language of an alien political culture. A liberating pedagogy refers to a dialogue implying a reciprocal relationship between teacher and learner. This suggests a process of teachers and learners jointly generating the relevant language for understanding their own oppressions and opportunities.

Having considered the three approaches to literacy programmes, it is clear that their differences are rooted in their divergent philosophies of development and the missions

they assign to literacy. Furthermore, it is no longer useful to think in terms of 'free-standing' adult education programmes which teach these skills as abstract ones unlocated in their context of use. Earlier international efforts have regarded adult literacy work as 'quick-fix' solutions to be plugged in where needed. Such efforts have raised false hopes about what the acquisition of literacy means for job prospects, social mobility and personal achievement (Bhola, 1984 : 174).

Current theoretical views (as reflected in the three approaches dealt with above) inform us that literacy in itself does not promote cognitive advance, social mobility or progress. Contemporary theorists (Freire, 1970; Bhola, 1984; Street, 1984), relate literacy use to its social context and suggest that it is not helpful to think in terms of a single literacy when multiple literacies may co-exist for the performance of widely varying personal, social and economic functions.

Furthermore, much adult literacy work, including once-off, short-lived, national campaigns, fail to teach competencies that have application to the outside world (Street, 1984 : 221). The task in literacy work is therefore to address the complex variety of literacy needs evident in contemporary society, as well as to develop a framework where adult literacy and basic education are at the beginning of substantial learning careers. Literacy learning is most usefully placed in the context of adult basic education. The concern therefore is to develop an understanding of what constitutes a general basic education for adults. This approach necessitates thinking about different levels of provision of basic education, not merely basic literacy.

The next major issue of concern relates to organization and professional support. The choice of organizational structures is constrained by circumstances and ideology. The general trend to organizational support in the Third World, is unmistakably toward an expanded government role in literacy work, but opportunities still exist for the participation of voluntary organizations (Street, 1984 : 187-190). With this expanded role of the government, there is an increased need for organizational arrangements that facilitate inter-sectoral collaboration and a division of responsibilities among national,

regional and local levels of government. Such governmental networking is advocated in South Africa.

Further, organizational support in South Africa should also incorporate the provision of professional support for literacy work which include: programme formulation, materials development, staff training, monitoring, evaluation, etc. A suitable approach is to establish resource centres at national, provincial and district levels. In addition to having their own professional staff, these centres should be authorized to contract with research institutes, universities and other agencies for specialized services. Furthermore efforts must be made to secure international support for literacy from UNESCO since this organization is primarily concerned with progress in overcoming illiteracy, which is dependent on effective action at the national level (UNESCO, 1976 : 6). It further adopts a role of responsibility by rallying the support of the international community to demonstrate solidarity and support for countries vigorously engaged in the struggle against illiteracy.

It is apparent from the experience of other countries that programmes aimed at those with minimal schooling have had only limited success. In this respect the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) has identified certain conditions for success, namely:

- \* learning programmes must emerge from the needs and problems of the participants themselves. Active, conscious, organized participation of the population in all levels and stages of the programme is fundamental,
- \* programmes must have credibility with, and inspire trust in the illiterate population, in order to motivate and mobilize them for the learning process,
- \* programmes must include both the study of theory and the opportunity for practice,
- \* programmes should make use of animaters who are integrated into the life of the local communities where the programmes are to take place, and
- \* learners must have opportunity to participate in the construction of materials to be used in the programme, (Bhola, 1984 : 216-217).

For those adults who have participated in literacy programmes it is essential that they graduate into second-stage literacy programmes in order to maximize the retention of newly acquired skills. These programmes are also of relevance to youth who have left the formal school system prior to completion of the basic education phase. It is not unusual that school drop-outs tend to revert to illiteracy and semi-literacy.

Lazarus (1989 : 89) suggests that ideally post-literacy programmes should be conceived with a wide structural framework, or literate environment, with the following objectives:

- \* the retention of reading, writing and calculating skills, enabling the learners to function effectively in their everyday lives, and
- \* the provision of further educational programmes, both formal and informal, for youth and adults, to enable those who wish to continue, to do so.

Second-stage literacy has three important implications which the researcher will explore. Firstly, the modern view of literacy is that it is no longer equated with reading, writing and arithmetic alone, but that it is also an element of socio-economic progress and should aid in creating responsible citizens, as well as safe-guarding cultural identity and national interests. The retention of literacy is thus an essential element in the planning of the initial literacy programmes. Thus, unless efforts to make people literate are sustained, literacy campaigns are self- defeating.

A second implication relates to the fact that adults learn slower than children for several reasons, namely their time for study and attending classes is usually more restricted, and opportunities for using new academic skills, or their continuation, are often not possible, as the necessary motivation and facilities are lacking. For these reasons, many adults who successfully attain a reasonable level of literacy, subsequently lose their new skills, for lack of use, thus reverting to semi-literacy or illiteracy.

A third factor involves younger people who have left the school system before mastering literacy skills. These school drop-outs form a sizeable number of the

illiterate population. Therefore, planning and provision of the 'second stage' concerns both newly literate adults, as well as the school drop-outs. This requires more than simply 'follow-up' courses for a post-literacy phase. They need to be wider in scope and design, incorporating cultural, social and economic inputs also. These programmes must be planned in conjunction with further education programmes, and integrated into an environment in which the written word is required and regularly used. In general this suggests that unless the role of the written word is meaningful to the learner in personal, economic and social situations, it destroys the motivation to become literate.

Similarly, unless the newly acquired knowledge is systematically introduced into work and everyday living situations, it will be lost. The learners need to be made aware of ways in which literacy skills will improve their conditions of life and enhance their knowledge. Furthermore, unless the learners themselves are actively involved and responsible for changing their environments, programmes devised for them will not have the same impact. The need to provide such opportunities in an organized and systematic way at a national level, goes well beyond formal education provision. It involves commitment at the highest level which ensures economic, cultural and educational structures. This implies the creation of a 'literate environment'. This means the development of an infrastructure to ensure the following:

- \* availability of written material, newspapers, books, pamphlets, etc., for the newly literate at an appropriate level of comprehension,
- \* possibilities for further educational provision through evening schools, correspondence education, etc., and
- \* the possibility of the newly literate becoming their own 'agents of change', by using their new skills in their work as well as their social and personal lives. That is, by the integration of the written word into productive activities, health and hygiene measures, community activities, personal communications, etc.

Motivation for adult literacy in South Africa is currently high, especially under conditions of political transformation, urbanization and the pressure for employment.



The scale of illiteracy and the corresponding need for adult literacy provision is likely to remain high for many years to come.

Therefore the process of creating a literate environment involves commitments from the ministries of education, labour, health, communications, culture, etc. It also entails support by voluntary organizations, such as trade unions, co-operatives, women's organizations, religious groups, etc. This strategy would involve a combination of specially designed structures and support services, as well as the condition which would enable learners to use their new knowledge creatively and productively in everyday life and work situations. A relationship is thus developed between education and training on the one hand, and development on the other.

Having dealt at length with adult literacy as a purpose of adult education, it is apparent that it constitutes a purpose that is prioritized in most developing countries. It is also a priority need in South Africa.

#### 6.7.2 **Employment**

Education for employment attracts the most support from sponsors and learners. It involves a preparation for, or improved competence in paid work activities (Titmus, 1989 : 93). There is a strong demand for education for employment. This discussion will examine the purposes of employment education from the perspectives of learners, employers and society as a whole. The researcher will also analyze the principles underlying provision.

The fundamental reasons for providing or participating in occupational education are the same throughout the world. The principles according to which it operates varies as they are influenced by political and social factors. Employers engage in employment education when they perceive that the efficient functioning of their enterprise requires that their employees acquire knowledge and skills which they do not possess on appointment. Individuals engage in it because they have insufficient knowledge or skills for gainful employment, or to achieve advancement in their

employment, or for reasons of personal satisfaction (they wish to become more competent). The state provides or supports adult vocational education in part so as to enable the employer and the individual worker to achieve the above-mentioned purposes, but principally to meet the country's need for an appropriately trained labour force.

With rapid technological change, skills acquired during apprenticeship, often become obsolete within a short space of time. Consequently, there is a need for employees to be retrained, or given further training. Most countries engage in work-force planning, so as to ensure that adequate opportunities are available to obtain relevant skills at a level that the economy needs. The problem of unemployment has complicated the extent of government support for occupational education (Titmus, 1981: 128). Technological advances have created corresponding shifts in the purposes of adult vocational education. For many governments, work-related education has become an instrument of social planning, as well as one of economic policy. Presently South Africa is confronted with extreme pressure to train and re-train employees and the vast reservoir of the unemployed sectors. Some governments have introduced legislation to secure equality of employment opportunity for disadvantaged groups. The purposes that have been referred to here are widely accepted. For more in-depth analysis one needs to consider the underlying principles of adult education for employment.

The increasing preference of the term 'education' as opposed to 'training' to describe work-oriented study, suggests that its purposes and values go beyond the mere acquisition of job skills (Titmus, 1981 : 146-149). An opposing argument is that since work-oriented education is instrumental learning, it should not be called education (ie. acquisition of knowledge which is of value in itself), and not simply a means to an end (Titmus, 1981 : 153-157). These views represent the divergent principles that underlie work-oriented learning.

Economic self-interest is another important principle behind adult education for work (Paterson, 1979 : 169-174). This suggests that an individual studies to improve his/her

own competence for the rewards he/she reaps in money or status. This principle of self-interest is rarely challenged by sponsors, providers or recipients. Adult education for employment attracts support above that of other sectors, because it is specifically directed towards improving the material standards of all those engaged in it.

The researcher will now consider some of the factors that influence individual participation, and the nature of provision. Education for employment varies from country to country. This is usually due to political and ideological factors, and also the level of economic development. Paterson (1979 : 177) states that in most countries, work related training is the single most important facet of adult education. In this respect, Titmus (1981 : 158) adds that studies in several countries have shown that most adults who participate in adult education are motivated by 'vocational pragmatic factors'. The importance attributed to adult education for work is assessed in terms of the authority and planning that is retained by the central government, whereas in other areas of adult education, authority and planning is widely devolved to regional or local level. This applies to Austria and Germany where state intervention in adult occupational education takes the form of economic planning and social engineering (Titmus, 1981 : 160). However, most governments (including South Africa) operate on the notion that employers ought to make a contribution to the education of their employees, although they are not compelled to do so.

Education policy for the unemployed usually contains a strong element of social engineering (Hopkins, 1985 : 189-194). Specific categories within the adult population which are susceptible to unemployment (eg. young adults, immigrants, ethnic minorities and women) attract special educational measures in some countries. However, in practice, most governments do involve representatives of employers and organized labour in the planning and supervision of occupational education policy (decision-making/advisory role). This is a route that might benefit South Africa immensely.

It is important to examine the relation between employment policy and adult education, which includes its objectives, the sources of its provision, and its

organisation and finance. Adult education has an implicit connection with employment policy, in that it influences the overall skill level of the population. Thus, economic growth after the Second World War has had two major consequences for adult education:

- \* resources were made available for substantial expansion, and
- \* skill shortages stimulated a need for new education and training policies (Hopkins, 1985 ; 213).

Thus, during the 1950s and 1960s there was widespread expansion in adult education for employment. Provision was invariably linked with employment policy in Sweden, Germany and the UK (Hopkins, 1985 : 225). During this period, these adult education initiatives were designed to develop learning opportunities to facilitate sustained economic growth. But, during the 1970s and 1980s, adult education came to be seen as a buffer against unemployment, as much as an instrument of positive employment policy.

Lowe (1975 : 213-215) identifies three goals of adult education in relation to employment policy:

- \* to supply the overall skills needed to sustain economic growth,
- \* to counteract inequities in employment, and
- \* to provide a means whereby individuals can directly or indirectly further their own career development.

With respect to the providers of adult education, Lowe (1975 : 218) states that all countries rely on a combination of providers, but vary in the extent to which they draw on different sources, namely:

- \* the formal education system (ie. many institutions within the formal education system offer courses for adults, which have a more or less close connection with employment),
- \* other public institutions, (eg. ministries of labour run training centres as part of their industrial policies),

- \* 'in-house' courses (ie. many companies offer courses for their employees) which tend to be closely related to their specific needs,
- \* private institutions (ie. commercial operations and other non-profit making organizations) also provide for the educational needs of adults, and
- \* trade unions provide training for their membership at all levels.

Thus it is acknowledged that there exists a variety of sources and kinds of provision. Similarly, the organization and finance of adult education for employment are also complex issues. This involves different ministries (education, labour, health, etc.) and also different levels of government (national, regional, local). The co-ordination of provision is often fraught with problems. In some countries (eg. France, Germany and Australia) formal rights to educational leave are established (Lowe, 1975 : 239-244). The link with employment is central to the consideration of the financing of adult education. The mechanisms for financing cover a range of combinations, including both payment of fees and public subsidy. They are oriented towards the individual, the educational institution, the company, or the region. Specific forms which deserve mention include payroll tax (used in France and Sweden) used to finance educational leave schemes; and the levy grant system (used in the UK) to encourage industrial training whereby levies are raised from firms and paid back in the form of assistance for training (Lowe, 1975 : 251-255).

In summary, it may be said that under conditions of economic growth, there is a demand for education for employment. It has important implications for both individual and societal development. Political, ideological, social, and economic factors have an important bearing on participation and the nature of provision.

### 6.7.3 **Role education**

Role education does indeed cover many purposes of adult education. For example, a person who undertakes learning to get a job (or to obtain a better one), is studying for a role (ie. seeking to improve his/her performance as a breadwinner). This is only one role of the many roles that adults fulfil. While some roles are acquired by only

a few adults, others apply to most adults, namely being parents, spouses, etc. Education has always had an element of role preparation in it, although for some roles there is no systematic training provided (one learns through practice or incidentally). In the twentieth century, roles have become more specialized, and so has the accompanying education programmes. In dealing with role education the researcher will focus on the kind of education that is directed towards improving participation of individuals in public life. This includes adult education for social action, political education and family life education.

#### **6.7.3.1.Social action**

Adult education for social action focuses on the kind of education that is directed towards increasing and improving participation by individuals in the public life of their communities (Titmus, 1981 : 201). In this context, controversy surrounds the concept of participation (ie. related to ends and means). Titmus (1981 : 203) encapsulates this controversy in the following statement, " ... we need education for participation, and we get education through participation." Thus, it is difficult to define the concept of participation when dealing with adult education for social action.

#### **6.7.3.2.Political education**

When dealing with political education as an application of role education, it is not clear whether this gives meaning to all other forms of adult education, or whether it is just another form of educational provision. The researcher accepts the notion that a vision of citizenship lies behind all forms of adult education provision, including political education. Political or citizenship education is directed at increased participation to develop a sense of nationality, cultural identity, and any national purpose among the citizenry (Thompson, 1980 : 215-221). There is usually a preoccupation with political education in newly formed countries, or those that are newly independent. In providing a definition of political education, it is not clear as to whether it refers to a sound general education, or one which focuses explicitly upon political content.

A sound general education provides the empowerment that is necessary to cope with the bureaucracy of the modern state. This type of educational provision addresses the means to harness the individual's intellectual resources in order to maximize his/her rights and privileges as a citizen (Entwistle, 1981 ; 233-40). Therefore, political education aims at producing patriotic, but also rational, critical, and active individuals. Thus the function of political education appears to be blurred - is it aimed at cultivating an elite amongst the underprivileged, or does it seek alternatives to engage the majority. Alternatives to political education favour two approaches: community development, and participatory research (Jarvis, 1983 :268).

The concept 'community education' has several implications, as suggested by Roberts (1979), Jarvis (1983) and Fletcher (1980), (Jarvis, 1983 : 268-272). When tied to the concept of development, its political aims lie in the objective of providing education for adults within disadvantaged communities, and attempts to enrich community life through the resolution of economic and social problems within the community itself (Jarvis, 1983 : 269). Community education does not encourage the disinterested pursuit of knowledge of the arts and sciences, nor does it attempt to raise the quality of life through leisure or recreational activities. On the contrary, it concentrates pragmatically on the specific problems of local communities and the groups and individuals within them. This view suggests that a vast majority of adults decline to participate in adult education, not because of apathy or hostility towards education, but because they deem existing provision to be indifferent to their dilemma. This holds true for adult education provision and participation in South Africa.

