

**THE HISTORY OF ADULT EDUCATION PROVISION
AT BEATRICE STREET YMCA
IN DURBAN (1978 – 2003)**

by

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DECLARATION

I, Mlungisi Johann Vilakazi, declare that this dissertation represents original work that has not been previously submitted to any university. Where use has been made of the work of others, this has been duly acknowledged and referenced in the text.

Signed: *MJ Vilakazi*.....

Date: *29th July 2005*.....

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the text and in references:

ABE	Adult Basic Education
ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
ANC	African National Congress
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BLL	Bureau of Literacy and Literature
BPC	Black Peoples' Convention
CEPD	Centre for Education Policy Development
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
ERS	Education Renewal Strategy
FET	Further Education and Training
FETC	Further Education and Training Certificate
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GET	General Education and Training
GETC	General Education and Training Certificate
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IDAMASA	Inter-Denominational African Ministers Association of South Africa
IDT	Independent Development Trust
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPET	Implementation Plan for Education and Training
ISL	International Socialist League
JWG	Joint Working Group
MK	Umkhonto Wesizwe
NEC	National Education Conference
NECC	National Education Coordinating Committee
NEM	Normative Economic Model
NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
NETF	National Education and Training Forum
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIEP	National Institute for Economic Policy
NLC	National Literacy Co-operation

NQF	National Qualifications Framework
NSF	National Stakeholders Forum
PRISEC	Private Sector Education Committee
PRO-LIT	Project Literacy
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RPL	Recognition of Prior Learning
SAALAE	South African Association for Literacy and Adult Education
SACABE	South African Committee on Adult Basic Education
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
UCM	University Christian Movement
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDF	United Democratic Front
UNISA	University of South Africa
USA	United States of America
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

ABSTRACT

Among all the other files in my cabinet is one marked 'adult education'. It is a bulky file of documents dating back a number of years. It contains reports, articles and official documents both from NGOs and the Department of Education. The content of the collected document files include the pros and cons surrounding the long debate regarding the history of adult education provision at the Beatrice Street YMCA (BS YMCA). Another issue surfacing in these files is the issue of fund-raising, as a lack of funds poses serious concerns about the provision of adult education.

The economic, social and political situations presented to the BS YMCA an irresistible challenge, especially in the city of Durban and surroundings. The Board of Management is sensitive to the needs of young people and has identified adult education as a means of offering support. Adult education provision at the BS YMCA offers invaluable skills. These skills include survival English (i.e. communication and numeracy), functional (workplace and society) and compensatory tools (life skills). It was not an easy road to travel for them, especially as the core need of the young people is employment.

Over the years there were much needed changes in the adult education programmes offered at the BS YMCA. The development of educational policies from 1993 became the vehicle for the new dispensation in adult education. Adult education programmes at the BS YMCA changed from a traditional (teacher-centered) approach to a participatory approach based on dialogue (which was more learner-centered). The new programmes aim to offer more employment opportunities.

The provision of adult education by the BS YMCA has been recognised by different educational departments over the years. The BS YMCA, being part of the educational struggle for transformation, was instrumental in pioneering "finishing schools" in the 80s. Skills training was also introduced to the BS YMCA educational programmes in 1994. The initiated programmes are vital in addressing the needs of the young people in the city of Durban.

This dissertation is concerned with the history of adult education provision at the BS YMCA, whose concerns include a holistic approach regarding the mind, body and spirit (The world alliance of YMCAs 'Red Triangle'). The BS YMCA's philosophy and origins of the Red Triangle show a link between the body, mind and soul. The history of provision of adult education at the BS YMCA was a struggle of a non-governmental organisation becoming a state public center. There is also a link between curriculum design and social change of young people.

In conclusion, the study aims to examine various adult education curricula changes over the years. These changes address responsible attitudes towards civil society and the effects of social evils and personal guidance.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

The Young Men's Christian Association in Beatrice Street, Durban (BS YMCA) is the main focus of this study. The founding of the first YMCA was inspired by the needs of young people. These needs have formed the agenda of service for the YMCA over the years and finds expression in the Constitutions of the South African National Council of YMCAs (1950,1975,1999), and Secretary's Manual (1978).

Young people needed something to occupy themselves with during their leisure times (Shedd et al, 1955). This resulted in many YMCAs being established in London (1844), Scotland (1824, 1833, 1836) Paris (1854), Germany (1834, 1839), Switzerland (1824) and South Africa (1894). Prayer, Bible discussions and sport became the main activities of young people involved. The YMCA, as an additional offering, later took on educational programmes for young people (Shedd et al, 1955:14, Binfield 1973). Germany also recognised social concern as another need of the young people (Shedd et al, 1955).

South African YMCAs still stuck to prayer and offering residence (South African National Council of YMCAs, 1947). The BS YMCA however experienced a paradigm shift from prayer to education and social entertainment round about the eighties (e.g. Isicathamiya). This was in part a response to the oppressive laws imposed by the state, which prompted the shifts in activities. These new activities were looked upon as of great necessity for the black young people. The Group Areas of Act 1957, Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the State-Aided Institution Act of 1957 enforced segregation of races and also places of entertainment (Davenport 1978).

Educational provision by the BS YMCA started as early as 1934 (Durban Bantu Social Centre, 1934). According to French (1988) education (literacy) is for a variety of contexts in which learners find themselves. Newly urbanised blacks needed education particularly English for communication skills. De Lange

(1990:7) refers to other groups of people as the 'lost generation' of South Africa. There is a big number of youths who lost out on education in so many schools because of violence. Women are the last group of people (Unterhalter, 1998) that came to the BS YMCA for adult education classes.

There was an "active involvement by Christian missionaries in what little adult and general education was provided outside the schooling provided for white (European ancestry) children" (Aitchison, 2002:217). Some NGOs provided night schools and adult basic education. The BS YMCA is one of the organisations who got involved in all the stages of adult education, and in particular literacy changed to ABET.

The BS YMCA constitution states that:

Its aim is to assist people and other persons to overcome the effects of social evils through education, personal guidance and other remedial procedures.

(Beatrice Street YMCA, 1999:2)

The BS YMCA wants to contribute 'towards social needs of society as personal guidance, responsible attitudes towards civic society and the effects of social evils' (Beatrice Street YMCA, 1996:3).

1.2. Statement of the problem

This study seeks to unearth the crucial role the BS YMCA played in the provision of adult education in Durban from 1978 to 2003. Much of the history has not been documented and this research is a contribution to the history of adult education provision in the Durban region.

It is therefore also a contribution to the broad history of non-formal education. In the past, literacy programmes for blacks were offered largely by churches (Aitchison, 2002; Bird, 1984, Mulenga 2001, Walters and Watters 2001) and the BS YMCA is one of the examples of such provision by a non-governmental organisation (Beatrice Street YMCA, 1978; Durban Bantu Social Centre 1934). It offered non-formal education for those learners who found themselves

socially, economically and politically marginalized (Millar 1991). Through the years the educational programmes have changed and most recently, the BS YMCA has moved to include individually accredited training courses. Such changes are in keeping with the aims of the BS YMCA to meet the needs of young people in the changing socio-economic and political environment of South Africa.

1.3. Objective of the study

This study seeks to look at the different curricula from 1978 to 2003 in adult education courses and to investigate what changes have taken place over the span of twenty-five years. This study will also show how changes address the social needs of the society such as personal guidance, responsible attitudes towards civil society and the effects of social evils.

Finally, the study seeks to provide findings on how the dignity of adult learners was enhanced in a process of social change.

1.4 Motivation

The BS YMCA had to evaluate its programmes against the World Alliance of YMCAs' Red Triangle (body, mind, spirit). The mind (adult education) was identified as a priority that would help young men in the city of Durban who were in search of improving their life-skills and employment opportunities. The concern for the body, mind and spirit also suggests that there is a link with the philosophies of liberal or humanist education and therefore adult education provision at the BS YMCA has this connection.

This study is important in that there is insufficient literature about the YMCA in South Africa even though one of the first YMCAs was started in Cape Town in 1865. There are about fifteen YMCAs in South Africa and each have diverse programmes and focus groups, these focus groups range from residents, students at the universities, crèches and education. This research is trying to unearth the BS YMCA provision of adult education.

1.5. Forms of study

Firstly, the BS YMCA is a suitable area of study because it has undergone various curricular changes within the time space of twenty-five years. Secondly, it is part of the Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) sector and is also a church organisation. The only difference from NGOs is that it is registered under the Department of Education as a state-aided centre. This restricts the BS YMCA from using entirely its own curricula without permission from the Department of Education. There is however, the flexibility to employ educators from NGOs to teach literacy but they still have to occasionally attend in-service workshops organised by the Department of Education. Such NGO practitioners are not recognised by the state because they 'do not have recognised qualifications' (Department of Education 1997:161). Therefore, the BS YMCA's registration under the Department of Education prevents closer contacts with the NGOs and churches as far as adult education provision is concerned.

1.6 Research design

It has already been stated that the origins of liberal or humanist education show a concern with body mind, and spirit. This suggests that there is a link between those origins and the BS YMCA philosophy. In this research, I am concerned with the provision of adult education programmes as one part of this philosophy. This study also seeks to investigate a claim that the provision at the BS YMCA changed and that the changes reflect something about social transformation.

I have read documents, minutes and spoken to people as outlined in the methodology chapter. The research is also about how curricula reflect bigger changes. History of adult education provision at the BS YMCA reflects bigger changes:

1978 – 1993 – Modernisation (reform) of apartheid in curricula phase

1994 – 2003 - Dawn of new curricula – ABET, Skills Training and FET- phase.

1.7 Limitation of the study

One limitation in this study has been bias. This is because as the researcher I am involved with all the activities of the BS YMCA; furthermore I am a manager of the BS YMCA and a supervising teacher of Adult Education provision. My term of service at the BS YMCA has been nineteen years on a full-time basis. This may influence my research study in one-way or another. My personal perceptions may direct this study but I have tried as much as possible to be objective. There may be some areas where some bias may be detected.

The scarcity of YMCA literature especially in South Africa has also contributed to the limitation. I depended on overseas literature for my research. That is why in my introduction I have indicated that 'most of the history has not been documented' and secondly, that this study is adding to 'literature on non-formal education.'

1.8 Outline of the remainder of the thesis

Chapter two offers a literature review. This involves certain concepts around which the study is built, for example, the history of YMCA, adult education and training in South Africa, and policies on education and training. I will also review the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET), Further Education Training (FET) and Skills Training. Youth is at the centre of this study and I investigate their involvement in relation to the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy and Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) concepts.

Chapter three defines the methods employed in this study.

Chapter four outlines the history of the changes in the curriculum at the BS YMCA.

Chapter five describes the BS YMCA programmes of adult education. This will be an overview of different programmes over the years. There are also key moments and dates when the BS YMCA programmes have changed.

Chapter six focuses on the description and analysis of the programme. There are events during the years that influenced changes. The BS YMCAs position on change will also be described and analysed.

The last chapter looks at how times have changed and how the BS YMCA leadership has changed and this has impacted on the provision of adult education at the BS YMCA. The changing needs of the youth also impacted on changes occurring at the BS YMCA.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

In an attempt to conceptualise this research, the literature is reviewed under the following headings:

- History of the YMCA
- History of Adult Education and Training
- Policy on Education and Training after 1988
 - National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI)
 - Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET)
 - Further Education and Training (FET)
- Youth:
 - Growth, Employment and Distribution Policy (GEAR)
 - Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

2.2. The History of the YMCA

2.2.1. Origins

A number of people were instrumental in the creation of YMCAs or similar organisations. George Williams was the founder of the London YMCA in 1844. The other founders in this era were Edward Valantine, Edward Beaumont and William Crease (Binfield, 1973). Nasmith was the founder of the oldest YMCA in Glasgow (Scotland) in 1824. In 1939, Patrick Gentleman of Glasgow also started the Glasgow Young Men's Institute, which later merged with various Christian associations of young men that had been formed in the town. Frederic Mallet (1872-1965) and his friends founded Basle Association of Men. Revd Theophile Passevant offered a shelter to the young people who were workmen in Germany (Shedd et al, 1955). Basle also founded an association of young Christians in 1824 (Switzerland). Simons started the YMCA in Australia (1847). Many of these people mentioned contributed generally in preparing the ground for the YMCAs in the world. Later on, in 1855 the YMCA founded a basis of wider unity in Paris (France). Chaunev (1854:102) echoed a statement

that 'let us be one whether we be in Sweden, Italy or in England'. An alliance of YMCAs was formed in 1855 (Shedd et al 1955).

During the time of the establishment of YMCAs, it was also the era of the Industrial Revolution in Europe and Great Britain. People from rural areas and farms flocked to the cities in search of employment. City populations increased greatly, resulting in the beginning of a new way of life in the cities. The effects of the Industrial Revolution changed the lifestyles and economic conditions of English people. As with most revolutions, it caused social problems such as lack of housing and unemployment in the growing industrial cities. 'Most historians agree that the Industrial Revolution was a great turning point in the history of the world' (World Book 2002: 246). Anti-social behaviours such as crime, juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, poverty, pollution and diseases became the order of the day resulting in these habits causing a decline in social values. This era of the Industrial Revolution has been said to be an 'uneasy survival from a less disturbed age' (Howard 1851). Cross (1951: 22-5) concurs that 'the Industrial Revolution brought in behaviours that were viewed by the churches as immoral'. This pattern of anti-social activities and industrialisation was spread to other continents and countries. Some employers did however try to help their workers by building compounds as accommodation. Germany provided shelter for the young people to spend their leisure time and weekends. The Greencock firm in England provided a renovated hotel for employees to use in their spare time.

The YMCA, however, brought in an alternative lifestyle to the young people who were suddenly confronted with city lifestyles. Prayer and Bible study provided to the young people to re-awaken their consciences. Prayer emphasised the notion of a 'stay upright' approach. Sport also came in as another activity (Binfield 1973:265). In Switzerland young people formed Christian societies for adolescents, apprentices and workmen as a means of spending their leisure time. Formations of Christian fellowship unions were encouraged.

Programmes regarding social concerns also became the mission of the YMCA. This symbolised new socio-religious challenges that were facing the young

people. Education and library study were introduced as activities. A series of literacy classes and lectures were also provided.

2.2.2. The YMCA as a worldwide movement

The London YMCA did not seek worldwide extension but sought only to meet the religious, social and educational needs of young people in the city, but the pattern of the YMCA spread spontaneously to other countries and continents through the migration of young people who had been involved with YMCA. These became extensions of the London YMCA. The young men's religious life had been shaped through their membership in the London YMCA.

Other organisations were formed from Christian young men who were previously isolated from one another. These organisations although having different names, shared common characteristics. They suddenly began to discover one another and generally took the name YMCA or its translated equivalent.

The YMCAs all over the world came into existence as an answer to the various needs of people at the time. The YMCAs became an organisation that was able to address them in various ways. These needs were socio-political, economic and socio-religious.

