Ideology and its Influence on Educational Leadership, Structure and Process:

with reference to a dominant and dominated ideologies in South Africa

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MICHAEL ANTHONY MITCHELL JARVIS

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that the whole of this thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own original work and that it has not been submitted for any degree in any other university.

MAM JARVIS
Durban
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ABSTRACT

This study examines the concept of ideology and then surveys the relationship between ideology and education. Particular forces that help to shape ideologies which affect education are indicated. The focus then moves to an investigation of the influence of ideology on visible elements of the educational system: leadership, structure and process.

It is contended that ideology as a world-view, based on prescriptive group beliefs and assumptions which are rationalized in terms of ontology, axiology and epistemology, is translated into action within social apparatuses, such as schools. It is argued that ideology does have a disguising motive in that through its slogans and rhetoric it attempts a justification of itself. In essence it deals with issues of power and control.

These contentions are examined through a detailed analysis of the concept and function of ideology to determine its locus of inference and definition to be used in this work. Ideology is then considered from the perspective of its relationship with education. The concept of leadership and concepts of organizational models, such as bureaucracy, are examined in general terms and then in relation to ideology, with the major focus on the influence of ideology on educational leadership, structure and process. These elements are shown to be important and visible reflections of an ideology in action. There is shown to be a strong degree of congruence between theoretical ideology and ideology in action.

From an international survey, the focus of the study moves to South Africa. The historical milieu which has helped to create the ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism, based on twin pillars of domination and segregation, is reviewed before this 'dominant' ideology is analysed in relation to education and the visible elements of educational leadership, structure and process. It is contended that this complex ideology has been associated with issues of power and control and has caused widespread harm through its translation of belief into action in terms of social engineering. Its ontology, axiology and epistemology are questioned.

In contrast, a liberal-humanistic type of ideology is analysed in action in white English medium schools. It is shown how this 'dominated' ideology has withstood Afrikaner hegemony in many essentials.

Although it is postulated that in South African black education, no institutionalized

ideology can be investigated, a theoretical or aspiring ideology which has considerable black support, that of People's Education, is reviewed.

Finally, it is contended that ideologies need to be analysed and differences in beliefs and assumptions, even the use of slogans, to be acknowledged before negotiations can produce any acceptable synthesis for South African education. It is argued that new styles of leadership, new structures and new processes are needed before the State President's 'democratic goal' can even begin to be realised. Directions for a future educational system are stated.

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CHAPTER 1

Aims and Concerns

1.1 Introduction

Society in South Africa is undergoing considerable change. Political structures, statutes and systems of control within the Republic have undergone widespread alteration, partly in response to expressions of discontent among disenfranchised groups. Divergent views of a political solution from support for a people's revolution (from the Pan African Congress) to support for Verwoerdian apartheid and total race separation under white oligarchical control (from the Conservative Party) have been formulated. Although a State of Emergency did lead to military control over subject populations in an attempt to contain eruptions of anger and to a slow down in constitutional reform during the latter years of the 1980s, with the advent of a newly appointed State President in 1989 a positive mood for change has emerged from government sources. Moves towards educational and social upliftment have been made and expectancy of further change is high. At the inaugural meeting between the government and the African National Congress, President de Klerk declared unequivocally: 'Our goal is a new, democratic dispensation for South Africa and all its people' (**The Daily News** 3.5.1990:2).

The objective of research in this thesis is to examine aspects of the relationship between education and society in South Africa in the light of President de Klerk's stated democratic goal and in the light of rising black resistance to government policies and a chaotic situation in black education with boycotts and the burning of schools; and to consider the need for appropriate new styles or patterns of leadership within the educational system and the possibilities of new educational processes and structures emerging. One possibility, for example, is a move from a rigidly centralized structure to one showing awareness of local differences, a move originally suggested by the Report of the Main Committee of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) Investigation into Education, 1981:

> 'In the provision of education the processes of centralization and decentralization shall be reconciled organizationally and functionally' (Principle 9).

Concurrent with such a move would be the possibility for minority views to be expressed functionally and leadership by domination to give way to more democratic styles of leadership. Although the 'democratic goal' of the government has not been defined explicitly, it would seem to arise out of a type of liberal democracy,

with representative government and a constitution which guarantees minority rights, freedom of speech and of religion. The issue of group rights, supported by the government, and the issue of social democracy, minimizing social and economic advantages, supported by the African National Congress, have still to be addressed through negotiation. Discussion on the beliefs and assumptions underlying these issues are essential to the development of a new educational system. To be avoided is the susceptibility to ideologues during periods of rapid social change as described by Pratte (1977), which could lead to the replacing of Afrikaner Nationalist authoritarian totalitarianism with another.

If there is to be significant change in South African education, there needs to be a framework for understanding social action and it is contended that the uncovering of ideologies, which have influenced the educational system and the questioning and addressing of opposing ideologies, could provide this framework. The elements of the educational system which have been selected to demonstrate the reflection of ideology are leadership, structure and process. These elements have been selected on grounds of importance and of visibility. In order to broaden the research base, so that forces influencing South Arican education can be seen in a world perspective, a comparative approach has been adopted. Through a study of relevant concepts and examples, the writer will describe how within different school systems educational leadership, structure and process are established or conceptualised in different ways, depending largely, but not solely, on ideologies which are adopted by governments as guidelines for educational policy and practice. According to Kimbrough (1982:23) research into the influence on education of political ideology has been neglected, while Pratte (1977:6) recognises that the influence of ideology on educational policy has been considerable:

> 'ideology in general seeks to direct social action and that any schooling ideology seeks to direct the policies and practices of schooling.'

The influence of ideology on educational leadership, structure and process is considered to be a critical area of study and forms the central analysis of this research.

1.2 Ideology in Education

The concept of ideology is analysed in Chapter 2 of the present work, but some general aspects of its significance are mentioned here. Mannheim (1960:50) regards the term 'ideology' as having two distinctive levels of analysis: in a 'particular conception of ideology' he refers to ideas with which one is in opposition and which

one sceptically regards as disguising the true nature of the situation; whereas in a 'total conception of ideology' he refers to an ideology of a time or of a social group, such as a class, 'when we are concerned with the characteristics and composition of the total structure of the mind of this epoch or of this group.' It would appear that the second level of analysis is more appropriate for the study of theoretical assumptions that underlie educational systems, and Cosin (1972:135) has arrived at a useful definition of this level:

> 'When we find a system of ideas working in a social structure and helping to keep it going, we describe it as an ideology; we refer to it as the ideology of that structure ..... In so far as a system of beliefs serves to maintain these relations, we refer to it as an ideology. So its status as an ideology depends not on the opinions of individuals, but on social relations.'

Larrain (1979) searches into the character, origin, scope and relationships of the concept of 'ideology,' and concludes inter alia that an ideology is a world-view expressing the values of a particular social group.

An approach which stems from a different theoretical base than that of the 'world-view' is the belief that an ideology '... is understood to be a system of ideas and beliefs whose function is to legitimate and render "natural" (through the diffusion of a false consciousness) the domination of the (ruling group) ...' (Grace 1978:4). The idea of dominance, which embodies power relationships, is considered to be central to the concept of ideology and this view is held by writers such as Althusser (1971b) and Gramsci (1970).

Problems inherent in any investigation of ideologies and their role in education are indicated by Naish et al. (1976:56). Their research indicated that terms such as 'ideology' and 'ideological' were used in a number of different senses, and in attempting to stipulate generally acceptable usage, they noted that an ideology is often associated with a system of ideas, related to social action, and that it is used to develop particular social structures. They see ideological views as prescriptive with a tendency to question what is good or bad, right or wrong in a particular social situation.

Many writers argue (Larrain 1979) that ideologies carry an aura of bias rendering them questionable on rational grounds, an underlying motif in their theoretical statements being that their intention is to be persuasive. Larrain's valuable historical review of the development of the concept provides useful background for Chapter 2.

The meaning of ideology, in the context of the present work, can be taken to include any conceptual standpoint involving a world-view or a 'total conception' (Mannheim 1960) of a group which finds expression in educational policy or practice. Ideologies include, for example, particular attitudes to authority, views on 'equality' in education, statements about what should be in the curriculum, and

> 'a model of the relationship between education and society, a view about the nature of human learning and the nature of effective teaching, a view about the evaluation of teaching and learning and a view about change' (Seaman 1972:42).

The particular assumptions which mark a system of education may be derived from a particular political, social or economic system, or a particular view of man (for example, Buber's). Ideologies of any group would tend to rest on three central issues of ontology, epistemology and axiology. The likelihood is that the group or groups enjoying power or dominance in a society will be responsible for selecting and entrenching ideological views in the educational system: thus, there is an inevitable connection between the educational and the political systems. The 'dominance' theory is regarded as coherent and is used in conjunction with the world-view theory in later analyses in this work.

An ideology can become entrenched as a result of historical or social circumstance. Ruperti's (1976:29) assertion that Afrikaner nationalism has been the predominant educational ideology in South Africa since 1948, is an example of this. The two major powers of the 1980s (the United States and the USSR) are used as examples of how the specific character of a state, revealed through the ideologies of those who control the affairs of the state, is reflected in the educational system of that state. Comparative reference is also made to apposite situations in Great Britain and Israel. Many points made reflect the development of ideologies in the 1980s and the points are apposite to the thesis despite current altering political situations. Ideologies can and do change, and this thesis has been written at a time of great change in South Africa (especially since February 1990) and in Eastern Europe.

1.3 Educational Leadership

The concept of leadership is woven into the fabric of the present work. Every group or organization incorporates a form of leadership, and leadership as a concept per se will be examined before its relationship with ideology is explored. Finally, its function within selected educational structures will be investigated.

It is axiomatic that education is manipulable through the state and that any system

of education will reflect ideologies of the political leadership under which it was established. From Plato onwards, it has been generally accepted that the character of education is, to a large extent, dependent on the political character of the state. It is logical that the overall character of the state will determine the aims of education and the acceptable patterns of educational leadership and administration. The Althusserian view (1971b:258) that an educational system is in fact a significant part of the ideological state apparatus, helping to impose the ideological hegemony of the ruling class, that 'the dominant position in mature capitalist social formations .... is the educational state apparatus,' will be used in the analysis of aspects of education in this thesis. How far this ideology and resulting structure define as appropriate a particular type of leadership in schools and among administrators, will be a major area of investigation in this work.

It is reasonable to assume that in a totalitarian state where the individual is regarded as being subjugated to the demands of the state, one could expect to find a highly centralized system with little autonomy being offered in the leadership of local educational units or of schools. Traditionally, in the USSR, for example, control of schools has been centralized with stress on the group rather than on the individual under the encompassing ideology that education is primarily for the benefit of the state. Leadership at all levels of the educational hierarchy would tend to be conformist and highly conservative.

The impact of political ideology in the USSR has been the topic of much discussion in the literature, for example in Hirszowicz (1980) who regards ideology as one of the most important educational leadership issues. Griffioen (1981:5) claims that Marxist doctrines are incapable of building up allegiance in people and therefore leadership objectives are 'to achieve conformity to the party rule by standardizing social behavior and suppressing potentially disturbing alternatives.'

In the USA a different political ideology, which stresses liberal democracy (influenced, among others, by Dewey 1940), is reflected in the fact that local control of education by elected representatives is paramount and so is the view that the individual should be encouraged to develop and make his own decisions in a changing world.

Although school principals in the United States are supposed to have the opportunity to be innovative in curriculum and management within minimal local interest controls, recent concerns about standards and the curriculum have caused some American educationists to speak out about changing political ideologies. Graham (1985:8) warns that

> 'we need to be sensitive to the balance between educational aspirations primarily beneficial to the youngster and ones principally beneficial to society.'

Bowles and Gintis (1976), and others with Marxist economic viewpoints, regard change in education in Western industrialised nations as resulting from capitalist interests only, claiming that leadership, even in schools, is based on a mercantilist ideology.

Cognisance will be taken of the possibility that the major differences between concepts of leadership in education in the USA and USSR are somewhat spurious in that the new technological thrust of their educational systems is becoming the predominant ideology of both. Buber's concept that the two greatest dangers facing man in the twentieth century are individualism and collectivism because both 'prevent man from realizing his life relations with his whole being' (Prosser 1979:76), will be given consideration in relation to educational leadership.

The major focus on South Africa will demonstrate how political ideology has defined and entrenched a particular type of educational leadership. Separatism has been the watchword of the National Party government from 1948 as Ruperti (1976:29) explains:

> 'Since the Afrikaner, who is numerically the strongest element in the White community in South Africa, came to power in parliament in 1948, the Afrikaans point of view has dominated the political and educational scene. The Afrikaner recognises the existence of different peoples, each with its own culture, the right of each to retain its identity and to develop; along its own cultural lines.'

In reality, leadership has been based on domination of other 'peoples' and their destiny. Besides separatism along colour lines, separatism along language lines in the white community has created further ideological barriers. Malherbe (1977:3) states that

> 'South Africa's educational history has given the lie to the assertion often made that the language question is a purely educational matter and not a political one. Professor R. MacMillan is absolutely right when he states: "Ideology has had, and will continue to have, considerable impact upon educational principles and practice in South Africa".'

MacMillan's assertion will be verified in this work.

It is postulated that any system of education, when analysed, can reveal particular

aims and concerns which are entrenched and that these specify an acceptable concept of leadership as well as appropriate forms of leadership - in the system as a whole and in the case of individual schools.

From this broad survey, the thesis will focus on the possibilities for leadership within the proposed educational systems of the Republic of South Africa.

1.4 Educational Structure

By 'educational structure' is meant the sum total of offices, agencies and channels which characterise a system of education in terms of management and administration and not in sociological terms. The structure is linked with the prevailing ideologies in that it provides the means for the execution of policy.

The question of how particular ideologies are linked to particular types of structure is largely a political one. A structure may, for example, involve extreme centralization and a rigidity of policy (as for example was the case in France before the mid-sixties) - or it may reflect intense decentralization as in the case of the United States where thousands of School Boards exist to implement (in slightly different ways) the overall state policy, which is usually merely influenced at national level. A society may adopt a particular educational structure in order to put into practice specific policies underlying education. In England and Wales, for example, the move towards comprehensive education in the mid-sixties was inspired by particular ideologies which defined a specific structure as appropriate (Dent 1977); and recent calls for a 'back to basics' approach from the former Reagan administration in the United States suggest the need for tighter control by the central government and imply a threat of cessation in funding of local authorities which do not toe the line. Setting up an educational structure, then, may allow for specific types of power and authority to find expression.

The shape an educational structure takes is defined to a large extent by the types of organization, management and leadership strategies whch are considered appropriate. Ruperti (1976:23) draws a distinction between highly-centralized organization (as in Roman Catholicism) and decentralization of control (as in Reformational thinking), and attributes the origin and existence of separate educational provision for different cultural groups in South Africa to a belief in the idea that

> '... truth is not expressed through a central government, which, therefore, need not be the only body to prescribe to other bodies either directly or indirectly ... every societal relationship has

> the right and the duty to express or realise truth for itself in its own sphere of competence and sovereignty.'