The second alternative, namely participatory research is based on the assumption that the research which is necessary for resolving practical problems confronting communities is likely to be most productive when the experience of the proposed beneficiaries is canvassed by experts (Jarvis, 1983 : 272-275). It is argued that solutions which are 'imposed', and the outcome of research undertaken exclusively by experts are flawed, and therefore provide no educational experience (political or otherwise) for the beneficiaries. With participatory research, members of the community become creative participants in reform, and not merely objects of the

research exercise. More importantly perhaps, is the fact that it provides a means of removing existing apathy towards adult education, especially by those who need it most.

Both community education and participatory research appear to be suitable alternatives to traditional forms of political education, especially when working with disadvantaged adults who have had little or no formal schooling. Educationists interested in problems of developing countries have strongly advocated the value of participatory research, since the political and educational models devised in Western countries appear inapplicable (Jarvis, 1983 : 275; Thompson, 1980 : 219). In the context of developing countries, political education must be able to facilitate 'empowerment'. It is argued that Western notions of citizenship have little relevance in the political contexts of developing countries. In the latter context, Freire's (1970) 'pedagogy of the oppressed' appears to be the most suitable for political education.

Freire (1974 : 18-19) conceptualizes political education as being an outcome of education for literacy. His ideological position suggests that political education which consists of teaching and learning about 'mainstream' political institutions has an element of 'extentionism' (Freire, 1974 : 23). He believes that this serves only to further alienate the oppressed. Freire (1974 : 80) argues that the oppressed do not need knowledge of how to engage with traditional political institutions, as this would signal their acceptance of the existing political hegemony. Instead, he says, they need knowledge and skill that is appropriate to the creation of novel, liberating political institutions which uniquely address their own peculiar predicament. Since developing countries not only lack traditional western democratic institutions, but also generally have very high rates of adult illiteracy, Freire's (1974 : 87) notion of political education, which primarily involves the conquest of illiteracy is valuable.

Thus, for Freire (1974 : 95), learning political participation requires a rejection of the authoritarian pedagogy of 'banking' and the participation of learners in their own education. The underlying principle of this approach is that one learns political responsibility only through experiencing political activity in the cultural, economic and



other institutions of society. This conceptualization is consistent with the notion of political and educational activity through participatory research. Freire's (1974) conceptualization of adult political education attempts to bring political awakening to the oppressed, educationally deprived masses, by utilizing a creative approach to education, in any time and place, with any kind of clientele. The focus will now turn to family-life education as an example of role education.

### **6.7.3.3. Family-life education**

Family-life education is a broad field; it includes anything that contributes to the total growth and well-being of the family - physical, mental, emotional, economic, spiritual - can be incorporated under the category of education for family living (Brown, 1964; 267-269). At its broadest level, family-life education would include literacy programmes, population planning, health care, agricultural development, disease control, nutrition, improved housing, etc. Without denying the importance of such programmes, in the discussion which follows the researcher will adopt a narrower definition.

Brillinger and Brundage (1989 : 121) define family-life education as including any activity by a group, aimed at imparting information concerning family relationships, with greater understanding. As the main mental health unit in society, the family functions to stabilize personalities and also to enhance the growth of both adults and children. Family-life education is designed to assist the family to be more effective in sustaining the mental health of all its members. The goal is to help individuals develop their interpersonal skills, and to enrich their relationships with other family members. Topics for learning would include husband-wife relationships, parent-child relationships, child-care development, sex education, dating, family planning, marital breakdown and rehabilitation, and personal development and mental health.

Family-life education focuses on improving family functioning, as the family is seen as a central educative agent in which social relationships are developed, values and attitudes shaped, and pre-dispositions for life-long learning established (Brown, 1964

: 265) . Contemporary initiatives in family-life education assume many forms. Mostly they relate to learning about families, rather than to learning in families. The three major settings that offer family-life education, are religious, social and professional organisations, the mass media, and schools and universities. There are many organizations that offer a variety of courses and services in areas such as parent education, marriage preparation, marriage enrichment, child development, family health and nutrition, sexuality, single parenting, separation and divorce, reconstituted families, child and spouse abuse and family budgeting. The mass media and the movie industry has exerted a significant influence on moulding values, ideas, attitudes and beliefs about marital and family living.

Research in family-life education relates to all facets of family functioning. However, it is useful to examine the five dominant categories (Brillinger and Brundage, 1989:123-124). The first relates to family planning, birth control and prenatal care. In developing countries, this category is often combined with literacy programmes. The second category focuses on teaching adults the skills of parenting, including a considerable amount of writing aimed at helping parents of children with special needs or disabilities. The third category relates to help for parents to improve their economic position. The fourth category concerns researching changes in parenting styles because of shifting social conditions such as the increased participation of fathers in child care, or the impact of the media on children, etc. The fifth category focuses on teaching parents about nutrition and the health needs of children.

In general, family-life education must offer education for choice. In other words, adults must be encouraged to examine the assets and liabilities of various relational patterns, as well as to explore alternatives to the problems of over-population, poverty, environmental resources and other social concerns.

In summary the discussion has focused on role education. The examples that have been considered included political education through community education and participatory research, Freire's 'pedagogy of the oppressed', and family-life education. The discussion has shown that role education as a purpose of adult education is aimed

at improving participation in public life. The nature of such participation stems from the existing social, political and economic circumstances that characterizes society. For role education to be meaningful, it has to be woven into the context of the daily lives of the learners/ participants.

Having considered adult education for the promotion of literacy, adult education for employment, and role education, the researcher will now focus on adult education for change.

#### 6.7.4. **Adult education for change**

Since education aims at producing more competent, better informed, more understanding people it has implied within its goals the possibility that its activities will cause change in the society inhabited by those who undergo it. Much of the adult education initiatives have gone beyond this, by producing people who will achieve change. In the developing countries, there prevails an urgent need for education to serve as an effective agent for change (Titmus, 1989 : 125). Hence, whether it is called education, training, instruction, or indoctrination, the potential of systematic teaching or directed learning as an agent of change is too great to be ignored. The discussion will examine the areas of urban development, primary health care, population education, environmental education and peace education, as examples of adult education with the purpose of change.

##### 6.7.4.1. **Urban development**

Adult education can effectively address the problem of poverty, that is both rural and urban poverty. The researcher will examine the issue of urban poverty. The United Nations Estimates (1979 : 18) state that of the world population of 4 billion in the 1970s, 900 million lived in urban areas. Of this urban population, 400 million are poor. The plight of the urban poor in developing countries is of relevance to the South African circumstances.

The indices of urban poverty are shown in low employment patterns, low income levels, widespread malnutrition, and mortality rates, and a poor structure of provision in housing, transport, water supply, roads, health care, and education facilities (Adiseshiah, 1981 : 28-33). Poverty is clearly not a one-dimensional state of existence. It is not simply a state of deprivation, or a series of inadequate conditions. Rather, it is an interrelated social phenomenon in which an urban majority are poor, lacking most services and facilities and a minority are well provided for (Adiseshiah, 1981 : 34). These two situations are related (ie. poverty and the urban experience). Urban poverty is a social condition resulting from the use of the community's assets in such a way that the basic wants of the majority are not met, whilst the relatively unlimited needs of the minority are increasingly fulfilled (Adiseshiah, 1981 : 37-38). Adult educators working with the urban poor usually deal with some of the symptoms of this condition, for example under education, illiteracy, unemployment, etc.

The expansionist trend that is manifest in developing countries, indicates that there is usually a mass concentration of the population living in the urban sectors. In this regard, Adiseshiah (1989 : 126) suggests that the problems of the big cities will continue to dominate the future, and will challenge adult educators in many ways. Studies in developing countries show that the drift from villages to towns is the result of the unemployed coming to the cities to seek employment and a means of subsistence (Thompson, 1980 : 318). This trend is also true for rural-urban migration in South Africa. In this context urban unemployment is seen as a transfer of the location of rural unemployment, and urban poverty an extension of rural poverty.

Chapters Two, Three and Five have suggested that educational policies contribute significantly to the political, social and economic inequality in society. This invariably adds to the burden which adult education has to carry in promoting equality. In Chapter Three the researcher has argued that the educational system links the reward system of different jobs to the limited access to the better paid jobs. The educational system further promotes inequality spatially (urban-rural), sexually (male-female), generationally (young-old), and socially (rich minority-poor majority) and racially (black-white).

In relation to urban poverty Adiseshiah (1989 : 126) states that adult education provision has three interrelated components:

- \* literacy learning,
- \* professional skills formation, and
- \* social awareness awakening.

Further, these components are linked to the three freedoms that the poor majority are seeking, namely:

- \* freedom from ignorance,
- \* freedom from low-wage employment, and
- \* freedom from inequality and injustice (Adiseshiah, 1989 : 126).

Adiseshiah (1989 : 128) further proposes that it is part of the adult educator's mandate to initiate laws that benefit the poor. To accomplish this, he suggests that adult education associations should help in the forming of rural and urban trade unions, and in promoting a working alliance among the landless, the marginal, and the urban poor. Only when this is achieved, will the participation of the people in political decision-making be assured, and adult education will be able to discharge its role in the fight for equality.

Thus, it is the task of adult educators to organize the urban poor, particularly poor communities in each locality. The adult education programme should address the specific needs of the rural migrants (it is often presumed that they are illiterate and unskilled; this is not necessarily the case). Adult educators should focus on trying to organize the poor to identify the social, political and environmental infra-structures that are needed in their locality (eg. electricity, roads, transport, ownership of plots, house construction, sanitation, education, training and health care services) and to take action to ensure that existing urban facilities in these localities are made available to the urban poor. Perhaps, another task of adult education is to organize the urban poor to participate in radio and television programmes, and not simply to be observers. However, it is important that before adult education can begin to discharge these

functions, a prior condition must be the political commitment of the government to revise its educational priorities.

The focus so far has been on the role of adult education in facilitating social change among the urban poor. Similarly, when appropriately organized adult education can also play an important role in promoting primary health care. The researcher will now examine this aspect.

#### **6.7.4.2. Primary health care**

The concept 'primary health care' refers to actions to maintain and enhance the basic health of individuals and communities. It is intended to pre-empt the need for curative action, and is undertaken outside the medical profession and with the participation of the clientele themselves (Stensland, 1989 : 128). In this analysis the researcher will suggest ways in which adult education can contribute towards achieving the goals of primary health care. Adult education builds on principles and theories derived from the scientific study of mature learners. Adult educators consider methodology to be their area of expertise, but they also emphasize that this resource should also be utilized to fulfil vital human needs. It is in this context that adult educators are able to collaborate with medical and health care workers to promote primary health care. Therefore both adult education and primary health care have important development roles in society.

Adult education is well poised to further the Alma Ata Declaration of 1978, namely, the attainment of a level of health that will permit them to lead a socially and economically productive life by the year 2000, by all peoples of the world (WHO, 1981 : 3-5). Within this broader goal, adult education can also be effectively channelled into promoting the primary health programme in South Africa, as set out in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994 : 37).

The researcher believes that since adult education implies empowerment of its target population, it can be used to stimulate social action in the area of primary health care.

There are three aims of primary health care which are of particular importance to adult education:

- \* primary health care professes to be holistic, serving total human beings (ie. their families and communities) and not merely physical needs; it involves both social and medical action,
- \* primary health care strives to integrate health with other vital concerns, including education. This assumes collaboration among various agencies, consequently research and development become collaborative efforts, and
- \* primary health care builds on participation from the community (ie. people must participate in choosing priorities, deciding on plans, and implementing them). This 'bottom-up' approach utilizes adult education as voluntary and self-directed learning.

It is suggested that these common goals of primary health care and adult education are sharpened by differences in available resources, and the gap between served and under-served communities. Therefore, the methods of adult education could be effectively utilized in participatory research involving integrated primary health care programmes. Participation by means of a 'bottom-up' approach to community development facilitates success that is usually sustainable.

However, one cannot ignore the obstacles to effective participation in primary health care. For example, in many developing countries there are ingrained hostilities towards change, and there are vested interests among those in power (Thompson, 1980 : 319). This creates constraints against co-operative efforts. Secondly, often there prevails a discriminatory atmosphere against the poor, women, rural people and the landless. Such discriminatory conditions serve to exclude these groups from action, and from education for action. Thus, adult education for change has to overcome such constraints.

For adult education to be effective, there has to be a clear focus on people and communities, and their specific needs. Therefore the role of adult education in promoting primary health care has to target the specific needs of communities, rather

than focusing on 'health care' in general. For instance, there are specific health needs within particular communities, namely, the malnourished, and resettled groups exposed to environmental dangers, etc.

In South Africa this marriage between the goals of adult education and primary health care has important implications for the reconstruction and development programme, because the major thrust of the strategy is health promotion, disease prevention, diagnosis, therapy and rehabilitation, and the development of a health system with primary health care as a central function. This discussion has attempted to demonstrate how adult education can be the basis for social change in the health care sector. The researcher will now refer to population education as another area that can facilitate change.

#### **6.7.4.3. Population education**

Population education entails educational provision designed to help adults understand social processes such as slow and rapid growth, migration, urbanization, and their effects on the quality of life. The purpose is for the target group to acquire knowledge, abilities, attitudes and values which are essential to understanding population dynamics, and their effects on the quality of life (Udo and Viederman, 1979 : 4). This amounts to an educational response to demographic problems, such as diminishing resources and the difficulty in satisfying education, health, and employment needs.

Udo and Viederman (1979 : 6) explains that population education is not an attempt to develop a new discipline - its theoretical base is borrowed from a range of other disciplines, and is directed at explaining the effects of population processes to individuals and groups. In this sense, it has much in common with family-life education and sex-education. Population dynamics affect several areas of social functioning - political relations, environmental resources, health care, social services, education, employment, human rights, etc. There are differing views about population dynamics. These range from those who see population growth as a crisis (ie. as the



primary cause of social problems), to those who seek to encourage population growth to help solve social problems (Udo and Viederman, 1979 : 6-7). These varying viewpoints are given different emphases in population education programmes. Some contend that population issues serve as a smoke-screen to divert attention from the real problems facing developing nations. In essence, these real problems stem from the maldistribution of wealth and resources, the lack of integrated economic development, over-consumption, an affluent lifestyle, rather than rapidly increasing population growth rates.

As a basis for social change population education is aimed at providing knowledge and developing an understanding of the societal effects of population dynamics. This is not an easy task by any means, especially in traditional societies because cultural values (eg. concerning child-bearing) are extremely difficult to change.

#### **6.7.4.4. Environmental education**

Environmental education is designed to develop awareness concerning environmental issues which are linked to industrial and technological change. It is reasoned that knowledge of environmental functioning will facilitate participation in effective decision-making (Emmelin, 1977 : 178-180). Environmental issues have a two-fold purpose in adult education namely:

- \* they can present problems which need solutions, and
- \* they can be used as a basis of relevant knowledge in teaching adult basic education (Emmelin, 1977 : 182-184).

Emmelin (1989 : 134) elaborates that the demand for solutions can best be met when environmental education produces one or more of the following outcomes:

- \* the integration of environmental concern, knowledge and skill into all relevant areas of learning,
- \* the development of environmentally literate and participatory citizens,
- \* the preparation of experts qualified to deal with specific environmental problems, and

- \* the deepening of understanding of all environmental matters by individuals in influential civic positions.

Voluntary organizations and citizen groups play an important sustained educational role in dealing with issues such as wild-life conservation, pollution, environmental quality and resource depletion. In developing countries, environmental education converges with remedial adult education (Emmelin, 1989 : 134). For example, environmental education often serves as a vehicle for adult literacy education. To utilize this resource base in adult education, the liaison between official environmental protection agencies, and voluntary organization needs to be further established. This organizational networking must also be used as a basis for materials development for adult education.

#### 6.7.4.5. **Peace education**

This also serves as a basis for education for change. There are varying definitions upon which peace education is formulated. For example, in Western countries it is conceived of primarily as educational work to develop international understanding and co-operation; and in developing countries it is regarded as education to recognize the reality of prevailing social injustices and as an effort to reduce/remove them (Paterson, 1979 : 289-291). Despite these differences, peace education for adults is expanding. It is based on the following shared notions:

- \* respect for human dignity,
- \* an acceptance of equality between people,
- \* solidarity with the less privileged,
- \* courage to act in a non-violent way against injustices in one's community and internationally, and
- \* acceptance of responsibility by individuals for the maintenance of peace (Paterson, 1979 : 291-294).