2.2.3. The YMCA in South Africa

'The young people who had been members of YMCAs abroad also started a YMCA in South Africa' (Shedd et al 1955: 277). South Africa's empire relationship with Great Britain through colonial or missionary services also added the idea of starting a YMCA.

The first World Conference of YMCA's dealing especially with the membership of boys took place in London in 1914. Five continents were represented and South Africa was one of the countries from the continent of Africa. The International Committee after the First World War sent two hundred secretaries abroad and Max Gorga (an American Negro) was sent to South Africa to try and

improve race relations (Howard 1951). The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society visited South Africa in 1925 and contacted city associations of the YMCAs. Their main aim was to understand the work happening among the indigenous population (Shedd et al 1955:671). Siorder, of the World Committee Staff, also visited South Africa in 1925 and was assigned to study the situation in Natal and Cape Town. Dr J Mark Davis of USA was also sent to study potential opportunities and openings for YMCA work, particularly with the indigenous people. Negotiations were made to release Ray E Phillip for YMCA work among indigenous people. Formerly an overseas secretary, Coral Ronsford became National Secretary for the Union of South Africa's YMCAs in 1939.

2.2.3.1. Context at time of founding

In the middle of 19th century South Africa was a colony under Great Britain. The country was divided racially and this had a bearing in the establishment of the YMCA in Cape Town (1865), Pietermaritzburg (1875), Louis Botha (1920), Pretoria (1945), UCT Student YMCA (1946), Port Elizabeth (1956), Johannesburg YMCA (1888) and Natal Student YMCA Durban (1976) were all exclusively for whites. Black YMCAs were Beatrice Street (1953), Orlando (1961), Edendale (1965), Ga-Rankuwá (1971), Edendale (1961), Mamelodi (1961), while Andy M Richards (Cape Town 1959) was designated for Coloureds.

The mission of the South African YMCAs followed the pattern of their overseas YMCA counterparts. They emphasised prayer and Bible study. blacks had a different mission that was designed specifically for blacks. This mission included education, crèche and accommodation for students. Sport also crept into black YMCAs together with a new focus regarding social concerns, but socio-economic and political situations among blacks brought into being new services of social activities.

2.2.4 The Beatrice Street YMCA

There are two YMCAs in Durban, which were both racially orientated. Beatrice Street YMCA was for blacks and Durban YMCA was for whites. Unfortunately towards the end of the 20th Century, Durban YMCA closed down its residential block and operated in a small area catering for whites.

The BS YMCA took over from the Durban Bantu Social Centre in 1953 (Beatrice Street YMCA 1953:4). This was the only place where blacks could come and go and spend their leisure time. The BS YMCA gained its autonomy from the National Council of the YMCAs in 1974 and this gesture put BS YMCA on the same level with its counterparts. The BS YMCA became the first black YMCA to be autonomous. This changed the mission of BS YMCA from saving souls to facing the needs of blacks in Durban. The black leadership of the movement re-directed its mission to meeting the needs of black people. The Durban Bantu Social centre had literacy classes as a secondary activity. The BS YMCA transformed from prayer to sport, education and social entertainment. Education and skills training were still the main activities of the BS YMCA.

2.3. The history of adult education and training in South Africa

2.3.1. Night school (literacy)

The mission of the night schools (literacy) was to teach language, communication and numeracy. Johnson (1988) states that language provision in literacy is designed in such a way that the majority of people were taught only those skills which are seen as necessary to enable them to read and write accurately. Taylor (1992) stresses that English literacy was sufficient for blacks to continue as domestic workers. Literacy and numeracy in night schools was held to be a central skill and qualification for economic development and were also linked to more profoundly clear projects of human liberation.

There were both people for and against literacy training in night school. The industrialisation and urbanisation processes did not immediately affect the demands for education from blacks. Johnstone (1976) has argued that whites

occupied upgraded and skilled artisan work. This could not be maintained forever because secondary industry and industrialisation progressed. This led to a radical or militant section of the black population seeking alternative means to improve their wages and conditions of work. According to Webster and Lewis (1978), there were also other radicals involved in night schools. It is worth noting that:

The Blacks felt that they do not follow the same curricula and pass the same examination, they cannot obtain certificates of equal pay, and the possession of the same qualifications is held to be a powerful instrument in pressing for improved financial treatment. (Eiselen Report 1951:43)

All radicals were concerned with political education and distanced themselves from formal channels of education because "demands were not met" (Bird 1984: 193).

The communist tradition was based on the Communist Party from the International Socialist League (ISL) in South Africa in 1921. The black members argued that a major section of the working class was being ignored, especially black workers. Even at this juncture ISL's work included the setting up of night schools for literacy training. Roux's reference to 'Night school classes for Africans, teaching them to read and write' (1948:131-2) was the first reference to any night activity on the part of what was to be the Communist Party. The Communist Party started to recruit and train black working class leaders. The Communist Party also helped young people and adults who had migrated to towns and cities to gain informal schooling. According to Kallaway (1984) the migrant workers had little knowledge of the capitalist structure under which they had to work. The early success of the party and its night schools were short lived because of conflicts and the state harassment. Trade union activities for Africans and Party schools were established (Lerumo Discussions 1971). In concurring with this view, Roux (1970) emphasised a need for bringing black people together. black people were becoming permanently urbanised and were performing work of a more skilled nature. The main aim of the political organisations was to train leaders and allow as many as possible to understand

the structure that oppressed them. "Education of the radicals had to be part of an active struggle". (Kallaway 1984).

White liberals from the University of the Witwatersrand established African colleges and night schools (Lewin 1943). The aims of both were to:

Impart useful knowledge which will be adapted to the needs of the pupils. Emphasis on imparting as much general knowledge as possible to help the pupils to adapt to and understand their present cultural environment. Encouragement of free expression and discussions by the pupils to reveal and clarify their difficulties and attack superstition and prejudice through discussion and explanation from both sides. (Document 73/41: 4-5).

Therefore, in the course of discussions, pupils would be able to see the European approaches and their attitudes more clearly as these stood out in contrast to their own. This showed the ideology of the liberals. The environment was given and the pupils had to adapt to it. In essence, black traditional cultures were seen as inferior and in need of being transcended so that people would adapt to modern or European ways.

Mayibuye schools, set up by the ANC, did not view Trade Unions as a threat but encouraged them to send their members for elementary education (literacy classes). Mayibuye schools were different because they emphasised skills development rather than "individuals needing skills within the given social structure" (Kallaway 1984; 198). The supply of skilled labour was scarce as well as the supply of under-skilled whites in the 60s (Bird 1984). There rose a call from Afrikaans business to use black labour but workers required certain levels of education (SAIRR 1971).

Many other organisations surfaced between 60s and 70s to offer night school literacy such as Bureau of Literacy and Literature (B.L.L), Operation Upgrade, University Christian Movement (U.C.M), black People's Convention (B.P.C), Learn and Teach, Black Consciousness Movement (B.C.M). They ranged from radical, liberal to conservative in their ideology. Carefully carried out attacks by

the state targeted these schools as part of a total strategy to implement apartheid.

2.3.2. Adult education and training

In 1975, the state responded to the crises in education by creating a new section dealing with adult education (Kallaway, 1984). There was further state involvement in basic adult education which appeared in Bantu 1977 (Department of Bantu Education 1977). In 1977, Adult Education Centres were established in the industrial areas (Kallaway 1984). The Department changed the name from 'Bantu Education' to 'Education and Training' in 1978 (Davies 1984:351). Adult Education became a section of Education and Training in 1979 (Department of Education and Training 1979, 1980). Adult Education cared for literacy and a continuing education programme. Literacy teacher training was developed in 1981 while continuing education teacher training was developed in 1988 (Department of Education and Training 1981,1988).

The reforms that were initiated by the state brought in a shift in teacher training. However these reforms never went far enough to satisfy the aspirations of the resistance movements in the 80s. Organisations offering adult education in urban areas had to be registered with 'the Department and any unsuccessful applicant had to close down (Kallaway 1984). "The Department was clearly determined that these centres should not become an alternative for radical students expelled from regular day schools" (Bird 1984:216). These students were termed militants.

2.4. Policy of education and training after 1988

The period from 1990 to 1993 was a period of stops and starts in the transition to democratic adult education. Unterhalter (1998:355) called this period "a process of moving two steps forward and one step back". The period after 2 February 1990, when President De Klerk announced the un-banning of political organisations, was the start of a transition to a democratic society. This was characterised by great efforts to develop new educational policies that would transform the South African education system. There was an assumption that

the new direction would make South Africa highly competitive in the global economy (Aitchison 2002).

2.4.1. National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI)

During the transition period (1990-1994), there were important events that were taking shape. Changes included expansion of the National Literacy Co-operation (NLC) among NGOs and policy formulation of Adult Basic Education provision. Considerably co-operation widened to include any NGOs that wished to join. Operation Upgrade had transformed and Project Literacy (Pro-Lit) had turned it into a large delivery agent. There was a split in 1992 which was caused by those who supported black consciousness and those who supported a charterist line. There came into being another new group of NGOs called the South African Association for Literacy and Adult Education (SAALAE). However the SAALAE was no longer functioning in the literacy field by 1997. The commercial providers of literacy had identified a need for a better-educated workforce. The industry sector was under pressure from unions to provide ABE. The state was also putting literacy and ABE high on its agenda (Aitchison 2002). The transition period focused on the policies for adult education which were different from those of the apartheid school policies. Therefore, political negotiations with all concerned were important not just about the retention of some parts of apartheid policies, but the transfer of power to the democratic focus. The negotiations were important as instruments of political settlement. The aim was to open the way. "Once negotiation becomes the major instrument of politics, the way is opened for its operation over a wide and diverse area of concerns" (Wolpe 1992:14-16).

The civil society had shaped the shifts in thinking and strategies of progressive educational movements prior to 1990. This gave rise to National Education and Training Forum's (NETF) and Founding Agreement (Badat 1997). According to Badat (1991:2), NETF became the "vehicle for the expansion of public participation in educational policy formulation". It was established to provide significant possibilities for the restructuring of education along progressive and democratic lines. Negotiations centred on educational reform and reconstruction structures had to be a replacement or "displacement of the old existing

institutions” (Wolpe 1992; 14-16). The changing nature of the educational objectives and strategies of key progressive educational movements were analysed. One could argue that the shifts were on issues of education and human resources.

The Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) was the product of the National Party (Department of National Education 1991). It committed itself to equality in education and a single central educational authority (Badat 1997). This was never translated into action. Then came the Joint Working Group (JWG), which was convened by the ANC, in 1990 and was composed of progressive educational organisations (state and Bantustan homelands). Its objective was to come up with solutions to the crisis in education (Badat 1997). The government perceived this forum as an informal body with no powers for making decisions. Decision-making as such remained with the government and government departments’ (Metcalf et al 1992:111). It made little impact in education. The educational delegation formed an educational patriotic front that called a National Education Conference (NEC) in 1991. The aim of the conference was to:

Develop broad principles, norms and values that should underpin a future educational system, to develop joint strategies and campaigns to address the educational crisis, create mechanisms for constructing a new educational system and for dealing with education in the transition period (Essop 1992:6).

According to Badat (1997) “despite differences in strategic perspectives among political and educational organisations”, it was a success. It “achieves unity across the political and ideological divide” (Essop 1992:4). It stopped the state from unilaterally restructuring education throughout 1992 to 1993.

The National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) sponsored the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) in 1992 (Harley et al, 1996). It brought together various co-ordinating mechanisms like political activists, academics, researchers and officers of mass organisations. The aim of NEPI “was to generate policy options and their implications in the context of comparative educational experience” (Badat 1997:15). Its reports were

deliberately general in nature providing only the broadest 'overall framework reports' (Badat 1997:15). There were no recommendations or implementation plans (Harley et al 1996). NEPI came out for the provision of ABE as part of a national development policy, aimed at restructuring of the economy, redistribution, and political democratisation options (NEPI 1993).

According to Harley et al (1996), this ABE plan required a strong interventionist state. In terms of this, ABE would need to be co-ordinated within a national framework of human resource development and affirmative action (NEPI 1992). There was a need for democratic participation and also a need to clarify how civil society would be involved. There would be minimum state interference, but maximum state backing (NEPI 1992). However NEPI emphasised inclusiveness of all key educational actors and constituencies, as an important beginning. There were also options for the locating of ABE within the state apparatus as a part of the educational department, or there should be a separate directorate to enhance the integrated education and training model (NEPI 1993).

Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) also called for an integration of training and education (which focused on cognitive skills). The worker's skills needed to be upgraded for economic growth to take place and ABE to continue throughout worker's lifelong learning. COSATU also argued for a competency-based approach in which competences were broadly defined. The state had an active role to play within the system. Many employers shared or expressed explicit support for a national system of ABE to which training was added. The Private Sector Education Committee (PRISEC) saw a joint responsibility of the private sector, industry, community and state. PRISEC had called for the restructuring of ABE curricula along a competency based line. There had to be effective training programmes incorporated within ABE.

The NEPI policy framework contributed towards redressing inequalities and imbalances created during the apartheid era. But it failed to take into account the fact, that equal access and equality between institutions could not be achieved in some respects.

2.4.2 Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET)

After the 1994 election, the development of the ABET sector was very slow. Aitchison (2002:234) argued that "ABET did not seem to be a major concern of the new Government of National Unity or the National Ministry of Education". In 1993 the Centre for Education Policy Development (CEPD) was set up to be a vehicle for the educational policies that had been developed. These working groups included the ABET sector. "In 1994, the CEPD was commissioned by the African National Congress (ANC) to prepare an Implementation Plan for Education and Training (IPET)' (Aitchison 2002:231). The South African Committee on Adult Basic Education (SAACABE) which was an umbrella body for NGOs, consisted of individuals and community-based organisations, but did not last long before it faded away.

Aitchison (2002:234) states that, "The CEPD's proposals for a strong well resourced adult basic education section within the national department of education were never implemented". The National Stakeholders Forum (NSF) included the development of ABE sector.

The National Ministry asked a national working group to facilitate the development of guidelines for ABET sector. The stakeholders and role players were asked to submit proposals on curriculum development and standard setting. The Department of Education's Interim Guidelines of 1995 represents the outcome of all the processes that were followed. The Interim Guidelines address the problem of a national framework for the provision and accreditation. The National Qualifications Framework (NQF) was a developmental basis for the guidelines. The NQF is not an imposed rigid framework on all forms of ABET provision (Phillips 1997). It affords the learner an opportunity to have a nationally recognised certificate with portable skills. "The framework allows the learner to make these choices as their needs and circumstances change, while ensuring that they have a vehicle for choice which does not disadvantage them" (Department of Education 1995:ii).

The experience and recognition of prior learning give the learner a real choice and opportunity to gain knowledge.

The ABET policy is also shaped by the broader education policy represented by the Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training (Department of Education 1997). The ABET policy includes core knowledge, skills, experiences and abilities which should be assessed as learning outcomes. A National Multi-year Implementation Plan for Adult Education and Training Provision and Accreditation had also been produced by the Directorate (Department of Education 1997) using a forum of consultants.