This thinly-veiled justification of separate educational provision (i.e. on the grounds that such provision is culturally preferable) ignores the great problems which separate, and different educational provision in South Africa has led to, and seems ironic in the light of current moves back to more centralization in racially separated education departments, these moves being explained as 'rationalisation' for an intermediate period. As analysed later, control in South African education has been centralized, despite Ruperti's assertion.

The form which educational control and direction assumes in any country is closely related to the extent of centralized prescription and co-ordination. If one accepts liberal democracy as a dominant political norm in the West, with constitutional safeguards for minorities and rights of all individuals guaranteed, it seems that a system of educational control which permits the maximum flexibility within broad national policy would be preferable to a centrally-controlled system. The idea of regional and local control of education in South Africa is an important component of the recommendations of the HSRC Investigation into Education (1981), and has long been a feature of the provision of education in England and Wales where the 1944 Education Act defined the responsibilities of local education authorities and put management and control firmly in their hands. One cannot of course conclude that the decentralized system of educational control and management in England and Wales permits total autonomy. Changes have occurred with the promulgation of the 1988 Education Reform Act and the formation of a National Curriculum Council and a National School Examinations and Assessment Council; but while debate rages over whether or not the 1988 Act is a 'liberating' one, much curriculum development, assessment procedure, the appointment and promotion of teachers and consequently the exertion of educational leadership, are all local matters in England and Wales as also in the United States of America, the effects of national policy being felt only on the broadest levels.

The application of organizational and management theory to education has been the concern of much course-development in universities (e.g. Course E 321 of the Open University, and a recently developed Master's Degree in Education at the University of Natal). A theory that the writer will develop is that particular models of management and organization imply particular public responsibility and accountability of persons in management positions in education. An obvious example is that a highly bureaucratized system predictably leads to hierarchical decision-making and an attempted impartiality, which in effect opens the possibility for ideological

dominance by a particular group, whereas a human-resources model of management leads to or allows for a more dynamic and personalised style of participatory leadership. Although participation is connected with empowerment, participation alone does not allow real access to power, and Grant (1979b:17) is correct in stating that 'most systems purporting to be democratic have never really approached the theoretical limits of democracy.' Ideology as a disguise mechanism in action is used to manipulate and create dominance.

The writer has previously surveyed the application of principles of management in the administration of schools (Jarvis 1982:23-50). Of note was the human-relations approach to management which presupposes that man is committed to the goals of the organization in which he finds himself, and holds that as a result of participation in the organization he will display improved compliance and improved satisfaction; but the formal authority and structure of the organization are not open to change. This approach will be shown to be based on a particular 'world-view' and followed in many Afrikaans medium schools for whites in South Africa. By contrast, the human-resources approach sees man as an untapped resource of abilities and capabilities; an organization upholding this view would be fluid and would stress inter-personal communication and individual responsibility. (Source: Jarvis op. cit., summarised). To an extent, English medium schools for whites in South Africa, which could be said to adhere to a type of liberal ideology, reflect the human-resources management approach.

The literature on management as applied to education (for example Cohen 1973; Davies 1974; Corwin 1965; Sergiovanni and Carver 1980), and on pure management theory itself, is in agreement that the nature and structure of an organization define largely the strategies of management which are appropriate. This idea will find extension and application at several points in the thesis.

1.5 Educational Process

Educational structure and management are closely linked with elements of the educational process, such as curriculum, pedagogy and assessment of both teachers and pupils. Perceptions of social reality held by governmental and other powerful groups, based largely on a particular historical and social milieu, will include views on the nature of the curriculum, effective teaching and assessment of teaching and learning (Seaman 1972:42). The question of what it means to be an educated person will posit what overall knowledge is regarded as essential for an educated person. The question of how ideology finds expression in these elements of schooling is considered in Chapter 5.

As an educational curriculum can be only a selection, there is major support in the literature for the idea that the curriculum, and the hidden curriculum, are determined by a dominant class or group which either bans conflicting thoughts, as expressed by Bernstein (1975), or promotes a prestige culture, as noted by Gramsci (1970:124). Apple (1979:45) regards a study of educational knowledge as 'a study in ideology,' and his important research is reviewed in Chapter 5.

Although Apple is critical of ideological underpinning of the curriculum in the United States of America (USA), totalitarian societies, such as that of the Soviet Union (USSR), have controlled the curriculum more rigidly than in Western democratic societies (Grant 1979); but the formation of a National Curriculum Council in England and Wales has removed some elements of long-standing professional autonomy from teachers. In South Africa a prescribed curriculum, based on a Christian National ideology, is enshrined in law.

Althusser's (1971:158) assertion that ideologies exist in apparatuses and practices in that ideology is 'governed by the rituals in which these practices are inscribed,' implies that schools' internal procedures do reflect ideologies, and opens an area for research.

It appears that the world-view of the dominant political group, or the more particular dominant educational group tends to result in either the promotion of a psychometric model of teaching, involving measurement and manipulation; or the promotion of a phenomenological model, leading to self-realization for the teacher, or somewhere in between. Pedagogy may be child-centred, based on an individual purpose type of ideology, where the child's happiness in school is paramount, or it may be utilitarian and work oriented, based on a structural-functionalist type of ideology. Assessment or evaluation is also used as part of a ritual to help either in the growth of teachers, or to measure their performance on instruments which have a cultural bias, such as the Merit Assessment document in South Africa. The teacher is the pivotal authority in the patterns of interaction, in indicating the importance of the knowledge taught, and in controlling the rewards given and assessment which takes place, and will often promote the world-view of the dominant group. The way in which pupils are tested also reflects an ideological view of what it means to be educated and can be used as a control mechanism of a legitimation and masking nature.

These socially organized elements of the educational process, are highly visible aspects of practical ideologies, but this does not preclude an ideological veiling of

purpose by the dominant group.

1.6 Direction of Research

The research leading to and embodied in this thesis makes use of several methods. An analysis of major contributions in the literature on ideology helps set the parameters of the relationships which are studied. Conceptual and methodological difficulties have led to the use of a broad explanatory approach with some explanations having been imaginatively created because they could not be tested by means of observation. Hesse's (1990:21) assertion that realistic interpretation of human sciences 'must rest upon a moral or ideological realism .... we must be prepared to find truth in some value-system, and that truth will not itself be scientifically justifiable,' has been accepted. As has the view of Mouton (1990:53) that the position of the researcher in social research cannot be valueless and un-biased but will be 'intrinsically value-laden and political in nature.' Hence this thesis does not portray the neutral and rigorous approach of philosophy.

An examination of sources of general and specific aspects of educational leadership and of how these find expression in the operation of educational structure, incorporates use of the case-study method. Different strategies of leadership and management, as employed in various schools, are closely described following the research methods of participant-observation and comparative analysis.

The views of educationists on matters relating to ideology in educational practice and possibilities for democratic management are established by means of structured interviews. Fieldwork, basically of key-informant interviewing was carried out in Israel, the United Kingdom and in South Africa. Historical-comparative methodology is used where different countries are highlighted. It was considered essential to use the comparative approach because of the danger of regarding educational leadership, structure and process in South Africa as unique as a result of the political doctrine of apartheid.

An ultimate goal in the investigation is to establish how various standpoints and attitudes can be and often are accommodated in educational planning, structures and organization - and what types of leadership emerge to support these varying standpoints and attitudes.

In the Republic of South Africa, there is an interesting range of education standpoints and attitudes and consequently a range of possibilities for educational leadership. Some of the different standpoints include: those typical of Christian

National Education; those of the mainstream of white English Speaking South Africans; those of People's Education; those of Inkatha and many of the Zulu people; those who see education and cultural identity as inseparable and those who allege that 'education' is a concept independent of particular cultural ties. All of these different standpoints suggest different norms for educational policy, structure and leadership; in such a situation the 'official' standpoint (that, obviously, of the governing party) runs the risk of multi-faceted criticism.

As an ideology incorporates a 'world view' (Larrain 1979) and is a 'systematic body of concepts in action' (Kimbrough 1982:23), order within an organization is required if ideological effects on leadership, structure and process are to be studied. The writer has decided, therefore, to concentrate, in the South African situation, on the two general education ideologies of whites, which are separable on language grounds and which could be regarded as examples of a 'dominating' and a 'dominated' ideology. The analysis of these ideologies will be done in historical perspective. Indian and Coloured educational systems developed from roots within the White system, and their structure retains elements introduced by Afrikaner whites who were administrative leaders in their systems for many years. Hence it has been decided to avoid the possibility of making incorrect inferences from these systems, and not to research them. Black education was also structured on the White model through Afrikaner infiltration and the predominance of Fundamental Pedagogics as the philosophical base in all black universities. A chaotic situation of striking pupils and teachers, killing of pupils and teachers and burning of schools make a context in which it is impossible to study forms of leadership, structure and process. Varied Black aspirations, from calls for a political revolution to statements about People's Education to requests for equal opportunities and better provision within a White-type system, do make it difficult to isolate set ideologies, but an attempt is made to describe an emerging ideology of a Marxist and humanist-liberal nature and to consider likely influences on South African education in the future. In Sharp's (1980) terminology emerging ideologies could be regarded as 'theoretical ideologies', but not as 'practical ideologies;' or in Salter and Tapper's (1981) terminology as 'aspiring' yet not 'established' ideologies. It is argued that these isolated beliefs and aspirations have not gained sufficient consensus to be institutionalised and that there is not sufficient perspective yet to study them as ideologies.

A task of this research is to question an educational ideology which has become all-embracing and entrenched over many years, through an analysis of primary sources, a critical appraisal of policy and practice, and a description of how the

present situation developed. An examination is made of how changes in political structure may require changes in educational thinking (particularly as regards leadership, structure and process in education), to allow for the real emergence of minority views in a participatory democratic framework.

1.7 Format of Thesis

Chapter 1 indicates the background to the research, including the motivation for embarking on the research topic of: **Ideology and its influence on educational leadership, structure and process: with reference to a dominant and dominated ideologies in South Africa.** The scope of the research plus the methodology and essential terminology to be used is surveyed.

What the concept of ideology entails is the central analysis in Chapter 2 and a definition of how it will be used in this thesis is established. Its relationship with education is outlined, in an introductory manner, as its significance for education will be surveyed at length throughout the thesis. Finally, the effect of political, economic, intellectual and religious viewpoints on the formation of educational ideologies, is reviewed.

In Chapter 3 the concept of leadership is considered per se, before the link between ideology and leadership is outlined. The influence of ideology on educational leadership is then reviewed in reference to different educational systems.

Leadership can be demonstrated only within a structure and the effect of ideology on educational structure is indicated in Chapter 4. Management, as an integral part of structure, is shown not to be 'ideologyless,' but to be based on a particular view of man and society. The types of structure adopted within educational systems and forms of management of schools are reviewed with reference to examples in selected countries.

What appears to be a more visible and practical element of education, the process of what is to be taught, how it is to be taught and the effectiveness of what has been taught, is analysed in Chapter 5 in relation to ideology. It is postulated that in educational systems, the curriculum chosen, plus pedagogical and assessment methods used, are influenced strongly by ideology.

From a broad, international view of the influence of ideology on educational leadership, structure and process, the thesis focuses on South Africa from Chapter 6. In

this chapter, the two major ideologies in action within the White educational system, that of Christian Nationalism upheld by the Afrikaner, and a liberal type adopted by English speakers, are reviewed. These ideologies are shown to have influenced schools and the dominant ideology - that espoused by the National Party government for the past forty four years - is shown to be enshrined despite current moves towards ideological incorporation of other views; while the 'dominated' ideology of English speakers has been strong enough to limit Afrikaner hegemony in English medium schools.

Finally, in Chapter 7, the necessity of analysing ideologies in order to further the understanding of educational elements is postulated, while it is argued that negotiation about change must be conducted consciously at the ideological level. An emerging ideology within the black community, that of People's Education, is discussed. Because of the manner in which the Black education system has been dominated under the ideology of apartheid, this ideology can be seen only as 'theoretical' or 'aspiring,' but it does pose possibilities for large-scale influence in the future. A synthesis of ideological viewpoints is given to offer workable approaches to educational leadership, structure and process in the changing South Africa.

Summary

Rapid social changes are taking place in South Africa, both evolutionary and revolutionary. The State President (1990) has stated a goal for a 'new democratic dispensation' and this thesis considers the social situation and this thrust as background to the possibility of new educational structures, styles of leadership and processes emerging.

It is postulated that ideologies are among the most important influences, either positive or negative, concerning change in education.

An ideology is seen as a set of ideas, beliefs and assumptions held by a prescribed group (Mannheim's 'total' concept), and which in translation to social action includes aspects of dominance and disguise.

The importance of the effect of ideology on elements of educational structure, such as centralized and decentralized systems, as well as organization and management, was postulated. Further study of ideological control and direction of the curriculum, pedagogy and assessment was mooted.

Although leadership overlaps with management, it is separated as an important concept which is influenced in totalitarian systems towards conformity and control and in democratic systems towards creativity and freedom to participate.

The influence of particular ideologies on education in major countries, such as the USA, the USSR and the UK, will be reviewed later in order to reflect on the South African system. The dominant South African ideology was stated to be totalitarian and separatist.

Research methods include literature studies; case-study methods; structured interviews; and fieldwork of key-informant interviews in the United Kingdom, Israel and South Africa.

Because an ideology is a 'world view' in action, the research will concentrate on the two general 'established' educational ideologies in South Africa, those held by English and Afrikaans speaking whites. The current coherence of the dominant ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism will be questioned. The 'aspiring' ideology of People's Education will be discussed theoretically and an attempt will be made to draw the best elements of the ideologies together as the possibilities are expounded of more democratic frameworks, leadership, and processes in South African education.

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CHAPTER 2

Ideology in Education

2.1 Introduction

In an endeavour to research the effect of ideology on educational leadership, structure and process, a critical review of underpinnings of schooling purpose would need to be undertaken. This could include a survey of particular views of the world, of definitions of society, of the nature of educated man, of systems of ideas held by specific social groups, of values which may be even independent of stated perceptions of reality, and of stocks of meanings, such as language, with normative nuances of meaning and value.

The wide possibilities of such a study demand a particular focus, and in this Chapter the set parameters are an analysis of the origin, character, function, and relationships of the concept of ideology, in order to undergird later reference to its influence on educational leadership, structure and process. Consideration is given to the question of how educational ideologies are shaped or determined, and to the roles and functions of various bodies and movements which influence political decision making in regard to education.

2.2 The concept of ideology

The first writer to use the term 'ideology' was Destutt de Tracy (1754 - 1836) who used it to define a new science of ideas which he was attempting to systematize in order to set aside religious and metaphysical prejudices. As Larrain (1979:28) points out, the term ideology, in its origin, had a positive connotation of a rigorous science of ideas which 'by overcoming religious and metaphysical prejudices, may serve as a new basis for public education.' It seems appropriate that the term ideology, which is of central concern to this study, should have been used originally in an educational context.