The point of departure, is the way in which one defines peace education. This would include an absence of war and armed violence, and structural or hidden violence

should be excluded from society (Paterson, 1979 : 290). To reach this kind of peace, all injustices must be eliminated. Peace education must aim at creating an individual who is capable of critical thinking and sharing of solidarity with the less privileged. Peace education should take place in three areas: information, attitudes and action ( Paterson, 1979 : 294) . Together these areas constitute an integrated whole. Peace education must be made available by making it a component in all sectors of adult education. Attention must be given to developing an interest in the goals and content of peace education, its methods, the quality and content of information, and processes of attitude change. This conceptualization of peace, suggests that the goals of peace education must be universally acceptable. The task of peace education is to give human kind a solid informational basis for evaluating the world situation. Introduction of this peace education approach (ie. the concept of peace to be included in all teaching activities) in adult education activities, requires a new kind of training of adult educators.

In this part of the discussion the researcher has focused on adult education for social change. The areas of urban poverty, primary health care, population education, environmental education and peace education have been examined. The discussion has shown that several aspects of society can become the focus of change, and adult education can be utilized effectively as a vehicle for bringing about that change.

#### 6.8. **Providers**

Providers refer to those people and organizations that provide opportunities for adults to learn, and to be taught. There are many and varied organizations and persons involved in offering or promoting adult education. The researcher will provide an account of who the providers are and the nature of the provision that is rendered. The discussion will focus on the nature of governmental and non-government provision, with an emphasis on the role of the state as a direct provider of adult education.

In its early beginnings, the provision of adult education was associated with religious institutions. During the nineteenth century there was a proliferation of providers (both

religious and secular) who offered varied forms of provision; namely second chance schooling, religious instruction, and physical and technical instruction (Titmus, 1989 : 275). The Industrial Revolution also provided a stimulus for adult education provision. Voluntary organizations continued to be the main providers until the 1930s. The indigenous, culturally based forms of adult education even continue to exist in many countries. Colonialism brought a new wave of providers, who channelled the Christian message through their provision of adult education. Government interest in adult education began with the establishment of extensive departments in agriculture and health designed to provide education in these two aspects of life that needed to be addressed (viz. curbing the spread of diseases and the provision of food) (Titmus, 1989 : 276). Following the Second World War, governments increasingly emerged as the principal providers of adult education.

In contemporary society, adult education providers are classified in various ways:

- \* governmental: central government and local authorities,
- \* quasi-governmental: universities, parastatal organizations, information services, and
- \* non-governmental: voluntary organizations, religious organizations, workers organizations, employing bodies, political organizations, etc.

Providers may be further classified according to their degree of involvement, namely:

- \* organizations created expressly for adult education, or in which adult education is their primary function, and
- \* organizations in which adult education is an important element of their work.

In addition, there are several organizations providing adult education, without necessarily creating special service elements. Mostly such organizations are non-governmental, and non-profit-making. Adult education is also provided by commercial organizations. This kind of provision usually relates to distance teaching, aimed at acquiring certificates of academic and vocational competence. Commercial providers also offer face-to-face tuition.

With respect to future trends, Hutchinson and Townsend- Coles (1977 : 207-210) identify four factors that will influence the form that adult education assumes, and consequently the roles which the various providers will be expected to play. These are as follows:

- \* with regard to young people entering the labour market, the concept of work and training will change as unemployment levels rise,
- \* there will be need of continual employee training and re-training to cope with changing technologies,
- \* the increase in leisure time will make demands on government and voluntary organizations to provide adult education, and
- \* increased longevity will lead to a focus on providing activities for the retired.

These factors suggest that in the developed countries at least, there needs to be improved working relationships between governmental and non-governmental agencies. The demands in developing countries are extensive, and most often require intervention by government and parastatal institutions. This is not to deny the role of voluntary organizations, but they appear likely to become agents of government-backed interests.

The researcher will now provide an overview of adult education providers, which include schools, community colleges, universities, open access institutions, commercial institutions, churches, libraries, and museums and galleries. Following this, a summary of the structure of adult education provision in South Africa will be presented.

#### 6.8.1. **Public schools**

Public schools have been the chief providers of state-sponsored adult education. Public schools refer to those schools which are financed by public authorities - regional or national. While it is difficult to gauge the extent of participation in adult education at public schools, Brookfield (1989 : 283) estimates that in the 1970s, over 8,5 million Americans were engaged in this form of provision. The programmes

included general education, high-school diploma courses, adult basic education, business and commercial programmes and citizenship education. The curricula of such courses reflect the interests and concerns of local communities. In 1944 legislation was passed in the UK to ensure that local education authorities secured the provision of adequate facilities for adult education in their locality (Townsend-Coles, 1977 : 112). This type of educational provision catered for the needs of persons beyond the compulsory school age, and it included cultural and recreational activities. Local authority provision assumes three forms: area adult education centres (ie. mostly based in schools), community and village colleges, and adult studies departments in colleges of further education. Courses being offered vary from family-life activities, to physical skills, and cognitive and intellectual skills.

In Sweden, in 1967 the state established municipal adult schools in an attempt to achieve inter-generational equality of educational opportunity (Lowe, 1975 : 267). Adults were taught by the school teachers, and they qualified for grants and paid leave from work for study purposes. Their curriculum included general education, vocational courses and compulsory school courses. This system also provided adult basic education to those with deficient or no prior educational experience.

The Eastern European countries have several adult education determinants in common (Lowe, 1975 : 270). For instance, by law, adults have a right to education and furthermore, they receive inducements to take up this opportunity. Economic priorities determine their adult education curriculum, and they receive financial support accordingly.

These trends in developed countries suggest that governments have appreciated the potential of adult education as an instrument of social and economic policy. Also, they have increasingly used the public school system, which they control, to carry out adult education initiatives.

Furthermore, since the greater part of government educational expenditure is channelled into the school system, it ought to be utilized as an available resource for

the expansion of adult education provision. Schools are also important because they represent accessible sites of educational activity as they are widespread in both urban and rural areas.

#### 6.8.2. Community colleges

During the 1960s, in many of the western countries, post secondary institutions called community colleges were established. These were designed to serve a growing population of college-age youth, but subsequently they were used by adults of all ages. In the USA, community colleges began as local institutions to assure access to higher education for all young adults (Titmus, 1981 : 287). While that function has been retained, in addition they have become community based institutions for adult education. Gradually, community colleges served as co-operating institutions in a community-wide programme of adult education.

The concept of community colleges was also popular in other countries. Japan, for instance, opened its first community college in 1950, and 400 others were established in the next two decades. In 1964, a law was passed in Japan, making the 'short-term' colleges a permanent feature of their education system (Lowe, 1975 : 277). Canadian community colleges trace their beginnings primarily to activities that occurred in several of its provinces during the 1960s (Lowe, 1975 : 278). These institutions are very similar to their American counterparts. Australia also has community colleges. These are situated in both urban and rural areas, and they offer post-secondary and vocational training (Lowe, 1975 : 279). There are colleges that serve similar purposes in other countries, but they are not called community colleges. Countries as disparate as Ireland, Jordan, Denmark, Sri Lanka, and Venezuela have forms of community colleges (Lowe, 1975 : 281-283). Countries in Europe and Africa, have also shown interest in the programmes that have been offered in community colleges elsewhere. Adult education and adult basic education are the main areas of interest, with vocational, technical and community-based education being subsidiary areas of interest (Lowe, 1975 : 283-284).

The analysis has shown that community colleges were developed in several countries, as a response to specific needs.

### 6.8.3. Universities

University involvement in adult education is a worldwide phenomenon. But involvement in the practice of adult education does not come easily to most universities because it is removed from their primary functions (ie. generating knowledge through research, and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations). Thus, direct provision of adult education usually arises out of exceptional circumstances.

Fordham (1989 : 289) suggests that one of the activities that universities are generally involved in includes the development of adult education as a field of study, and the training of adult educators. This activity is closely tied to the setting and culture in which it prevails. An additional type of activity is what has come to be known as nonformal education, which in the literature has also been referred to as 'community development' (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974 : 115). This activity is regarded as a contribution by the university to functional literacy or to agricultural extension.

The challenge to South African universities at this point in time is to adopt service to the community as one of their primary responsibilities. In this sense it is important to establish an organic link between adult education /extension activities and university curricula. In the absence of such linkages, universities will remain isolated from the society, and their programmes will clearly be out of tune with the reality around them.

Universities need also to plug into the demand for training and research in the academic field of adult education. Universities that provide a service to adults in the community, could also benefit the existence of a 'laboratory' for their own adult education research and development. In this way a mutually beneficial relationship could develop.



The discussion has highlighted the activities of universities in the area of adult education. It has also identified the role that universities can play in developing the knowledge base of adult education, as well as promoting social equity through educational advancement.

#### 6.8.4. **Open access institutions**

Open access institutions refer to educational institutions that offer 'open' access to adults to pursue universal and lifelong learning (Horlock, 1984 : 5). The concept of 'open' education was developed in the 1960s. Horlock (1984 : 6) elaborates that this involved learning systems for adults, which were open, both in the sense of physical accessibility (time, place, distance), and in the sense of entrance requirements (ie. conventional requirements are reduced or non-existent). By 1984, 44 countries, both developed and developing, had established variants of the 'open' university, and further experiments at the levels of secondary and further education were underway (Horlock, 1984 : 6). The two examples of open institutions that the researcher will refer to are those that exist in Israel and the UK.

Israel's Everyman's University was established in 1974 to extend the opportunity to study to all strata of the population (Kaye and Rumble, 1985 : 124-129). This educational provision was such that it did not disrupt other life activities that adults were involved with. Most importantly those who had discontinued their studies at an early age, had an opportunity to raise their general educational levels. There were no formal entry qualifications. The programmes that were offered consisted of degree courses, and general and continuing education courses. Teaching is mostly through the use of correspondence materials, with additional support being provided by the use of radio, television and audio cassettes. Support for learners are provided at study centres, and assessment takes the form of assignments and end of course examinations.

The Open University in the UK began in 1971. Its aim was to provide a second chance to adults who had not received higher education, and also to provide post-experience and refresher courses (Horlock, 1984 : 36-38). Although during its early

years it was mainly used by professional people, but by the 1980s one third of its students were manual and routine non-manual workers. No formal entry qualifications are required. Teaching is principally through printed correspondence texts, with back-up being provided by television and radio broadcasts, and the use of audio cassettes. Tutorial assistance and guidance is available at study centres. Assessment is by assignments and end of course examinations.

The two examples that have been considered suggest that open learning systems demonstrate much flexibility, and is therefore an appropriate means for second-chance learners. Other examples include the Fernuniversitat in Germany, Universidad in Venezuela, Radio ECCA in Spain, and the Radio and Television of China (RTVU) (Kaye and Rumble, 1985 : 120).

At levels other than the university sector, open learning for adults can occur in areas as diverse as computer literacy, zoo animal management, the training of youth and community workers and in the use of technology (Horlock, 1984 : 45).

Furthermore, Horlock (1984 : 50) adds that as open learning systems continue to develop in a climate that facilitates mobility, educational advancement, occupational transfer, non-work patterns, etc., profound changes will be necessary. These will be linked to the changing roles of the teacher/lecturer and the learner. The discussion has indicated that open learning systems offer an attractive, cost-effective means of widespread educational provision to facilitate educational upliftment across the social spectrum.

#### 6.8.5. **Commercial institutions**

In some countries adult education programmes are planned and administered by private agencies in order to make a profit. In the main, such institutions offer vocational and career education, and sometimes general, recreational and degree courses also. In the USA, the term 'proprietary schools' are used to denote such providers (Smith, et al, 1970 : 289). This kind of adult education provision is also

commonly found in Asian countries where there has been limited higher educational provision.

There are many kinds of proprietary education. Subjects include accounting, advertising, airline personnel training, commercial and fine art, beauty, dancing, dramatic art, design, dental technology, driving, electronics, hairdressing, home-making, insurance, modelling, real estate, sewing, craft and trade (Smith, et. al, 1970 ; 291). The main strength of profit-making organizations lies in business and technical education and the study of languages. In some countries, for example, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden, profit-making schools and colleges are subject to state regulation to ensure high quality education and fair treatment of the customer (March and Wilson, 1989 : 297). The developed countries are becoming increasingly aware that not all educational needs can be met out of the public purse, hence the scope for private provision of adult education is increasing. Thus, profit-making educational institutions are not likely to disappear in capitalist countries, although it is likely that government regulation and control will probably increase.

If the proprietary sector is to play a significant role in the future, much more needs to be known about it: its size, what it does, how it is organized, who its students are, why do they choose private rather than public provision, etc. Opportunities to explore these questions may arise as the state takes more interest in this sector of adult education provision.

#### 6.8.6. **Churches**

The purpose and functions of adult education in churches are closely associated with the work of Paulo Freire (1976). Freire has been a consultant to the education staff of the World Council of Churches since 1970. His influence in this area is illustrated by the argument that in many societies education is a consciously used instrument of power. It is exploited to produce acceptance of the system, thereby preventing the growth of a critical consciousness which would stimulate a search for alternatives.

Adult educators working in churches have focused on education for change, and have dealt with change in rural society, work and employment, multi-racial society, gender roles etc. (Lovell, 1972 : 107). There appears to be an indication that churches have accepted a particular responsibility for the needs of the disadvantaged. The churches have drawn attention to areas of social need and have motivated those who have resources to equip people to meet their needs.

The church plays a significant role in the provision of adult education throughout the world, and members of the church see themselves as being engaged in adult education, not as a peripheral interest, but because it is integral to the purpose for which Christians join together (Lovell, 1972 : 109).

#### 6.8.7. **Libraries**

Libraries play an important role in terms of supporting the adult learner. This support is rendered whether or not the learner attends a formal education programme, and whether or not the library is part of an educational institution. In this sense, a distinction is made between the library's support for other providers of adult education and 'library learning' itself (ie. where the librarian might provide a course of directed reading). Since librarians are not usually trained as teachers, they more easily see themselves in a supportive role to other educational providers (Birge, 1981 : 68). To establish this link, some countries have placed public libraries under the control of government departments that are responsible for educational provision. Libraries provide a range of programmes that complement or facilitate the provision of adult education. In countries where resources are scarce and educational systems limited libraries provide a valuable extension of educational provision. Instances where this has occurred, include the Indian government's National Education Programme which recognized the need of adults for access to books, and support groups to facilitate learning (Birge, 1981 : 69). Similarly, in Tanzania, it is the task of the Tanzanian Library Service to help people to participate in national development (Birge, 1981 : 70).

Another area in which libraries have rendered support, is that of adult basic education. This usually occurs in collaboration with a college or an educational institution. Public libraries have also been involved in literacy programmes. This occurred in the UK during the 1970s (Birge, 1981 ; 72). This was reinforced by the BBC and the library service. The libraries were drawn into the programme by offering systematic provision of back-up materials for the audiences of the broadcasting programme.

Libraries in the USA have also played a role in facilitating open entry to higher education. Libraries were involved in providing library-based guidance and tutorial support for learners wishing to gain credits for university courses, or to learn for any other motive (Birge, 1981 : 74). This concept was also practised in other countries. The Netherlands for example, has an open school in which libraries co-operate in adult education, by providing tours of the library, instruction in library use, and reading lists (Birge, 1981 : 81).

The high cost of formal education, in relation to the increasing need for adults to retrain and adapt to change, has resulted in alternative and more flexible learning systems. Learning resource centres are often integrated with libraries, and they are under much pressure to support adult learners.

#### 6.8.8. **Museums and galleries**

The contemporary educational role and functions of museums and galleries have brought the public into contact with objects which were formerly seen only by their owners, or privileged scholars. Thus, museums and galleries now operate as presenters of a peoples' heritage, and are therefore well poised to become activators of community development.

Although there has generally been little interaction between the labour movement and museums for purposes of education, attempts are underway in certain countries (Austria, Mexico and the Soviet Union) to remedy this situation (Smith, et. al, 1970 : 298). Educational activities that are provided in museums and galleries, have often

been similar for both adults and children. Arts and crafts courses are also provided on a regular basis. Museums and galleries have also provided opportunities for 'hands-on' experiential learning in certain technical fields. Libraries and museums also provide daily/weekly talks by specialists, and slide shows too. In addition, shopping centres, airports and municipal buildings have become sites for the display of objects of interest. Other forms of 'outreach' by museums include the use of mobile units and travelling exhibits (Smith, et. al, 1970 : 298). Although these activities are not always designed with the specific needs of the adult learner in mind, They represent an important potential source of adult education provision. This type of provision could be effectively utilized when it becomes linked to other participatory community development projects.