The ABET policy was also shaped by a broader education policy represented by the National Education Policy Act of 1997 and the SAQA Act of 1995.

2.4.3. Further Education and Training (FET)

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996:13) stipulates that "everyone has the right to basic education and further education and training". Education for the present standard 8 up to standard 10 must be redesigned and be brought into an integrated post compulsory phase of learning. It had to be co-ordinated at national level resulting in a Further Education and Training Certificate (FETC) or National Higher Certificate (1994) (Department of Education 1998). This will integrate post compulsory schooling with training, and programmes form Level 2 to 4 of the NQF (Department of Education 1998:8). The Further Education and Training (FET) is the term used to refer to those education and training experiences that follow after compulsory general education and its equivalent. Asmal (1999) stated that there was a need to create an FET system so as to equip youth and adults to meet the social and economic needs of the 21st century, such as it:

includes colleges, community in Senior Secondary schools, Technical Colleges, Community Colleges and Youth Colleges and much training at this level is by employers within commercial and industry. (Asmal 1999:10)

A bridge between general education and higher education or employment was vital for young people and adults whose formal education had been disturbed by

apartheid. The FET offers second chance opportunities. Accordingly, the purpose and mission of FET focuses on the human resource needs such as personal, social, civic, and economic development (Hoppers 2001).

The FET institutions would enable young people and adults to pursue their post compulsory education, not in schools but in FET institutions. These institutions would provide flexibility, diversified facilities and support services in an open learning environment. The White Paper on FET (Department of Education 1998:110) stresses that, "when fully developed, the new FET should provide access to higher quality education and training". This will offer FET as an opportunity to a diverse set of learners including school going young people, out of school youth, young adults and the larger adult population. It was assumed that a successful FET system would also provide a variety of programmes. These will be in the fields of offering knowledge, skills, position, attitudes and values that South Africa required. These programmes are offered to different sectors of our population as lifelong learning. They may produce learners and economically viable members of society. The FET programme is envisaged to:

Restructure and transform programmes and institutions to respond better to the human resources, develop the needs of the Republic, redress past discrimination and ensure equal access. In addition, access to, further education and training and the workplace by persons who have been marginalized in the past such as women, the disabled and the disadvantaged (Republic of South Africa 1998:2).

National and provincial departments control education. Therefore control and competence is shared by both authorities. Also relevant is the fact that:

While this acts as a complicating factor in the implementation of, for example, norms and standards, it does provide opportunities for local interpretation of the policy thus ensuring context relevance (Hoppers 2001:5)

The FET sector has not yet been developed but still lies in disjointed segments. The proper FET programme will emerge from these segments.

2.5. Youth development

The National Youth Commission Act of 1996 defined Youth as "persons between the ages of 14 to 35" (National Youth Commission Act 1996).

The high level of unemployed youth requires special programmes. The National Youth Service Programme is already giving young people a structure on work-experience while continuing their education and training. The programme should not just be seen as a job creation measure, but as youth development and capacity building. An important issue in this regard is that great care is needed to ensure that the programme does not displace or substitute workers in permanent employment.

Youth fits into many categories that have been created by history in South Africa. There is an out-of-school youth that had to access the context of lifelong learning in order to participate in the right to education. This will facilitate the right to participate in political artistic and scientific life at higher levels (Hoppers 2001). This will also offer initial and second chance opportunities. De Lange (1990:7) spoke of a so-called "lost generation" in South Africa. These are a vast majority of people who lost out on vital education in black schools. This would allow this group to "catch up to those who are unequally ahead of them" (Hoppers 2001: 6). Young people will be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their different learning needs. These learning needs are required by human beings to survive, function and develop their capacity to live and work with dignity. They will also be to participate in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions and to continue learning. Youth development more generally should focus on

Education and training job creation, enabling young people to realise their full potential and participate fully in the society and their future. It must restore the hope of our youth in the future, and in their capacity to channel their resourcefulness and energy into reconstruction and development (African National Congress 1994:73)

Some of the objectives of the National Youth Commission are:

To co-ordinate and develop an integrated national youth development policy, utilising available resources and expertise and integrating these changes with the Reconstruction and Development Programme (National Youth Commission 1996:2)

Youth must be engaged in other projects such as literacy, welfare and improving infrastructure. Appropriate government departments should more forcefully represent youth interest including the allocation of resources to organisations involved in youth work. The National Youth service programme should also instill a sense of service towards the nation and the community. Local governments need to include youth development in their programmes.

2.5.1. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

An integrated strategy was essential for the process of unifying our economy and needed to be linked to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (ANC 1994). According to Hoppers (2001:2), youth had to resort to a wide assortment of economic survival strategies found mainly in the so-called informal economy. Programmes that existed had to be challenged to provide youth with the knowledge and skills that would help them to meet everyday needs more effectively. These programmes should be where training is linked to self-employment and to people's social and economic survival strategies. Youth programmes are called upon to re-orientate, on an ongoing basis, education and training towards particular needs and contexts.

In general, the RDP recognises the need to break down apartheid. Micro-economic policies have to take into consideration their effect upon the geographic distribution of the economy. Additional strategies have to address the growth of the largest urban and rural areas. They have to come out with programmes to promote youth employment. In order to foster the growth of local economics, broadly representative institutions have to be established to address, local economic developmental needs. The purpose of these institutions will be to:

Formulate strategies to address job creation and community development (for example, leveraging private sector funds for

community development, investment strategies, training, small business and agricultural development (ANC 1994:83)

The RDP (1994) was successful in articulating the main aspirations of the ANC in post-apartheid South Africa. The ANC stated that growth, development, reconstruction and redistribution in a consistent macro-economic framework is essential, using the Keynesian model which proposed: -

Growth and development through reconstruction and redistribution, sought a leading and enabling role of government in guiding the mixed economy through reconstruction and development, and it argued for a living wage as a pre-requisite for achieving the required level of economic growth. (Adelzadeh 1998:66)

Perhaps one of the central and most contested elements of the government's present macro-economic policy revolved around the strong emphasis on fiscal discipline and consequent commitment to reduce the budget deficit. The National Institute for Economic Policy (NIEP) (1996) highlighted redistribution as a major policy departure and fiscal discipline as means of achieving this in a sustainable way.

2.5.2. The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy

The first major point of departure from the goals of RDP and the ethos of the initial RDP document happened in 1994. The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy unsuccessfully attempted to reconcile the original Keynesian approach with a set of policies and recommendations that were inspired by the neo-liberal framework. This new framework had a number of variants. The different variants came from big business and major multilateral bodies such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The apartheid government used the form of the Normative Economic Model – NEM (Adelzadeh 1998). In the shift from Keynesian towards new-liberal framework, the White Paper transformed the role of fiscal prudence from a means to

achieve RDP, as an objective. The goal of redistribution was dropped as a main objective (Adelzadeh 1998:67).

The state deemed that GEAR superseded the RDP but it made it possible to function, state and identify transitional capital, global political structures, domestic pressures and demand, and internal needs; as the four imperatives that require political response. The above is perceived as offering economic global competitiveness (Burbules and Torres 2000). The point of departure for GEAR from RDP is when it places emphasis on economic growth. This is viewed as offering employment opportunities for the youth. GEAR was also seen as being able to boost the even distribution of wealth. The aim of GEAR is to:

place the primary focus on economic growth and demands that all other policies - like education, labour and social welfare - are streamlined according to the economic imperatives of the country.
(Baatjes 2003:189)

The GEAR policy is also in-line with the global economy that demands highly skilled and competitive labour.

Therefore GEAR echoed and expanded upon policy recommendations proposed by the World Bank that South Africa should encourage rapid growth in skilled labour by upgrading semi-skilled and unskilled labour, re-orientate manufacturing towards exports, promote job creation through small business development and agricultural reform structure government expenditure by raising investments in infrastructure and public services, targeting the poor and under-privileged, and maintaining a prudent fiscal and momentary policy.
(Fallon and Perreira da Silva, 1994)

The proposed framework (GEAR) and policy scenarios depict an acceptance of the essential principles and policy recommendations of the neo-liberal approach advocated by the IMF. This indicates the limited and even negative impact of such action that the international financial institutions such as the IMF and World Bank have over South Africa (Baatjes 2003). This calls for major shifts in

policy orientation. There was a lack of transparent and fully argued justification for the adoption of an entirely different policy framework. GEAR as a shift in economy and political environment, created problems and loop-holes in its operation.

The formal institution-based education system (ABET and FET) cannot be an appropriate 'vehicle for achieving equity objectives because the majority of the target population have neither minimum educational entry requirements, the time nor the money to enrol at any of the formal post-secondary institutions' (Soobrayan 1996:108).

The above problem is heightened by the challenges associated with achieving equitable access. There is a great need in creating education and training opportunities for those who fall outside of the formal system. The power of education to influence the economy and social outcomes remained problematic.

Despite many unresolved conceptual issues with the relationship between education and economic development, in South Africa has invested faith in lifelong learning. There is still the undisputed challenge for moving from the present situation of limited access. This faith is based on a further assumption that there will be movement from a 'low-skilled' labour force towards a 'high-skilled' one which will be accompanied by a movement from a low wage economy towards a high waged one (Soobrayan 1996:110). This assumption is based on the notion that once you are highly skilled then you can achieve economic growth. It sees a direct link between education and economic development (Denison 1962; Becker 1964). This is a human capital theory. The perception of GEAR is that increasing human capital will boost economy.

According to Baatjes (2003:199), "GEAR policy paved the way for a new way of producing marginalisation and exclusion". The GEAR document lacks the focus on how to achieve a desirable level of economic growth and equitable distribution of income and wealth. I would reasonably conclude that the

abandonment of the RDP was a panic response to policy diktats and pressures from IMF and World Bank.

Prior to 1994, the reproductive mechanism in society was apartheid capitalism; today it is neo- liberalism. Neo-liberalism is the perpetuation of marginalisation and exclusion (Bond 2001).

2.6 Conclusion

The review has been able to depict YMCA from its initial ethos of caring for the needs of the youth. The mission of the YMCA is to be able to address youth morals and unemployment so as to transform or change and develop them as skilled workers.

It has become clear that education is part of the YMCA especially with regards to the Red Triangle (body, mind and spirit) from its early inception. Literacy provided survival and functional skills in society and in the workplace. The transition era levelled the playing field from apartheid to democracy through the formulation of different policies. The YMCA being a youth organisation focuses on unemployment, redress and development.

This literature review has been able to bring up how the history, development and mission of the YMCA education and training have been a vehicle for the YMCA mission.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter briefly outlines the methodology. Firstly, I will explain why I used qualitative methods. Secondly, I will outline a case study, and thirdly, I will describe my research instruments.

3.2. Qualitative method

I decided to use a qualitative method of research. The main reason for this is contained in the following quote from Merriam and Sampson (1995:97).

The overall purposes of qualitative research are to achieve an understanding of how people make sense out of their lives, to delineate the process (rather than the outcome or product) of meaning-making, and to describe how people interpret what they experience.

Many different types of qualitative methodology exist, but there seem to be certain general features that characterise most qualitative research studies (Fraenkel and Wallen 1990). According to Bogdan and Biklen (1992) not all qualitative studies will necessarily display all of the characteristics with equal strength. The following are some of them:

- The natural setting is the direct source of data and the researcher is the key instrument in qualitative research – researchers go directly to the particular setting in which they are interested to observe and collect their data.
- Qualitative data are collected in the form of words or pictures rather than numbers – anything else that can convey the actual words or actions of people.
- Qualitative researchers are concerned with process as well as product – they are interested in how things occur.

- Qualitative researchers tend to analyse their data inductively – do not, usually, formulate a hypothesis beforehand and then seek to test it out of them. They spend a considerable amount of time collecting their data (again, primarily through observing and interviewing), before they decide what are the important questions to consider.
- How people make sense out of their lives is a major concern to qualitative researchers – researcher does his or her best to capture thinking of the participants from the particular perspective (as opposed to the researcher merely reporting what he or she thinks as accurately as possible).

(Fraenkel and Wallen 1990:368 – 9)

3.3. Case study

This research study is a case study. According to Lovell and Lawson (1970:40), "Intention is to study the unit at great depth or intensity with a view to establishing generalisations about a wider population of units". Fraenkel and Wallen (1990:370) see a case study as "studying just one individual, one classroom, one school or one school district".

The content of a case study is determined chiefly by its purpose to which the instance being studied belongs. (Guba and Lincoln 1981:371)

A case study is studied over a period of time, and changes over that time become the variables of interest. A case study can bring about the discovery of new meaning and changes that have taken place over a period. This case study "can bring about the discovery of new meanings, extend the reader's experience, or confirm what is known" (Merriam and Simpson 1995:109).

The strength of a case study is that it offers large amounts of rich, detailed information about the phenomena. It is useful for investigation because it reveals important variables and thus affords researchers the flexibility to understand, and answer the questions about processes and problems (Merriam and Simpson 1995). In this research, I used a case study in order to throw light

on the curriculum history of BS YMCA changes that were affected at the BS YMCA from 1978 to 2003.

In this case study there are limitations. One limitation is on the duration of the study from 1978. This time frame is caused by the fact that BS YMCA only became autonomous from the South African National Council of YMCAs (SANC of YMCAs) in 1974, though the BS YMCA came into being in 1953 as a 'branch association' (South African National Council of YMCAs 1953:111). In actual fact, literacy classes were started as early as 1934. Secondly, it is not possible to get evidence from people who were present between 1934 and 1977. The year 1978 has been chosen because a full-time secretary worked for six years without a break in the services of BS YMCA. This is the period where official documents are found and before that there were no proper official documents kept.

3.4. Research instruments

There are three basic ways to collect data. They are interviewing, observation and documents (Merriam 1988, Merriam and Simpson 1995).

Documentation such as written minutes of both BS YMCA and Department of Education (DoE) and records are the main sources used in this research study. Firstly, I have investigated minutes and documents from the DoE and BS YMCA and completed a literature review. The history of the YMCA gives a comprehensive record of origins and its mission. The South African history literatures, like 'History of South Africa' (Davenport, 1978) have been able to give political, social, economic and educational contexts between 1950 and 1990. The influence of apartheid on education is also investigated. Literature on apartheid and education has been very helpful in tracing literacy from its infancy to adult education. The NEPI documents of 1992 to 1993 have shown the policies that were formulated during the transition period before democracy in 1994. Solid foundations were laid by the NEPI policymakers for the ABET and FET sectors.

From an early stage (2002), I collected the data by sifting through the written records relating to the BS YMCA's provision of adult education. I examined

both internal and external documents including newsletters, minutes of the meeting and so on. The minutes were of particular interest because they showed the continuous interaction between the BS YMCA and DoE (Provincial) over a long period of time.

The document review allowed me to discover the origins of YMCA and also policies that were formulated during the transition period. These policies helped the policymakers to come up with ABET sector for implementation.