Napoleon was the first to use the term in a negative sense, regarding the ideologues as thinkers who placed their own ideas above the material interests of the state. And a recognition of negative connotations surrounding the term ideological is contained in a definition in The Oxford English Dictionary (1978) : 'ideal or abstract speculation; in a depreciatory sense, unpractical or visionary theorizing or speculation.' As Mannheim (1972:64) indicates, Napoleon's objection was based on epistemological and ontological grounds, discrediting the ideologues

with a lack of practical sense. Political realists in the nineteenth century then began to use 'ideology' for their own sakes displacing scholastic modes of thought with political concepts of reality, and Mannheim (Idem.) claims that the history of the concept of ideology has retained the same 'political criterion of reality' ever since. From this origin, and influenced retrospectively by Machiavelli, the concept of ideology began to embody the view that the set of ideas was not impartial and that arguments in favour of these ideas would be based, not on the pursuit of truth, but of self-interest. Adherents of a particular system of ideas would not be open-minded to ideas which appeared to be in conflict with their ideology.

According to Larrain (1979:33), prior to Marx, 'ideological distortions were accounted for by passions, superstitions, individual interests, religious prejudices or man's necessary self-alienation, but were never related to historically necessary social contradictions.' But Marx, by placing the term in a philosophical setting, used ideological analysis to unmask hidden motives in his study of political practice and economics. His critique of ideology saw it as one of the basic predeterminants of the division of labour into classes and of class dominance, seeing it only in the superstructure of society. Marx (1965b;1970) appears to regard the base of society as an economic substructure and the superstructure, of ideology and politics, as a reflection, but considers that there must be dialectic between them. He regarded ideology as being associated with restrictive productive forces and its role he saw as expressing the distorted views of the dominant class in order to conceal the real relationships between classes and the real meanings of domination and subordination. Marx (1970:65-6) considered that each new class is compelled

> 'to represent its interest as the common interest of all the members of society, that is, expressed in ideal form: it has to give its ideas the form of universality, and represent them as the only rational, universally valid ones.'

For Marx it was not enough for philosophers merely to criticise ideology as it legitimated class structure, and he strove for action against ideology in an attempt to change material conditions in order to overcome ideology. As Marx (1965b:667) wrote: 'The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it,' and, ironically, the concept of ideology would be used by supporters of the proletariat as a weapon when later Marxists, such as Gramsci, would come to regard Marxism as an element of the superstructure like every other class ideology.

Althusser (1977:232) argued that 'historical materialism cannot conceive that even a communist society could ever do without ideology' and claimed that ideology, with

an objective and material nature, had existed before class divisions even emerged and would remain after they ended. He was conscious of dominating and dominated ideologies and regarded ideology as 'indispensable in any society' (Althusser 1969:235). He disputed Marx's (1965b) argument whereby ideology is viewed as an inverted reflection, in thought, of real social relationships and claimed its own material existence with a belief that ideas exist in action 'governed by the rituals in which these practices are inscribed, within the material existence of an ideological apparatus' (Althusser 1971:158).

But his thought focuses within the Marxist tradition, seeing the essential aspect of ideology in human inter-relationships and stressing its dominant nature in a class based society. For him, although ideology is seen to be a structural feature of all societies with its main function being the cementing of unity; in a class society he considers ideology to receive an additional function, that of maintaining domination of one class over the others. Although Althusser (1971:100-107;252-253) roots superstructure in structure, he accents superstructural and cultural segments of class domination above the economic. He argues that Marx's structure of social totality was also one of dominance. Althusser's (1971:127-186) structuralism does not offer an ontology of its own, but his structural theory of reproduction contains the argument that ideology has a material existence, that it is not just 'false consciousness' and that its source is material reality. He sees that it can be studied as an objective phenomenon despite the existence of structural ideological practices and of ideological insulation which tends to deny the awareness of a power relationship.

He states that it is the imposition of the ruling class ideology that ensures a precarious harmony between 'the Repressive State Apparatus and the different Ideological State Apparatuses' (Althusser 1977:257). The school he sees as the most influential of the Ideological State Apparatuses, ensuring the hegemony of the ruling class through control of the curriculum and of the transmission of acceptable behavioural practices (Althusser 1971b:258). Through myths and support of an absolute subject ideology, he considered that individuals were transformed into an acceptance of an imaginary and false position.

This classical Marxist view, which regards ideology as being class based and having a function of legitimizing the political and economic power of the ruling class, while debasing the ambition of the working class and engendering a state of 'false consciousness' in the workers, does contain simplistic limitations. It must be mentioned that Althusser's thoughts on consciousness differ, in their assertion that it is produced in individuals by ideological practices, from those of Marx (1965:67)

who saw consciousness, for an individual, as a product of a class position, as 'their social being ... determines their consciousness.' As Salter and Tapper (1981:52) indicate, 'the difficulty with this view is its emphasis on ideology as domination and its dismissive attitude towards ideology as challenge.' The argument that the only function of political ideology is to assist the ruling class to achieve hegemony, ignores the inter-action of numerous vested interests within a state which do not even aspire to political hegemony, but which through competition with the dominant ideology are still capable of exerting persuasive influence.

A major meaning of the word ideological as defined in The Oxford English Dictionary (1978) contains a further positive connotation but one that takes a diametrically different view from that originating with de Tracy: 'relating to, or occupied with, an idea or ideas, esp. of a visionary kind; dealing with ideas as opposed to facts; ideal, speculative, idealistic.' This definition is based on a recognition that ideology is an elusive concept, and that there are a variety of theoretical approaches and interpretations of ideology as a system of thought by numerous writers, including a major contribution by Mannheim (1972:49-50), who distinguishes between a 'total' and a 'particular' conception of ideology. His total conception of ideology refers to

> 'the ideology of an age or of a concrete historico-social group, e.g. of a class, when we are concerned with the characteristics and composition of the total structure of the mind of this epoch or of this group,'

but his particular conception of ideology

> 'is implied when the term denotes that we are sceptical of the ideas and representations advanced by our opponent. They are regarded as more or less conscious disguises of the real nature of a situation, the true recognition of which would not be in accord with his interests.'

An analysis of the particular conception of ideology would operate on a psychological level, and attempt to distinguish distortion on a content level; while an analysis of the total conception would operate on a noological level investigating all the elements of an outlook - its historical situation, its social milieu, its conceptual apparatus - 'not merely the content but also the form, and even the conceptual framework of a mode of thought as a function of the life situation of a thinker' (Mannheim 1972:51). The importance of this quotation can be verified from a consideration of the sociology of knowledge, or the whole approach to the social construction of reality, where adequate proof is given that humans (in groups) <u>are structured</u> by ideologies. As Berger and Luckmann (1976:21;204) reveal pertinently, 'no human thought is immune to the ideolizing influences of its social content,' and that humans are transformed in the dialectic between nature and the socially

constructed world, in that man produces reality and himself.

These two conceptions: of a particular view in which segments of an opponent's thought, concerned with individual views in a particular life situation, are analysed; and of a 'world view' expressing the values of a particular social group, considering total thought structures in an historical and social setting, including 'false consciousness' with its negative and conflicting ethos, are significant within the historical development of the studies on ideology. Although Mannheim recognised that it was Marxist theory which first achieved a fusion of these particular and total conceptions of ideology, he broke new ground in his expansion of the theory of ideology to include a 'general total' conception and to abstract its central problem from the context of purely political usage. The characteristics of his general concept of ideology, in which not only the whole of an opponent's thought but one's own thought as well, are subject to systematic analysis, have widened the perspectives for 'socially unattached intellectuals' to search for truth and to mitigate ideological influences in society. In recognising that ideology could be used:

> 'as a negative value-judgment, in the sense of insinuating a conscious political lie, but is intended to designate the outlook inevitably associated with a given historical and social situation, and the Weltanschauung and style of thought bound up with it' (1972:111),

Mannheim offered the opportunity for the phenomenon of ideology to be treated as a general problem of epistemology, recognising that knowledge was determined by a certain social position, and of historical sociology, rather than of having to be tied to political usage. He claims that ideology is accessible to ruling, ascendent and subordinate groups (ibid.:40), and that the total concept of ideology entails 'the courage to subject not just the adversary's point of view, but all points of view, including his own, to ideological analysis' (ibid.:69). The underlying concept is that all social knowledge is determined by the social structure. Mannheim's views on ideology and the sociology of knowledge have been criticised by Stark, among others, as being limited to thought processes involved in the struggle between social and political classes and not to socially determined thought based on 'values already realized, values that have come down to earth, values incarnate' (Stark 1971:72). But Mannheim's pragmatic approach and argument that theories must be tied to the actual and historical are apposite to the concerns of this study, although his relativism in rejecting the hypothesis that there is a 'sphere of truth in itself' (Mannheim 1960:274) is regarded as extreme. The methods of inquiry he alludes to in the use of the 'general total conception of ideology' to search for the social factors which determine thought, are a non-evaluative method, which would merely relate the social structure to a point of view, and an evaluative method which

would concern itself with judgment of ideas within the social and historical situation. The evaluative method is a more appropriate one for this research and would need to concern itself with distortions, which Mannheim (1972:86) declares are ethical norms which cannot work in the given society, ideals which mask real relations, and knowledge which is no longer appropriate within an historical situation.

In moving from the idea that the only political function of ideology is to support the hegemony of the ruling class, it is necessary to accept the view that a plurality of ideologies can and does exist. Grace (1978:4) also studies ideological conflict within a class and not solely between classes, while Salter and Tapper (1981:53) consider the function of ideology to be

> 'the attempted legitimation of a particular group interest, both to the members of that group and to outsiders, while bearing in mind that this group may be dominant or subordinate, aspiring or established.'

Although there is breadth in the definition by Salter and Tapper, the 'attempted legitimation' appears to be considered from a material perspective. Reich (1978:17), in his study of Fascism, argued that a determination of the material structure of society was insufficient for an understanding of ideology. He considered the character structure of the masses as extremely important in the determining of ideology, which he regarded as part of consciousness imprinted in the psyche of men often through the economic process. A differing perspective, but one which also involves an awareness of ideology as a subjective and psychological phenomenon is argued by Freud (1928), who regards the psychological process of identification with the aggressor by members of a subordinate class as the reason for ideological domination of the ruling class. There are possible truths in this perspective for South Africa, if one considers black educational subordination in the RSA prior to the Soweto uprising of 1976.

Any review of an ideology that does not search beyond a socio-economic function and ignores its spiritual roots is bound to remain superficial, according to Berger (1977:68-9), who claims that ideologies spring 'from the soil of religious faith...deriving...their power from those realms of the mind in which the gods used to dwell.' Griffioen (1981:5), in his criticism of Marxist ideology, asserts that its proponents in their doctrines are not interested in the inner allegiance of citizens but enforce conformity of behaviour 'suppressing potentially disturbing alternatives.' Although his own definition of ideology contains a 'demand for allegiance' and is binding in a Calvinistic religious sense, his underlying assertion is that it differs from prevalent Marxism-Leninism in that it offers its doctrines as something to be

believed :

> 'By "ideology" I mean a set of concepts and doctrines of a depth and a breadth comparable to a religion, demanding assent and allegiance of a religious character, but couched in a non-religious vocabulary, whether primarily philosophical-scientific (Marxism) or ethico-political in orientation (anarchism and non-Marxist varieties of socialism)' (1981:3).

Consideration will be given to Griffioen's assertions when ideological aspects of Soviet education are discussed.

That there is an element of 'suppression' in the legitimizing of ideologies, which need not necessarily be Marxist, is indicated by Habermas who points to the restriction of communication which is used to legitimize certain ideologies :

> 'To the extent that they fulfill the function of legitimizing domination, world views are always ideological. That is, they provide a solution to the paradoxical problem posed by the obligation of taking into consideration the claim to justifiability inherent in social norms without, however, being able to permit that unconstrained discourse which would, if allowed, convict existing institutions of a false claim' (in McCarthy 1978:232).

Although adherents of Marxist approaches claim that they operate from a better knowledge of interests underlying ideologies and therefore have clearer vision in research, Karabel and Halsey (1979:37) point out that 'however well-insulated he may be from the deformations induced by proximity to dominant social institutions, the Marxist, like other human agents, is not exempt from ideological distortions.' While the 'classical Marxist position is that commitment to the working class is illuminating rather than distorting because the proletariat is the universal class' (Idem.), this viewpoint, in claiming universality for the proletariat class, is in itself a prejudiced one.

A less biased positional stance is indicated by Berger and Luckmann (1976:141) who regard the function of an ideology as having to indicate a vision of reality and to be able to vindicate meanings which would legitimate a particular group interest : when 'a particular definition of reality comes to be attached to a concrete power interest' ... 'the same universe is interpreted in different ways, depending on concrete vested interests within the society in question.'

Even the current technological universe is subjected to ideological dispute, with Poulantzas (1975) claiming that a feature of bourgeois ideology is to hide its presence under a guise of science. Some commentators regard science as having

replaced religion of the feudal ages as the 'opiate of the masses' and Habermas (1974) comments on a new scientific manipulative system which hides behind technical and not political ideals. In his criticism of Vaizey's technocratic-rationalizing ideology in which science is seen as a neutral study of phenomena with stress on the vocational relevance of education, Cosin (1972:156) claims that there is an interest in the retention of status distinctions which reflect an elitist or conservative ideology. Habermas occupies a position in which he regards science and technology as progressive forces of production and ideology, and in recognising that they are independent of the class struggle, he considers that radical academics and students are the sole potential force which could challenge technological and scientific ideologies in post-industrial societies.

Because of lack of agreement and even of understanding that emerges between ideologies, Mannheim (1972:174) asserts that:

> 'the existence of certain formal realms of values and their specific structure would be intelligible only with reference to the concrete situations to which they have relevance and in which they are valid.'

In a similar vein Plamenatz (1970:13) regards the concept of ideology as involving two components : 'a perception of the world to which the ideology is relevant; and a set of values relating to action in that world.' Obviously perceptions of the world differ and so do appended sets of values, which being related to action, would lead to conflict in attempts by their supporters to achieve legitimacy. Berger and Luckmann (1976:140) argue that different definitions of reality can be accepted within a society as long as competing realities are regarded as acceptable only to outsiders. Trouble occurs when 'the deviant universe appears as a possible habitat for one's own people.'

The need for an ideology to exist within a specific social context, to have a socialising function in legitimating claims and promoting its interests through assertive or suppressive means, presupposes action being taken, and Kimbrough (1982:23) develops this idea when he defines ideology 'as a systematic body of concepts in action.' He is adamant that

> 'Ideologies guide people (and groups) in political activity and concern the nature of governance, economics, social systems, education, and other aspects of "what kind of town this should be"' (Idem.).

It can be seen that Kimbrough's concept of ideologies in action is a wide one which is not in conflict with Mannheim's ideas of broadening the phenomenon of ideology from macrocosmic political usage through his recognition that political

thought was integrally bound up with social life. And Kimbrough's insistence on action rather than theorising as the prime characteristic of the phenomenon of ideology is supported by Marx, as already indicated, and by Giroux (1981) who regards ideology as an element of power that is formative of social practices that mould and shape; and by Simon (1982) who considers that ideology in education, as in any other social formation, must be related to issues of power and control.

2.3 Ideological locus of inference in this thesis

The following critical points which emerge from the analysis of the phenomenon of ideology, have been synthesised to form the locus of inference in this work.