Having examined the types of adult education providers at a general level, it is necessary to examine the extent to which these providers constitute the structure of provision in South Africa.

#### **6.8.9. The structure of adult education provision in South Africa**

One of the difficulties of describing current provision of adult education in South Africa, is the dearth of information about it. There are as yet no specialist information systems on adult education in South Africa. This seriously affects everyone in the field - learners, providers, funders, specialists, and researchers. There are no national, regional, or local authorities which are responsible for collecting or disseminating information. Furthermore, the confusion as to what actually constitutes adult education compounds the problem.

Adult education provision has emerged by responding to the following needs: conscientization, increased productivity, union demands, Department of Manpower funding, and community development. The current network of provision is comprised of various categories of providers. The discussion will be formatted according to the categories stipulated earlier, namely governmental providers, quasi-governmental providers, and non-governmental providers.

### 6.8.9.1. Governmental providers

State provision of adult education in South Africa includes courses that are offered by education departments (eg. the former DET), the Department of Health and Population Development, the Department of Manpower, the South African Defence Force (SADF), and the Department of Correctional Services.

The former **Department of Education and Training (DET)** is the only government department that has adult education explicitly on its agenda. It has a specific adult education division which offers literacy and formal education courses through its night school system.

The 1993 budget for adult education within the overall DET system was less than half a percent (0,49%) of the total DET budget. The increase in the overall DET budget from 1991/2 to 1992/3 was 35%, whereas the increase allocated to adult education was only 17.6 per cent - this barely covered the cost of inflation. Enrolment has also decreased over the last few years. The details are provided in Table 6.1.

**Table 6.1.**

**Reduced literacy enrolments within the DET**

<b>Year</b>	<b>No. of teachers</b>	<b>No. of centres</b>	<b>Teacher training</b>	<b>Enrolments</b>
1988	5653	419	750	104 452
1990	4275	258	510	67 528

(NEPI, 1993 : 23).

In 1991, adult centre literacy and primary level enrolments were 29 840 and secondary enrolments were 37 227 (NEPI, 1993 : 23). Over the last few years the actual overall enrolment at DET night-schools has decreased by 35 per cent, from 104 452 adults at 419 centres in 1988 to 67 528 at 258 centres in 1990, and the number of teachers

dropped from 5 653 to 4 275 in 1990. Further, some 750 teachers were trained for literacy instruction in 1989, but only 510 in 1990. The DET Annual Report for 1990 attributed this drop in numbers to political unrest, the DET's lack of credibility with local communities, poorly trained teachers, non-functional courses, and budgetary constraints (NEPI, 1993 : 23).

With respect to the former homeland territories, there exist equivalents of the DET's adult education centres. The centres also show a decline in adult education provision and enrolment (NEPI, 1993 : 23).

**The Department of National Education (DNE)** is another state department that offers adult education. In March 1991 the DNE published the Education Renewal Strategy Document, in which it stated there was little chance that the government would develop a nationally co-ordinated adult literacy scheme, despite widespread criticism that considerable duplication of services existed between various government and corporate sector literacy schemes (NEPI, 1993:28). The Department indicated that a nationally co-ordinated system would be too costly.

**The Department of National Health and Population Development** allocates a portion of its budget to the development of education and information programmes. The health education programmes train their own staff, field and project workers from other agencies, and often publish posters and pamphlets, or use electronic media for promoting public awareness of current health issues such as nutrition, tuberculosis, and immunization.

**The Department of Manpower** is another state provider of adult education. The mission of this department's training is aimed at improving the level of competence among the labour force (NEPI, 1993 : 26). While the employer has primary responsibility for the training and retraining of employees, and this Department's role is a supportive one. This support takes the form of advice to employers on training, the provision of a legal framework and financial assistance and incentives to employers.



By accessing Department of Manpower funding, contractors are able to provide training courses to the unemployed. These programmes usually take the form of short courses of approximately two-weeks duration with a heavy concentration in teaching skills. Although there may be hidden benefits of such programmes, the scheme is clearly not achieving its objective of linking unemployed people to employment.

Other Department of Manpower programmes are not as big as that for unemployment training. These include apprentice training, loans to regional training centres, and vocational services (NEPI, 1993 : 27). The contribution of vocational services to adult education takes the form of career counselling, guidance and gathering and dissemination of career information.

**The South African Defence Force (SADF)** has made increasing efforts in providing adult education as more coloured and black soldiers were recruited. In 1993 the SADF had 17 adult education centres: fourteen DET, and three DEC (Kwa Zulu Department of Education and Culture) centres (NEPI, 1993 : 28).

**The Department of Correctional Services** is another state department involved in the provision of adult education. Since prison population is mostly over the age of sixteen, these programmes contribute to both formal and nonformal adult education provision in South Africa. The prison programmes fall into the categories of literacy, basic education, secondary education, recreation education, and vocational and skills courses (NEPI, 1993 : 28-29).

Although the state has been the largest provider of adult education, the scope of its provision has been meagre in relation to what would be an appropriate response to the extent of under-education among adults. The researcher will comment further on current state provision with respect to three areas, namely:

- \* the extent of current state provision,
- \* regional and sectoral distribution of provision, and
- \* what infrastructure is in place on which to build an expanded or state-assisted programme.

State provision of adult education consists of Regional Offices, and Public, Satellite, Circuit, and State-aided centres.

There are eight Regional Offices located in the regions formerly known as the Northern Transvaal, the Highveld, Johannesburg, Orange Vaal, OFS, Natal, Cape and Diamond Fields. The former DET also services homelands territories such as QwaQwa, Lebowa, Gazankulu, KwaZulu and Kangwane. The Regional Offices house the inspectors for adult education and literacy advisors, who deal with the registration of public centres as well as the allocation of classes and subjects; all financial matters; and policy.

There are 123 Public Centres in within the former boundaries of South Africa and 198 in the former self-governing territories. Each Public Centre has a full-time principal and administrative staff, as well as teachers. They are normally accommodated in existing school buildings and classes take place in the late afternoons or evenings, on average four times a week.

There are 82 Satellite Centres (or remote campuses) within the former boundaries of South Africa and 21 in the former self-governing territories. These centres are established when the Public Centre becomes too big or when the distances between students and the Centre are too great. Classes are held at Satellite Centres, but administration is undertaken by the relevant Public Centre.

The ten Circuit Centres deal with the training of in-service teachers. There are also 580 State-Aided Centres of which 43 are registered at sites of large employers like mines, the Rural Foundation, farms, etc.; and 530 in the self-governing territories. These Centres are partly subsidized and partly responsible for funding their own programmes.

There are also State-run or assisted programmes run by the Rural Foundation, at military bases such as in the Kalahari, and by municipal authorities. There is no real co-operation between the different state departments. Despite this regional

administrative structure, decisions are made centrally by state officials with the process being very much a top-down one. Hence there is very little chance for people in the field to influence policy. The organizational features of the state-run adult education system can be summarized as a centralized and routinized system.

The head office is located in the capital, in the central department of education. Curriculum materials, materials, special teacher training, examinations, management and administration (regulations, payments of teachers, allocation of facilities) are designed and executed here.

The Regional offices are much smaller, each having an inspector responsible for adult education and one or two specialist advisors.

At the local level there are either large centres or clusters of centres at which night schools are run at school premises.

Regarding the governmental providers of adult education the following conclusions may be made. It is clear that state departments are definitely making a quantitative contribution to adult education, especially the informal and nonformal kind. Although it is difficult to gauge how much money is spent directly and indirectly on all kinds of adult education programmes, but it could be at least R250 million annually (NEPI, 1993 : 29).

However, much of the adult education that is provided is not informed or empowered by an ethos, specialist expertise, a 'critical mass', or through an effective information base. Provision is uncoordinated and state departments seem to work as much in isolation from each other as do many non-governmental organizations in South Africa. There is no inter-sectoral collaboration and there is no central authority within the state network that takes responsibility for adult education planning or even information gathering.

Further, the adult education that is offered by the state, except for that within the former DET, is not properly accredited and does not articulate within the state infrastructure or with any education system outside the state. The courses are usually short and of a superficial nature, and do not contribute to the general education of adults.

Finally it may be said that governmental provision has the potential to be substantially strengthened by monitoring, evaluating, and co-ordinating the many scattered state interventions. Communication and information-sharing between state departments may assist individual programmes, but of more importance would be an exchange of ideas with the non-governmental organizations which have had more experience experimenting in nonformal education. The researcher shall now consider the contribution made by quasi-governmental providers.

#### **6.8.9.2. Quasi-governmental providers**

The universities are the major providers in this category. Their provision is often via centres for continuing education. In 1993 the following tertiary institutions were involved in some form of adult education provision: University of Cape Town, University of Natal, University of the Western Cape, University of Witwatersrand, University of Transkei, University of Boputhatswana, and Peninsula Technikon (NEPI, 1993 : 34).

#### **6.8.9.3. Non-governmental providers**

The researcher will discuss this category of provision in terms of the providers' orientation towards profit.

##### **6.8.9.3.1. Profit-making organizations**

There is an enormous range of education and training undertaken by the corporate sector, both in training of its own employees and as providers of education services for profit. Apart from industrial training, some of the areas of corporate sector adult

education that are of particular interest are literacy and basic education, business education, and commercial correspondence colleges.

Business education includes a wide variety of courses that is available to business people. These include human relations training, human resources development, management training, and organizational development (NEPI, 1993 : 31).

Also within the corporate sector, there exists many commercial correspondence colleges. There are about 60 registered colleges, offering over 100 different courses and currently serving about 250 000 students (NEPI, 1993 : 31). There is also some provision made through a system of distance education.

Another category of providers among the ranks of the corporate sector includes the education and computer software and hardware publishers and marketers.

Within the corporate sector adult education is also provided by industry and commerce. Employee training by employers is perhaps the largest single delivery system for adult education.

Another category of adult education provision is that rendered by professional bodies. Professional organizations customarily look after themselves as well as the people they serve. There is a large but under-researched domain of continuing professional education that provides various kinds of professional training and development, often through refresher courses. The NGO's are the next category of adult education providers to be considered.

#### **6.8.9.3.2. Non-profit making organizations**

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) especially the non-profit-making organizations constitute a vital base for adult and non-formal education. They assume many forms and range from local community-based, issue-oriented ones to large national bodies. Compared to state structures they are relatively flexible and

responsive to local needs and conditions. They can deliver services to remote and marginalized groups more effectively. Their strength often lies in their small scale, locally controlled nature and often on their reliance on volunteer involvement. The weakness of NGO's can be that their provision is localized and isolated, that they struggle to provide services on a large scale, and that they are vulnerable regarding their funding sources and local political and economic climates.

Though relatively few NGOs have adult education as a central or even secondary function, many provide some adult education service to fulfil needs considered their responsibility or to further the aims of the NGO. These include work undertaken by service clubs, voluntary organizations, worker education programmes, community and rural development organizations, political and human rights organizations, consumer, cultural and environmental bodies, women's groups, and trade unions.

There is a need to note some of those NGOs for whom adult education is a primary concern. In this respect, SACHED has a record of providing alternate education going back three decades. SACHED's current programmes include training community-based adult educators, training distance educators and administrators, producing educational programmes linked to the mass media, and developing a curriculum and distance materials for adult secondary education.

There are also a growing number of literacy organizations many of whom are associated with the National Literacy Co-operation (NLC). In general, however, the small size and lack of genuine co-ordination between organizations is a handicap that needs to be addressed.

Other organizations with strong adult education elements provide organizational development skills to other NGO's. A good example here is the Human Awareness Programme (HAP) (NEPI, 1993 : 36). The various independent career information centres, should be noted too. Rural development NGOs also tend to take adult education very seriously, and some have run literacy programmes.

In South Africa, adult education associations are a relatively new phenomenon. In Johannesburg the Forum for the Advancement of Adult Education (FAAE), has been launched and marks the beginnings of a professional association of adult educators and trainers. In the Durban area, the Forum for Continuing Education (FACE) was formed in 1992. A similar initiative is taking place in the Western Cape. It is possible that these regional initiatives might form the basis for a national organization. In 1992 a national organization, the South African Association for Literacy and Adult Education (SAALAE), was formed amid controversy because it is supported mainly by organizations linked to Black Consciousness and Africanist movements.

Religious organizations, whether they be churches or para-church agencies attached to them have a major adult education role to play. Historically, the churches have played a strong role in educational development in South Africa (as was discussed Chapter Two), and in supporting alternative education. Their great strengths are that they have an infrastructure that extends to every community, even in the remote rural areas. They have access and a commitment to the very poor and marginalized, and more particularly to women and the rural people (NEPI, 1993 : 37).

Similarly, political organizations also have an obvious adult education role. The various major anti-apartheid movements have political education departments.

Industry-based provision is largely un-coordinated across organizations so that it is very difficult to get a composite picture of what provision is being offered in smaller companies.

The largest industry-based programme that is currently running is that provided by GENMIN. GENMIN has developed its own teaching and materials package.

ESKOM, another major provider, operates a more decentralized structure. It has set up a separate central adult basic education development unit which articulates the efforts of literacy provision which cover reading, writing, numeracy, cognitive skills,

multicultural awareness and business skills (NEPI, 1993 : 31). Other emerging providers include Transnet and Telkom.

There are also various commercially-run professional agencies which sell a variety of educational services to companies, including literacy packages, training of trainers and teachers. These include Hough and Horne, Basic Education and Skills for Adults (BESA), Interman, Logos Training, Learntron, Facts Management, Lead the Field, Educational Networking Training Evaluation Corporation (ENTER), Human Resources Corporation (HUCOR), Sunflower Project, and Niemann and Associates. Each agency has developed its own package which it markets. They are not in the business of running classes, but they train company-based trainers to teach company employees.

In addition to the above agencies the Continuing Education Programme (CEP), is concerned with assisting companies to set up programmes directed at their workers. The two oldest non-profit literacy projects, LITSA (formerly the Bureau of Literacy and Literature) and Operation Upgrade.

The NEPI Report (1993 : 14) indicates that their research produced information on 40 NGOs including the nine leading organizations, which are: Learn and Teach, Prolit, The Molteno Project, Using Spoken and Written English (USWR), English Literacy Project (ELP), English Resource Unit (ERU), Eastern Cape Adult Learning Project (ECALP), Adult Literacy and Advice Centre (ALAC), Operation Upgrade and the Bureau of Literacy and Literature (LITSA). Actual numbers of learners were not readily available for seven of these 40 organizations. The remaining 33 had a total of 5 550 learners amongst them. The Report (NEPI, 1993 : 15) further suggests that there are probably a further 30 projects on whom information could not be gathered; most of these are probably very small-scale projects.

In concluding this section, it is argued that there is a surprising amount of adult education being provided in South Africa. This is being done by a variety of government departments and non-governmental institutions, organizations, and agencies. Herein lies many strengths, but adult education is in many respects a



marginal, if not an invisible sector. The variety and lack of general co-ordination of articulation between the various providers leads to adult education not being conceptualized or identified as a 'system' or 'sector' in the way that formal education is. Current providers show little evidence of having plans for large-scale provision to address the needs of a transforming society. This is clearly a policy-related issue.

A fundamental shortcoming with current provision is that providers and potential providers of nonformal education do not have a system of access to the experiences and findings of other providers, and often start and maintain programmes with limited insight and information. This places the success of programmes at risk, detracts from their effectiveness, and makes the task of adult and nonformal education more difficult than it need be. For instance, educators who are not usually adequately trained, do not have an information system on materials and methods to use, or ways of improving their own skills. Furthermore, at present there is no information system for potential learners. Attempts to provide information are very localized and ad hoc. In fact, many potential learners, particularly illiterates, simply do not know that any sort of adult and nonformal education exists.