In addition, I spoke to some old members of the BS YMCA who shared their experiences orally. These are people who are involved with BS YMCA, either as ordinary members or as members of the management.

All the information that has been captured was analysed and sorted. I investigated whether changes in curriculum reflected larger changes in the period under review.

3.5. Limitations

I have been responsible or involved in the collection of the data and hence I am not objective. My personal involvement in the research study may have coloured the way I collected and analysed the data. This is a bias that could not be avoided.

I could not conduct as many interviews as I had expected because informants from the past were difficult to find. This also brought in some limitations to my research study.

Funds and travelling have had an impact on this study, which are acknowledged as limitations. Some evidence has been verified and some that depended on oral testimony was left unverified. It is very hard to provide tangible evidence because of oral nature for this data, which may not be good supporting evidence.

The scarcity of YMCA literature, especially in South Africa, has contributed to the limitation. I depended on overseas literature for my research. That is why in my introduction I have indicated that 'most of the history has not been documented' and, secondly, that this study is adding to 'literature of non-formal education'.

In such a study it is important that the findings be presented in a coherent and interesting way. The purpose of this study has been to contribute to our understanding of adult education provision through the historical changes in the last 25 years. It is not only to inform the future direction of the project and improve the provision, but also to be helpful to others doing similar work.

CHAPTER 4

The History of Beatrice Street YMCA

4.1 Introduction

The chapter focuses on the background of political, economic and social events, and other major happenings that may have affected education and training provision at the BS YMCA. It is suggested that the leadership changes in management shaped these particular incidents or issues in education and training provision at the BS YMCA, especially with regards to changes in curricula.

4.2 Background

It has already been stated in the previous chapter that the BS YMCA took over from the Durban Bantu Social Centre in 1953 (Beatrice Street YMCA, 1953:1). Before this change, the Bantu Social Centre was the only place in Durban where blacks could come for social and sport entertainment. Black men may spend leisure time at the BS YMCA instead of roaming the streets. It was a centre where all the black athletic bodies could meet. It was also a place where character change was encouraged and developed. The management at BS YMCA at this time consisted of six white males (councillors), the welfare officer (for blacks), the secretary and only two blacks (Durban Bantu Social Centre 1933a: 2,30). The secretary of the Centre was also the secretary of the City Council of Durban (Durban Bantu Social Centre 1933b:5).

Davenport (1978:12) describes this era as 'white unity and black division'. Two of the most favourite activities were literacy classes and isicathamiya choir for men. The Durban Bantu Social Centre was moved from Victoria Street and finally settled at Ezihlabathini (Greyville area) in 1950, where there were the black townships of Baumanville and Quarters. Church buildings for blacks were scattered at Ezihlabathini. The BS YMCA (1953:6) brought in the 'Red Triangle' emblem (body, mind, spirit).

The BS YMCA became autonomous on 22 September 1973 from the South African National Council of YMCAs, (BS YMCA Minutes 1973:1). The board of management became black as from 1974 (BS YMCA 1974).

4.2.1 Major political, social and economic events

4.2.1.1 Acts and policies

The Nationalist Party came to power in 1948. In 1949 the party began to dismantle the political structures set up by the United Party regime for Africans, Asians and Coloured. "Then, step-by-step, it eliminated every vestige of black participation in the central political system" (Thompson, 1990:187). New apartheid policies were formulated.

Under the Group Areas Act of 1950 and "its subsequent amendments, the government divided urban areas into zones where members of one specified race alone could live and work" (Thompson 1990:194; Davenport 1978, Muller 1969, Macmillan 1970). This Act became the cornerstone of apartheid. Various racial groups were resettled in demarcated separate residential areas. In many cases, areas that had previously been occupied by blacks were zoned for exclusive white occupation, for example, Sophiatown, Meadowlands, District 6, Baumanville and Quarters. Many Indians in Durban also suffered severely by losing their homes and business in areas zoned for whites (Lodge 1983). Verwoerd was the Minister of Native Affairs during this period (Macmillan 1970).

The Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 empowered the Minister of Native Affairs to compel Local Authorities to establish settlement camps (Thompson 1990, Macmillan 1970, Davenport 1978). In the same year (1951), came the abolition of Natives Representatives Council. This transformed the administration of the black population and the Native Representative Council. The Native Representative Council was the only official countrywide black institution. The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 was for "the rehabilitation of the Native areas with a view to developing within them a social structure in keeping with the culture of the Natives and based on effective socio-economic planning". (Davenport 1978:270-1). The first step towards granting "self-government" to the blacks

appeared in the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 (Muller 1969). This Act grouped the black reserves into eight and later to ten territories. Each such a territory became known as a 'homeland' within which black people were to develop along "his or her own lines" (Thompson 1990:191). The Bantu Homeland Constitution Act of 1971 empowered the government to grant "independence" to 'homelands'.

There were two Acts in 1952 that became notorious. The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952 limited blacks' right to live permanently in 'white' urban areas even though they were born there (Muller, 1969). The Native Act of 1952 (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) required that all blacks (including those exempt under pass laws and women for the first time as well as men) should carry reference books (Thompson 1990). This created the means of ensuring that tight control over black influx into the towns could be exercised. This clause caused a lot of resistance from progressive organisations and later sparked the Sharpeville protest (Bird 1984). "The launching of a joint Defiance Campaign, from resistance movements (Indian, African Congresses) came to act against these laws" (Davenport 1978:263). The second Act was the Bantu Education Act of 1952 which intensified the control of the educational system. The control of public black education made it virtually impossible for churches to continue providing education for blacks. "Mission schools" were perceived as turning blacks "into black Englishmen" (Thompson 1980:196) Increased hostile criticisms of apartheid policies came from the United Nations.

Residential apartheid was further enforced through laws, which were closely related to Group Areas Act, such as the Resettlement of Native Act of 1954. This resulted in blacks being relocated, for example, to an area of 'Meadowlands' in Johannesburg (Muller, 1969:385). Thereafter followed the Native Amendment Act of 1955 for urban areas. This became known as the 'Locations in the Sky Act' (Muller 1969). This Act ended the large-scale accommodation of non-white servants in urban areas, for example the Baumanville and Quarters in Durban (Muller 1969:385) State-Aided Institutions. The Act of 1957 enforced segregation in libraries and places of entertainment.

The Native Laws Amendment Bill of the same year contained a clause which "empower government to prohibit the holding of classes, entertainment and even church services if they were attended by Bantu in white Group Areas" (Davenport 1978; 275). An Anglican Episcopal synod protested (Paton 1973). The exclusion of the 'University Education Act of 1959' divided South African universities ethnically (Davenport 1978:276). There was protest from a small section of whites. Black organised political organisations were banned in 1960. Umkhonto Wesizwe (MK) and Poqo were formed to conduct an armed struggle against South African government. The Soweto revolt of 1976 was 'a turning point in the political struggle that came to a climax in the late 80s' (Aitchison 2002:224).

Many black schools became ungovernable. Pressure against the state also came from the World Alliance of YMCAs and black Americans. The pressure within South Africa came from prominent industrialists and many organisations. South Africa faced isolation from the outside world. But "South Africa and other major European trading partners – West Germany, France and Switzerland - were also disinclined to risk their growing trade and investments to South Africa by taking action against apartheid" (Lodge 1983:13-16).

4.2.1.2. Economic happenings

Apartheid policies caused a big gap over the years between the blacks and whites of South Africa. It has been said that in the 1960s, "the policies of successive South African governments were inspired by economic rather than by racial ideology" (Davenport 1978:353). It is also important to observe how apartheid policies influenced the economy during this era.

Verwoerd forbade white capitalists from investing directly in the homelands and the government of the homelands depended on subsidies from Pretoria (Thompson 1990). Under apartheid, the conditions of the homelands continued to deteriorate. This led to economic incentives for blacks to leave the homelands either as migrant labourers or permanently. No foreign country recognised the sovereignty of the 'independent' homelands (Thompson 1990:191). Omond (1985:80) and Thompson (1990:196) quote Verwoerd as

saying that "there is no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour".

The economy of South Africa grew but it was hampered by the small size of the domestic market. This was as a result of shortage of skilled workers and by the inefficiency of black workers through their lack of education. The industrial colour bar and black education became obstacles to the creation of a skilled black workforce. Bird (1984:209) argues that

on the economic side or level, it became increasingly possible over time and within the limits of the colour bar to advance blacks to more responsible positions. But in order to facilitate this mobility, a certain minimal education was required.

Even Afrikaans businessmen, who had benefited under apartheid, were joining in calls for the liberation of labour laws (Kallaway 1984). It became a demand that black labour would be used more productively and more efforts were needed to ensure adequate levels of education for blacks.

More foreign investments were withdrawn when South Africa decided to discontinue her membership of the Commonwealth in 1961 (Davenport 1978). There developed a wave of strikes involving tens of thousands of black workers. This resulted in substantial wage increases in many sectors of industry:

Employers, faced with more expensive labour, attempted to cut costs by retrenching workers and demanding higher productivity from those that remained (Bird 1984:210).

This gesture promoted a need to train the black labour that was available. The revival in the 1970s of a black independent trade union movement marked the beginning of demands for higher wages and improved working conditions (Lodge 1983; Brewer 1988).

4.2.1.3 Geographic planning and land ownership

Verwoerd's apartheid philosophy gave fierce expression to its determination of social standards for black people. It forced removals that destabilised the family life. There were demarcated separate territorial bases and 'residential apartheid'

which had been established through apartheid policies, like Group Areas Act, Resettlement of Natives Act and so on (Muller 1969:384).

In white areas, locations became the places of black settlements on the edges of towns. This was through explicit legislation (Huddleston 1956). The aim of this legislation was to provide:

Accommodation for African servants who were restricted by a regulation of 1899 to rooms in the backyards of white homes. (Davenport 1978:339).

This was another way of controlling African residential areas in towns. Another reason for relocation was to clear Africans out of the mixed residential areas, like Johannesburg (Thompson 1990). Location settlements proved to be more complicated than the authorities first envisaged. Blacks who had been evicted often preferred to move into backyards of employers. Those who could not be accommodated were banned to the reserves. "The Locations in the Sky" Act banned people in high rise buildings in Johannesburg from accommodating black staff on the top floor and roof (Muller, 1969: 385).

The Land Act of 1913 was an attempt by the state to get rid of black land ownership in "white" South Africa (Davenport 1978). The state set aside the existing reserves as land reserved for black ownership and occupation. The Act prohibited any purchase of land by blacks outside them. There were increased incidents of uprooting of blacks from areas zoned for Indians as well. This Act brought hardship to the blacks, Coloureds and Indians. Squatting was unlawful.

Many blacks lived and worked under a farmer or white farming areas as victims of the policy of segregation, influx control in the towns, and urbanisation of African women. Farms were turned into outdoor relief centres for homeless persons. There included wives and children of migrant workers for whom there were no rooms in the reserves and they were not allowed in the towns. They ended up settling on white farms as workers. The main reason for leaving the reserves was the shortage of food. "Elderly, unfit women and children who did not qualify for residential rights in the towns under urban Areas Act," also settled on white owned farms or in pockets of black settlement (Davenport 1978:338). The old residents were dependent on old age pensions. The men had migrated

to big cities and towns for employment in order to sustain their families in the reserves. "Homelands remained economic back waters" (Thompson 1990:191). The population of reserves was increasing at a steady rate through natural increase and political repatriation. Consequently, blacks experienced a high level of poverty, under-nutrition and diseases, overpopulation, forced removals, separation of families and unemployment (Thompson 1990).

The BS YMCA was affected by these major events because members had to travel long distances from the locations. Resistance movements among blacks even in the rural areas intensified. Underground political cells were established for mobilising the masses against the state. This was during the '80s and '90s.

4.2.2. The emergence of adult education and training classes at the Beatrice Street YMCA

In 1934, the Durban Bantu Social Centre had identified the need for literacy classes for blacks in the city of Durban (Durban Bantu Social Centre 1934:1). The aim of the project was to give communication skills to blacks in English. The paradox was that the whites never saw the need of learning communication skills in Zulu. There was an oral source which I heard from Mr. Zebulon Zungu who lived in the 30s to the 60s, but unfortunately had died. This oral source was in a form of a musical 'Jim comes to town', which went like this in Zulu 'JIM BULLA LONKUKHU, PHEKA LOMAKHANDA, A Zulu boy will understand. This song was recorded by a white male and was sold at music shops. This oral source was also confirmed by a certain Mr. Isaac Mtshali who was born in 1912. The whole song was politically oriented and degrading to blacks. There appeared to be a lack of communication because the black cook took it literally what the employer said. It was due to her or his lack of skill to pronounce Zulu properly and the employee killed all the fowls and cooked all the fowls' heads. The employer spoke fanagalo, a Zulu pidgin used by the employers speaking to the servants, "Kill the chicken, cook the eggs" and meant to say "Kill all chickens and cook the heads."

Many blacks lost employment through communication breakdown (Durban Bantu Social Centre 1934:40). This motivated Durban Bantu Social Centre to be

engaged in literacy programme for blacks. 'Native Education Department had expressed its willingness to make up any financial deficiency 'in the literacy programme. (Durban Bantu Social Centre 1934:2). The implicit view of this vocal song raised racial tension. The African cook may have wanted to revenge due to the political context of the time. He or she took advantage of the employer's language incompetency to take revenge.

The BS YMCA took over from Durban Bantu Social Centre in 1953. It coincided with the coming into being of Bantu Education. The Act made it an offence to provide any education to blacks unless it was in a government-registered school and therefore, all night schools had to be handed over to the state (Bird 1984). Registration of all voluntary organisations concerned with the provision of black education was compulsory. The aim of the registration was to control the institutions involved in co-ordination or promotion of literacy (Aitchison 2002). Many people lost employment due to these new laws.

The BS YMCA had to negotiate with the Bantu Administration Board and the Department of Bantu Education to continue with literacy classes as before. Provision of literacy had been registered with the previous Department while BS YMCA still had a white management. Literacy programmes were offered to the employees of the city of Durban only. These factors allowed BS YMCA literacy classes to continue. The change to Native Affairs Department in 1955 did not affect the provision of literacy classes at the BS YMCA. Then came the publication of Government Notice 1414 of 1957 on the regulation of night schools and continuing classes in White areas, defined a night school as "Bantu school for pupils above the age of 16 who are bona fide employees who receive primary education" (Kallaway 1984:206). The definition of continuing classes differed only in so far as the education provided was at secondary level. However, I would argue that definition excluded young people who were unemployed or employed in formal sectors. Bird (1984:206) concludes that "all education (primary and secondary) provided a link to that which was 'given to children in formal sector".

Registration of night schools had to happen before 1958 or an organisation would face closure. White areas registration had to be accompanied by permits

from the Group Areas Board (Bird 1984). Classes had to be conducted during school terms and be held in official school building and there had to be permission obtained from the Director of Bantu Education. The proprietor or his representative "shall be a European" and advisory board had to consist of 'whites only' (Kallaway 1984:207). The BS YMCA complied with these conditions because the management was white and the centre had been registered. Again difficulties arose from the state with the other night schools in Durban and they had to shut down (Bird 1984). According to Davenport (1978:270), the state considered African educational needs to be "instruction in vernacular (Zulu) in the junior schools and this was enforced". Fortunately, BS YMCA was undisturbed with its provision of English literacy.