2.3.1 An ideology is a social phenomenon. Although an ideology consists of metaphysical, epistemological and axiological beliefs, beliefs in themselves are a personal phenomenon with empirical and value affirmations and they have to gain consensus among a group and be institutionalized in a social context before they can be regarded as an ideology. Expressions of attitude and emotive communication, often through the use of metaphors and slogans, raise consciousness to turn beliefs into an ideology which must contain elements of credibility, usefulness and significance. (Marx, Mannheim, Habermas, Pratte)

2.3.2 An ideology consists of thought and action. (Kimbrough) It must be able to characterise a body of thought (a given form of universality (Marx), a perception of the world (Plamenatz), of a depth and breadth (Griffioen), have an empirical data base (Pratte)). It must evaluate (legitimate (Marx, Mannheim), nihilate opposition (Berger and Luckmann), as a political criterion of reality (Mannheim), good or bad (Mannheim), not impartial (Althusser, Naish), limiting boundaries (Pratte), false consciousness (Grace)), and predict (how to act (Pratte), control of communication (Habermas), prescriptive results (Pratte), legitimizing domination (Habermas), governed by rituals (Althusser)).

2.3.3 An ideology must gain significance and force from its application, as it links belief to action ('total' ideology (Mannheim), hegemony (Gramsci), class domination (Marx), power and control (Marx, Salter and Tapper), spiritual roots (Berger, Griffioen), in social milieu (Pratte)). It need not be a dominating ideology (Althusser) and could be an aspiring one (Salter and Tapper)).

2.3.4 An ideology is a social necessity. It gives a sense of belongingness (Pratte), hence it is psychologically necessary. A function is to create cohesion and solidarity, in a special milieu, particularly in times of social conflict (Berger

and Luckmann, Althusser).

2.3.5 Ideologies need to be studied to give direction to the future. (Pratte) Ideological influences could be reduced by systematic analysis of many differing socially grounded positions ('particular' and 'general' ideologies (Mannheim), unmask hidden motives (Marx), character structure of masses (Reich), toleration and cooperation in 'partial universes' (Berger and Luckmann), and unattached/radical intellectuals (Mannheim, Habermas)).

2.4 Conclusion

From the locus of inference, a working definition of ideology for the purpose of this thesis emerges.

Ideology is a world-view held by a group, deriving from an historical situation and a social setting. Certain individual beliefs, assumptions and interests will have been accepted through consciousness raising by intellectuals or aspirant leaders and have gained consensus within the group. Ideology as an intangible but potent force will unify members of the group, which need not be class based. Through a process of rationalization and evaluation, these ideas will be patterned and given a form of universality and internal coherence in terms of ontological, epistemological and axiological beliefs. This emergent ideology will be institutionalized in a social setting to reveal creditability and usefulness.

Ideology must relate the global sets of interests and beliefs to action and concerns itself with issues of power and control. Ideology attempts to legitimate domination, and in order to forward a particular interest can be intentionally distorting through the disguising of motives and through the control of social apparatuses. Ideology is not merely concerned with political issues and can be recognised in an aspirant or theoretical form.

In accepting that ideology is a social necessity, the need to unravel ideologies through systematic analysis and to penetrate ideology to its structural elements seems essential to gain understanding of 'particular' and 'total' ideologies in order to give conscious direction to the future.

2.5 The shaping and determination of educational ideologies

2.5.1 The relationship between ideology and education

From an analysis of the concept of ideology, the writer turns to the relationship between ideology and education. Apple (1982:7), quoting from extensive research, asserts that 'we can see that education needs to be viewed as part of a larger economic and ideological configuration,' and formal public education itself could be said to be based on an ideology that it exists to serve the interests of the people. The systems of schools as a public monopoly in all countries is based on a particular pattern of ideas and, in action, education is inherently ideological in that it sets out to realize a particular design for society and is compulsory, sequential and selective. Althusser (1971c:155-7) is certain that education can not but be ideological. He writes of how knowledge in schools in Western countries is distorted through 'massive inculcation of the ideology of the ruling class,' and argues that the disguising aspect of the dominant ideology is to 'represent the school as a neutral environment purged of ideology.' His concentration on a particular political system does not weaken the argument that a system of schools operates as an instrument of the social order.

Salter and Tapper (1981:63) argue that 'behind all educational ideologies lies an idea of the social order.' This is a valid observation, but it would appear that a group needs to establish an idea of the person they wish to produce before the idea of the type of education to produce this person can be approached. A conception of human nature must antecede the choice of educational means to achieve the ends of the desired individual and the desired society. Then the thrust to legitimate the interests of the prescribed group would link belief to action; with more sophisticated and internally coherent ideologies being better devised to achieve legitimation through educational elements such as leadership, structure and process.

The writer is in agreement with the assertion made by Pratte (1977:122) that 'any criticism of the school that fails to take into account its ideological base and the conflict thus generated must be held suspect.'

Conflict among status groups has been studied by Collins (1971), based on a theory of stratification derived from Weber. Reducing the influence of economic situation and of power situation, Collins (1971: 127) claims that 'the main activity of schools is to teach particular status cultures, both in and outside the classroom.' This view that education is used as a means of cultural selection and reproduction is echoed by Cosin (1972:135) :

> 'The concept of ideology is particularly important in education, for not only is the system of education an important social structure in its own right, it is also one of the main agencies by which ideas are produced and diffused through the rest of society.'

The aptness of Seaman's (1972:43) comment that 'together with the more deep rooted socio-cultural influences, the unique events of history can be significant for the emergence of particular substantive educational ideologies,' can be seen in the American response after Sputnik 1 was launched in 1957. The technological thrust of education was supported by functionalist educational ideologies, such as that supported by traditional intellectual, Burton Clark (1962), in his book Educating the Expert Society.

Although 'the idea of ideological influence is a commonplace in the discussion of school education' (Collier 1982:13), it would appear from studies undertaken by Kogan (1975), Kimbrough (1982) and Pratte (1977) that a clearly defined and scientific answer to the question of who determines the ideological base of education is unobtainable and that even important sources of influence are reasonably difficult to isolate with any great degree of certainty.

Prosser's (1979:118) view that 'it is essentially attitudinal qualities which structure education' is supported by researchers such as Kogan (1975:27) who claimed the interaction of various attitudinal forces in the resolution of educational ideologies :

> 'Educational policies and the values underlying them interact with the moods and fashions of their period. And the actions of politicians, interest groups and professions are both the products and the producers of changes in values and social needs.'

In his national study in England and Wales, Kogan (1975) isolated various interest groups whose activities had created ideas on educational policy, but was unable to indicate how disparate ideological positions were shifted to achieve consensus which finally emerged as national policy. He observes (1975:235) that there is 'no adequate explanatory framework of how local pressures and decision-making add to the national aggregate.' It is postulated that in South Africa it is Afrikaner nationalism, the religious tradition and the political conception of apartheid of the members of the dominant group which has crystallised the national aggregate.

It is widely accepted [Kimbrough (1982:24), Ladd (1970) and Iannacone and Lutz (1979)], that ideologies do have an effect on the life and activity of educational institutions in the USA. Michel's (1959:170) view on ideology in action has gained

wide support among educationists in the USA :

> 'whenever interests are vigorously pursued, an ideology tends to be developed also to give meaning, re-inforcement and justification to these interests. ... for ideology is an indispensable part of the life process which is expressed in action.'

But it must be accepted that in the USA and in much of the Western world, Dewey's traditional support of democratic practice has led to numerous changes in educational method. 'The democratic method,' he wrote, 'is persuasion through public discussion' (1940:150), and his vision of schools as templates of democracy could still be regarded as the basic ideological position of the majority of Americans.

Recently, Finkelstein (1985:12), in her concern over what she regards as the ideological influence of powerful mercantilist opinion, asserts that industrial corporations have influenced the view of man to be inculcated and the curriculum in schools which they sponsor financially, and have shaped a narrow educational ideology to create industrial labourers. Although the political perspective differs considerably from Finkelstein to Althusser, their concerns over forces shaping educational ideologies, reveal some common ground. Althusser (1971b:246) writes that 'the school (but also state institutions like the church, or other apparatuses like the army) teaches "know-how", but in forms which ensure subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its "practice".'

The broad scope and sweep of the question of who shapes or determines educational ideologies demands a shift from general views to the roles of specific and selected agencies or groups who have exerted pressure on educational interests and compelled assent to their own ideas or have actualised them.

2.5.2 The role of political influences

Ideology has been defined, in part, as a world-view, based on the importance of Mannheim's concept of total ideology. Mannheim's (1972:112) claim that 'the significant element in the conception of ideology ... is the discovery that political thought is integrally bound up with social life,' is apposite in that although his reference is to post-Marx research and touches on the sociology of knowledge, the idea that education as a social institution is closely associated with politics, is an old one in Western thought. It would appear that ideology, as an intangible but potent force, unifies the players in the Internal Coalition and in the pressure groups of the External Coalition (including political groupings).

From Plato onwards, Western political analysis has viewed education as an important subject of study and numerous theories have been advanced linking schooling to polity. Historical research of elitist forms of education, such as that which was controlled by the church in the Middle Ages, has tied politics and religious power to education; or such as the nineteenth century public school system in England which tied politics and social, later economic, hegemony to education. These studies reveal changing ideologies and the fact that 'any government's policy on education generally reflects its view of society and its political creed' (Harman 1974:7), whatever the political ideology espoused.

In the light of Kimbrough's (1982:27) question whether the eighteenth and nineteenth century ideologies (e.g., communism, fascism, socialism) are relevant 'in understanding the current political struggles about the nature of schooling in the United States,' the focus of this analysis shifts to the twentieth century.

Kimbrough (1982:35) warns against political ideologies which pervade educational systems and force inadequate policy decisions for dissemination. Based on his study of political leaders in the USA, he hypothesises that, 'in deciding what is best for educational systems, leaders are influenced as frequently by their political ideologies as by their isolated beliefs about the process of education.' These political leaders react subjectively and do not attempt to analyse systematically their own or their opponent's thought as socially unattached intellectuals would do under Mannheim's general concept of ideology. Sharing a concern about the desire of political exponents to tie ideological developments within political movements to education, are Salter and Tapper (1981:53), who consider that :

> 'No educational change can occur without ideological conflict between groups anxious to establish fresh legitimations of their position and possibly a reordering of the power hierarchy.'

A view that political power groups express principles as dogma and treat the acceptance of their dogma as an index of loyalty has been expressed by Lauwerys (1969). His concern that philosophy is less influential than politics in education can be shown through the example of the 1960s in Europe, during which the predominant progressive doctrine in education did not lead substantially to reform : 'It seems as if, in some cases, political factors are determinant; as if a change of government must anticipate the reform of education' (1969:67). This does presuppose that it is government per se, and not broader thinking which is associated with educational change. The issue needs to be seen in terms of power - the power of pressure groups in the External Coalition - and not of political philosophy.

Benton (1974:10-11) also refutes the view that education can be ideologyless and

supports Mannheim's view of the social nature of a total ideology. He argues that distinctions made between educational aims and political aims in education are often false: 'it is possible to show that each one (educational reforms) belongs to a broader framework of ideas or ideology which, in turn, expresses a definite political commitment.' His understanding of the effect of political ideology on education goes deeper than that of general formulations and into the schools:

> 'Educational practice, then, and the decisions which affect it, belong to the field of political debate and political struggle: they cannot logically be taken out of it.'

As a concept, this finds some support in Mannheim (1972:110), who regards debate in parliament as being far from the theoretical 'in the sense that they may ultimately arrive at the objective truth: they are concerned with very real issues to be decided in the clash of interests.' Weber (1947:240-4) was also interested in how a political clash of interests would help to form educational ideals and practices of a society in terms of a 'structure of domination' which would prevail, and he asserted that the cultural ideals of the politically dominant group would penetrate the content of teaching. When any political group wins control of the legislative process or dominates a nation politically in some other form, what follows is an attempt to 'restructure schooling in conformity with the tenets of the ruling system' (Kimbrough 1982:27). This links with the concept of power, which will be analysed in Chapter 3, and Althusser's (1971) concept of domination.

A brief survey of views on how the major controlling political powers within capitalist and communist societies have been seen to influence schooling in their societies, will help to indicate broad areas of agreement in the literature on how political ideologies influence schooling.

In his critical view of capitalist society, Althusser (1971b:229) claims that a hegemonic political ideology is not reliant on political power alone for its position, but this has to be translated into action through the use of persuasive and influential formal organizations:

> 'The ideology of the ruling class does not become the ruling ideology by the grace of God, or even by virtue of the seizure of State power alone. It is by the installation of the ISAs (Ideological State Apparatuses) in which this ideology is realized and realizes itself that it becomes the ruling ideology.'

A further assertion is that in mature capitalist societies, the ruling ideology which used to be expressed most fully through the bureaucratic apparatus of the church, has, following ideological and political class struggles, now been realized through the rituals and practices of a new dominant state apparatus - 'the Educational

Ideological Apparatus' (1971b:258).

The concept of the perpetuation of inequality through the educational system, which maintains class distinctions, is voiced by Bowles (1971:147), who notes that the disproportionate share of political power held by the upper class, enables its members 'in general to control the ideological and institutional context in which educational decisions are made.' Obviously he makes the connection between positions of control in the productive hierarchy and positions of political influence. A classical Marxist position is stated in a report by the Cuban government to UNESCO in 1962 (in Carnoy and Werthein, 1977:573):

> 'The bourgeois ideology regards education as a phenomenon isolated from its economic basis. In fact, however, education is an ideological superstructure and is closely linked with the means of production - that is to say, with the productive forces and the relationships of production.'

In fact, numerous supporters of 'bourgeois ideology' do not regard education and its economic base as being unconnected (Finkelstein 1985), and the powerful forces in the USA and in the UK calling for 'back to basics' as well as for accountability in education, are based largely on reasoning which blames faulty schooling for the economic ascendancy of Japan and West Germany. As Kimbrough (1982:33) points out, in the USA 'right-of-centre ideologies were visibly reflected in the passage of numerous "accountability related" laws during the 196Os and 197Os.'

The Conservative government in Great Britain has used the support of industrialists for the products of public schools 'to provide positive financial support' (Salter and Tapper 1981:157) for these schools. 'Spurred on by its ideological commitment to monetarism' (Hunter 1984:58) the government has considered introducing a vouchers scheme to allow talented children of working class parents to gain admittance to independent schools, and in a further effort to regenerate the wealth-producing sector, has stressed the vocational nature of education particularly at the 16 + level.

Johnson (1985:88) mentions that politics has poisoned British education in the past twenty years because 'politics - both party politics in their most venomous form, and ideology in its most destructive guise - has invaded classroom and campus.' He pleads for the depoliticization of Britain's schools and universities. The point which he raises is that political power, including ideology, is not inevitable in determining educational systems. This point appears to be idealistic.

It is clear to Kimbrough (1982:27) that political regimes restructure education and,

even in the USA, he writes of

> 'the inevitable attempt of politicians to structure education in conformity with the prevailing political ideology.'