In summary, the discussion on providers of adult education has attempted to present a general orientation to the types of providers in different countries as well as the structure of provision in South Africa. The discussion has identified three broad categories of providers, namely governmental, quasi-governmental, and non-governmental services and activities. The generalized providers that the researcher has focused on include public schools, community colleges, universities, open access institutions, commercial institutions, churches, libraries, and museums and galleries. The discussion has shown that although all of these providers have an important role to play, the prevailing conditions in a society determine the nature of the role played by different providers. For instance, in developing countries where the need for adult basic education and literacy is high, the role of government sponsored providers is more prominent than that of commercial organizations. The researcher shall now focus on target groups for adult education provision.

## 6.9. Target groups

Targeting in the area of adult education, emerged as an outcome of the broader process of democratization, which attempted to close educational gaps by giving the educationally disadvantaged the opportunity of a second chance. Often, targeting in adult education occurs on political and social grounds rather than primarily educational grounds. The target groups of adult education are numerous and it would be impossible to examine all of them. The discussion will address only the major groupings which are usually long-term objects of provision. They fall into four categories: age, gender, social isolation, and occupation. It is not unusual that an individual many fall into more than one target group, thus creating a fragmentation of educational opportunity rather than integrating diverse needs into a coherent whole (Titmus, 1989 : 315).

### 6.9.1. Age groups

A possible advantage of bringing adults of all ages together in one class/programme, is that the learning experience is enriched by a wide range of experience. Another reason is the growing movement against 'ageism', which refers to discrimination against people in any situation on the basis of advanced age.

Studies into adult learning suggest that adult life may be divided into various developmental stages, each with its own specific needs. This gives substance to the notion that each stage should be separately targeted. In the area of adult education, this results in a distinction being made between young adults or early adulthood, and old or mature adults or late adulthood (Knowles, 1970 : 32).

'Young adult' is the concept used to denote persons in a specific period of life immediately following adolescence (Knowles, 1970 : 32). Young adulthood is seen as constituting a specific sub-culture with specific problems. The age 18 marks entry into young adulthood, and a usable upper limit is set at around 25. This sub-culture is characterized by continued involvement in education and training, entry into the labour market, and influence of the youth sub-culture. In most European countries,

including the UK and the USA, most 16-20 year olds are either full-time or part-time students. There is also the trend among young adults to combine work and study. The researcher believes that this serves to increase both educational and professional proficiency.

In developing countries however, the trend is somewhat different. As a consequence of early school drop-out and inadequate schooling provision, the majority of young adults are engaged in the employment sector (if they are fortunate enough to gain employment). The lack of skills usually restricts the type of employment to manual and non-manual routine occupations. To address the educational needs of this target group, organizational flexibility will have to be increased to accommodate their family and work conditions.

In focusing on education for older adults, the heterogenous nature of this target population is striking. It reflects variations in previous education, health, housing, income and family circumstances. With the growing incidence of early retirement and increased leisure time, the educational needs of this sector of the population is bound to increase substantially. Withnall and Kabwasa (1989 : 319) suggest that older adults should be considered to be one of the community's resources, therefore they should have a continuing role as both givers and receivers in the adult education system. Peterson (1983 : 67-72) states that there are specific situations where age-segregated classes are preferable. This applies to the following three categories: subject areas referring to role needs, subjects requiring special teaching methods, and the elderly in isolated units.

Adult education for older adults can be presented as pre-retirement education (to facilitate personal adjustment and self-fulfilment) which can assume different forms: individual and group counselling, lectures, discussion groups, books, television and radio programmes. In different countries the various adult education providers need to tap into local need by expanding their provision to this target group. For example, the University of the Third Age, which was established in France in 1973, aims to contribute to raising the standard of living of elderly people by providing health-

promoting and socio-cultural activities (Peterson, 1983 : 83). The primary objective of this initiative is to draw the elderly out of isolation and into a stimulating environment. Although there are many criticisms relating to the fact that the clientele are mainly drawn from the well-educated middle class, this concept is gaining much ground in Western countries. Belgium, Canada, Switzerland, Poland and the UK have started similar projects (Peterson, 1983 ; 84). The USA has introduced a programme for older adults, that utilized campus resources through the elder hostel programme. This is based on a network approach, involving several universities and colleges - older adults participate by moving from campus to campus, thus fulfilling their need for intellectual stimulation and physical adventure. Other educational initiatives for older adults include statutory and voluntary provision, use of the mass media, and self-help programmes (Peterson, 1983 : 86).

In developing and Third World countries, educational provision for older adults has a different emphasis. It largely addresses their needs for literacy, adult basic education, and social and cultural enrichment (Peterson, 1983 : 88).

Having focused on the different educational needs of young and older adults, it is apparent that educational provision for each specific target group will have to respond to their specific needs as defined by life-cycle dynamics. The researcher will now focus attention on gender and adult education provision.

#### 6.9.2. **Gender groups**

Although there is a tendency for women to participate in adult education more than men, this has had little impact on education organization and policy. Rogers (1980 : 43-44) identifies four areas that governments are urged to address in relation to women's needs, namely:

- \* education,
- \* employment,
- \* health and welfare, and
- \* social, political and economic activities.

A generalized statistical profile highlighting the position of women globally is as follows:

'Women comprise over 30% of the 'official' labour force; perform 60-89% of all agricultural work, and produce at least 50% of all food, receive 10% of all the world's income, and possess less than 1% of the world's wealth. Further, women and girls constitute 50% of the world's population, and 75% of the world's under nourished.'

(Oglesby, et. al, 1989 : 323).

From this profile it is clear that discrimination between the sexes is rife. Thus, given the fact that women participate more extensively in adult education programmes than men, priority should be given to their educational needs. Women in developed and developing countries have varying educational needs, which are largely determined by their position in society. Adult education provision in developed countries fall into three categories:

- \* liberal education courses (eg. arts, literature, recreation, etc),
- \* re-entry programmes and vocational training courses, and
- \* basic education courses of a remedial kind, for literacy and numeracy (Rogers, 1980 : 62).

Women participate in all three categories, with varying proportions for different countries. The reasons for participation fall into four categories:

- \* social (ie. meeting and socializing with others),
- \* remedial (ie. completing their education, or taking 'second chance' opportunities to recover lost educational ground),
- \* compensatory (ie. to counter-balance felt deficiencies in their life-style), and
- \* occupational mobility (ie. education for promotion in their present work, or for entering a different occupational field) (Rogers, 1980 : 67).

Empirical studies have shown that the main motives for women are social security, independence, a wish to be of help to others, to be generally better educated, and to

further their personal development. An important feature of adult education programmes for women is that they usually help to enhance women's self-confidence and self-esteem, as well as developing their intellectual and personal skills.

In developing nations the immediate problems of the rural and poor urban women include poor environmental sanitation and health standards, maternal and infant mortality, malnutrition and short life expectancy (Rogers, 1980 : 68). The adult education provision in developing countries reflects these needs, and the majority of adult education programmes tend to fall into three categories:

- \* family health education (eg. primary health care, sanitation, nutrition, maternity, child care and family planning),
- \* agricultural extension programmes, and
- \* literacy programmes (Rogers, 1980 : 69).

Some efforts have also been made to promote programmes in vocational education. The overriding objective that motivates women in developing countries to attend adult education courses, is their need to generate more income. There are several educationally restricting factors in developing countries. These are a lack of central planning and co-ordination, inefficient use of their limited resources, the low educational background of the women, high transport costs, cultural notions of a women's role, the burden of child-care and high illiteracy rates among women.

Female illiteracy is deemed to have adverse effects not only on the well-being of the family and their children's level of education, but also on their prospects of labour force productivity. Different countries have adopted differing approaches to the problem, with the broad approaches being the political, economic, population, cultural and religious. International organizations have called for literacy training for women on the following grounds:

'... illiteracy endangers the principle of equality of humankind because it not only violates the individual's right to education but is one of the major obstacles to the effective enjoyment of other human rights.'

(Bhola, 1981 : 112)

Women's movements have raised consciousness about women's issues. Much of the literature on adult education and women, is concerned with the exposure of the inequalities suffered by women, and it calls for changes in the various political, cultural and social systems which support and maintain these inequities. The gap between the academic exercise and the real situation can be attributed to theoretical, organizational and economic factors.

The 'trickle-down theory' is a widely held, but mistaken view which suggests that the benefits gained for society will eventually reach women (Rogers, 1980 : 42). This does not appear to be happening in developing countries. Thus, the United Nations has supported three categories of adult education projects, aimed at women as the target group (Peterson, 1983 ; 90). These are designed to:

- \* increase the numbers of women adult educators with the idea of establishing support networks of women in the adult education field,
- \* promote research on the participation of women in adult education, and
- \* increase the number of women learners.

Having examined the peculiar problems confronting women in society the discussion has focused on the role of adult education in addressing the needs of women as a specific target group. The researcher shall now examine socially isolated groups as target groups for adult education.

### 6.9.3. Socially isolated groups

The aim of treating the socially isolated as a special target group, is to bring them out of isolation and into participation in society. Technical developments in educational delivery systems have made the task easier. The categories of socially isolated groups that the researcher will focus on include the physically disabled, the learning disabled, the geographically isolated, and the inmates of correctional institutions.

Physical and mental impairments substantially limit the life functions of adults. These include caring for themselves and others, fulfilling work and social roles, engaging in physical activities, and learning (Titmus, 1989 : 335).

Countries tend to adopt varying guidelines for social policy and development programmes for the disabled. Social contact is just as essential for disabled adults, as it is for others. Moreover, the disabled also need to acquire new skills and knowledge and to be given the opportunities to use them, and to advance their personal development. Planning learning programmes for the disabled must be based on an understanding of the difficulties they experience in society, as a result of their condition. There are several barriers that restrict the social functioning of disabled adults. These include:

- \* architectural barriers (eg. physical obstacles such as curbs, stairs, narrow doorways, etc.),
- \* attitudinal barriers (eg. disabled people are inferior, the sick are being punished by God, etc.),
- \* occupational difficulties (eg. to obtain employment, minimum wage jobs, little job security, etc.),
- \* legal barriers (eg. absence of legal protection available to them),
- \* emotional barriers (eg. low self-esteem, etc.), and
- \* educational barriers (eg. restricted schooling, etc.) (Bowe, 1978 : 24-36).

It is obvious that disabled adults face numerous barriers, which have the effect of isolating them socially.

Adult education provision for the disabled embraces rehabilitation, training, vocational education and general education (Bowe, 1978 : 36). Some countries have legislation that promote affirmative action and anti-discrimination provisions for the disabled. These policies are practised in the USA, UK, Germany and Denmark (Bowe, 1978 ; 39). Adult education provision for the disabled, concentrates on integrating the disabled into ordinary adult education programmes. Where day-centres for the physically disabled exist, adult educators are attempting to provide



lectures and arrange discussion groups around topics of interest (eg. physical therapy, physical aids, etc.) as well as to extend formal adult education provision to these centres.

In some instances, local authorities have also employed adult educators to provide courses in hospitals and residential homes. Distance education methodologies have particular attractions for disabled adults. For example, television and radio broadcasts have enabled housebound disabled adults to participate in educational programmes (Bowe, 1978 : 40).

The learning disabled are a group that is even more neglected than the physically disabled. Learning disabilities refer to disorders in basic psychological processes involved in understanding and using language (Northcutt, 1978 : 127). Often this becomes a neglected area because adults have usually acquired minimal coping strategies to assist them in their jobs and personal lives. The learning disabled most often enrol in adult basic education programmes. Most Western countries have not developed specific adult education packages designed to cater for the needs of the learning disabled.

The developmentally disabled are more commonly known as the mentally retarded. This refers to those individuals whose intellect functions at less than average efficiency. Three percent of the worlds' population is mentally retarded (Northcutt, 1975 : 129), and varying delivery systems have been used to develop the learning capacities of these mentally disabled adults. Adult education facilities include sheltered workshops (providing counselling, training, work experience, job-placement and follow-up services), community-supported centres and vocational rehabilitation centres. These programmes are indeed highly valued, but in most countries funding is minimal, thereby restricting adequate provision.

In dealing with the socially isolated as a target group for adult education, it must be borne in mind that provision must be organizationally and structurally flexible, to successfully target this group of adults.

Physical distance could also be a factor determining isolation. The geographically isolated are those individuals who are precluded from participating in a system of education that provides continuing, direct, personal contact between the teacher and the learner, and among learners themselves (Broadbent, 1981 : 48). In addition to isolation on the basis of physical distance, there are other factors that cause isolation, namely linguistic cultural, cognitive, socio-economic, psychological and hierarchical factors (Broadbent, 1981 : 48).

Since adult education is usually voluntary in nature, it is easily assumed that non-participation results from unwillingness rather than inability (Broadbent, 1981 : 49). For example, linguistic isolation may be obvious in the case of the individual who does not speak the language used for education, it is less obvious where the problem is linguistic deprivation. A similar form of isolation results from cognitive inadequacies, where the lack of basic knowledge inhibits prospective learners. This is a frequent problem among socially and economically disadvantaged groups.

Similarly, time and costs also isolate certain segments of the population. Cultural isolation results where individuals do not share concepts or values with the mainstream providers of education (Broadbent, 1981 : 50). They are able to benefit only marginally from such adult education programmes. Psychological isolation is related to motivation, self-image and personal life circumstances. Hierarchical isolation may result when potential learners are intimidated or restricted by bureaucratic hierarchical structures that are associated with some forms of adult education provision (Broadbent, 1981 : 51).

All these factors are interwoven and hence manifest themselves as general inhibitory factors which preclude certain adults from utilizing educational services.

Prisoners constitute another category among socially isolated groups. The provision of adult education in prisons is contextualized in terms of how imprisonment is viewed in different societies. Local conditions (eg. over-crowding, lack of facilities,

concentration of particular ethnic groups, the location of the prison, the availability of service and teachers, the average length of stay, and the sex and age of the prisoners) have an important bearing on the form that adult education provision assumes. The curricula in prisons usually include vocational training, remedial education, life-skills, arts and crafts, and academic programmes (Forster, 1976 : 89-92). Provision is supported in various ways, namely by employing full-time or part-time prison adult educators, public institution employees, and sometimes university staff also.

This discussion has shown that social isolation is inextricably linked to life circumstances, therefore adult education provision cannot ignore the context within which specific target groups exist.

#### 6.9.4. Occupational groups

Education for employment has long been the most specifically targeted area of adult education. This is related to the high levels of specialization and fragmentation of tasks, that characterize modern society.

Workers' education is an example of adult education for occupational groups. It is directed at employees as a body, and is organized through trade unions. The objective of this type of education is not training for work performance, but rather education for service in the labour movement (Titmus, 1989 : 349). The content of such programmes aims to fulfil the purposes of unions, the needs of rural workers, women, and other special target groups. The content of labour education is as broad and diverse as the educational needs that emerge from the increasing role and responsibilities of trade unions. Furthermore, the evolution of the basic needs strategy for development has stimulated trade union organizations in many developing countries, to establish self-help social and economic enterprises as extended services to their members (Bengtsson, 1989 : 44). In this context, labour education has an important role in the development process, as it constitutes and organized and mobilized body of participants who are eager to engage in social change.

In summary, the discussion has shown that adult education provision must be tailored to serve the varying needs of specific target groups. The target groups that need specific focus are age groups, gender groups, the socially isolated (physically and learning disabled, geographically isolated, mentally retarded and linguistically and culturally isolated, and prisoners) and occupational groups.

#### 6.10. **Participation and recruitment**

Here it is suggested that if one has a need to undertake purposive, systematic learning during adulthood, one should have the opportunity to do so, but also the duty to oneself and to society to do so. Despite this notion of obligation there is the principle that adults should be free to choose whether or not to participate in purposive learning. The apparent conflict that this principle creates is overcome by making the obligation a moral, rather than a legal one. It is believed that when methods of facilitation and incentive are employed, adults would be encouraged to participate in purposive learning.

In order to attract adults to participate in educational activities, it is important to understand what factors determine their participation or non-participation. These invariably include factors concerning costs, time, money, work, inconvenience, etc; and in its favour are the benefits to be derived. The researcher shall now examine in greater depth some of the factors that affect participation.

The NEPI Report (1993 : 10), indicates that this legacy leaves almost half the South African adult population functionally illiterate. A further 25 per cent are semi-literate and do not have adequate functional literacy skills to cope with normal demands of a modern, monetarized economy. Thus, at most only 20-30 per cent of adults can be considered functionally literate, that is, having a comfortable level of literacy competence.