The period between 1953 and 1974 was a transition phase of the BS YMCA to becoming autonomous. The Group Areas Act of 1950 and Native Laws Amendment Bill of 1957 forced the BS YMCA to replace white management. The white leadership could not hold on to the management because it was against government policies. Indians were not allowed to be involved in BS YMCA activities (Beatrice Street YMCA, 1961:1). The Bureau of Literacy and Literature (BLL) provided the necessary methods and materials and also trained educators (Aitchison 2002).

But in the 1960s, "adult education" in various forms thus clothed much anti-apartheid work' (Aitchison 2002:222). Government of course, had an interest in adult education as a means of building up the consciousness of the Afrikaans speaking white community and eventually the whole community (Aitchison 2002).

In 1975 Department of Bantu Education created a new section called Adult Education literacy and night schools (Department of Bantu Education 1977). Bantu Employees' In-service Training Act of 1976 was to encourage the formulation of training establishment at workplaces. This would be done by offering substantial tax incentives to employers. Literacy (including the official languages) was seen to have an important preparatory role in relation to the above scheme (Department of Bantu Education 1975).

In 1977, adult education centres were established in industrial centres "offering courses at the primary level and also secondary courses leading to Form III and Form V certificates" (Kallaway 1984:215). In-service teacher training or refresher courses were established. Initially, Operation Upgrade was invited to train teachers and this practice continued. The Department of Education and Training was established in 1978. The minimum level age limit of learners was increased to eighteen. Centres to be established were not to be seen to be "alternate for radical students" and also in no way changing "separate development" (Bird 1984:216).

In 1979, the Department established adult education as a section of the Department of Education and Training (Department of Education and Training 1979). Adult education had to initiate its own literacy and continuing education courses. This included the training of teachers. The BS YMCA registered with the Department of Education and Training in 1982 as a State Aided Centre (Beatrice Street YMCA 1982:36). This happened in the context of reform in education and training (Davies 1984).

4.3. The BS YMCA leadership changes and changes in management

It has already been explained that BS YMCA took over from Durban Bantu Social Centre in 1953 and became a 'branch association' (South African National Council of YMCAs 1953:4). Apartheid was at its highest level and many policies had been put into place that disadvantaged the blacks. It was considered imperative for the white management to continue during the transition period for the sake of continuity (Beatrice Street YMCA 1952:12).

The BS YMCA gained 'autonomy' in 1973 (South African National Council of YMCAs 1973:5). The laws of the country determined that black organisations had to be led by black management. The BS YMCA had to be registered as a non-governmental organisation (NGO) with the Provincial Welfare Board.

Vuka E.M. Tshabalala, who is now judge president of KwaZulu-Natal, became the first chairperson of the YMCA. Mr. Simon T. Mthimkhulu, who in the later years became chairperson, was on the first board of management. Mr. J.

Mbatha (1973-1974) became the first caretaker general secretary. The functions of the general secretary were:

direct and initiate all activities on day-to-day basis, full time employee, fund raising, organise and initiate programmes, secretary of the management, other activities are known by him only, professional person, director of Christian emphasis and represents the management in meeting and abroad (Beatrice Street YMCA, 1960:10).

The management consisted of volunteers from all walks of life (World Alliance of YMCAs 1908). This explains why the secretary knew of secret meetings that were held at the same time with other activities. The black management was faced with many challenges that were affecting the black people in the community. The aspirations of the black people had not been addressed. The policies that had been developed by the state had caused frustrations with many blacks. Group Areas Act haunted the black management as BS YMCA was in an Indian Area.

Revd A. Msibi (1975-1977) became the first general secretary of BS YMCA (Beatrice Street YMCA 1974:1). The political atmosphere at this era was tense. There were waves of strikes involving tens of thousands of black workers. Recessive economic trends contributed to a critical shortage in certain categories of jobs and skilled labour. Black resistance to Portuguese colonialism led to Angola and Mozambique gaining independence (Maxwell 1980).

The above incidents had influenced the secretary's political life. This was the reason why he could not serve at the BS YMCA for a longer time. He had been planted in the BS YMCA by the underground resistance movement (ANC). This was confirmed by Simon Mthimkhulu who became the chairperson of the BS YMCA between 1978-1994. Msibi had been entrusted with the responsibilities of recruiting and also used the BS YMCA as an exit point to Swaziland for Umkhonto, Wesizwe (MK) cadres. There was also an unconfirmed rumour that Msibi gave shelter to the MK cadres from exile who came to eliminate Leonard Mandla Nkosi, who stayed at one of the surrounding townships. Leonard had been an MK but turned an askari. The South African Pocket Dictionary defines

an askari as a "former freedom fighter acting for counter-insurgency forces" (Branford 2000:46). Msibi promoted ballroom dance and boxing at the BS YMCA at the time as holding secret cell meetings. He left work at BS YMCA in May 1977 (Beatrice Street YMCA 1977:6). Msibi worked very well with the management promoting the work of the BS YMCA and even his political activities did not detract him from his calling at the BS YMCA. As a first secretary, he laid a good foundation for future secretaries at the BS YMCA

Revd B.B. Radebe (1978-1983) succeeded Msibi as the general secretary of the BS YMCA. The political situation during this period saw the Carter administration in USA opposing South Africa. Carter believed that the future of South Africa lay with black Nationalists and the USA had an interest in coming to terms with them (Thompson 1990:220). The real pressure on South Africa was coming from the West. The strength of the opposition led the state to seek a support base that was wider than white population. The state decided to create a tri-cameral parliament (coloureds, Indians, whites). 'The United Democratic Front (UDF) opposed this tri-cameral parliament constitution.' (Aitchison 2002:226). The UDF was successful in sensitising the South African Congress of Trade Unions, formed in 1985 to motivate workers in education and leadership and fight for their rights at workplaces.

'Ben' Radebe, as he was normally called, had been with Inter-Denominational African Ministers Association of South Africa (IDAMASA), as their secretary general. As with all black organisations, IDAMASA was viewed by the state as politically motivated. He was harassed by the state frequently because of his former ties with IDAMASA (Beatrice Street YMCA 1979:6). Together with the management, they focused on education for the youth and adults. Ben was a priest and a teacher by profession. The management was able to register BS YMCA provision of adult education with the Department of Education and Training, as a State-Aided Centre in 1982. It became part of Department of Education and Training. It was called Nhloshle (Good Intentions) State-Aided Centre. (Beatrice Street YMCA 1982:6). State-aided meant the Board could:

Appeal to the minister for a loan or subsidy when fund raising becomes problematic. Department is able to train teachers and supply literacy materials to both teachers and learners credible.

Centre where departmental certificates are obtained and has a choice to engage teachers from other organisations involved with literacy. (Beatrice Street YMCA 1981:3)

Revd Mlungisi Johann Vilakazi (1984-2001), (the researcher and author of this dissertation), joined the BS YMCA staff in a full-time capacity, having been with the Anglican Church for ten years. I used my managerial skills I had obtained from the church organisation to advance the work of the BS YMCA. Being an adult educator myself, I advanced the level of the adult education from literacy provision to matriculation.

My previous career had brought me face to face with the police. As a member of IDAMASA branch at Estcourt, they motivated the residents to strike against a local bus company and this was successful in 1982-1983. Underground political cells continued even during my term of office. Mr Mthimkhulu, the chairperson, was friendly with the ballroom instructor who ran these cells. The chairperson (Mr Mthimkhulu) once organised accommodation for ex-Robben Island prisoners for a year at the BS YMCA. Therefore Mr Mthimkhulu had some links with ANC exiles.

The activities at BS YMCA were ballroom dance, boxing, karate and adult education. These took place during weekdays. Weekend activities were isicathamiya, church revival services, birthday parties, wedding receptions and parties. Sunday was for church services only. Throughout this period, the underground political meetings never ceased to operate. Halls and rooms were used by the public, especially on weekends and public holidays for weddings, receptions and so on (Beatrice Street YMCA 1984).

The UDF and COSATU used the BS YMCA to hold meetings on Saturdays. The BS YMCA hall was the only facility open to blacks at this period. The BS YMCA Constitution (1973:3) states "BS YMCA is non-political in character". Branford (2000:737) defines politics as "activities concerned with seeking power and status". Thompson (1990) argues that "the Nationalist party legislated laws for blacks in order to maintain white supremacy in South Africa". This led to resistance movements against apartheid. The BS YMCA had to "assist people

and other people to overcome the effects of social evils” (Beatrice Street YMCA 1973, 1990). Social evils had been caused by the suppressive laws from the state. Therefore, the BS YMCA could not avoid being political and the underground political cells were a proof of this. Organisations and Trade Unions booked the BS YMCA hall as a ‘birthday or 21st party or Anniversary’. This was a cover up to satisfy the ‘Reason for hire’ on the form for when police came for inspection on activities that were held over the past weekend. The BS YMCA form for hire and diary were important documents to be inspected (Beatrice Street YMCA 1984:1).¹

Below is a sample of the application form (sample) used. BS YMCA Application Form to use of a Hall or Rooms.

Name of hirer:
 Address.....
 Date for the use of the hall
 Reason
 Times
 Signature of hirer..... Date

For office use

Accepted –Dismissed –Defer to management (cross applicable)

SignatureDate

General Secretary

(Behalf of Management of BS YMCA SAMPLE 1984-2003)¹

Politics and apartheid changed the whole of South African YMCA movement and aligned itself with the formation of the Joint Task Group on Apartheid in February 1988 (World Alliance of YMCAs 1988). International Partners aim was ‘to make the apartheid system to be a focus of their concern’. This was shown by practical solidarity action programmes, ‘that the victims of the apartheid system are our brothers and sisters’ (World Alliance of YMCAs 1988:2). The position held by the South African YMCA and its international partners of YMCAs had been one of working against the South African Government press release statements and apartheid. This action made the BS YMCA unpopular with the state. The change meant putting into affect new strategies in programmes. The South African National Council of YMCAs institutionalised racial divisions by accepting Group Area policy which brought hardship to its members (World Alliance of YMCAs 1988:6). The mission, character and calling

of the South African YMCA was called into question. This criticism was endorsed by the 12th World Council of YMCAs in South Korea (1991). South African team which attended this World Council Meeting were Shakes E. Shabalala, Steve Hobbs, Patrick Mbanjwa, Sally Hodges, Johann M. Vilakazi, David Field and Vusi Kaunda. After the World Council meeting, BS YMCA political cells surfaced and linked with the National Council of YMCA's programme against apartheid.

4.3.1. Beatrice Street Finishing School

The year 1985 saw a very big number of blacks students who failed matriculation (Natal Mercury 1986:1). Parents from Lamontville and Chesterville challenged Department of Education and Training to allow repeaters to be admitted in Std 10. This policy of the Department did not allow repeaters back to their schools (std 10).

The secretary, together with the Department, agreed to allow these students to come to the BS YMCA for tuition. This was the start of a Finishing School model in South Africa and thereafter spread to other provinces. The joint effort of the management and Department diffused a very tense situation. The parents were going to send their children to already full schools where they had failed. The leadership of the BS YMCA was delighted when all students passed in 1987. This finishing school still exists today under a different name, that is, Hunter Secondary School, in Berea, Durban.

4.3.2. Phambili Tutorial Centre

In 1988, Prof. Fatima Meer approached the leadership of the BS YMCA to accommodate students who could not be accepted at day schools, either because of their ages or schools being full. The BS YMCA accepted it because it was solving a problem of children who could not be accepted in a normal school.

A problem arose when the school was infiltrated by police spies who pretended to be students. This was very common during this period. Aitchison (2002:222)

confirmed that in the '80s as the political struggle raged, the state began to create 'bogus adult education organisation to assist in its attempts to win hearts and minds, to gather intelligence'. The BS YMCA had to close Phambili Tutorial Centre down before the ANC underground cells could be discovered.

4.3.3. Skills training

There had been requests from its members that the management should establish skills training for 'drop-outs' from school and also for the unemployed. The secretary had to fundraise so as to be able to buy equipment. The Independent Development Trust (IDT) responded positively in 1993 and bought twenty electric sewing machines. The BS YMCA had to network with other organisations involved in the same project for tutors or trainers (Beatrice Street YMCA 1993:6). The Roman Catholic Church at Amatikwe (Inanda) came on board with this initiative. The BS YMCA was also encouraged by the arrival of eight people from the World YMCA delegation 'on fact-finding mission on apartheid' (South African National Council of YMCAs 1988:3). They pledged to buy twenty typewriters and these were received after they had left. The BS YMCA began to open sewing and typing courses. After finishing the courses learners could start their own business at their homes or would have gained enough experience to obtain a job elsewhere.

4.3.4. Fund-Raising

Fund-raising fell directly under the job description of the secretary. The BS YMCA depended on fund-raising for its survival. Fund-raising had been prosperous during the period 1984 to 1993. Most of the funding was for adult education and skills training. The Ithuba Trust funded BS YMCA for many years. However, most of the funding came from overseas.

It became difficult to access overseas funding after 1994 and up to the present time. This is because overseas donors and local funders were now directing their funding through the new South African Government. This gesture frustrated the BS YMCA management because new types of challenges developed. To use Scott et al (1998:22) term, 'sudden new birth occurs, new

universe, new order'. The BS YMCA had to face new challenges from young people. Many NGOs had to close because of funding and had to scale down the staff.

Therefore, the role of YMCA leadership brought in different projects and programmes which met the needs of young people (Beatrice Street YMCA 1994:2). Changes in the management had been able to support different secretaries who came to the BS YMCA with different skills which promoted changing situations that faced young people.

4.4. Conclusion

The BS YMCA became an organisation that addressed young people's needs. The leadership developed various visions that took the BS YMCA to meet the needs of different contexts and times. Curriculum changes focus on the needs of the young people and adults.

The following chapter deals with education and training in more details with ABET in particular, at the BS YMCA.

CHAPTER 5

THE YMCA AND ITS PROVISION OF ADULT EDUCATION

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with the history of the BS YMCA in Durban. The activity that the BS YMCA was engaged in was in an indirect way part of the liberation struggle. The BS YMCA provided an opportunity for the underground cells of the political organisations to meet under the disguise of its open activities which appeared not to be politically motivated. The BS YMCA as an institution never supported young men involved in political struggle but was involved in the provision of education. These underground cells were strengthened when the South African National Council of YMCAs got involved in the Task Group on Apartheid. Thereafter BS YMCA became more active politically and supported the cell group that had come into the open. Therefore, the BS YMCA management became involved in political, educational and social transformation of South Africa.

This chapter focuses on the various programmes offered in the provision of adult education at the BS YMCA. These changes include provisional changes in programmes for the learner. The changes, or shifts, were towards a greater vocational orientation of adult basic and further education and training. There were also key moments when the education programmes shifted.