He refers to the success of the former Reagan administration in moving away from the new liberal ascendancy toward a 'classical liberal ideology' which showed support for academic competition in an open educational system, founded on a 'back to basics' curriculum. Although the Federal Department of Education was instituted under President Carter, it gained strength under the Reagan administration and numerous ideological statements about traditional modes of education and the need to preserve rigorous academic standards were made by then Secretary of Education, William Bennett. In 1989, President Bush, meeting with governors of all states, spoke of the need for national goals for school achievement and argued that to get results 'we will need a new spirit of competition between students, between teachers and between schools' (reported in TES 6.10.89:17), thus reflecting an ideology of social mobility based on mercantile principles.

In both the USA and the UK, the present governments have adopted policies which tend to counter the schooling ideology of social purpose, reflecting the belief that the school is an important and effective institution of socialization (Tyldesley 1982, Finkelstein 1985), and have moved away from attempts to create more equality in their societies through cutbacks in terms of public expenditure based on political rather than on educational criteria.

That an educational system is an 'Ideological State Apparatus' and that, as a state institution, it does play a dominant role in the socializing of children in capitalist societies, such as the USA, has been argued by Althusser (1971). But the decentralized structure in the USA and an American democratic ideology do suggest differences in political influence on educational ideologies between the USA and communist nations. That pluralism is the educational philosophy of the US Supreme Court, has been shown by Brubacher (1962:149) :

> 'The fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the state to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only.'

The differences lie not in the effect of ideology but in the <u>means</u> of instituting it.

Although the decentralized nature of the American educational system opens schooling to numerous local influences, it is postulated that there are political forces which influence schooling in any educational system. Wirth (1973:xi) claims that a special ideology has developed in states which have managed to divorce state and

school and makes particular reference to the development of an ideology in the USA which asserted 'the need and value of a wall between the characteristic political system of the state and its decision making about school policy,' following corrupt political practices towards the end of the nineteenth century. This idealistic view has strong support from educationists, as Brubacher (1962:122) observes: 'schoolmen almost universally have deplored the entrance of politics into school affairs.' Yet the weight of research, mentioned earlier, by Ladd (1969) and Iannacone and Lutz (1979) has made educationists face an unpalatable fact.

From what could be regarded as a capitalist position, Brubacher (1962:122) has shown differing, complete, state control, in a communist society :

> 'In the communist ideology - and probably in the fascist ideology as well - it is unthinkable that the schools should lie outside the political sphere.'

The belief in total ideological control of the process of education in the USSR has been shown, more recently, by Grant (1979) and Tomiak (1983), while an assertion by Carnoy and Wertheim (1977:573) shows a similar approach in Cuba, where 'the State ideology is anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist, and promotes collective action rather than individual initiative.'

The ideological thrust within education after the 1917 October Revolution in Russia has been reviewed by Dobson (1977:254):

> 'After coming to power, the Bolshevik Party set out to use education as a tool to reshape the social order - to provide the necessary ideological tempering, transmit the technical skills required for the building of a modern industrial economy, and obliterate distinctions between social groups and classes.'

As Kimbrough (1982:27) has pointed out, all political ruling groups restructure schooling, and mentions in particular the Castro regime, the Nazi regime and the Bolsheviks. But ideology must be translated into action within 'Ideological State Apparatuses' and Lilge (1979:57O) indicates Lenin's preference for propaganda over indoctrination as a means of mobilising people for action as well as his practical mission of ensuring that the educational system was not destroyed through severe political indoctrination. Marxism was adulterated by Leninism which made ideology more pragmatic and

> 'As the meaning of ideology was determined by the use to which the party chose to put it, in that measure political indoctrination was deprived of a fixed and stable catechism' (Idem.).

In South Africa there has been a 'fixed catechism' from government since 1948

when the National Party came to power on a policy of apartheid. Separate schools for different ethnic groups and along language grounds for whites continue under the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act (Act 110 of 1983). This ideology of separation is historically based, with Scott and Beckmann (1988:1) referring to the need for reference to ancestors to 'gepoog om te bepaal wat die volk in die verlede beoog het met die onderwys van sy kinders.'

A tendency to cling to the past and not to face the future indicates ideological stagnation which has been grounded on a tradition of political authoritarianism. An ideology of Christian National Education undergirds white education, but has only a nominal following in English medium schools. Schools have helped to transmit a political ideology among most Afrikaners that South Africa rightfully belongs to them and that legitimate authority should not be questioned (du Preez 1983).

2.5.3 The role of economic influences

It is postulated that world views reflecting a belief along a continuum from freedom of economic institutions to political control of economic institutions will result in different ideologies of pedagogy and cultural transmission. Marxists argue that the manipulation of ideology by the ruling class disguises from the working class its exploited relation with the economic power groups of capitalist society, and education is seen as one of the 'range of social practices which reproduce and transfigure in ideological form the social relationship of production' (Sharp:1980:5).

The truism, that educational advance depends on surplus production, ties education firmly to economic influences, and perhaps the obvious nature of this relationship has led Brubacher (1962:165) to claim that in Western society :

> 'Of the assumptions which underlie a philosophy of education perhaps those which escape with the least notice and criticism are the economic.'

He also warns that educationists are often 'unaware of the way economic bias conditions school practice' (Idem.). In a leader's "ideological eye", observes Kimbrough (1982:35), 'is a vision of economics, finance, function of government, nature of the society, and other aspects of what a community, state, and nation should be (including education).' Consequently Kimbrough considers that most powerful leaders when they review educational policy proposals are more concerned with how such programmes will benefit the economy than with the educational concerns of what makes for good education. His cynicism is probably justified, but does reflect ideas on the primacy of the economy, which was given a particular vision through the ideological support for a technological society in the Western

world in the twentieth century. Parsons (1951) and Clark (1962), for example, justified educational growth on the grounds of increased efficiency through the teaching of technological and psychological skills, thus supporting an ideology of structural functionalism.

Karabel and Halsey (1979:11) accept the important role functionalism played in the promotion of 'the sociological study of education by emphasizing connections between education and other major institutions such as the economy and the polity.' In his support of a functionalist conceit, Brubacher (1962:171) could state that 'specialization in economic function (in education) is not only inevitable but on the whole very desirable.' Although this elitist view of schooling was criticised by neo-Marxists, its blatant distinction on grounds of privileged reproduction was also an uncomfortable position for many American capitalists to take.

A theory which emerged from a functionalist base in 1960 was Schultz's human capital theory which reaffirmed the American way of life through the suggestion that all Americans, including workers, could invest in their own education and treat their knowledge as capital. This theory regarded education not as a consumption but as a productive investment. An ideological template to develop human resources led to vast sums being spent on education, both in the First and Third worlds, because, as Karabel and Halsey (1979:15) comment, the appeal of the theory to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, 'resided substantially in the comforting ideological character of its message.' A particular aspect of human capital theory which affected education was the resurgence of demands for efficiency and the introduction into educational institutions of systems from the management side of economics: PPBS (Planning, Programming & Budgeting System); OB (Output-budgeting); PERT (Programme Evaluation Review Technique); and MBO (Management by Objectives).

Kimbrough (1982:33) documents some of the literature concerning the influence of a mercantile ideology on educational systems and shows how it has pervaded 'management, organization and instructional processes of American schools ... through legislation, federal guidelines and school board policies.' Tapper and Salter (1978:200) survey the economic ideology pervading higher education in the UK and demonstrate the links which exist, 'between an ideology which stresses education's role as the servant of the national economy and the output-budgeting techniques of the DES' (Department of Education and Science for England and Wales).

The close identification between education and the economy in human capital theory and its offshoots, has not led to the educational and economic advances that

were expected. Witness the collapse of these policies in many Third World countries and the increase in the poor of America. The collapse of this ideology in action in the Third World could be attributed to economic reasons, such as the control of capital and markets by wealthy nations; but has to have had an educational basis in the USA. The idealistic view of the individual making rational demands for an education, so as to acquire knowledge and skills based on his awareness of job opportunities, has not emerged in action to support the ideology of educational response to individual demand (as forecast by Robbins in the UK) but has tied 'educational response to economic demand' (Salter and Tapper 1981: 201). Despite the thrust for democratic principles since Dewey, and the attempt to establish a pluralistic state and abolish class distinctions through various means mentioned above, Jencks (1975) claims that American education has failed in action to achieve its ideological principles. As a person active in public policy making during the New Frontier era, his criticisms have had a disquieting effect on economic ideologies for education, more so perhaps than those of Bowles (1971:137) whose Marxist viewpoint would suggest a biased perspective towards political power groups in the USA, but whose findings predate those of Jencks :

> 'The ideological defense of modern capitalist society rests heavily on the assertion that the equalising effects of education can counter the disequalizing forces inherent in the free market system.'

In destroying illusions about the power of the school to achieve an equal society, Jencks (1975:265) reveals that the relation between the economy and the educational system merely serves to reproduce the given social structure, and warns that :

> 'As long as egalitarians assume that public policy cannot contribute to economic equality directly but must proceed by ingenious manipulations of marginal institutions like the schools, progress will remain glacial. If we want to move beyond this tradition, we will have to establish political control over the economic institutions that shape our society. This is what other countries usually call socialism.'

The concept of how the relation between the educational system and the economy enables the reproduction of a given social structure has been investigated by Marxists using a 'correspondence' device, but it has also been used as an ideological concept 'that can be used to attack capitalist schools by portraying them as subordinated to an unjust economic system that perpetuates glaring social inequalities' (Karabel and Halsey 1979:41). This criticism is being made currently by the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress in South Africa. Bowles and Gintis (1976) in their Schooling in Capitalist America reveal a soft and flexible education system that is dominated by capitalist machinations. The

insistence by Marxists that educational inequality in Western educational systems is based on economic principles of the capitalist system, is demonstrated by Karabel and Halsey (1979:39):

> 'A theme that runs throughout Bowles and Gintis's work is the attribution of unequal education and the hierarchical division of labour to capitalism.'

There is no consideration of the educational system being apolitical because the system is viewed as a product of the structure of class domination which will attempt to perpetuate itself through educational policy. The forms educational structures assume are regarded as the outcome of an ideological and political struggle between social classes. Hence social and economic class interests are seen to lie behind patterns of educational organisation and make use of ideological standpoints to support their positions of power. The conclusions of Bowles and Gintis, and of similar writers, reflect a theoretical interpretation which is not necessarily accepted by all Western educationists.

A telling point against a Marxist controlled system is made by Karabel and Halsey (1979:40):

> 'Where, for example, is the relationship between the economy and the schools less mediated than in the USSR, which has an explicit policy of manpower planning?';

and Brubacher (1962:173) reiterates the essence of the ideology of the working man in the USSR, where 'the role of work dominates communist educational policy.'

Another aspect of how economic pressure can control educational ideology and one that has been used by Marxists in arguments against traditional intellectuals in the Western world, occurs where 'subordinated social groups do not have the power to impose their version of educational research through control of purse strings' (Karabel and Halsey 1979:37). Yet disparate views of economic man and of the social order which produces him may not be as fundamental in action as proponents of democratic capitalism and of Marxism would believe. The possibilities in Lauwerys's (1969) dictum that principles of power groups are expressed as dogma and that loyalty to the dogma is all they require has already been mentioned and is considered in a specific way in later reference to the South African situation.

Naturally, economic attitudes will affect ideological stances on the curriculum, and although schools in many Western countries tend to have moved away from a skills based functionalist curriculum, disputes concerning the nature and transmission of knowledge do play a major role in the shaping and determining of educational ideologies. More subtle investigation of class and economic phenomena has been

undertaken by people such as Bernstein (1975:16-7) who has distinguished two middle class groups in the UK, one which is property-owning and whose reproduction is largely dependent on the transmission of physical capital, while a second group which does not own property is dependent on privileges obtained through the transmission of cultural capital. These two groups have different ideologies of pedagogy and come in conflict over cultural transmission. Bernstein cannot be accused of underestimating the importance of conflict and ideology in studying the relationship between education and the economy, which Bowles and Gintis (1976) claim as the failure of the proponents of functionalism and human capital theory in the USA.

2.5.4 The role of intellectuals

As a starting point, Marx's view of intellectuals as the producers of ideology, will be considered. His definition (1965:40) of intellectuals as 'the thinkers of the class (its active, conceptive ideologists, who make the perfecting of the illusion of the class their chief source of livelihood),' presupposes that intellectuals supporting a ruling class are able to create doctrines which would give the appearance of containing the only valid and universal ideas possible. The assumption is of a natural symbiosis between the ideology of the intellectuals and the needs of the ruling class.

A similar ideological arena, but which is not necessarily social class based, is that suggested by Weber (1947) in which he suggests that an important element of the power of dominant groups lies in their capacity to impose their own educational and cultural ideals on schools. These ideals are obviously reflected both in what is taught and in how it is taught, because the aim of education is to form both the mind and the personality. As part of their bureaucratization of education, Weber claims that the 'guardians of educational knowledge' protect their expertise in terms of their own beliefs and interests.

In an attempt to elaborate on the Marxist definition of intellectuals and their political function, Gramsci (1970) argued that every social group develops within itself a strata or more of intellectuals to create prescription and homogeneity and to make members of the group aware of its function in the economic, social and political arenas.

Gramsci distinguishes between organic and traditional intellectuals, and regards the function of traditional intellectuals as having to act as officers of the ruling class in voicing its values and in maintaining its social hegemony. Ideas put forward from different imaginations and from different perspectives by organic intellectuals

would only be threatening to the hierarchical authority of the traditional intellectuals during periods of social and economic instability. This reasoning does at least offer a flexible view of how ideologies could alter.

'Organic intellectuals,' in Gramsci's (1970) terminology, such as Bowles and Gintis (1979) whose attack on IQ testing resulted in re-appraisals of cultural domination, of social deprivation, and of the possibilities of social mobility in the USA, and Bernstein in his writings (1975, 1977) in the field of cultural transmission in the UK, have led, as Grace (1978:1) remarks, 'to a heightened awareness of the social and political embeddedness of the educational system.' Numerous Third World educational systems are being influenced by 'organic' intellectuals such as Freire and Shor (1987), with recommendations of pedagogy for liberation.

'Traditional intellectuals' such as Landman (1969) and Viljoen and Pienaar (1971) have helped to develop a particular view of an 'existential-phenomenological' approach to education which has gained wide popularity in South Africa, mainly because it supports the religious and political ideologies of the dominant political party, although it is a source of opinion which opposes the view that ideology affects education.

Erasmus and von Wageningen (1981:39), describing the existential-phenomenological approach under the philosophy of fundamental pedagogics, claim that 'the phenomenon of education is taken as the starting-point (of their method) and not some philosophical ideology.' Their researcher 'thus concentrates on the phenomenon itself, without prejudice. His findings must therefore not depend on or be influenced by his philosophy of life, his values, personal predictions (etc.).' Out of this research 'valid laws of education' emerge, which they term 'cold scientific fact,' and which contain findings such as :

> 'Differentiation is a Pedagogical category; mother-tongue education is cultural transmission ; ... authority is essential for education' (1981:44)

Fouche (1981) has been highly critical of what she terms the 'totally irresponsible manner' in which most South African pedagogicians have used philosophic concepts. As she points out, the pedagogicians accept Calvinist ideology, the ideology of Christian-National education, and the concept of authority, without scientific investigation. Support for her argument comes from Gluckman (1981:95), who examines critically the work of Viljoen and Pienaar (1971), including their statement that the educator :

> 'is engaged in accompanying the child on the way to self-realization, but this realization must be in accordance with the demands of the community ... .