Of the present population of South Africa, estimated to be 40 million, 57 per cent are aged between 15 and 64 years. About half of the population is over the age of 17 and beyond the reach of formal schooling. The NEPI Report (1993 : 10), states that of these 20 million adults in South Africa, about 75 per cent, or 15 million people, are potentially in need of some form of adult education. Of this estimation, perhaps more than half are school drop-outs, unemployed, or under-employed in informal-sector activities. It is important to note that however large this number of people, it does not provide a realistic estimate of how many would actually participate in adult education programmes, despite how well provided and well publicized they are. The NEPI Report (1993 : 10) suggests further that, if only a minimal number (for example 10 per cent) of this population wish to attend adult basic education programmes, the provision will have to be adequate for 1,5 million people (at least 30 times the current provision) and made available in all regions of South Africa. This statistical overview provides a basis upon which the motivation for the expansion of adult education provision in South Africa rests. Further, it highlights the potential for growth in participation and recruitment.

#### 6.10.1. **Factors affecting participation**

The focus will be on social and economic factors affecting participation in adult education. Despite the broad-ranging basis of adult education, Knowles (1977 : 137) states that only 20 per cent of adult learning occurs within the framework of organized adult education activities, and thus it is only a small portion of adults who actually participate in such activities.

In explaining the rate of participation, Cross (1981 : 67) likened the structure of participation to a pyramid: the tip consists of the small group of people who have definite and specific educational goals, and they participate regularly; the centre embraces a larger group (perhaps one third of the population) who participate intermittently; and the base comprises non-participants. Cross (1981 : 72) suggests that in Western Europe, approximately 40 per cent of all adults participate at some time in adult education. Thus, one is inclined to agree with Cross (1981 : 67), in that,

even when one applies a broad definition of participation, only a small percentage of population actually participates in adult education.

Research on adult learning suggests that in principle adults are perfectly capable of learning (Horn, 1982 : 847-70), and that they do much learning in their personal capacities (Cross, 1981 : 134). Thus, it is questionable as to why participation within the adult education system is low. In general, learners perceptions of whether the course relates to their needs and their expectations on how they ought to be treated, are important determinants on whether they persevere or drop-out.

Factors that stimulate people to enrol in adult education activities are also important. According to Titmus (1983 : 182) adults do not participate because of a lack of time and funds that are required. But he suggests further that the problem lies elsewhere, especially in social, economic and system factors.

The researcher will now consider motivation as a factor in participation. Motivation is defined as the goals people hope to reach by means of participation, these include job advancement, acquisition of new skills, development of new friendships, etc. (Titmus, 1983 : 184). Motivation may also be regarded as a general state of readiness to expend energy on a particular activity (Cross, 1981 : 136). Thus the question of participation becomes a matter of ascertaining which factors dispose some people to regard adult education as a beneficial activity, and others to view it as being irrelevant to their lives.

A particular motive may be satisfied by a variety of actions, while a particular action may be the result of many motives. Thus, the behavioral strategy adopted by an individual is dependent on a combination of factors, which goes beyond the presence of a goal, and the availability of an adult education course. These factors include attitudes to learning and about oneself, priorities for the use of time, beliefs about the importance of schooling, etc. (Cross, 1981 : 137). Thus, although participation is affected by factors relating to the individual, it is also significantly influenced by 'framework' conditions. These refer to circumstances in which people live, including

values, attitudes, norms, etc. of the social group to which the individual belongs, the structure of society and educational opportunity. This suggests that while adult education has the potential to increase the social division of labour (occupational adult education) it also has the potential to breakdown these divisions, (ie. emancipatory adult education), and adult education for change.

Despite this emancipatory role, adult education appears to consistently attract participants with the highest levels of initial education, and the under-educated continue to be under-represented. Participation is therefore linked to characteristic class notions about education. Knowles (1977 : 214- 216) states that among social classes where education is highly valued, participation appears to be higher than those who attach little value to education. The value system of the middle class favours that of the education system, thereby facilitating participation. But the value system of the working class is contradictory to that presented by the educational system, hence participation within this group is lower. This forms a basis for the working class developing little faith in, or an aversion to the formal education system. On this basis the researcher suggests that participation in adult education is affected by one's class affiliation, as this significantly determines one's attitude towards education.

Further, the education system itself has features which either encourage or inhibit participation in adult education (Knowles, 1977 : 221-223). The aspect of provision is an example: in poor, large or sparsely populated countries, geographical isolation of learners may mean that the 'costs' associated with participation may be very high. If these are not compensated by 'high' benefits, there may be little incentive for participation. Another example would be the lack of confirmation about the range of educational activities that are available, and what benefits may be expected. Several measures may be easily adopted to alleviate these problems. These include counselling services, provision of travel or other costs, offering of compact residential courses, and the use of teaching and learning methodologies which facilitate distance learning. In spite of high expectations and precise motives for participating in education programmes, there are many factors that inhibit adult learning in South Africa.

Transport is probably the most powerful factor affecting the attendance of adults at education programmes (NEPI, 1993 : 19). Perhaps the most restrictive factors in this respect is the cost of public transport and the poor quality of the system. International studies have shown the importance of good public transport in making adult education facilities accessible (NEPI, 1993 : 19). Unless nonformal education planners can co-operate with formal or informal transport authorities, the most desirable adult literacy programmes or community colleges will be limited in their effectiveness. Another option would be for education providers to arrange some sort of transport system themselves.

Yet another barrier restricting adult learners is humiliation (NEPI, 1993 : 20). Adults who are seen to be 'returning to school' are often mocked and laughed at by community members. Added to this burden are fears of appearing to be stupid, in front of teachers and fellow learners, or having to sit with children in a classroom. Further, many people often worry about being 'too old to learn' (NEPI, 1993 : 20). However, many of these attitudes expressed by the learners themselves and the community at large could be challenged by a large scale media campaign depicting adult education as a normal part of adult life.

There are other barriers expressed by learners, although these are less easy to address. They include a lack of money to pay for courses and transport, limited free time to attend classes, lack of information on available programmes, leaving homes and children unattended, and the dangers of being out late at night (NEPI, 1993 : 20).

Furthermore, relatively few adult education programmes are specifically aimed at women or designed to make participation by women less difficult. Adult education resources which are channelled to the disadvantaged go to the men and young people rather than to women as a target group per se.

Thus it is observed that more flexible programmes, better counselling facilities, advice and orientation, employment information, and special courses in career development are required, as is networking with women's organizations. 'Returning to work'



education programmes will be required as long as women experience a discontinuous education and employment pattern. There should be more support for divorced and deserted women, and support programmes for home-workers forced through the death, disability, or absence of a spouse to enter the work-force. The devastating impact of the lack of child-care facilities in places of education must be addressed. Without such facilities many women simply cannot be free from child-care, even for short periods to attend classes.

Another problematic notion related to participation is the misconception that formal school education is the only really worthwhile education (Lovett, 1975 : 268). This notion tends to perpetuate another misconception, namely the stereotype that adult education only involves recreational and remedial education. These misconceptions perpetuate the low status that adult education has as compared to other forms of education. This places adult education in an 'identity crisis', which invariably hampers participation.

Another factor affecting participation is the attitudes that people acquire during the phase of initial schooling. Negative attitudes tend to predispose adults to avoid educational situations later in life. Lovett (1975 : 269) refers to these tendencies as ' sleeper effects', because they are acquired earlier in life, but only become manifest during adulthood. There is little that adult educators can do to avoid this, except through proactive measures of transforming in cycle of initial education..

In summary, the factors that have been dealt with include motivation, time, costs, the structure of opportunity, awareness, and attitudes towards education. The discussion has suggested that while many factors within the structure of adult education might be addressed so as to facilitate an improvement in participation, there remain many factors that only the individual, and on a broader level only social policy can change. The individual is responsible for personal perspective change and society has to transform its socio-political conditions so that adult education can become a vehicle for 'consciousness-raising'. Ultimately, social change is inextricably linked to the extent of participation.

### 6.10.2. Participant motivation

Here the focus is on the motives which impel adults to study or not to. Since adult education is usually voluntary in nature, participants have the option of choosing from a range of alternatives. In order to make the structure of provision appropriate, one needs to identify the reasons why people participate in adult education. There are divergent views in this area: the first suggests that research and practice should focus on the learner, while the second view suggests that the educational environment should be the focus (Boshier, 1989 : 148). However, both views contribute to one's understanding of what motivates adults into participating.

Adults are motivated in different ways from children. Adults are purported to be more independent and to occupy a wider variety of roles as compared to children. Further, adults are 'problem-oriented' and therefore their readiness to learn arises from 'developmental tasks' that emerge as they pass through different stages of the life-cycle (Titmus, 1983 : 190). These conditions that characterize adulthood must be borne in mind when planning provision, this means that the structure of provision must be congruent with the needs, motives and expectations of potential participants.

There are two distinct areas concerning research into motives for participation. The first concerns the structure of motives (ie. motivational orientations), and the second concerns functional relationships between motives and their antecedents (Boshier, 1989 : 148-149). Regarding the first category, it is noted that most participants are impelled to participate for many reasons that are not necessarily connected to the course content or purposes of the activity. Theorists have attempted to categorize participants on the basis of their motives. Houle (Boshier, 1989 : 148) has identified three motivational categories : goal, activity and learning orientation. Boshier and Collins (Boshier, 1989 : 148) suggest a six-factor model in explaining motives for participation:

- \* social contact - to make and consolidate friendships, and to improve relationships in their social position,
- \* social stimulation - to receive relief from boredom,
- \* professional advancement - primarily job oriented,
- \* community service - to become more effective as citizens,

- \* external expectations - to comply with instructions of an authority structure, and
- \* cognitive interest - to satisfy an enquiring mind.

The second category concerns functional relationships between motives and their antecedents. Motives vary as a function of two factors, ie. life-cycle activities and socio-economic conditions. Consequently, women appear to be motivated for different reasons than men, the wealthy have reasons that are different from that of the poor, etc. While the structure of participant motives appear to be clear, they nevertheless tend to enrol for reasons that are only marginally related to life-cycle activities and socio-economic conditions.

Motives for participating are usually linked to the problem of drop-out (Boshier, 1989 : 150). It is often the case that adult educators fail to reinforce and strengthen the most fragile motivation. Research into the reasons for drop-out have focused on aspects such as the influence of internal participant variables, environmental variables, incompetent instructors, etc. While such factors account to some degree, they do not explain most reasons for drop-out. To diminish drop-out rates, adult educators need to treat motivation as a hypothetical construct, and they need therefore to focus on the creation of optimal conditions and consequences that motivate learners. This would involve the creation of an adult-oriented learning climate, which is relaxed, informal, and responsive to participants needs. Their instructional techniques must be appropriate to the type of outcome sought by the learner.

Regarding the goals of adult education learners, it is observed that learners vary in background and education level. Most have access to education programmes through their employers, by word of mouth, or by advertisements in newspapers. Similarly, registered unemployed workers hear about state Manpower training schemes through its offices. Common among all these learners are their high expectations of adult education. Many learners seriously hope that the short courses they are attending will immediately result in finding employment, finding better employment, receiving promotion in their present employment, or making money in the informal sector

through newly acquired skills. Thus, motivation for participating nonformal education programmes is usually due to perceptions of extrinsic. Intrinsic rewards that could contribute to self-actualization are often not emphasized.

Even in the changing social and political climate, most learners seem to have precise practical reasons for attending education programmes rather than abstract ideals or stated emotional and psychological needs. This differs from many international studies on motivation, which focus on self-concepts and self-actualization as a powerful goal.

The discussion has shown that while learners are motivated to participate in adult education for varied extrinsic and intrinsic reasons, their motivation is also bound up with other broader issues concerning the purposes of adult education, programme planning and design, management of instruction, and the training of teachers.

### 6.10.3. **Outreach work**

In order to engage those who might not otherwise take part in educational activity, many agencies take initiatives outside the traditional institutional framework. Outreach activity refers to the efforts made to reach specific target groups. It involves the provision of education outside the traditional institutional framework, aimed at targeting those who might not otherwise participate in educational activity (Osborn, et. al. 1981 :156). As an educational strategy, it is intended to compensate for the limitations of an institution or centre-based educational service. The philosophy derives from the work of Illich (1971) and Freire (1972), both of whom believe that new strategies are required to tune the educational system to the needs of the working class groups.

The concept 'outreach' became popular during the 1960s and 1970s when research findings indicated that far from providing a second chance for adults who had received little initial formal education, adult education frequently reinforced the advantage gained by those who had already succeeded in education. Thus the challenge

confronting adult educators, was to devise programmes and methods to attract those who do not participate in existing schemes, and to involve the most disadvantaged sections of the population, and to make educational resources available to them.

Outreach programmes may be aimed at the working class, the educationally disadvantaged, and other groups that have particular problems and needs, and who do not participate in centre-based activities for a variety of reasons. This would include the elderly, the unemployed, ethnic minority groups and the mentally and physically disabled (Lovett, 1975 : 274). Another potential target group is house-bound women with young children.

Outreach activities tend to take one of two forms:

- \* activity at the level of the local community, involving personal recruitment, and
- \* activity at a national level in the form of 'distance' teaching and learning methods, such as the use of the media and printed materials.

Various combinations of these two forms may occur. The researcher will now consider each of the target groups mentioned earlier.

Firstly, programmes for working class and educationally disadvantaged groups have been described by Lovett (1975 : 32-45) as follows. Tutors who act as resource agents, educational guides, and teachers, make themselves aware of the activities of informal groups, the problems and needs of the community, and encourage them to become involved in educational activities. Methods to be used include a house-to-house survey, involvement of the local leadership, and the use of the local media.

In the Swedish outreach experiments, participants were contacted individually, either at their work-place (by trade union organizers), or in their housing locations, and they were encouraged to join study circles (Rubenson, 1979 : 52-70). Participants were able to choose between different enrolment conditions (eg. studies spread across working hours and spare time, spare-time study with an incentive allowance, or studies

without any financial incentive). No charge was rendered for participating in courses, but financial assistance was available for extra travel, meals and child-minding expenses incurred by participants.

Studies have shown that there is considerable variation in the results of outreach work between different target groups and communities. Interest in participation, generally declined with increasing age, and sometimes also with increasing family income. In mixed sex target groups, more men became involved than women. The greatest success was achieved by recruitment in the workplace rather than in the residential areas. This is perhaps due to the fact that those contacted in the residential areas were among the most disadvantaged educationally and financially.

The second category of participants refers to the elderly. Most of the educational activity concerning the elderly, focuses on easily identifiable captive audiences who are resident in hospitals, homes, and day-centres (Knowles, 1970 : 32). There is little provision for the elderly who are house-bound. Methods to reach the elderly as a target group include the following:

- \* using existing contact networks, (eg. social services, community health workers, etc.),
- \* distributing leaflets throughout a geographical area, and
- \* door-to-door visiting (Knowles, 1970 : 33).

Osborn et. al. (1981 : 158) states that personal contact, in outreach work appears to be the best method of recruitment.

The unemployed is the next target category that the researcher will examine. Studies in the UK, USA and Europe have shown that there is difficulty in reaching the unemployed, and it is especially difficult to encourage them to participate. In Belgium there were two schemes which made particular efforts to reach non-participants, among the unemployed (Osborn, 1989 : 153). One of these projects, "Canal-Emploi", used cable television and face-to-face workshops to encourage the target group to understand their predicament and to build their confidence and basic skills to enable

them to enter professional training courses. The other project "FUNOC" was aimed at the under-qualified, aged below 35 years (Osborn, 1989 : 153). Learning activities were centred around 12-15 people per group, with the use of local individuals as tutors (ie. animaters). These animaters were trained and were evaluated and further trained on a regular basis. Another example of projects involving the unemployed individual was the Sharrow Unemployed Self-Held Scheme (UK), which through the establishment of a community company, aimed at generating employment opportunities throughout the area. This also served to provide facilities, services and amenities, and to initiate and sustain voluntary development projects.

The next target group is that of women. An example is the West of Scotland Worker's Educational Association (WEA) which was designed to meet the educational needs of women at home (Rogers, 1980 : 69). By facilitating contact among various women's groups, video tapes dealing with the issue of women's role in society were produced. The process of producing these videos incorporated the educational elements of discussion, research and an exchange of ideas in the absence of a formal educational structure. The videotapes were used to stimulate activity in organizations that were previously not involved in the process. In general, research suggests that child-care facilities alongside day-courses, remove a major barrier to women's participation, therefore they should become an essential component of outreach activities that target women as participants (Peterson, 1983 : 89).