5.2. Overview of the different programmes over the years

5.2.1. Night school literacy programmes

Night school providers before 1979 were trade unions, churches, political organisations and NGOs. The BS YMCA was both a church organisation and an NGO. Methods, materials and training of teachers was provided by the Bureau of Literacy and Literature (BLL), English through Activity, Operation Upgrade, Learn and Teach (L & T), South African Committee for Higher Education (SACHED), Christian Education and Leadership Training (CELT) and Project-Literacy (Pro-Lit). These providers of programmes were diversified

leaving no single standardised programme for literacy. They differed in context and years in history. These also differed from a liberal to a radical approach to the content of skills or tools taught.

5.2.1.1. The BS YMCA literacy

The BS YMCA inherited its literacy programme from its predecessor in 1953. It wanted a programme that was going to help the learner by providing 'techniques' which would make him or her 'literate in the shortest possible time' (Kallaway 1984:209). The BS YMCA adopted the BLL technique as its programme for literacy. According to French (1988), Hutton (1992) and Millar (1991) newly urbanised and industrialised blacks needed English, Afrikaans and numeracy as communicative skills both in society and in the workplace.

The BLL programme was as follows:

a) Purpose

- Improvement in quality of life and involvement in society through life long learning
- Improvement in job applications; literate in interviews and communication and writing skills in official languages and numeracy
- Improvement at the workplace, that is, writing reports and attending development courses; enter state of mobility
- Become an entrepreneur with guidance.
- Start to participate in the economy of the country.
- Understand the structure that oppressed them, become potential leader, needing skills within that given context.

b) Participants:

- Workers from private sector and industry, unemployed, youth, women and trade unions.

c) Content

- Topics of safety procedures at work.
- Vocabulary, vowels, words, alphabets, figures, punctuations

- Sentences, cursing and printing (capital and small letters).
- Topics of interest to adults, write short stories or descriptions.
- Useful knowledge adapted to the needs of the present cultural environment.

d) Format

- Using teaching activities like cards, posters etc statement conversation using key words and sentences.
- Language experience approach – integrated practice (step-by-step) learning and teaching.
- Problem solving approach - realisation as endlessly faced with problems from daily life.

e) Methodology

- Take trough method – (emending words, practice, copying, writing, reading, develop listening skills.
- Experience approach – learner's experience, recognition of prior learning, language.
- Problem solving method
- Learner centred.
- Language experience approach.

f) Mode of teaching (Process)

- Learner participation –small group activities (Social grouping, ability group, facilitator's group etc), dialogue, discussions, debate.
- Occupational work – set by facilitator.

g) Assessment

- Initial testing, placement tests, formative tests, portfolios, summative test is a final examination but takes into account credits from and portfolios.
(Bureau of Literacy and Literature 1985)

f) Mode of teaching

- Participatory processes.
- Small group activities, discussions, dialogue.
- Teachers as facilitators.

g) Assessment

- Initial and placement tests and their meaning to the learner and facilitator.
- Formative and summative tests and their meaning to the learner and facilitator.
- Learner's portfolio and facilitator's checklist.

h) Educators

- Learn the use of learner's portfolio and facilitator's checklist.

5.2.2. State continuing education

The BS YMCA used the Department of Education and Training programme for higher primary and high school level classes as the NGO's programmes only catered for literacy. Even BLL could not come up with the Continuing Education programme and SACHED was not an option by BS YMCA. Therefore, BS YMCA was left with no alternative but to use what the Department of Education offered.

Continuing Education at the BS YMCA started in 1985. This was from junior to secondary education. External examinations were held in Std 5 (Course II), Std 8 (Course III) and Std 10 (Course V). The BS YMCA was free to admit any person it accepted to its classes because it was registered as a state-aided centre. There were also Indians, Coloureds and Whites who continued studies until they passed their Matric at the BS YMCA. Education is viewed at the BS YMCA in its totality (liberation).

a) Purpose

- To upgrade learners academic qualification
- To replace that which is missing in the learner's academic standards

- To help learners with incomplete Matric
- To build bridge to colleges, technikons and universities
- To increase competence, knowledge and aid in bringing black people into skilled and managerial occupational categories
- To improve employment prospects
- To fulfil functional and compensatory function.

b) Participants

- Youth who have dropped out of school or lost generation
- Women employed and unemployed
- Men employed and unemployed.

c) Content

- Subjects form the curriculum
- Content based subjects

d) Format

- Subject – centred
- Conformity

e) Methodology

- Didactive
- Competition

f) Mode of teaching

- Lecture
- Teacher centred

g) Assessment

- Tasks teacher sets
- Examination – public and competitive

h) Teachers

- Day school or part-time.

5.2.3. The BS YMCA skills training

Skills training came into the BS YMCA provision of adult education in 1994. This was an outcome of a long research into unemployment in Durban. The BS YMCAs first action was to provide a soup kitchen for the unemployed. This led to finding a site at Newlands West for the training centre. This was going to be a joint venture with the Pinetown Training Trust, United Kingdom Embassy and Chinese High Commissioner. Unfortunately, this project failed because the site identified was also earmarked by the City Council of Durban for an indoor sport centre. Therefore, the BS YMCA had to move to small-scale vocational training (computer literacy, sewing).

5.2.3.1 Basic sewing

This was initially directed at the unemployed but it changed to people coming from the surrounding areas of Durban. The duration was three to six months and used manual and electrical sewing machines.

a) Purpose

The BS YMCA wanted to provide a skill that would allow learners to become entrepreneurs or to be employed. They would be able to:

- Start small business either at home, or work in the formal sector.

b) Participants

- Mostly women and employed and unemployed youth

c) Content

This had to be simple:

- Make jeans, shirts, and trousers.
- Make dresses, buttonholes, pockets, and darts.
- Sew zig-zag

d) Methodology

- To sew specimens straight, square and zig-zag

- To sew jeans, darts on the dress and shirt, waist –belt, pockets both on shirt and short.

- Sew zip

e) Format

- Sewing

- Use of specimens

f) Mode of teaching

- Demonstration

- Lecturers

- Practicals

g) Assessment

- Sew boy's shirt; shorts with zip

- Sew girl's dress, pleats, zip, shirt, button holes, cuffs

h) Tutors/educators

- KwaZulu Training Trust

5.2.3.2 Computer literacy

Computer literacy is a vital technology that is global and used in all walks of life. The BS YMCA identified computer literacy to be a skill that could be learnt within the Department of Education and Training's curriculum. The computer curriculum came from Pitman Qualifications (London) where the BS YMCA registered as a provider in 1993. The learner is assessed and credited by Pitman Examination Institute. Computer literacy included elementary word processing. The period ranges from six months to twelve months before final assessment.

a) Purpose

- Learn a skill

- Become literate

- Gain experience

b) Participants

- People already employed
- Unemployed youth

c) Content

- Understanding computers, understanding printers
- Indenting texts
- Formatting commands
- Saving a file
- Previewing a file
- Printing documents

d) Methodology

- Load wordprocessing package, existing file
- Add new records to the file using information from a variety of documents
- Source documents either standard or business or letters, messages, memoranda, handwritten or typed.
- Create new documents, saved on the storage
- Display a variety of business documents.
- Plan the layout of material, report to written instructions, retrieve and edit document.
- Proof read and correct on screen as necessary.
- Print documents.

f) Mode of teaching

- Lecture, practical, individual instruction.

g) Assessment

- Practical and theory.

h) Educators or trainers

- Technikon. (M.L. Sultan)

5.2.4 Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET)

The BS YMCA provision of ABET started in 1995 when the Interim Guidelines on ABET were developed (Department of Education 1995). This has already been discussed in this chapter. The BS YMCA saw itself as part of the implementation of the ABET programmes.

The ABET programme is viewed by the BS YMCA as redressing discrimination and past inequalities. It would equip people for full participation in social, economic and political life.

a) Purpose

- Address equity, access
- Redress inequality
- Promote active participation in society
- Further policies of reconstruction and development
- Support social transformation
- Lay a foundation for economic development
- Establish basis for lifelong learning
- Link to development programmes-employment creation, career-patching opportunities.
- Integrate education and training systems.
- Bring a vision for literate citizens, participate in socio-economic political

b) Participants

- Disadvantaged women, youth, adults with special needs.
- Unemployed

c) Content

- Access to information under a variety of contexts
- Qualitative relationships of space and time
- Patterns of knowledge- problem-solving, logical thinking
- Responsible citizenship – culturally adverse, democratic society
- Sustainable development of human society

- Systematic study – physical, life, earth, material of universe
- Importance of reconstruction and development, economic growth
- Income generating and the non-formal sector

d) Format

- Clear objectives
- Critical thinking
- Input from wider community
- Learning programmes – outcomes, unit standards
- Support materials

e) Methodology

- Learning programmes to be simple formula to unit standards
- Outcomes
- Suitable learning material.
- Active learner

f) Mode of teaching

- Role of teacher changes to a facilitator
- Participatory learning in small group activities, recognition of prior learning, experience, problem-solving, dialogue, critical thinking

g) Assessment

- Initial tests, placement tests
- Formative
- Assumptive
- Teacher's checklist; portfolio

5.3. Key moments when the Beatrice Street YMCA education programmes shifted

5.3.1. Incidents or issues in education and training at the BS YMCA e.g. changes in curriculum

Davenport (1978:267) quotes Verwoerd when he said "training the Bantu" was "for possible forms of self – government, based on their own traditions." The Bantu Education Act of 1953 considered black needs to be 'enforced vernacular instruction for black education' (Davenport 1978:270). According to Macmillan (1970) education became the battleground of apartheid. Aitchison (2002) states that reforms in education were necessary during this era and recognised by the business sector. The Adult Education manual was produced in the late 70s by the Department as a sign of recognition of its reform process.

5.3.2. Curriculum changes

The Department of Education and Training's (1980; 1981) literacy course states that, "it has been found that black adults are interested in learning vernacular and are not interested in learning another language". The above statement was questionable because it was an assumption and had no substance. It was perceived to be entrenching the apartheid policy of Bantu Education. According to Davenport (1978:270), the Bantu Education Act of 1953 "enforced vernacular instruction in the junior schools, made both English and Afrikaans compulsory subjects in higher primary, and laid down a differential syllabus for Bantu schools". Native education was controlled in such a way that it fell directly under the state.

The Department of Education and Training literacy course failed to enforce the curriculum of the NGOs (BLL, Operation Upgrade). A lot of evidence suggested that the NGOs curriculum used three official languages equally, when offered to blacks. Both Bird (1984) and French (1988) argue that there were limitations to vernacular literacy and this did not mean that literacy in mother tongue was not important. black city dwellers with little formal education knew that English might improve their life chances and would give them some possibility of access to

information, better jobs or any other work. Therefore, the teaching of English, Zulu and Afrikaans, in reading and writing skills was essential. It was necessary that communication in Afrikaans be taught because it was used in the workplace. The Durban Bantu Social Centre (now BS YMCA) taught English communication skills to blacks as early as 1933 because of the vital survival skills it would provide them with (Durban Bantu Social Centre 1933).

The DoE was very slow in developing a literacy curriculum in 1981 and depended upon the NGOs curricula to train teachers and develop their methodology. 'Under no circumstances whatsoever may teachers or principals negotiate directly with any organisations concerned about the training of teachers'. 'Test papers had to be bought from the organisations BLL and Operation Upgrade 2. The irony in this is that the marking was done by teachers trained by the DoE (Department of Education and Training 1980:2).

The above picture is an indication that the Department wanted to take over literacy course development but was not ready. No curriculum was in place as well as no established training of teachers. On the other side, the NGOs had long been in the field of literacy. This is as early as 1946 when the first South African adult literacy organisation was initiated under the Institute of Race Relations (French 1988) The BLL was established in 1964, followed then by Operation Upgrade in 1966 and Learn and Teach in 1972 (Bird 1984). The state failed to initiate a curriculum change when it developed a literacy course in 1980. Even the teacher training in literacy (1981) could not achieve its objectives because the teachers were teaching more hours in a day school than in evening classes. It was impossible for the teachers to change their method of teaching within two hours in the afternoon or evening. Teachers in literacy classes reverted to teaching in the same method as teaching children.

Atchison (2002) refers to the 80s as indications of reform or modernisation of apartheid but the paradigm shift would have been significant in practice. The educators who refused to acknowledge the current shift were bound to reproduce the traditional way of seeing reality in concepts and methodology. These were no longer used. There had to be a shift in the curriculum and also in

educators' worldview. The shift was guided by experience and readiness to accept such a shift.

The teacher training manual of 1988 (Department of Education and Training 1988:2) in continuing education was designed to show a difference between andragogy and pedagogy. It was exposing the teachers to a discovery and expository learning and teaching method (Bruner 1960, Cagne 1976 and Ausubel 1968). The shift also emphasises the experience provided by the study-leader (educator) which had to be well planned and highly organised (Department of Education and Training 1988:13). The manuals designed for training were to bring a paradigm shift from a traditional method to a more participatory method.

Traditional curriculum orientates the learner to conform, accept inequality and their place in the status quo and where the learner follows authority. Freire (1970) used the word 'banking' method for this traditional to distinguish his curriculum. The Adult Education Manual of 1979 states that an adult learner memorises faster than the child but also forgets faster (Department of Education and Training 1979).

There had to be a shift to a discovery method curriculum as proposed by Bruner (1960). Scott et al (1998:65) calls this shift "climbing a mountain, gaining new and wider view". This was a 'new order' which was 'wearing the old one' (Scott et al 1998:65). Recognition of prior learning had to be considered. Knowles (1980) and Jarvis (1983) mention that adults found it easier to integrate new learning matter with existing knowledge structures as a result of their field of experience. Critical skills could be achieved through dialogue and discourse. (Brundage & Macheracher 1980)

New approaches and strategies had to be developed to meet the requirements for teaching adults. Scott *et al* (1998:6) argues that difficulties facing adult education had to be seen as challenges in both theory and practice.

In 1976 the Soweto Uprising regarding educational practises in place shook the state to re-think education for blacks.

An integral component of the social design was educational reform, and in particular the promise of a new and dramatically improved education dispensation for black schoolchildren and students (Davies 1984:341).

The aim of educational reform was to effect key changes in the apartheid system in order to address the aspirations of the black people. The aspirations of black youth were directed towards equal education for all South Africans.

The black community too pressed the state to change Bantu Education. Their demands were

- Establishment of a single National Department of Education
- Equal school facilities
- Free and compulsory education for black children
- Equal salaries for teachers
- Open universities

(*The Star*, 22 June 1979)

The other angle of protest came from the private sector. They wanted the state to change the 1953 educational policy. The reforms would cool down the anger and influence of black working class militancy. Both the unemployed and the youth also joined in agitating for change in the educational system.

There were key changes in the education programme at the BS YMCA but these changes were over the period of twenty-five years. These changes were influenced by the above events.