> In this way, the South African child has to be educated according to Christian-National principles. But as such, this does not concern the scientist.'

Gluckman points out that adulthood has been linked to the values of a specific community and that this is used to justify the claim by Viljoen and Pienaar that South African children have to be educated under Christian-National principles, despite 'a large percentage of South Africans (who) do not agree with Christian-National values' (1981:114). It is apparent that these pedagogical views do not reflect a scientific approach, and Viljoen and Pienaar appear to recognise this in their aside; but they are ideological in terms of critical viewpoints, such as those indicated in Mannheim's (1972) particular concept of ideology and in Griffioen's (1981) linking of assent and allegiance to ideology, plus other criteria established earlier in this chapter.

Gramsci's idea of traditional intellectuals creating a cultural hierarchy has strong connections with Weber's concept of a traditional form of authority under which established status groups use cultural exclusivity to strengthen their dominance (in Pugh, 1984: 15>). It was the task of Marxism in the 192Os, as Gramsci (197O:177) saw it :

> 'to combat modern ideologies in their most refined form in order to create its own core of independent intellectuals; and to educate the masses of the people whose level of culture was mediaeval.'

But the 'didactic' reasons for spreading the ideology at a cultural level a bit above the popular average 'was absolutely inadequate for overcoming the ideology of the educated classes' (197O:85). There is a possible reason here for a form of 'acceptance' of Bantu Education in South Africa by the black population until 1976.

Mannheim (1972:139), however, takes a different approach and points out that intellectual acts, which used to be carried out by set classes such as the priesthood, were in the 192Os and 193Os carried out by intellectuals :

> 'recruited from an increasingly inclusive area of social life. This sociological fact determines essentially the uniqueness of the modern mind ... which is not closed and finished, but which is rather dynamic, elastic, in a constant state of flux, and perpetually confronted by new problems.'

An advantage of the spread of intellectuals among varied classes is that more points of view could be examined, that intellectuals could even choose a class affiliation, and that a 'dynamic synthesis' (1972:14O) of ideas could be achieved. That intellectuals could also be apologists for a cause was not ignored by Mannheim; but he does state that 'it was primarily the conflict of intellectuals

which transformed the conflict of interests into conflict of ideas' (1972:142).

Martin Buber, a philosopher and an educationist, offered teachers the concept of the Great Character, an organic intellectual's example of creative and helpful impulses which lead to authentic relationships. His influence has been pervasive in all societies and specifically so in Israel. According to Prosser (1979:163), Buber :

> 'has displayed remarkable insight into modern man's predicament which he saw arose from social ferment, a technological and exploitive society in which Es dominates, the entrenchment of totalitarianism and the deception and pretence of inauthentic relationships.'

The breadth of Buber's vision of negative aspects of collectivism and competitive individualism in modern society, has helped teachers to concentrate on the forging of authentic relationships in interaction with pupils. Buber's opposition to a technological and exploitive society has helped to forge educational beliefs, but not ones that could achieve hegemony in industrialized nations.

A 'dynamic synthesis' of Mannheim and Buber's ideas contains a possibility for change in that it opens the way for new ideas to emerge which would legitimate another set of group interests and offers possibilities for the future in South Africa. As Weber (1967) argues, ideas are discredited historically unless they point in the direction that powerful groups promote. The need for ideas to be reinterpreted to gain an affinity with power groups, is indicated, and the view that these ideas will be abandoned if they do not gain an affinity with a power group, is stated.

Reaffirmation of traditional values will not suffice in a situation in which the dominant power group and the traditional intellectuals are under severe socio-economic stress, such as that faced by Afrikaner Nationalism in South Africa at present. At this point ideological adaptation is necessary if the 'existing hegemonic system is to survive' (Salter and Tapper 1981:60). Problems facing traditional intellectuals are the need to preserve their cultural status while adapting the ideology on which their authority rests. Working within a set institution poses further restraints as change within the institution could also cause severe stress on the change agent from powers within the hegemonic system. What is likely to happen within a society undergoing major ideological change, in which the hegemony is not likely to be replaced, but amended, is, according to Salter and Tapper (1981:61), that a period of bargaining and conflict with substantial trial and error would occur between Gramsci's traditional intellectuals representing the dominant group and organic intellectuals representing other groups :

> 'In this way room is allowed for the negotiation of

a new hierarchy of status after the ideological conflict has been concluded.'

As social organizations, it is obvious that schools and their parent educational systems, have been influenced by the ideological conflicts which have emerged from works by traditional or organic thinkers such as Marx, Gramsci, Weber and Mannheim. It is not the intention of the writer at this point to attempt to determine how the ideologies which have been associated with major thinkers' systems of ideas have been used to develop particular educational systems, but rather to show the inevitable influence of such thought on educational ideology. Thinking on the social order and the concept of an educated man have had an undergirding influence on educational leaders whose task it has been to determine the kinds of educational experience needed to marry an individual to a particular social order and view of educated man.

2.5.5 The role of religious groups

In this work, religion will be regarded as man's relation to what he regards as holy, and the expression of his relationship in ritual, ethics, belief and institutions. Right belief and moral conduct are constituent elements of religion which are diffused through a culture, and religion can reinterpret moral beliefs in the light of new problems. The possibility for the rationalization of beliefs and the communal nature of religion, using Durkheim's (1979) concept that a religion is essentially social and related to institutional activities, links religion to ideology.

Behr's (1978:1) general comment that 'the driving force that determines the direction and evolution of an educational system is the spiritual commitment of the people involved,' emphasises the centrality of ethics and values in the zealous pursuit of educational ideologies. In agreement is Berger (1977:68) who states that ideologies spring from the 'soil of religious faith.'

A particular link between ideology and religion is made by Durkheim (1979:92-104) who reveals the influence of the Jesuits on the counter-Reformation. At a time when classicism had come into vogue and a great number of intellectuals were espousing classical ideas and Reformation theology, the Jesuits developed an educational ideology based on discipline, individual care and competitiveness. The classical curriculum they taught met the needs or demands of their society, but was taught in such a way that the values which were extracted from classical writers, such as courage and loyalty, would undergird the values of Catholicism. This religious education was taught from an inclusive point of view in a closed system.

Brubacher (1962:340) explains the moulding role of religious education and refers to the relation of state and church, under a Catholic philosophy of education, which contains a fundamental dualism in its thinking, separating the temporal and spiritual as well as the natural and supernatural. The state's interest in the natural order, obviously places its interests on a lower level than the church's supernatural order, and the belief in a divinely ordained church usually subordinates the educational role of the state to that of the church. Historically, Brubacher indicates, this strong ideological dependence on authority has worked best in autocratic states (Idem.).

In Europe for centuries, church control of education allowed its proponents to state unambiguous norms and to sanctify the epistemology and ontology of their ideological position. Dominant class and economic interests were seen to be served by the state church, with the result that political revolutionary forces in France in the eighteenth century and in Russia in the twentieth century, were particularly active in opposing the power of the national church over education, so that the prestige and power generated from the church's ideological support of the dominant class, expressed through a religious and cultural hegemony which dominated the educational system, could be broken.

A major influence on education in the USA has followed the inability of the founding fathers, most of whom had strong religious convictions, to agree on religious principles (possibly because of historical escape from religious persecution) and thus no reference to religious education was made in the Constitution: hence leading to a divorce of church and state in educational affairs.

Private schools in the USA were founded by rival religious groups, and rivalry is apparent, for example, in the founding of Catholic and Lutheran school systems during the nineteenth century, to counter the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) control over the means of ideological dissemination through the public school system. Although the ideological thrust of the public schools was toward 'respect for Protestant and middle-class standards of cultural propriety, especially in the face of Catholic, working-class immigration from Europe' (Collins 1971:127), further moves toward cultural and religious distinctiveness resulted in the founding of private secondary schools for children of elite WASPs during the 1880s. Collins (1971:126) refers to the distinctive personality types produced by these schools, whose 'religiously founded status culture' has led to conflict with other groups because of the dominant occupational positions they hold in American society. Jencks (1975) gives further evidence of links between the Protestant ethic and

positions of power within capitalist society in the USA. With five million pupils in private schools in the USA (Wiles and Bondi 1983) and 85% of these in attendance at church-controlled schools, the powerful effects of religious transmission on future leaders can be appreciated.

The growing power of right wing political groups to use Christianity as an ideological weapon, even though religion lies outside of the formal public school curriculum, can be seen in fundamentalist moves to oust the teaching of evolution, (a topic which may still not be taught in South Africa), and in violent attacks by the John Birch Society on 'secular humanism' (Wiles and Bondi 1983:224-8). Jewish groups have argued that the First Amendment opposes a state religion because if one religion is favoured its ideological position would become powerful enough to propagate its doctrine as the only true one and that those supporting other doctrines could be seen as 'not just misguided, but sinful, intolerant and impatriotic as well ...' (Rabbi AM Schindler in **Time** 17.9.84:71).

Ironically, religion has been a more integral part of the curriculum in the Soviet Union. Morison (1983:157) writes of instructions to teachers to approach 'biology, through the study of human evolution, (which) should help to destroy religious views.' A particular materialist view of the world has been a central part of the ideological pillar of education in the USSR, with religion being taught from a perspective of being a weapon in the class war against the proletariat, with atheism as a compulsory subject.

Although the 1944 Education Act in England and Wales insisted on religious assemblies and the teaching of religious education in state schools, research by the National Association of Head Teachers has indicated that religious legal requirements are not really being met in many schools. At their 1985 conference they passed a resolution stating that there was no curricular justification for compulsory religious education, but the 1988 Education Reform Act is even more strongly insistent on prayers in schools.

It is in the independent schools that religion has played a major role as part of the ethos of schools imbued with the ideological hegemony of the ruling class. The modern public school system in England has been said to have developed from about 1840, and was heavily influenced by the social factors of strict class distinctions and a national church. Honey (1977:291) refers to the social divisiveness and cultural reproduction of the nineteenth century public schools, in which a class of leaders was produced under strict Christian morality and with a sense of community with their peers. The importance of leadership training was acknowledged, yet

religious influence was pervasive, as Salter and Tapper (1981:160) observe, 'by 1870, under Arnold's influence, the desire to turn out scholarly Christians was commonplace.' Chapel, cadets, athleticism and prefects were the elements of the public school curriculum, with muscular Christianity growing in strength from 1914.

Rather like the Jesuit example, Anglican schools taught a classical education from which certain expressive values were extrapolated and linked with Christian values such as gentleness, converted to gentlemanliness, and placed in opposition to materialist values. Although both Honey (1977) and Salter and Tapper (1981) refer to the recent academic and vocational ideologies pervading public schools, these schools still produce an elitist class who dominate Oxbridge entry. Religious teaching and traditional connections between classicism and Christianity, still ensure the importance of this particular religious ideology.

In South Africa, the importance of religious ideologies on education is legion and is considered later in this work. Suffice it for now to contrast a closed and nationalistic ideology of the dominant Afrikaner political group, with Buber's concept of authentic relationships. The principles enunciated by Rev. SJ du Toit as Superintendent of Education in the Transvaal in 1882 point to the difference:

> 'He made religion the dominant aspect of the teaching, the church the controlling force in education and Dutch the only medium of instruction. He sowed the seed of a strong Afrikaner Nationalism' (Behr 1978:12).

Little change has occurred since then, and Ruperti (1976:29) could state religious ideological support for apartheid on the grounds that Afrikaners acknowledge that there are different peoples in South Africa who are entitled to their own culture and identity :

> 'This is the typically Reformational doctrine of internal sovereignty. It is a point of view that finds expression or realisation in the policy of separate development of differing cultural groups.'

Even writing about the new educational system for whites established in 1984, Scott and Beckmann (1988:1) claim that educational provision is correctly allied to a people and its history and in particular that the dominant basic religious motive should determine clear directions for policy: 'watter religieuse grondmotief dominant was ten einde rigtinggewende beleid te bepaal.'

A powerful influence in the shaping of the hegemonic educational ideology in South Africa has been theological inclusiveness and the world view of a divine nature about morally handicapped man and not about autonomous man.

Summary

The term 'ideology' first emerged as a science of ideas to overcome religious and metaphysical prejudice. Reason and education were seen as remedies for ideological distortion, but scholastic modes of thought were soon displaced by political concepts of reality and elements of self-interest. Quasi-philosophical systems of thought predominated until Marx placed ideology in a philosophical setting, seeing it as part of the superstructure of society in its association with restrictive productive forces. He used ideological analysis to reveal hidden motives of political and economic natures, revealing the connection between the social contradictions of bourgeois society and ideology. The ruling class, he claimed, used ideology to represent its interest as the common interest of all members of society, creating school systems under its ideological hegemony.

Althusser, while in agreement with Marx that the function of ideology is to secure cohesion among people, noted dominated as well as dominating ideologies. In the relationship of ideology to education he regards the school as an Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) which controls the curriculum and transmits acceptable forms of behaviour.

Mannheim referred to a 'total ideology' - that of a total structure of mind of an epoch or of a group; to a 'particular ideology' in which an opponent disguises the true nature of his interest; and to a 'general concept of ideology' which would enable intellectuals to search for truth and to mitigate ideologizing influences in society.

A combination of total and particular forms of ideology mesh in Berger and Luckmann's view that the function of ideology is to indicate a vision of reality and to vindicate meanings which would legitimate a particular group interest. The importance of intellectuals in the formation or support of ideologies was seen also by Gramsci, who distinguished between organic intellectuals who could change social formations and traditional intellectuals who sustained social hegemony. In claiming that technological forces had destroyed class barriers, Habermas distances himself from Gramsci's separation of intellectuals but asserts the need for radical academics to challenge technological ideologies in post-industrial societies.

This analysis of the concept of ideology sets the locus of inference in terms of a world-view theory and relates it to issues of power and control in social situations, and, therefore, to an association with domination and leadership.

The relationship of ideology and education within a 'state apparatus' was considered and the influence of ideology on educational policy-making and practice was reviewed.

In education, change occurs only after ideological conflict and a re-ordering of the power structure, according to Salter and Tapper. Weber acknowledges that guardians protect their expertise in terms of their own beliefs and interests, while Bowles and Gintis argue that the forms educational structures assume are based on ideological positions of power. There is little support for Bell's view that education is ideologyless, except from some fundamental pedagogicians in South Africa.

The question of how educational ideologies are shaped has been addressed under consideration of influence by intellectuals, religious, economic and political groups.

Mannheim asserts that political thought is integrally bound up with social life. Regardless of whether the ideology is called communism, fascism or socialism, he claims that policy on education reflects the particular view of society and its political creed. False distinctions are made between educational aims and political aims in education, according to Benton. Weber's work shows how the cultural ideals of politically dominant groups penetrate the content of teaching, while Althusser shows how ideologies are pursued through schools as ISAs. In the USSR Tomiak reveals the political belief of total ideological control of education.

Marx saw intellectuals as producers of ideology in a hegemonic sense, while Gramsci agreed that traditional intellectuals retained a cultural hierarchy but asserted that organic intellectuals could support proletariat thinking. Mannheim noted the spread of intellectuals among varied classes. Intellectuals do adapt ideologies, such as Dewey and his democratic method.