Having briefly discussed certain target groups, the researcher will now refer to some of the methods that have been employed in outreach programmes (Fordham, et. al, 1979 : 236-239). Distance learning methods are a major form of outreach activity. Learning methods usually combine the use of printed materials with the use of television and radio, for both publicity and motivational purposes, as well as direct teaching. At a local level, animaters and volunteers provide guidance and help with individual problems. The common element in most projects is that of personal contact (eg. study groups, meetings, personal tuition, and counselling), the use of printed materials, and varying degrees of media coverage. These methods are suitable to reach most of the target groups dealt with earlier. As an extension of distance

teaching methods, the use of the telephone - has also been used in teaching geographically isolated learners.

Educational projects involving distance education and the media have been carried out in Australia, Brazil, Malawi, Mauritius, Korea, Kenya, and Israel, among other countries (Fordham, et. al, 1979 : 240). Generally, research suggests that television and radio provide a central role in recruiting, but there is little evidence that broadcasts, unaccompanied by other teaching methods have a lasting effect after the conclusion of the series. There are also many examples of outreach work in the provision of educational information, guidance and counselling services in the UK, USA and Australia (Osborn, et. al. 1981 : 158). They centre around two issues:

- \* publicizing the facilities that are available for study, and
- \* reassessing the forms and types of provision in response to the expressed wishes of the public.

To provide information, the methods that have been used include 'open days' at educational centres to advertise their activities, providing educational counselling to potential participants, the use of mobile units to visit factories and housing estates, store-front centres in the city, enquiry services (telephone and mail) and the use of personal visits (Osborn, et. al. 1981 : 158).

In summary, the aim of outreach programmes is to eliminate the obstacles which prevent adults with an inadequate schooling (and other disadvantages) from participating in learning activities and using the educational resources provided by society. To facilitate development in the community, the outreaching activity must provide a two-way channel of communication. In this way, the information obtained by outreach workers and organizers, could be systematically fed back into the organization, and would help to form a foundation on which to evaluate the activity and consequent changes.



### 6.11. **Summary**

The discussion has shown that the field of adult education has developed substantially, since its early beginnings during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. UNESCO - organized conferences have been instrumental not only in developing awareness and methodological orientations, but it has also served to introduce adult education to the developing nations as a highly effective development strategy.

In defining the scope of adult education, the researcher has presented varying definitions and elaborated on the principles and processes upon which the practice of adult education is formulated. The discussion has emphasized that the field of adult education is indeed a diverse one. For the purposes of the present study, the value of adult education as a development strategy is located in its effectiveness as a compensatory educational strategy. In this regard, the discussion has indicated that there exists tremendous potential for the investment of government interest in adult education, especially in relation to economic and social policy.

In linking the principles of lifelong education to adult education, the researcher has suggested that adult education presents itself as an alternative to the inadequacies of traditional initial education. Moreover, this theoretical linkage presents the view that adult education provides a basis of preparation for various life-cycle stages. Most importantly, this linkage of theoretical principles acknowledges that the traditional educational model is inappropriate to facilitate democratization of society and to empower large segments of the adult black population who do not possess an adequate level of basic education.

With reference to the aspects of the content, purpose and practice of adult education, the discussion has shown that these elements are inextricably woven together, and that they cannot be constructed in isolation from the social realities that characterize the existence of the potential participants. This serves to further highlight the sociological basis of the present study.

The discussion has also addressed the importance of ideologies in adult education. There are varying ideologies that have guided provision; these range from a liberal conceptualization that adult education encompasses a leisure activity, to the view that adult education is politically motivated as a means towards eliminating social and economic deprivation. This range of ideologies has invariably guided the nature of adult education practice in different countries.

In dealing with the strategies that adult education employs, the researcher has focused on recurrent education, community education and development, socio-cultural animation, nonformal education, and mandatory continuing education. In the light of the compensatory role that adult education is envisaged to play in South Africa (as is proposed in the present study) all of these strategies, with the exception of mandatory education, have a crucial role to play.

In focusing on the purposes of adult education, the researcher has dealt with the following aspects: adult literacy, employment, role education (eg. social action, political education, and family-life education), social change (eg. urban development, population education, environmental education, and peace education). The researcher has stressed that the primary purpose of adult education in South Africa is indeed adult literacy, as this skill empowers individuals to make other qualitative improvements in their lives. The remaining purposes that have been discussed are also prioritized in terms of social reconstruction and development.

The discussion has categorized providers of adult education as follows: governmental providers, quasi-governmental providers, and non-governmental providers. There exists a range of providers within each of these categories. Generally providers of adult education include public schools, community colleges, universities, open access institutions, commercial institutions, churches, libraries, and museums and galleries. The researcher has suggested that whilst there prevails a varied and complex range of adult education providers in South Africa, the structure of provision is unsystematic, poorly co-ordinated, under-resourced, and overly bureaucratic. These shortcomings result in very limited and inadequate quality and scale of provision. For the society

to promote the development process by utilizing adult education as an educational strategy, there is a need to establish political commitment from the government.

In identifying target groups for adult education provision, the researcher was guided by the need to provide opportunities for second-chance learning. The need to target populations for adult education provision is based on political and social factors, rather than simply educational factors. Among the priority target groups, the researcher has included age groups, gender groups, socially isolated groups (eg. physically and developmentally disabled, rural inhabitants, socially and culturally marginalized sectors of the community, and prisoners), and occupational groups. In distinguishing specific target groups, providers are enabled to address the specific needs and circumstances of different sectors of the population. Thus, in making the educational experience relevant to life-circumstances, potential target populations may be suitably motivated to participate.

In analyzing participation and recruitment patterns the researcher has suggested that participation is closely linked to social, economic and motivational factors. There are many barriers that tend to restrict participation, especially among the groups that are in most need of adult education programmes. These include difficulties relating to transport, humiliation of 'returning to school', financial constraints, limited time, a lack of information concerning the courses that are available, and child-care obligations. Motivation to participate in adult education programmes is usually bound up with other broader issues concerning purposes, programme design, and teaching and learning methodologies. To attract potential participants, many useful recruitment initiatives have been utilized in different contexts. The implementation of outreaching activities are most popular and they have been widely used with different target groups. Outreaching activities have included distance learning methods, the use of printed material, and the use of radio and television broadcasts for both motivational purposes as well as direct teaching.

By means of this in-depth analysis the researcher envisages that Chapter Six has served to contextualize adult education as a compensatory educational strategy that is aimed at addressing the needs of the under-educated masses in South Africa.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 7.1. Introduction

To consolidate the discussion provided in the earlier chapters the researcher will provide a composite summary, which will be followed by a presentation of the main conclusions of the study. Following this, the key recommendations of the study will be presented.

#### 7.2. Summary

This summary is intended to highlight the main ideas that have been presented in each chapter.

In introducing the study in Chapter One, the researcher has stated the problem, namely that despite the widespread nature of black adult educational deficiency, very little has been done to facilitate adult educational provision for this disadvantaged sector of the population. The scope of the study encompasses the effects of a poor schooling system on educational attainment at the level of adulthood. It has been observed that during this era of reconstruction and development, adult education has received renewed interest which enhances the relevance of the study. The assumptions of the study have been informed by the marxist view of the role of the education system in society, which further defines the way in which the reformist strategies are interpreted. In this introductory chapter, the researcher has also briefly explained the methodological procedures that were adopted, the general structure of the discussion, and a list of definitions of the key concepts.

In Chapter Two the researcher has attempted to present a profile of the nature of the black schooling system. Essentially the discussion has shown that despite various expansionist initiatives and reformist strategies, black schooling continued to be unequal and inferior. Specifically the analysis has suggested that educational

expansion and reform has always occurred within the framework of economic and political goals. This historical synopsis of black schooling has shown that racial discrimination was entrenched as far back as the 1800s. From the nineteenth century onwards, the missionary movement had played a crucial role in educational provision for blacks. These initiatives, and the aspirations of the black community were rigidly controlled through laws and education policies that were introduced by the government. Most notable of these was the restrictive financing structure for black education. From the mid-1960s onwards, black educational provision was determined by the government's bantustan policy. The government adopted this political strategy to encourage blacks to move to the bantustan territories. Making improved educational provision available in these territories served as an incentive to attract the black population to re-locate to these areas. Other indicators of the poor quality of educational provision that have been dealt with include problems relating to delivery, access, and relevance.

In the latter part of Chapter Two the researcher presented a sociological analysis of the changing reformism that characterized black education. Four changing strategies were identified during the period 1953-1990, namely segregation and self-help ((1953-1963), black education and the bantustan strategy (1963-1973), educational reform for economic expansion and political stability (1973-1983), and educational reform and the repression of popular mobilization (1983-1990). These changing strategies helps one to conceptualize reform in black education as having a broader political and economic agenda. Hence, educational expansion and reform in black schooling has been interpreted as having had contradictory aspects.

Chapter Three has presented a theoretical perspective on black schooling. In adopting a marxist paradigm the researcher has focused on three key processes namely, reproduction, resistance, and transformation. The marxist framework has been selected because it contextualizes the conflict that has characterized social relations in South African society. The black schooling system has been interpreted as having had deterministic, voluntaristic, and autonomous functions in South African society. These theoretical notions are conceptualized as having represented dominant theoretical

traditions in specific historical sequence, namely reproduction (1800s-1975), resistance (1976-1990), and transformation (1990 onwards).

During the first period that has been identified, the black schooling system fulfilled the function of reproduction of white dominance and capitalism. In this analysis the researcher focused on economic determinism, cultural reproduction, and the hegemonic influence of the state. During the second time-frame, the educational institution was characterized by contestation and resistance which culminated in the Soweto riots, the schools boycotts, etc. Up until this point, the black educational system was determined by the state either directly or indirectly. With the inauguration of the era of negotiation in 1990, the educational debate has centred around transformation. It is believed that whilst this debate has tended to focus on transforming the formal sector, comparatively little attention has been given to the nonformal sector. It is in this regard that the present study addresses the field of adult education as a vehicle to transform adult educational deficiency among the black population. The theoretical notions that are identified to guide this process are, critical literacy and cultural power. This approach is innovative in the sense that it links the influence of social structure to human agency to achieve a agenda for the adult education movement in South Africa.

In Chapter Four the researcher presented a methodological orientation to the study. Here the theoretical paradigm is identified, the seven stages of the research process are explained, and a discussion of unobtrusive research methods is presented. This discussion has indicated that the use of non-reactive techniques (ie. census data and secondary analysis) yield objective numerical data which has been utilized to address the research question. An in-depth discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the use of non-reactive techniques was presented. The researcher stressed that the quantitative analysis composed only a part of the study, with the major component being the theoretical analysis.

Chapter Five focused on the presentation and analysis of data relating the educational deficiency among black adults. The first part of the discussion focused on developing

a statistical profile of educational deficiency among black adults. This theoretical construct was operationalized in terms of the extent of under-education. Three key indicators were identified, namely illiteracy and semi-literacy, the levels of educational attainment, and the drop-out rates. Statistical data on all three levels served as useful indicators of the extent of under-education among black adults. The latter part of this chapter focused on an analysis which utilized the theoretical framework that was developed in Chapter Three. Essentially, the theoretical notions of reproduction and resistance have been utilized to interpret the phenomenon of adult educational deficiency. Given this profile of adult educational deficiency, the researcher has addressed the need to transform adult educational provision in South Africa.

Chapter Six has focused on adult education as a solution to the problem of black adult education deficiency. A lengthy discussion has been provided in this chapter, which begins with the early history of adult education as a field of study. The most important aspect of this history is the fact that adult education was introduced to the developing nations as a highly effective development strategy and its compensatory role was established. The discussion also focused on the definitions, principles and processes of adult education. Noteworthy is the fact that there exists tremendous potential for the investment of government interest in adult education, especially in relation to economic and social policy.

In analyzing adult education from the perspective of lifelong education, the discussion has suggested that the traditional educational model is no longer adequate to facilitate the democratization of society, and the empowerment of the educationally deficient black adult population. With respect to the content, purpose, and practice of adult education, the discussion has stressed that these aspects cannot be constructed in isolation from the realities that characterize the existence of potential participants. It has also been noted that there are varying ideologies that define adult education provision, and if it is to serve as a development strategy it must be defined by an ideology that views adult education as being politically motivated to eliminate social and economic deprivation.



The discussion has also examined various strategies, namely recurrent education, community education and development, socio-cultural animation, nonformal education, and mandatory continuing education. In relation to these strategies, it has been observed that the purposes of adult education are highly varied, and they include adult literacy, employment, role education (ie. social action, political education, and family-life education), and social change (ie. urban development, population education, environmental education, and peace education).

The discussion has identified the broad categories of providers as including governmental, quasi-governmental, and non-governmental bodies. More specifically providers include public schools, community colleges, universities, open access institutions, commercial institutions, churches, libraries and museums, and galleries. Despite the varied range of providers, adult education provision in South Africa has been unsystematic, poorly co-ordinated, under-resourced, and overly bureaucratic.

The discussion has shown that the target groups for adult education are based on political and social factors, rather than simply educational factors. The priority target groups that have been identified include age and gender groups, socially isolated groups (ie. physically and developmentally disabled, rural inhabitants, socially and culturally marginalized sectors of the community, and prisoners), and occupational groups. With respect to participation and recruitment patterns the researcher has suggested that participation is closely linked to social, economic and motivational factors. It has been noted that there are several factors that restrict participation, namely difficulties relating to transport, the humiliation of 'returning to school', financial constraints, limited time available, and child care responsibilities. Motivation to participate is also linked to other broader issues which relate to purposes, programme design, and teaching and learning methodologies. The researcher has noted that recruitment initiatives are useful in attracting potential participants. Outreaching activities have been widely used and are believed to be the most popular. These have included distance learning methods, the use of printed material, and the use of radio and television broadcasts.

By means of this comprehensive analysis, Chapter Six has served to contextualize adult education as a compensatory educational strategy that will effectively serve as a vehicle to transform black adult educational deficiency in South Africa.

Having presented a composite summary of the study, the researcher will now refer to the main conclusions.

### 7.3. **Conclusions**

In extracting the main conclusions of the study the researcher has identified four key areas, namely the poor schooling system as a contributory factor in black adult educational deficiency, the extent of adult educational deficiency, the sociological implications, and the nature of current adult educational provision. In the discussion which follows the researcher will expand on each of these aspects.

#### 7.3.1. **The poor schooling system as a contributory factor in black adult educational deficiency**

There are nine issues pertaining to the above-mentioned aspect. The researcher will elaborate on each of these.

##### 7.3.1.1. **Unequal education**

Schooling provision for blacks has been racially segregated, unequal and inferior to that provided for other racial groups from as far back as the 1800s.

##### 7.3.1.2. **The expansion of schooling by the missionaries**

The missionary movement played a significant role in the expansion of black schooling (particularly at the secondary and post-school level), but their positive contributions were restricted through the implementation of rigid government control from the 1950s onwards.

#### **7.3.1.3. The role of the government**

By exercising rigid control over black education, the government ensured that educational provision for blacks was of such a nature that it sustained the political ideology of apartheid. This meant that rather than being a vehicle for social mobility, the black education system entrenched the subordination of blacks, both economically and socially. Through the implementation of various laws the government maintained rigid control over black education. The most notorious of these was the Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953.

#### **7.3.1.4. Financing black education**

From 1922 to 1953 the financing structure for black education remained static, and the costs of all expansion that exceeded the fixed budget had to be borne by the community itself. Indeed, an already impoverished community which itself had very limited resources could do comparatively little to finance further expansion. With the creation of the Bantu Education system, spending was once again pegged at R13 million from 1953-1972. Yet again the burden of expansion was based on the self-help philosophy. Despite substantial numerical growth during the period 1922-1972, financing of black education was severely limited. There were however substantial increases in government spending on black education from the mid-1970s onwards, the reason being the growing demands for political liberation from the black population, and increased oppositional activity which threatened the political stability.

#### **7.3.1.5. Educational expansion in the former homelands and self-governing territories**

With the implementation of the homelands policy almost all black educational expansion occurred in these regions. Educational expansion in these territories was used as an incentive to attract migration of the black population to these regions. This facilitated the government's withdrawal of responsibility for educational provision for the majority of the black population. Educational provision in the homelands continued to be grossly inadequate in terms of qualitative indicators such as per capita expenditure, class sizes, and pupil-teacher ratios.