5.3.3 The BS YMCA literacy

The BS YMCA before 1984 was using its own programme from BLL, but the state had already developed literacy as part of Adult Education Manual in 1980. The BS YMCA wanted to have its teachers trained before the changeover. The BS YMCA teachers were trained in 1983 by the DoE. This then made it possible for the BS YMCA to make a key change in literacy. The BS YMCA provision of adult education was registered with the Department as a state-

aided centre. This action forbade the BS YMCA from carrying on with the literacy programme it had been involved in before 1983.

The state literacy became BS YMCA literacy from 1984. The state literacy was exercising the programme that was done in a day school. The teachers too were those also involved in a day school. 'Services of suitably qualified teachers to offer tuition at the centre. A full-time teacher at the day school may only be employed in a part-time capacity at a state centre.' (Department of Education and Training 1979:15).

5.3.4 The BS YMCA skills training

In 1994, the BS YMCA introduced vocational training within its adult education. This was in sewing and computer programmes. These programmes are held during the day and this also takes place in the evening classes. The learner had to choose between religious education and the new programmes. This was a key change that came to the BS YMCA educational programme. These courses were provided to learners in Std 5 (Course II), Std 8 (Course III) and Std 10 (Course V). The change was welcomed by the Department of Education.

5.3.5 The BS YMCA adult basic education and training

The key moment of shift at the BS YMCA programme was in 1995 with the Interim Guidelines on ABET.

This was a drastic change from the traditional adult education of 1979 which was a banking method. The BS YMCA was part of the discussions and workshops in the province which was departmental (Interim Guidelines). The aim was in "bringing together and reflecting as accurately as possible, current education and training policy and opinions" (Department of Education 1995:iii).

The last key moment of shift at BS YMCA's educational provision was in 1997 when a 'National Multi-Year Implementation Plan' in ABET was released. This is a shift from Interim Guidelines in ABET.

Therefore, the BS YMCA ABET programme is a shift from traditional programme in adult education of 1979.

Unfortunately, the BS YMCA programme in Std 10 has not yet developed to recognisably good results. There are pieces of programmes that fall under Further Education and Training (FET). It is envisaged that FET will be implemented in 2008 nationally. The BS YMCA programme for Std 10 is based on the traditional programme of a day school.

5.3.6 The BS YMCA leadership

The BS YMCA leadership pioneered the changes. Each leader at the BS YMCA came in with a different style of leadership. Their leadership change influenced the changes in the BS YMCA provision of Adult Education.

The changes in education responded to the changing needs of the youth within a given context. The BS YMCA serves the needs of the youth.

5.4 Conclusion

These changes are important because the Department of Education was trying to effect reforms but failed. There were to be areas where the Department was not prepared to move from the fundamental principle of the National party. The central government thus assumed control of the black education (day schools and adult centres). The fundamental principle according to Bantu Education in 1953 were vernacular instruction to be compulsory up to STD 5 and the separation of education departments racially (Department of Bantu Education 1978, Thompson 1990).

The dawn of democracy brought in equal education. ABET with its outcomes – based approach also brought in a new era in education for its citizens. It is assumed that all races have to compete globally on equal basis.

The following chapter will focus on the description and analysis of programme changes within times.

CHAPTER 6

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF PROGRAMME CHANGES

6.1. Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the BS YMCA adult education programmes. These programmes were described and key moments when changes were affected over a long period in time were identified.

This chapter highlights the descriptions and analysis the BS YMCA programme changes under the following:

- Changes in provision of adult education
- The changes and socio-political happenings coincide
- BS YMCA position on change

6.2 The YMCA adult education programme

6.2.1 Changes

The changes of the BS YMCA educational programmes were over a period of time. This reflects how BS YMCA as an agency responded to changing dynamics.

6.2.1.1 Literacy programme

The BS YMCA programme had to change in 1984 after BS YMCA registered with Department of Education and Training in 1982. The BS YMCA had a programme of literacy that was used ever since 1953. These were 'survival skills' that offered three official languages (Zulu, English, Afrikaans) (Rodda and Moreka 1990; Walters and Watters 2001:105; Mulenga 2001).

Firstly:

- Material for literacy training required by teachers during their training as literacy teachers.

- Teachers to teach literacy classes will be trained free of charge by the Department.
- Study material, compiled by the Department, will be made available free of charge to all adults enrolled at the centres (Department of Education and Training, 1979:8).

The programme was the same as at a day school (Bird 1984:216). Secondly, it was the responsibility of the owner or managing body to secure the services of suitably qualified teachers. The appointment of teaching staff was subject to the approval of the Minister.

By 'suitably qualified teachers' the Department of Education meant 'the services of a teacher offering tuition at a centre on a part-time basis, a full-time teacher at a day school' (Department of Education and Training 1979:8).

It was not easy for the BS YMCA to accept the new programme. This is because the old BS YMCA programme laid emphasis on having educators or facilitators and programme that had been produced by the BLL and Operation Upgrade. The BS YMCA had used a programme that was different from the day school. The BS YMCA facilitators had been trained in andragogy (adults) and it was very difficult to use teachers that had been trained in pedagogy. It took two years for the BS YMCA to implement the new programme.

The old BS YMCA programme endorsed 'making adults literate in the shortest possible time' (Kallaway 1984:209). The new BS YMCA programme moved the learner to the next class over a period of a year. The Department produced certificates for the learners who fulfilled all the requirements in literacy examinations (Department of Education and Training 1980:5).

The BS YMCA as a provider of literacy programme was forced to abandon the old programme and follow the state registration.

6.2.1.2 Continuing education programme

The BS YMCA only started the continuing programme (Std 2 to Std 10) in 1985. This brought in a change to the BS YMCA as an institution. There had to be a lot of adjustments the BS YMCA had to make in order to accommodate this change. It also became easy for the BS YMCA to be granted continuing educational programme because it was registered with the Department.

The problem that the BS YMCA had to wrestle with was the day school syllabus. 'Teachers draw up their own schemes based on Std 3, 4, 5, 8 and 10 syllabuses' (Department of Education and Training 1979:27, 29, 30).

The advantage of the BS YMCA continuing programme was that the youth who had dropped out of school could come for part-time classes until matriculation. The BS YMCA viewed continuing classes as upgrades in education. This would lead to a motivation for lifelong learning.

Even the employed people could come to the BS YMCA to further their studies. Industries needed skilled workers, but for them to be trained they needed some basic education.

There were also opportunities at the workplace for upward mobility and it needed workers to be educated.

The BS YMCA programme had no restriction to registration for admission at its evening classes. The Adult Education Manual (1979:31) states that:

Only employees of the party that has applied for registration may attend classes at state-aided centres.

Wives of employees who are permanently resident on the premises may also attend classes at a state-aided centre.

(Adult Education and Training 1979:31)

The above quotation was contrary to the purpose of the BS YMCA and the participants. The BS YMCA refused to adhere to the rules laid down by the

Department on admission of learners. This has already been discussed in the previous chapter.

The change that came to the BS YMCA was that for the first time Standard 5, 8, 10 learners were going to write external examinations at the centre. The learners were not subjected to travelling to the surrounding locations to register for external examinations.

A first priority is to serve as information centres for all private examination candidates.

A second priority is to render assistance to other black adults who wish to improve their academic qualifications (Department of Education and Training 1979:6).

The BS YMCA wanted to offer its learner a credible certificate from the Department.

Conditional exemption for reasons of age must be kept in mind (Department of Education and Training 1979:30).

The learners could write external examinations in Standards 5, 8 and 10 many times until he or she passed. There were no age and failing restrictions at BS YMCA programmes. This can also be seen as a change from the practice at a day school. Therefore, BS YMCA brought a change which attracted many participants to its continuing education programmes.

Duration – one year or longer, depending on the number of subjects the adult student wishes to write per year (Department of Education and Training 1979:30).

The BS YMCA programme on continuing education brought in changes both to the BS YMCA as an institution and also to the black community in Durban and surrounding areas. This is shown by the fact that more adults enrolled for Matric classes.

6.2.1.3 Skills training

The advent of skills training at the BS YMCA programme in the form of computer and sewing, brought in a change. The BS YMCA programme was now incorporating vocational training. According to Kallaway:

The night schools in fact wished to extend their activities to include vocational training. In the end the schools did not themselves initiate such training, but they were instrumental in 1943 in persuading the Technical College to open a department for Non-European Adults (1984:200).

The BS YMCA, being a night school from its inception, was able to bring into its activities vocational training. This was unique in the life of the night school movement during the 80s and 90s.

This programme was viewed as being able to change the lives of many people who were unemployed. This was a key change from the Department to give permission for this programme. These programmes were even incorporated into the continuing education.

The other change that came to BS YMCA was when these vocational training programme were introduced during the day. Traditionally, the BS YMCA never had programmes during the day except after 5 p.m. These programmes show the BS YMCA as a community centre, providing needs for its city.

The traditional YMCA activities like boxing and ballroom dancing also gave way to the vocational training in the evenings. They were also transferred to day-time and week-end activities. This was also a major change in BS YMCA activities. The country was moving to democracy and BS YMCA vocational programme was seen as a priority for this era.

6.2.1.4 Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET)

The change from traditional education programme to an ABET programme is linked to the development of human resources within the Reconstruction and Development Programme Policy (ANC 1994). The aim of the BS YMCA ABET programme is "to construct the economy, address past inequalities, and a democratic society" (1999:1). Further aims are co-operation, critical thinking and equipping the learner in a high skills economy and society as a whole. The BS YMCA ABET provides learners with the basic foundations for lifelong learning and equips them with skills and the critical capacity to participate fully in society. There had to be links between the various parts of an integrated education and training programme (ANC 1994; Republic of Africa 1996; Department of Education 1995). This is a guard against BS YMCA ABET programme being marginalized but integrated with mainstream provision of education and training.

The BS YMCA ABET programme views this change as being able to be applicable in 'adult empowerment corrective action'. It takes the 'education of literacy, poverty, unemployment, disability and low self esteem as a serious challenge' (Department of Education 1997:v). This is a result of partnership between the state and all stakeholders. The BS YMCA as part of the stakeholder forum is part of this change, but the state is no longer 'obstacle to the development of a strong adult education and training movement in this country' (Department of Education 1997:iv).

The shift in BS YMCA ABET programme is towards empowering the learner to take charge of his or her education. The learner is motivated by constant feedback and affirmation of his or her work by the facilitator. The Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL) enables the education and training provider to assess the extent to which a learner can demonstrate the competence and skill acquired formally or informally. It is equivalent to measurable outcomes from formal learning programme. Such knowledge and experience is not recognised by the traditional programme.

6.2.1.4.1 Outcomes based approach

The shift in the BS YMCA ABET programme is based on an outcome-based approach. The emphasis is on learning by doing, what the learner can do as well as the learning of content. The Interim Guidelines (1995) refer to what 'the learner demonstrates' (Department of Education 1997; Land et al 1999:7-8). The learner is able to attain the learning outcomes in a wide range of experiences encountered in a variety of contexts. This is because the programme framework emphasises the outcomes of learning rather than the means of learning.

6.2.1.4.2 Unit standards

Another shift on BS YMCA ABET programme has been on unit standards. It is a nationally registered statement of desired education and training outcomes, their associated performance or assessment criteria together with administrative and other necessary information. "Instead of having a syllabus which describes the context areas to be covered we now have unit standards which set out the outcomes and other details of a particular learning area" (Land et al 1999:8). The purpose of the Unit Standard is to provide guidance to the learner on what outcomes are to be assessed, to the assessor on assessment criteria and to the educator who has to prepare the learning material to help the learner reach the outcome. The educator needs to plan his or her teaching in order to reach a variety of Unit Standards in many different ways and several times during the course. The Unit Standards need not to be completed before one moves to the next. (Land et al 1999).

6.2.1.4.3 Learning areas

The traditional programme speaks of subjects and the change comes in when the BS YMCA ABET programme refers to them as Learning Areas. There are eight Learning Areas but they clustered into three main groups. The first is Fundamentals which forms the basis of all learning (reading, writing, arithmetic).

This class consists of language, literacy and communication, and mathematical literacy, mathematics and mathematical science. The second class is called Core and provides basic general education. This includes human and social sciences, natural sciences, technology, economics and management sciences, life orientation and arts and culture. The last group is called Elective which is linked to income generation. It consists of applied agriculture and agricultural technology, small medium and micro enterprises and auxiliary health care. Other new electives are being developed (Land et al 1999).

6.2.1.4.4 Learning process

The BS YMCA ABET programme sees the learning process as another area of change. Cagne (1979) and Ausubel (1968) state that expository teaching will be more effective for adults. Bruner (1960) argues that everyday life itself is a continuing process of discovery. Discovery learning process in its broadest interpretation seems to relate to the presentation of a problem to the learner which the learner has to solve on his own.

The BS YMCA views the change as one of learner participation and problem solving. The facilitator spends his or her time on calls as a consultant with each group of learners. The process is learner centred. The facilitator in the learning process constantly uses group work and teamwork to consolidate the new approach and dialogue, critical thinking, reasoning, reflection and action are part of the learning process.

6.2.1.4.5 Assessment

Another area of change in the BS YMCA ABET programme has been in assessment. The learner is given a test, known as a 'placement test' at his or her initial enrolment by the centre. The learner then has on going assessment (formative) throughout the elected course. The final assessment (summative) is given at the end of the course. There is a portfolio that is kept by the practitioner for each learner. The BS YMCA sees a portfolio consisting of initial test, placement test, written work, letters, short projects and worksheets. The

portfolio consists of 25% credits at the end of the course. Summative assessment has 75% credits at the end of the course.

The BS YMCA ABET programmes assessment is appropriate for adult or youth learners.

The BS YMCA ABET programme came into the centre in 1995. This was a great change from the traditional programme that BS YMCA had provided from literacy to Grade 7 (Level 4). This change comes into operation from ten years of a child at school to Further Education and Training (Grade 12). The change is also depicted in the contrast table between the traditional programmes of continuing education and ABET programme at BS YMCA as:

Traditional programme	ABET programme
- passive learners	- active learners
- examination-driven	- learners are assessed on an ongoing basis
- rote-learning	- critical thinking, reasoning, reflection and action
- syllabus is content-based and broken down into subjects	- an integration of knowledge, learning relevant and connected to real-life situations
- textbook/worksheet-bound and teacher centred	- learner-centred, teacher is facilitator; teacher constantly uses groupwork and teamwork to consolidate the new approach
- sees syllabus as rigid and non-negotiable	- learning programmes seen as guides that allow teachers to be innovative and creative in designing programmes
- teachers responsible for learning; motivation dependent on the personality of teacher	- learners take responsibility for their learning; pupils motivated by constant feedback and affirmation of their worth

- emphasis on what the teacher hopes to achieve	- emphasis on outcomes – what the learner becomes and understands
- content placed into rigid time-frames	- flexible time-frames allow learners to work at their own pace
- curriculum development process not open to public comment	- comment and input from the wider community is encouraged

(Department of Education 1997)

The above is a dramatic break or change from the old to the new. The learner begins to control their learning with help from the facilitator.