Claims of privileged reproduction in capitalist societies by Marxists are acknowledged by Brubacher who agrees that economic bias conditions school practice. Kimbrough states that economic concerns are more important than good education in the USA, while Jencks shows how the relation between the economy and the educational system in the USA merely serves to reproduce the given social structure. From a human capital viewpoint, Schulz saw education as a productive investment and not as a consumption. Efficiency demands have resulted in systems such as PPBS being transferred from industrial situations to schooling. In the UK at present monetarism has a major influence on educational policies. The economic

embeddedness of economic influences on education is even revealed in communist educational policy, curriculum and research which are dominated by the role of work.

Ethics and values are central to educational ideologies. The Jesuits subordinated the educational role to the divinely ordained church, while private WASP schools in the USA have created what Collins refers to as 'religiously founded status cultures.' Arnold's scholarly Christians were taught leadership training, and right-wing use of religion as an ideological weapon has been claimed in most Western countries. In the USSR religion has been taught as a weapon of the proletariat in the class war. In South Africa religion is the dominant aspect of teaching in schools which support the Christian National Education ideology (CNE) and has been used to support the political policy of separate development.

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CHAPTER 3

Ideology and leadership

3.1 Introduction

Ideology has been defined as a world-view, held by a group, deriving from an historical situation and a social setting. As an intangible but potent force, ideology unifies members of the group, who strive for domination, and in translating their patterned theory of beliefs and assumptions into action, make use of slogans, symbols and organizations. Determining and shaping forces on ideologies which affect education, such as political, economic and religious influences, have been surveyed and it has been contended that public education reflects an ideological base which is translated into action through the use of persuasive and influential formal apparatuses. Leadership within formal educational apparatuses, and in a controlling situation regarding the transmission of slogans and symbols, would appear to be crucial to the implementation of an ideology. In this chapter it is postulated that the form leadership takes and its potential for domination and association with power, imply an important relationship with ideology.

Hodgkinson (1978:91) asserts that 'the term "leadership" is often ... accepted uncritically and without analysis' and it would appear that definitions of leadership do not make explicit what leadership actually is and that an analysis of leadership per se is required. Following this analysis an historical perspective appears to be necessary to try to make connections between hegemonic social interests and acceptable forms of leadership. The relationship between leadership and ideology will be examined before leadership will be viewed as a practical link in the function of ideology in translating belief into action in education from the political ministerial position of leadership, through the leadership role of teachers' societies, down to positions of leadership in schools.

Extrapolations from the concept of ideology and particular influences which tend to shape educational ideologies mentioned in the previous chapter, will be used as the writer focuses on leaders and their possibilities for action within organizational parameters. It is postulated that real change can occur only through effective leadership of people and not specifically through the changing of structures and processes, although alterations to an 'apparatus' and its 'rituals' (Althusser 1971b) would give significant support to possibilities for leadership. The personal meta-physical, epistemological and axiological beliefs of a leader are of considerable importance, as it is he who can raise consciousness among followers through the

use of symbols to turn beliefs into an ideology and predict how an ideology will gain significance and force. He must also be aware of the political, economic, religious and social context, historical milieu and perception of the world which has institutionalized the ideology of his own social class or group.

Part of the problem in a review of concepts of leadership is to make logical implications from a generalized concept of leadership directly to educational practice, because generalized concepts such as democratic leadership seem to mean all things to all men despite the organization in which they operate. Similar generalized concepts of leadership, largely based on industrial models, are taught to principals during in-service courses, whether they work within the decentralized and socially open system in England and Wales (as noted in Gray 1982), the more centralized and language based system in Israel (as noted in Gordon 1986) or the centralized, race and language separated system in South Africa (for example Education Leadership Development Project of the University of Stellenbosch [ELOS], University of the Orange Free State and Natal Education Department course material).

It is accepted that leadership as a concept cannot be isolated from a specific culture and if 'formal education, schooling, was promoted and developed by people who believed ideologically that it could and would function to serve their interests and purposes' (Pratte 1977:5), then leadership in education must have a close relationship with ideology and be part of the social practices which sustain an ideology.

Much of the work on leadership does not transcend the level of common sense and deals with the surface of the social world, concentrating on processes such as decision making and delegation without considering what actually powers an organization or an educational system. Dale (1982:129) indicates the tendency of works on effective leadership to be concerned with achieving goals of an educational system and not on the relationship 'between the products of goals and the form of their achievement.' It would appear that the relationship between ideology and leadership in education has often been obscured.

3.2 Leadership concepts and popular movements in the 20th century

Although there has been concern over acceptable or efficient forms of leadership throughout man's history, such as Plato's vision of philosopher rulers and Machiavelli's concept of pragmatic ruthlessness, it is with views prevalent in the modern world that this thesis deals.

The development of Marxist scholarship with world views of socialist man and the thrust for working class hegemony resulted in a reaction from Weber (1947) who postulated a belief in effective leadership by the bourgeois class in society. His preference for a cultivated gentleman rather than an expert as a leader does indicate concern over his own logic of bureaucracy, in that his proposed pyramidal command structure for a bureaucratic organization could exclude a leader with a belief in value freedom. Weber's (1947) own belief in Calvinistic self-discipline and hard work as a condition for adequate leadership was expressed despite contrary evidence which emerged from the bureaucratization of political parties at the time. Criticism of his elitist interest in leadership has been made by Sharp (1980:19) who considers that he was 'far more preoccupied with domination and leadership than with such issues as democratization, mass participation or social justice.' It can be argued that Weber was a political theorist and that his work followed on from Rousseau and Hegel in its concern with political domination. It appears that Weber's concept of **Herrschaft**, which is domination, was inadequately translated by Talcott Parsons as leadership, and this error has influenced much of the research in English.

Mannheim's (1960) concern over political leadership by the 'essentially unqualified' which could lead to irrational and illogical action, led him to postulate sober and rational leadership within which impulse and emotion would have no place. His work shows an affinity with that of Weber in placing an acceptable concept of leadership within a social democratic political environment and under the control of leaders with certain civilized character traits. These leaders would conform to Gramsci's (1970) 'traditional intellectuals' in that they would be supporters of bourgeois hegemony and through their superior cultural position be able to influence the masses while improving their own economic and cultural situations. In dynamic opposition Gramsci conceived of 'organic intellectuals' who would challenge hegemonic middle-class leadership in Western industrialized nations and offer alternative goals to the working class.

Attempts to conceptualize leadership in terms of general theories in Western nations during the twentieth century, have, however, been made mainly from an industrial perspective, and three distinct stages can be categorised. An extension of Plato's idea of philosopher rulers, through Weber and later Mannheim's belief in civilized man, was incorporated with works in psychology and sociology on individual differences, leading to a great man or traits theory; this was followed by an analysis of situation or situational leadership theory; and then studies of transactions between leaders and followers, or contingency theory, emerged. It is

these theories from a free market world-view which have influenced educational leadership in Western nations and the thinking of Gramsci and Marx has been ignored largely.

Since the Second World War researchers have tended 'to view leadership as an aspect of role differentiation and performance or as an outgrowth of social interaction processes' (Stogdill 1974:6). Two major currents of influence have emerged. One flows from Weber, Taylor and Fayol and shows a strong influence of logical positivism in elements such as general systems theory and need analysis and synthesis with a scientific thrust towards efficiency and effectiveness. Hodgkinson (1983) has categorized ideological components of this current of leadership under the term rationalism. A bias toward the material, with culture affected by the values of reason such as in dialectical materialism, has resulted in 'modern administration' being placed 'in the grip of a rational scientific ideology' (ibid.:98). Bureaucracy, professionalism with its patterns of work, and statism with its emphasis on nationality and even militarism, are seen as elements of over-riding rationalism. Yet there is only a spurious appearance of rationalism in Management by Objectives (MBO), Planning, Programming and Budgeting System (PPBS) and other systems considered to be rationally based. The type of objective followed in these systems would determine the ideological thrust. A world-view of structural functionalism would espouse an ideology which would reflect the value of efficiency and measurable performance, and leaders in linking this belief to action would concentrate on production and technique.

The other current is generally humanistic with an emotive model of man predominating. An ethic of self-fulfilment rather than of duty operates. Maslow (1954), McGregor (1960) and Herzberg (1968) have influenced this current which can be identified in elements such as OD (Organization Development), industrial psychology and human relations or human resources management. Although this current of leadership could be seen to emerge from humanism, its exponents have had their theories attacked on humanist grounds. Whether Maslow's self-actualization is for good or evil or whether it is as transparent as Polonius's 'to thine own self be true,' is questionable. Similarly human relations theories have led to strategies which could manipulate individuals, such as T -grouping and sensitivity training. Other ideological categories of leadership to be observed in the modern world, according to Hodgkinson (1983), include transcendentalism, stoicism, idealism and liberalism. McGregor's (1960) Theory Y and its belief in egalitarianism and compromise could fit into the ideology of liberalism, whereas idealism with its absolutes does not have much theoretical support. Although Weber may have influenced transcendentalism through his ethic of frugality and

duty and Christian churches have influenced organizations, more fundamentalist forms of this ideological category have emerged in countries such as Iran. A leader embracing a humanistic ideology would show concern for the welfare of followers, and concentrate on psychology and empathy to achieve success.

3.3 Dynamic features of leadership

Ideology as a world-view held by a particular social group, and in its association with dominance, must have a relationship with leadership in action and so with particular leadership styles. A brief review of work on leadership styles is given before elucidation in terms of ideology is attempted. In the 1930s, leadership styles were categorized in terms of relationships with subordinates. A trinity of democratic, autocratic and laissez-faire styles became influential enough to continue to be used in ELOS and NED leadership seminars. These sharp distinctions were later blurred into conceptualizations in terms of task, maintenance and change. McGregor (1960) broadened the concept of style through the consideration of it in terms of a leader's view of followers. His view of leadership style, incorporating characteristics of the leader and followers of the organisation as well as the nature of the task to be accomplished, was influential on further research. The superiority of a Theory Y style over a Theory X style was revealed through Likert's (1961) research on participative leadership and does reveal support for a humanistic viewpoint.

Blake and Mouton's (1964) managerial grid, which is still used extensively in leadership training, allows leaders to plot their styles in terms of task and people orientation. The conceptual thrust is that a combination of task and people orientation is essential for positive leadership. A third dimension was added to the grid by Reddin (1970), that of effectiveness, defined as the degree to which the leader's style, a combination of task and relationship orientation, fits the situation. Popular approaches to situational leadership such as Hersey and Blanchard's (1977) selling-telling styles and Harris's (1969) transactional analysis have emerged to earn their authors vast sums of money in the industrial in-service market.

An influential and conceptually respectable theory emerged with Fiedler's (1967) leadership contingency model in which leader-member relations, task structure and leadership positional power are investigated.

The quality of followership has been acknowledged to be a major influence on leadership style, and a followership of qualified professionals, such as in teaching, would suggest the appropriateness of a Theory Y, selling, participatory type of

leadership, by those in leadership positions in educational systems.

The need to improve interpersonal and socio-political skills to overcome cynicism and loss of faith among followers has been argued by Evered (1981:19) who claims that 'leadership will rest on being able to deal with diverse psychological reactions in others.' Later work by Fiedler, with Garcia (1987), has returned to a leader's intelligence. Their studies of a leader's intelligence, technical competence and experience have led to interesting findings, such as that under interpersonal stress 'measures of leader intelligence and competence will not correlate with group performance' (1987:8), but that it is job-relevant experience rather than intellect which leads to performance when a leader is under stress. This finding could have some influence on the selection of leaders for stressful education posts.

Hodgkinson (1983) is correct in being critical of much of this work, asserting that leadership is being studied from a limited psychological perspective: 'leadership thought is now a subdivision of psychology rather than that of philosophy' (ibid.:197-8). His concern is that there is no longer a philosophical search for the Guardian in that multi-disciplinary psychological and sociological studies have tended to avoid values, ethics and morality. Rather than interest in personal integrity and caring about others in an open way, a subtle and more profitable way of controlling others has emerged. Without consideration of philosophical concepts of consciousness and of will and without efforts to question what leadership could mean and what it ought to mean, has led to the avoidance of leadership as something 'intrinsically valuational.' He sees the value perspective diminishing with a reduction in even the ethic of work, duty and loyalty. It is postulated that the disguising function of ideology has operated in the reduction of the scope of leadership studies. Effectiveness in terms of profit or turnover has been a central theme and research on how people should be treated to achieve this success has been predominant, thus ideology has been disguised under a humanistic concern. What has emerged is an ideological viewpoint based on human capital theory and business interests, or what Wexler (1990) terms 'market ideology.'

Hodgkinson's criticism of forms of leadership such as evidenced by the careerist or technician (ibid.:141 ff) echo Buber's (1973) concern over forms of individuality and collectivity in twentieth century society. In a model of levels of significance in leadership, Hodgkinson (ibid.:133) draws a continuum from administration (at the top level of leadership) to management (at the bottom) under classifications of realities, context and characteristics. At the bottom level of management, realities for the leaders are things, while the context is behavioural and the characteristics of the leaders are egoistic, hedonistic and narcissistic with a low or perverse form of

motivation. The mid-range of leadership presupposes realities being people and the context being a pragmatic one. Characteristics are an interest in results and consensus organization, with a reasonable, political type approach combined with mid-range commitment and motivation. But the leader would still be able to mask the institution's real goal and the roles required of subordinates to make them support the whole. At the highest level of leadership, the administrator is concerned with realities of ideas in an ideological context. The characteristics of this leadership are those of high principle in a religious sense with major commitment and high motivation. In essence, similar to the sober and rational leader of Mannheim (1972). Action of an ethical and moral nature is needed by leaders in determining the set of values they will embrace to avoid moral compromise. This level is more appropriate to the wider ideology which schools transmit and which underlies their structure.

3.4 Elements of leadership: power, authority, influence, and legitimation

From a brief review of major currents of leadership theory and their ideological underpinning, it seems apposite to survey major elements of leadership in order to come to a better understanding of the concept and its relationship with ideology. Watson (1982:22) has devised a useful terminology, which will be used as an introduction to the meaning of important elements of leadership before their conceptual breadth grows:

> ' * power (the ability or potential for mobilising resources to desired ends);
> * influence (the successful mobilization of power);
> * legitimation (the processes whereby a structure or action comes to be considered as legitimate);
> * authority (the legitimate exercise of power, or the recognition of its legitimacy).'

3.4.1 Power

Dessler (1982:394) asserts that 'to most experts, power is not equivalent to leadership: instead, it is an essential ingredient of leadership, one without which the leader is usually doomed to ineffectiveness.' If power is defined as 'the ability to gain ends' and 'administrative power (as) ... the ability of the administrator to have his will and get his way' (Hodgkinson 1978:81), then power must be aligned with effectiveness and with ideology in that it is one of the 'moves which set up belief in relation to action' (Pratte 1977:283). Ends can be achieved or goals met through many forms of power such as those categorised by French and Raven (1977): reward power, referent power, coercive power, expert power and legitimate power or authority.