#### **7.3.1.6. The quality of black schooling**

The poor quality of black schooling is reflected in curriculum issues (ie. lack of relevance), language-medium policy ( ie. mother-tongue instruction in the primary school), the teaching methods and approaches (ie. rote learning), the lack of adequate learning resources (ie. text books, stationary, etc.), over-crowded classes, inadequate school facilities (ie. no libraries, laboratories, insufficient classrooms, etc.), and poorly qualified teachers. Factors external to the school environment also contributed to the poor quality of black education, namely the fatigue experienced by the pupils, which was brought on by the distances they had to travel to attend school, the malnutrition, and impoverished home circumstances that they were exposed to. The poor quality of education provision invariably contributed to high drop-out rates, and a lack of educational opportunity and access which prevented some children from entering the system at all.

#### **7.3.1.7. A correspondence between reform in black education and the attainment of economic and political goals**

Several reformist strategies were introduced during the period 1953-1990, but they were all based on the attainment of economic and political goals rather than on improving the provision of education for blacks. For this reason the expansion and reform in black education was fundamentally contradictory in nature.

#### **7.3.1.8. The black education system as a mechanism for reproducing the social structure**

In analyzing the political-economy of black schooling, the importance of the processes of socialization and legitimation were stressed. This theoretical model has illustrated the way in which the bantu education system was utilized to reproduce South African capitalism.

The cultural-reproductive model illustrated a sociology of black schooling that linked culture, class, and domination. This model suggests that the bantu education system served as a mechanism to reproduce the racial order of South African society.

The hegemonic-state model suggests that the South African state adopted an interventionist role which served to link black schooling to the maintenance of the capitalist system.

#### **7.3.1.9. Resistance within the black education system**

In interpreting the conflict that characterized black education, particularly during the period 1976-1990, the researcher concludes that the black youth responded to their subordination by resorting to radical oppositional behaviour, which emphasized the contradictions between bantu education and other components of the social structure.

#### **7.3.1.10. Transformation of the educational terrain**

In view of the contestation and resistance that has characterized black education since the mid-1970s it is concluded that there is need to transform the educational terrain by empowering youth in the educational process, and enhancing the relevance of the relevance of the educational content. This can be achieved by adopting the ideologies of cultural power and critical literacy.

#### **7.3.2. The extent of adult educational deficiency**

The researcher has identified six aspects that explain the extent of adult educational deficiency. These will be dealt with in the following discussion.

##### **7.3.2.1. Illiteracy and semi-literacy**

The statistical analysis has indicated that 7 418 444 black adults are illiterate. This means that more than 23,9 per cent of the South African population are illiterate. A further 3 769 064 black adults have attained less than five years of schooling, and are therefore semi-literate. This suggests that more than 12,2 per cent of the South African population are semi-literate. Illiteracy among the black adult population is as

high as 52 per cent. There is no significant difference in the illiteracy rates between black men and women.

#### **7.3.2.2. Levels of schooling attained**

The statistical analysis suggests that younger adults appear to have attained higher levels of schooling than older adults.

#### **7.3.2.3. Drop-out rates**

The statistical analysis suggests that the drop-out rates for the three cohorts of pupils that have been analyzed are very high, namely 94 per cent (1970-1981), 89 per cent (1975-1986), and 63 per cent (1980-1991). However, this trend suggests that drop-out rates appear to be decreasing.

#### **7.3.2.4. Educational deficiency and reproduction**

Illiteracy and low educational attainment among the black population served to reproduce the prevailing occupational structure (unskilled and manual jobs occupied by blacks), and protected whites from the threat of competition for jobs from blacks. Similarly, illiteracy and low educational attainment among blacks served to reproduce the economic structure (ie. apartheid capitalism), and the political structure (ie. entrenching the subordination of blacks).

#### **7.3.2.5. Educational deficiency and resistance**

The emergence and expression of an oppositional culture which was organized into political action was situated in schools from 1970-1990. Consequently black schooling was severely disrupted and large numbers of pupils dropped-out of the school system, thus contributing to the educational deficiency among the adult black population.

#### **7.3.2.6. Educational deficiency and transformation**

As a result of the substantial educational reform of the 1980s, educational access and opportunity was substantially improved, therefore the literacy and educational attainment of younger adults are higher than that of older adults. Similarly, improved educational provision during the 1980s contributed to a reduction in the drop-out rate, once again contributing to higher educational attainment by younger adults who benefited from the educational reform and transformation that had begun.

#### **7.3.3. Sociological implications**

Here the researcher has identified nine important implications. These will be presented in the following discussion.

##### **7.3.3.1. Marginalization**

Educational deficiency marginalizes the illiterate and semi-literate population. This disadvantages this group from participating in the mainstream of society, thereby affecting all facets of their existence.

##### **7.3.3.2. Restricts the supportive role of parents**

Educational deficiency restricts the supportive role that parents provide for their children. Invariably this perpetuates the cycle of disadvantage, since their children are disadvantaged over their peers.

##### **7.3.3.3. Disadvantaged in job-seeking**

Educational deficiency disadvantages people in job-seeking, occupational training, and other development programmes.

#### **7.3.3.4. Restricts participation in environmental issues**

Educational deficiency restricts people from participating in environmental issues which directly affect the quality of their lives.

#### **7.3.3.5. Restricts response to medical and other emergencies**

Educational deficiency limits a person's ability to respond to medical and other emergencies, such as natural disasters, and accidents.

#### **7.3.3.6. Perpetuates the cycle of poverty**

Educational deficiency perpetuates the cycle of poverty in so far as it fails to stimulate a 'culture of learning' within the family, and the community. In this way socially disadvantaged groups remain disadvantaged, with very limited opportunity to become upwardly mobile.

#### **7.3.3.7. Restricts the development of a democratic political culture**

Educational deficiency hinders the emergence of a democratic political culture, because under-educated people feel ill-equipped to participate effectively in the organs of civil society.

#### **7.3.3.8. Restricts economic growth**

Widespread educational deficiency has negative repercussions for productivity levels, and ultimately effects the economy of the country.

#### **7.3.3.9. Restricts the process of self-actualization**

Educational deficiency has a negative influence on self-esteem and self-confidence, which restricts the process of self-actualization.



#### 7.3.4. **Current adult education provision in South Africa**

The researcher has identified six areas that illustrate the inadequacy of current provision. These will be dealt with in greater detail.

##### 7.3.4.1. **Providers**

There are three categories of providers (ie. governmental, quasi-governmental, and non-governmental) but they do provide a coherent, properly co-ordinated system of provision.

##### 7.3.4.2. **Governance**

Over the years several laws have determined adult education provision, but for the future it is believed that the South African Qualification Authority Act No. 58 of 1995 will significantly determine the nature of adult education provision.

##### 7.3.4.3. **Finance**

The financing of adult education provision is as varied as the providers. Financing is provided by the government, local government authorities, industry, business, and community-based organizations. Provision is seriously hampered by limited financial resources.

##### 7.3.4.4. **Certification and accreditation**

In the absence of a national system of certification and accreditation of adult education courses, qualifications that are attained have limited currency. It is envisaged that the South African Qualifications Authority Act No. 58 of 1995 will effect an improvement in this area.

#### 7.3.4.5. Course content

Course content is highly varied, but it is not based on the principle of compensatory education. There is little recognition given to the needs of learners, and the relevance of content is often culturally biased.

#### 7.3.4.6. Participation and recruitment

Due to the limited relevance of courses, and the limited currency of qualifications, participation is generally low and drop-out is high. This is largely due to the barriers that confront learners. These include transport difficulties, unaffordability of both transport costs and course fees, safety when attending night classes, and child-care responsibilities. Learner motivation is linked to finding employment, and achieving material gain through marketing skills that might be acquired (ie. dress-making, hair-dressing, carpentry, brick-laying computer literacy, etc.).

Current adult education provision is lacking in all of the above-mentioned aspects, and only if these aspects are radically transformed will adult education provision be in a position to effectively target the educationally deficient adult population.

### 7.4. Recommendations

The researcher has identified three areas that are in need of transformation in order that the problem of educational deficiency among the black adult population will be effectively addressed. These areas relate to the formal school system, developing a culture of learning, and adopting a policy of adult education.

#### 7.4.1. Transforming initial basic educational provision

With respect to this recommendation it is proposed that initial schooling, at least up to the level of basic education, should be made universal and compulsory for all children. It is proposed that this will have a significant impact on controlling further growth of illiteracy and under-education during adulthood in so far as this will serve

to improve access to education and reduce drop-out. This process is afoot with the passing of the South African Qualification Authority Act, which stipulates that Level One will encompass nine years of compulsory schooling.

#### 7.4.2. **Developing a culture of learning**

In this respect it is proposed that a culture of learning must be harnessed in order to both control the expansion of educational deficiency, and to encourage under-educated adults to participate in nonformal educational provision. This can be achieved by adopting a development approach which engages inter-sectoral collaboration among various ministries, and operates at national, provincial, and local levels. The mass media (ie. printed material, radio, and television broadcasts) will be useful in conscientizing the masses with regard to the empowerment that literacy and lifelong learning provides.

#### 7.4.3. **Implementation of a policy of adult education**

There are several recommendations that the researcher offers in relation to the implementation of adult education policy. These recommendations address the following aspects: conceptualization of adult education, strategies, purposes, providers, governance, financing, certification and accreditation, targeting the educationally deficient adult population, and facilitating participation and recruitment. The researcher will comment on each of these aspects in greater detail.

##### 7.4.3.1. **Conceptualization of adult education**

It is proposed that adult education must be conceptualized as encompassing radical political, social, and cultural transformation. In addressing the issues of equality, social justice (redress) and democratization, adult education must be conceptualized as a basic right. The compensatory role of adult education must be prioritized to effectively address the needs of the disadvantaged, the marginalized, the poor, rural people, and women.

Adult education must be conceptualized as an emancipatory and egalitarian social movement, which will facilitate development in all sectors of society. This conceptualization is formulated on the notion that development and equity are linked, and can be advanced by appropriate social policy. This conceptualization is recommended for developing an adult education policy because it locates adult education within the scope of lifelong education. The lifelong learning approach compensates for the weaknesses of the traditional 'front-end' education model.

#### **7.4.3.2. Implementing strategies to facilitate adult education provision**

To facilitate provision, it is recommended that a combination of strategies be utilized. These include the following:

Firstly, the strategy of **recurrent education** is recommended since it complements the lifelong learning approach, by facilitating systematic access to education throughout the lifespan. It is a recommended strategy because it distributes educational opportunity throughout the course of the individual's lifespan in a recurring way. It has particular relevance for providing 'second chance' opportunity for learning to the educationally deficient adult population.

Secondly, the strategy of **community education and community development** is recommended because it facilitates empowerment through participation. Both, the community education and the community development approaches must be fused together, to offer literacy, numeracy, skills development, and collective determination to the educationally deficient adult population.

Thirdly, the strategy of **socio-cultural animation** is recommended because in addressing cultural deprivation, it strives to improve the quality of social life and expressive behaviour of disadvantaged groups. This strategy will be useful in national reconciliation, in so far as it focuses on reducing the 'cultural gap' between the black and white cultures.

Fourthly, the strategy of **nonformal education** is recommended because of the potential it offers for human resource development. This strategy is useful because it provides a cost-effective alternative for extending educational opportunity, particularly to the educationally deficient adult population.

Fifthly, the strategy of **mandatory continuing education** is recommended not as a means of addressing the needs of the educationally deficient adult, but as a means of enhancing accountability of the educationally privileged sector, to the rest of society. This strategy is therefore recommended as a means of providing re-orientation, and re-socialization of the privileged sector to the needs of the new democratic social order.

Finally, it is emphasized that the above-mentioned strategies will only achieve the desired goals if they are adopted in combination with others.

#### **7.4.3.3. Broadening the purposes of adult education**

It is recommended that a policy of adult education must address four broad purposes, namely adult literacy, employment, role education, and change. These purposes have much broader application.

Firstly, **adult literacy** as a purpose of adult education must be prioritized to address the needs of the large illiterate sector. It is proposed that the campaign strategy, based on Freire's (1970) 'literacy as cultural action' approach will be effective in reducing the extent of illiteracy in the short-term. the functional literacy approach is recommended in the medium to long-term.

Secondly, **employment** as a purpose of adult education is crucial, as it offers significant benefits for economic development. It is recommended that this function must adopt the 'social engineering' approach in order to specifically address the needs of the disadvantaged groups.

Thirdly, **role education** as a purpose of adult education is highly recommended because of the benefit it offers towards improving the participation of disadvantaged groups in all spheres of public life. Role education must be applied in areas such as social action, political education, family-life education, etc.

Fourthly, **change** as a purpose of adult education is highly recommended under conditions of social reconstruction and development. This function also has very wide application, which include urban development, primary health care, population education, environmental education, and peace education.

Here again, it is emphasized that adult education policy must incorporate multi-faceted purposes in order to generate and sustain development in all aspects of social life.

#### **7.4.3.4. Integrating the network of providers**

It is recommended that providers must be linked to each other through a comprehensive data base, which provides information on scope, scale, content, purpose and practice, and participation. This will facilitate co-ordinated and systematic provision where resources are pooled together without unnecessary duplication. Further, this will allow for the development of core areas of expertise. Further, it is recommended that the three categories of providers (governmental, quasi-governmental, and non-governmental), must share their rich variety of experience to develop a sophisticated resource base, concerning materials, methodologies, training of personnel, etc.

#### **7.4.3.5. Collaborative governance between the state and civil society**

The researcher recommends governance of adult education on the basis of a lean and efficient mixed system which is built on extensive collaboration between the state and civil society. It is proposed that the government should establish a 'National Council of Adult Education', as a representative body of all stakeholders, who should be charged with the task of constructing public policy on adult education. It is

recommended though that this body should be relatively autonomous from government control.

At a provincial level, it is further recommended that there should be corresponding regional councils, who should be charged with the task of establishing regional adult education centres, liaise with all adult education stakeholders, compile adult education information systems, and generally facilitate the development of adult education at a regional level.

To facilitate governmental and non-governmental collaboration at national, provincial and local levels, it is necessary to put into place a framework legislation. But, more important is the inculcation of a political will among providers, to participate and collaborate.

It is recommended that the role of the state should be a facilitative one, addressing policy formulation, funding, research, and the development of national and regional adult education centres.

This model of governance is recommended because it avoids the risk of becoming over-centralized, and overly-bureaucratic. Moreover, it facilitates the mobilization of existing professional, social, and community resources, thus providing a cost-effective means of expansion.

#### **7.4.3.6. Increasing the finance resource base**

It is recommended that the budget for adult education must be considerably increased. In this regard it is proposed that in the short-term, the government's contribution should be in the range of a modest three to five per cent of the national education budget. To supplement this, foreign aid must be secured and the corporate sector must commit itself to providing greater support for adult education.

#### **7.4.3.7. Certification and accreditation**

Certification and accreditation should be governed by the South African Qualifications Authority Act, and should facilitate movement between educational centres, the gradual accumulation of knowledge and skills by moving between employment and education intermittently, and the accumulation of qualifications that are widely recognized.

#### **7.4.3.8. Targeting educationally deficient groups**

The educationally deficient adult population is certainly not a homogenous group, therefore special effort must be made to target specific groups. Among these are young adults, women, rural inhabitants, and various occupational groups. It is thus recommended that adult education policy must institutionalize mechanisms for targeting priority groups.

#### **7.4.3.9. Facilitating participation and recruitment**

It is recommended that mechanisms of facilitation and recruitment be put into place to encourage the educationally deficient to participate in adult education programmes. These could include vouchers that could be redeemed to cover transport costs, sponsorships to cover the costs of course fees, paid short-cycle educational leave, provision of child-care facilities at adult education centres, flexible time-tabling to facilitate attendance, and encouraging personal perspective change toward re-entering the educational system.

Further, it is recommended that the construction of national and regional directories listing the range of provision will enhance recruitment. In addition, media advertising, counselling at welfare, health, and other governmental agencies will also improve recruitment and participation levels.

In addressing all of the above-mentioned issues, it is envisaged that an effective adult education policy will be implemented.



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