6.2.1.4.6 Practitioner's training

Teacher development and training is an important element of the BS YMCA ABET programme. Educators play an important part in the teaching and learning of adults. The BS YMCA ABET has made a change by indicating a priority in terms of practitioner's training. Lyster (1997:1) believes that "the development of ABET practitioners, particularly teachers in South Africa and in relation to their development on the key issues and problems which are emerging in the new dispensation is important". The training practitioners should be encouraged.

6.2.2 The control of socio-political upheaval at the time of changes

The political and economic pressures in South Africa had an impact on the changes in BS YMCA programme. The BS YMCA had positioned itself in Durban at a time when people were migrating from the rural areas to the cities. These people (with majority of them being the youth) did not have the skills for employment opportunities.

The BS YMCA objective is:

To assist young people and any other persons to overcome the effects of social evils through education, personal guidance and other remedial procedures (Beatrice Street YMCA 1999:3)

The worldwide objective of the YMCAs is:

Committed to meet the real needs of young people.

A movement that places emphasis on local initiatives. The YMCA places strong emphasis on local responsibility and initiative. Each local YMCA is unique in that it represents a response by local leaders to local needs.

A movement that constantly seeks to expand its service and to adapt to changing needs (South African National Council of the YMCAs 1953:6).

I have already given reasons in the previous chapter for the educational reforms that the state started in 1978. These reforms were the results of political and economic pressures on the black people.

Short-term demands are linked up with the political and economic system of this country (Davies 1984:357).

Many problems like urbanisation and industrialisation faced the black people in the city of Durban. The city dwellers demanded communication skills for them to be employable and politically aware. The youth that had moved to the city demanded equal and compulsory education. The state was not prepared to move from its 'ideal' of separate development (Davenport 1978:270). Resulting in the action of the state producing militant youth.

The era of 1980 to 1990 was characterised by instability. The state reforms did not do enough to address the aspirations of the black people. South Africa was becoming a police state with all the drafting laws that were enforced on the black people. This gave rise to more opposition from black organisations.

The labour movement formed a federation to act against the employers and the government.

The biggest federation of trade unions was launched as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) 1985 (Aitchison 2002:226).

The COSATU strengthened the bargaining process of the workers. The trade unions demanded adult education at the workplace, which was going to address illiteracy. Without being literate, the workers could not be promoted or upward mobility at work. This was caused by the fact that minimum education was required for the learners. According to Bird (1984:198), "learners were no longer viewed as potential leaders but as individuals needing skills with which to operate within the given social structure". The workers needed education so as to understand the structure that oppressed them.

The formation of United Democratic Front (UDF) which was formed in the early eighties managed to bring together:

broad support from unions, schoolchildren and out of school youth, and a huge range of civil society organisations (Aitchison 2002:226).

It joined forces that were opposing the state's policies of apartheid. It also became a front that demanded equal and compulsory education.

The period between 1990 and 1994 was a transition state politically, educationally and economically towards democracy. New policies were formulated to level the playing fields for the dawn of democracy in South Africa.

6.2.3 The coinciding changes and happenings

Although the changes at the BS YMCA educational programmes were seen as isolated from the rest of the happenings in South Africa they contributed to the changes that took place.

In the year 1984 at BS YMCA, educational programmes coincided with labour unrests and massive dismissals. The COSATU wanted its members to receive education at the workplace. It was important for the BS YMCA to be engaged in adult education programmes, but not at the workplace.

The literacy programme is sometimes treated as the initiation into a formal school curriculum adapted for adults (French 1988:27).

This is the challenge the BS YMCA accepted and pressed on for continuing education. There were a great number of functional illiterates (Wedepohl 1992) but there was also a steady increase of black who were literate (Ellis 1982). State certificates were very important in this era and BS YMCA programmes provided such certificates of literacy in Standards 5, 8 and 10.

The conference that the state called in 1978 achieved the desired transformation that was expected by the political and trade union radicals, who had insisted on compulsory education. The BS YMCA programme was able to bridge the education that blacks missed at day school because of political and economical happenings.

The radical UDF included many youth who had dropped out from the day schools. De Lange (1990:7) calls this group 'the so-called lost generation'. This group was the victim of political oppression.

No matter what the future political dispensation in South Africa will be, there will be very real problems which will not disappear and which will have to be dealt with in future dispensation. The lack of provision in adult education is one such problem (De Lange 1990:7).

The BS YMCA adult education programme coincided with the political upheaval in South Africa. These compensatory programmes prepared blacks to be functional in society and at the workplace. Workers could have upward mobility even though apartheid was still strong. White artisans were becoming few and blacks needed to be both skilled and have minimum education. This education was acquired at the BS YMCA.

The Group Areas policies coincided with the educational programmes at the BS YMCA.

Any night school or continuing class in a European area shall be controlled and administered as a private school by the proprietor or his representative who shall be a white (Kallaway 1984:206).

The BS YMCA programmes became unique in the city of Durban. The BS YMCA is located at a site where black people could reach easier through public transport. Women's and men's hostels too are not far from the BS YMCA.

The interim period of transformation coincided with the changes also in BS YMCA programmes. The new South Africa demanded people who had skills for employment opportunities. It was very easy for the Department to give permission for skills training programme because everything was about to be re-born. The BS YMCA programme change coincided with the political, economical and educational change in South Africa.

It also became very easy for the BS YMCA educators to be assimilated into the main stream of the state education. This also coincided with the time when there was a re-birth of education into Adult Basic Education and Training, Further Education and Training and Skills Training.

6.2.4. The BS YMCAs position to change

The BS YMCA saw a learner as an individual who is in need of a skill to operate within the given economic and social structure. The learner is an adult or youth who is unemployed and employed. The BS YMCA accepted the challenge and evaluated its activities. The organisation decided to have boxing and ballroom dancing activities during the weekends so as to give a floor-space for skills training programmes, both during the day and evenings. This is a shift from the traditional programmes to skills training programmes.

These programmes of sewing and computer are geared to equip learners for small business and also gain experience from computer skills. These skills are needed by school leavers and also in further education and training. Skills training can also enhance chances of employment or new job opportunities. Even the Department of Manpower did not provide such skills during this period in time.

6.5. Conclusion

In the changed programme of the BS YMCA the learner is treated with dignity. The experience that the adult or youth learner has is acquired either at the work place or in society. As a person develops and grows, an accumulative reservoir of experience is collected, which is an expanding source of learning for themselves and others. According to Knowles (1980: 44) "people value learning from experience more than learning from being passive". Brookfield (1988:320) concurs that "the accumulative experience of the learner is the highest contributing factor in the learning process" (Compare Gravett 1991).

Educational skills training at BS YMCA brought in a change from traditional BS YMCA programmes. These skills training programmes are aimed at improving the lifeskills of the learners economically.

The last chapter focuses on the on how BS YMCA reacted to its education and training programme in the whole process to the changes in South Africa. This will also highlight the challenges and changes that BS YMCA will face in the 21st century.

CHAPTER 7

HAS THE BS YMCA RESPONDED IN ITS EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMME TO THE CHANGES IN SOUTH AFRICA?

7.1. Introduction

The previous chapter has given a description and analysis of the programme changes in relation to political and economic climate, educational policy and BS YMCA programmes. These changes are interpreted and described over a period of time.

This chapter shows how BS YMCA responded in its education and training programme and how they are linked to the changes in South Africa.

7.2. Bantu education

In the 30s up to 60s the then Durban Bantu Social Centre, which later became the BS YMCA, got involved with the Department of Bantu Education (Department of Education and Training) in having educational provision as one of its activities. The centre got recognition from the Department of Education (Natal region) and the Department went further to promise a subsidy. This was the first involvement of Durban Bantu Social Centre with the Department of Education.

Even when the BS YMCA took over in 1953, the educational provision was still recognised by the Department of Bantu Education. Bantu Education never interfered with BS YMCA's provision of education because the Department viewed the BS YMCA as a white organisation (Beatrice Street YMCA 1987:6). This is because broad national leadership of YMCA was originally white. The same applied to most church denominations. "Any night school or continuation classes in a European area shall be controlled and administered as a private school by the proprietor or his representative who shall be a European" (Department of Bantu Education 1957:450).

7.3. Department of Education and Training

The Department of Bantu Education changed in 1978 to become the Department of Education and Training. The BS YMCA was then harassed by the state because the BS YMCA management had become black. This happened after the BS YMCA became autonomous. The BS YMCA was finally registered as an adult education centre in 1982. The BS YMCA had to change from using its own programme and used the Department of Education programme for its provision of adult education. This change was not easy because BS YMCA as a non-governmental organisation had adopted the BLL's programme.

This change afforded an opportunity for the BS YMCA to participate fully with the developmental changes in South Africa. This was during a period of educational reform which had been initiated by the Department of Education and Training (Davies 1984). All the in-service training and workshops for adult education from 1982 onwards included BS YMCA educational staff as well. Teachers were trained on 'How to Read and Write' (literacy) and also on 'Activity called Teaching Adult' (continuing education) (Department of Education and Training 1981, 1988). This is in line with adult Education Manual and also in terms of registration. "Teachers to teach literacy classes will be trained free of charge by the Department. Study material compiled by the Department, will be made available free of charge to all adults enrolled at centres" (Department of Education and Training 1979:6,24,27,29; 1981). The syllabus is to be similar to the day school tuition.

In 1984, BS YMCA applied to the Department again to offer Continuing Education (Std 1 - preparatory course, Std 3 – course and Std 5 - course II). Learners in Std 5 wrote external examinations which were accredited by the Department. Again the BS YMCA applied to the Department to offer Std 8 (course III) and Std 10 (course v) respectively in 1989. This was in line with Adult Education Manual. 'If the number decreases to less than 10, special approval for the continuation of the classes must be applied for from the Circuit

Inspector' (Department of Education and Training 1979:30). Both Standards 8 and 10 had to write external examination.

The BS YMCA provision of education also provided a facility for the youth who had failed matriculation in 1985. These were students who failed their matriculation in one, two subjects or the whole examination. This gesture was giving the youth a second chance to obtain matriculation and in turn a better 'lease on life'. The Adult Education Manual (Department of Education and Training 1979) states that its 'secondary priority is to render assistance to other black adults who wish to improve their academic qualifications'. These centres 'serve as information centres for all private examination candidates' (Department of Education and Training 1979:6). The BS YMCA applied to have tuition from 8 am to 2:30 pm; Mondays to Fridays. This would be similar to the day school tuition. This was accepted and BS YMCA went ahead with transforming their timetables.

This venture became known as the Beatrice Street Finishing School. It was managed by the BS YMCA except for the remuneration of teachers which was by the Department of Education and Training.

Although Beatrice Street Finishing School has changed names over years, and recently it is called Hunter Secondary School towards the beginning of the 21st century, its roots are still at the BS YMCA. Many other Finishing Schools appeared all over South Africa, as had been discussed in this research. The Beatrice Street Finishing School was the first in South Africa to have tuition during the day. The BS YMCA became a pioneer in this regard for the whole of South Africa.

7.4. Department of Education

The BS YMCA as a provider of adult education became part of the transition as it was involved in the provincial (regional) forums of the Department. All the deliberations that took place in the region for the new dispensation in adult education included the BS YMCA because it was registered as a state-aided centre.

7.4.1 The interim guidelines

The Interim Guidelines for the provision of Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) came into being in 1995, and BS YMCA was part of those state centres that got engaged. The launch was national and co-ordinated by the Minister of Education. Unfortunately, the BS YMCA was not one of those centres in the province that were identified to implement ITHUTENG – Ready to Learn in 1996 (Department of Education 1979:iv). The Interim Guidelines defined ABET as “the basic education and training phase in the provision of lifelong learning, consisting of levels along a continuum of learning aimed at adults and youth with very little or no formal schooling and who have unrecognised knowledge and technical and practical skills “ (Department of Education 1995:4). According to Soobrayan (1996:403-404) it is a “review of the major policies and discourses related to lifelong learning in South Africa making education available throughout the life cycle”.

7.4.2. Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET)

Many in-service courses and workshops were conducted by the Department of Education during the formulation of ABET provision. The outcome of these courses and workshops was the coming into being of ‘a National Multi-year Implementation Plan for Adult Education and Training: Provision and Accreditation’ (Department of Education 1997). Many people from every corner of this land contributed to the new vision and direction of this government. “No longer is the State a mere spectator or an obstacle to the development of a strong adult education and training movement in this country” (Department of Education 1997:iv). The BS YMCA became part of this education and training programme and also to the changes in South African organisations. The NGOs and Trade Unions were part of the participation and deliberation team that brought in the Implementation Plan of ABET. It has already been mentioned that BS YMCA was part of the NGO movement. Therefore they all participated under the wing of the stakeholders forum for the provision of ABET in this country.

The BS YMCA involvement in ABET is to see changes in adult education provision reflecting on;

To bridge the gap between education and training. There was a gap between the types of qualification you could get at schools and Universities, and the types of qualifications you could get in the workplace, at trade schools and technikons. It was very difficult for people to move between the two.

To make sure that certificates would have value in different contexts.

Many people were getting certificates in one situation, e.g. the motor industry, that they could not use anywhere else. This meant that they had to start all over again every time that they moved jobs.

To make learners get credit for what they already knew.

Due to many apartheid laws, there were people who had learnt how to do something, e.g. plumbing, but did not have the correct papers. This meant that they did not get paid for the work that they were doing. To improve the quality of teaching and learning. Many teachers were using old-fashioned methods especially rote learning and chanting. The content of many subjects was irrelevant and boring. The learners were often passive and unconfidential and struggled to transfer what they had learnt in the classroom into real life. (Land et al1999:2)

Towards the end of 2000, the BS YMCA appealed to the Department to remunerate its teachers. This was accepted. The Department was paying higher rates per hour than the BS YMCA and educators were now subsidised by the state to further their studies in ABET at UNISA.

7.4.3 Further Education and Training (FET)

The BS YMCA is also involved in in-service training and workshops that would see the provision and implementation of FET when new workshops are offered in the future.

7.5. Skills training

The BS YMCA had already implemented skills training for the youth during the interim period (1990-1993). The BS YMCA skills training was not implemented nationally but its education and training programmes reflected the changes that were taking place in South Africa. The BS YMCA was part of the launch of ABET programme provision in North Durban Region of the Department of Education in 1999 to 2000.

7.6. Conclusion

The BS YMCA responded well in its education and training programme to the changes in South Africa. As times changed, the leadership of the BS YMCA changed and so did the provision of Adult Education at the Beatrice Street BS YMCA.

Education has been able to challenge the prevailing view of the world as it is used as a cultural and political tool. Therefore, education responds to changing needs especially if it wants to serve the youth, as the BS YMCA has done in the past and strives to continue doing.

The BS YMCA in the 21st century will continue to provide and engage in programmes that meet the needs of the youth, and hope to successfully tackle any new challenges presented to them.

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