Lukes (1974) explored the concept of power and emerged with the view that it could be classified under four dimensions. To him, one-dimensional power is unilineal with A having power over B because of the ability to achieve required ends through the use of B; two-dimensional power can be observed when institutional practices intervene so that B is not aware of the power relationship with A. In three-dimensional power, B is not aware of what is happening and is manipulated. Power in its fourth dimension occurs when neither A nor B is aware of a power relationship. In this dimension, Lukes's concept can be related to Althusser's (1971) views on the structural ideological practices inherent in Ideological State Apparatuses and hence the ideological insulation of B. Another important link with four-dimensional power is Foucault's (1979) argument that power is exercised upon the dominant (A) as well as the dominated (B) under 'discipline' and 'normalisation' in the administrative control of individuals.

Foucault (1979) argues that disciplinary power emerged with the establishment of prisons, and that with the control of the body and the subsequent study of it, knowledge took the form of technical control. His analytic of power seeks to uncover the structural principles that govern human action and led him to disregard the humanist view of man and to a rejection of the view that structural relations exist between power and other jurisdictions of society. He tends to deny that power is based on conscious force or on modes of production. Power's strength lies in its production of knowledge (Foucault 1980:59) and he states its ubiquitous nature in control of the body and of a group. His historical analysis of sexuality in western society opposes liberal-humanism's historical method and reveals its 'tricky combination in the same political structures of individualization techniques and of totalization procedures' (Foucault 1982:213). Another perspective is given of the relationship between leaders and power within organizations by Foucault (1979:177), who, in respect of hierarchical surveillance, argues that

> 'although it is true that its pyramidal organization gives it a "head", it is the apparatus as a whole that produces "power" and distributes individuals in this permanent and continuous field.'

Power does not reside only within an organizational structure, as it also has a psychological reality and is closely connected with cultural norms. The corrupting aspect of power has been questioned and denigration of power hungry individuals has become widespread in Western civilization since World War 2. It is likely that naked use of force and open domination has altered to forms of manipulation among powerful elites now that 'ethos and mores dictate that its (power's) starker reality be veiled in appearance and its usage concealed in elaborate language games; it must be redressed and represented' (Hodgkinson 1978:83). The disguising element of ideology is apparent in this use of power.

Ideological veiling and use of language symbols would attempt to postulate why power was being used and what the end result should be, yet it would be difficult to ascertain whether the administrator within an organization was pursuing interests and therefore power to meet the organization's goals or for personal advancement. Careerism has been noted as one of the dysfunctions of hierarchy, but a potentially more dangerous phenomenon could occur if leaders within an organization yield power to an administrative hierarchy as Hodgkinson (1978:163) has shown in reference to 'romantically evil ideology combined with anti-Semitic aggression (Eichmann); (and) undermined pluralistic ideology combined with aggressive careerism (Calley).'

The leader in various levels in the organization is given power and particular relational power through the apparatus of the organization. School principals do hold power which is relational to their position in the educational system and the apparatus itself creates power, for example through discipline of examinations. Foucault (1979:184) refers to normalization as 'one of the great instruments of power at the end of the classical age' and it is an important element of power in a school system. Domination, though, is not maintained through a simple interlocking set of relations such as in a slave society, and nor can it be easily measured in terms 'of the compliant actions of the subordinate, their scope, frequency and differential probability' (Martin 1977:48).

It would appear that in an educational system, which is largely hierarchical in structure and subject to discipline under an operational power that tends to sustain itself by its own mechanism, the iron law of oligarchy need not operate as openly as in political parties, for example. If, as Michels (1959:400) claims 'the principle cause of oligarchy in the democratic parties is to be found in the technical indispensability of leadership,' then leadership in school systems, which are less democratic in structure, should be even more oligarchical because of appointment and not election to leadership posts. The opportunity exists for selection of school leaders who support the world-view of the group in power. Many Marxist theories regard power as being based on the economic structure of the society and its modes of production. Leaders make history and each ideology tries to legitimate a particular position of power.

Weber (1947;1967) considered that there are particular bases of power which function in special ways. Compliance forces attitudinal and behavioural changes through the use of power; coercion achieves control through the force of sanctions;

authority is based on legitimacy, or as Fox (1971:42) argues, 'authority is said to lie in the right to expect and command obedience.'

3.4.2 Authority

Within organizations, Hodgkinson (1978:91) maintains that 'power and authority merge in the concept of leadership,' in that they become personified and embodied. He regards authority as 'the term for legitimate or legitimised power' and that 'the principle of legitimacy rests upon the interest' (ibid. :83). The classic typology of three sources of legitimacy of authority, or more correctly of dominance, originating with Weber (1968), are tradition, charisma and legal rationality. Traditional legitimacy is based on the sanctification of practices and traditions and hence of the person in authority, while rational legitimacy is somewhat similar but rests on the legality of enacted rules and the legal authority of leaders. Both these forms of legitimacy open leadership to an alliance with a particular ideology. Charismatic legitimacy is based on support for an exceptional leader 'and of the normative patterns revealed or ordained by him' (Weber 1968:215). Charismatic authority is often revolutionary in nature and the leader is rather loosely defined as possessing 'the gift of grace' (Idem.). Martin (1977:82) reviews authority relations in many different societies and claims that they are based on a mixture of Weber's types of legitimation: 'charismatic, traditional and legal rational - the precise mixture depending upon the character of the social system and of the specific relationship within it.' The character of the social system would depend largely on the ideology held by the dominant group and authority relations could be seen in terms of ideology in action.

In most societies, subordinates consent to the authority of superiors, usually within bureaucratic structures, because they are legally appointed. Public opinion helps to maintain active aspects of authority through laws and statutes, although Hodgkinson (1978) does mention authority of expertise which is not hierarchical and stems from a particular purpose. In open purpose systems, such as universities, non-hierarchical authority of expertise can be seen in collegial forms of leadership; whereas in state education departments, for example, where the purpose of the organization is largely hidden, authority can easily be made to appear sacrosanct under a veiling of ideology. Foucault's (1979:184) argument that although an individual is 'the fictitious atom of an "ideological" representation of society ..., he is also a reality fabricated by this specific technology of power that I have called "discipline," is apposite to public school systems.

Simon (1957) felt that the real determinant of authority and its sanctions in organizations was the cultural ethos. The relation between the political and cultural systems, including education is critically important. The political system is involved with the 'how' of power and authority, whereas the cultural system is concerned with values which underlie these, influencing ends to which power and authority should be directed. Culture, as a social construction and a contested concept, is closely linked with ideological conflict (Berger and Luckmann 1976).

Gray (1982:10) appears to be correct that 'organisational theory skirts round problems of power and authority.' Authority is often linked to issues about management structure and the role of the head in schools, as well as with investigation of democratic forms of decision-making. Martin (1977:145) in his discussion on elite sociological theories comments on how authority in organizations is often held 'indirectly, through the control of "middle-men" with specific authority in limited areas, or through "hegemonic" control over the formulation of social values.' Authority and its link with cultural values, implies a close association with ideology and the possibility of dominance.

Musgrove (1971:3) argues that 'authority rests on agreement that an office has particular powers attached to it; power exists regardless of agreement,' and his view implies a difference between power and authority in that power would be tied to the personality of individuals, and authority would be associated with social positions or roles. Authority systems can and do act as braking forces against the abuse of power.

The importance of authority in leadership within schools has been summed up by Prosser (1979:124):

> 'Authority is the conditio sine qua non, the vital pre-condition, which structures the pedagogical relationship.'

She refers to the teacher as an authority because of experience of childhood requirements and of moral, intellectual and aesthetic aspects of life; but also views authority as part of the discipline and leadership which the teacher must exercise. If the teacher's leadership position is based firstly on legal rational authority and secondly on traditional authority, and then, if as Martin (1977:56) argues, 'the greater the amount of power, the greater the probability that compliance will be based upon coercion,' one would expect the pedagogical relationship to be based to a large extent on coercion, with large scale scope for domination. Benton (1974:14) is one of many commentators who assert that schools are state apparatuses which hold down, exploit and oppress but that there is greater subtlety in the use of

power and authority in school than in other state apparatuses 'in that they function predominantly by ideology, rather than by violence or the threat of it.'

In discussing a teacher's authority, Freire (1987:91) argues that the issue does not lie in the reduction of a teacher's authority, but on the form of imposition, for the democratic teacher 'never, never transforms authority into authoritarianism.' Nevertheless, the possibility to do so, in terms of a particular ideology, does exist.

Obviously authority is inherent in the social system, such as a class system in England, a racially separate system in South Africa, or a caste system in India and schools in state systems of education cannot function outside this authority. Social values about authority extend from the family to the school, such as the allowance of corporal punishment in white South African schools. Teaching is essentially authoritarian with the authority of subject expertise also being bestowed on a teacher and in South Africa there is yet a higher authority, that of religion, as discussed in Chapter 2.

3.4.3 Legitimation

Examples of ideologies used to aid in the legitimating of power and authority within educational systems can be shown in South Africa where the supporters of Christian National Education consider that the Afrikaner nation was ordained by God and given a special language, a land and a religion espousing orthodox Calvinistic principles (Behr 1978:30), and more overtly in the USSR where the Basic Law on Education (1974) states that

> 'the goal of public education in the USSR is the preparation of highly educated, ... active builders of communist society, brought up on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and in the spirit of respect for Soviet laws and socialist legality' Grant (1979:25).

Stinchcombe (1968:187-8) comments on how leadership positions in organizations in the USSR are filled by unsavoury devices in which 'the communists manage to make the correlation between commitment to communist ideology on the one hand and power on the other highly positive in all institutional areas.' Major differences between democratic Western governments and statist regimes occur in the legitimating of authority through ideological means according to Burns and Buckley (1976), who argue that the very structure of statist regimes as large employers allows them to 'deliberately mold the outlook of those in authority in more or less the whole range of significant social organizations.' From a Marxist-oriented analysis of Western capitalist society, Giroux (1981) reflects on how subtle ideological sources lie beneath that which is considered legitimate or illegitimate

and that the dominant pattern of social formations and relations is an element of power. He answers his question of 'What is the source of legitimation that will cause people to accept forms of control and view them as a result of their own initiatives?' (ibid.:77) with the concept of ideological hegemony. Comparisons with hegemony in the South African situation will be made in a later chapter.

3.4.4 Influence

Influence has been aptly defined by Hodgkinson (1978) as a form of power which can avoid responsibility. In this sense it is a subtle element, strongly associated with ideological hegemony, that is likely to be divorced from actual administrative leadership. Examples could be given of appointments within organizations where 'whatever outward procedures may be adopted .... some version of informal selection which assures continuity of vested value interests (takes place). At the very least the potential for a bias of value orientation is present' (ibid. :133). Supporters of the world-view of the group in power could be appointed to ensure hegemony.

A less sinister concept of influence is that of Peters and Austin (1985:93) who tend to regard 'superior leadership' as a form of influence in terms of salesmanship through 'establishing the perception, the feeling, the picture, that your view is right... .' They condemn the authoritarian concept of management with its attendant images of analysis and control and posit a concept of leadership which 'connotes releasing energy, building, freeing and growing' (ibid.:xix). Their survey of factors common to excellent leaders revealed an uncompromising attitude towards value systems plus a deep concern and respect for subordinates. These leaders were able to turn the philosophy of the company into symbols and to share their visions: 'leaders in those (excellent) companies had simple, crisp and clear visions, but the intensity and clarity of the shared values behind those visions allowed lots of room for autonomy... ' (ibid. :397). Support for this creative form of influence is widespread, with the University of South Africa using quotations from Peters and Austin in their advertisements for leadership courses. This aspect of the internal ideology of corporations could be of use in the situation of a particular school.

3.5 Trends in educational leadership thought

Having established the influence on leadership thought from capitalist corporations and the disguising ideology of humanism that is projected, the relationship between elements of leadership, such as power, and ideology was reviewed. An endeavour

to relate these perceptions to educational leadership in various systems will be made. Taylor (1983:1), writing of the educational system in England and Wales, calls for a need to improve 'leadership at many levels: national and local, political and professsional, in primary, secondary and tertiary education.'

Strong political leadership under the mercantilist policy of the Thatcher/Major government, has found much Local Education Authority (L.E.A.) leadership and professional leadership in schools to be ineffective and the concept of professionalism for the employed professionals of the teaching profession has received wide attention in consideration of the scope and nature of freedom and autonomy, accountability and responsibility. In reaction the National Union of Teachers (NUT) has attacked political leadership, but the classical model of professionals being answerable to their own professional body and traditional standards is no longer tenable in England and Wales. The growth of central government domination in England and Wales (Knight 1984) and the demand for greater community control of schools as published in the Green Paper **Parental Influence at School** (DES 1984) have led to questions on the possible loss of autonomy by the school professional if the school community gains greater control. With a concomitant idea that schools should be held accountable like other state organizations, investigation will be made of professional leadership and how professionals could be held to account under conditions of the ideology which represents the school of functional efficiency.

The leadership role concepts of heads appear to be changing according to altered perceptions. From the benevolent despot with a paternalistic relationship with teachers, the conception of role and tasks has altered in line with pastoral care and human relations requirements. Traditional ideals of being a good schoolmaster in terms of human relations understanding of all the individuals in a school, faced problems with the increase in the size of schools, but remained a powerful concept largely because of the post 2nd World War opposition to leadership of a directive sort as being in association with totalitarian governments (Gray 1982).

King (1968), influenced by Weber, analysed the role of the head in terms of related concepts of power, authority and legitimation. He found that a head's authority was mainly bureaucratic but also showed traditional and charismatic elements. His noting of the enduring aspect of the traditional factor has been supported by Winkley (1984:206) who argues that from the authority of position and personal style the 'thread of the tradition of the charismatic and controlling head (is) still alive in state schools.' In research on the professional as an administrator, Hughes (1975:1981) distinguished between an extended professional and an abdicator. A head's perception of power bases and ideologies of pressure groups was shown to

be important to his ability to be innovative which was tied to a significant extent to a feeling of being given a high degree of autonomy from external authority.

Despite the leadership role moving towards an amalgamation of elements drawn from different traditions, no really new style of leadership has emerged in state schools. Experimental schools such as Susan Isaac's in Cambridge and AS Neill's Summerhill have offered new styles of leadership based on a consultative role with personal relationships stressing the emotional needs of children. Criticism by Lungu (1985) and Winkler (1984), among many others, of styles of leadership in these experimental schools because of, inter alia, lack of direction and lack of high levels of achievement by pupils, reflects the minor influence these schools have had on the state system.

In response to critics, who claim that education in the USA has failed because of major faults in education at all levels, Reilly (1986:421) asserts that leaders in education were unaware that 'a new set of objectives and associated criteria were being imposed to judge the effectiveness of our educational system.' He considers that educational leaders have been reacting to changes imposed by non-professionals under a political and not an educational agenda. The social reform ideology for education of the 1970s has been overturned by a new set of goals stressing the 'economic emphasis of education' (Idem.). Industrial leaders, used to a uniform product and actual costs, are able to make rapid changes in their organizations. The influence of this immediate success lobby, has led to demands for rapid change in education according to goals and means to achieve these which have been specified by non-professionals. Changing school leadership needs have also been noted by Wiles and Bondi (1983), who trace a syndrome of change from 1960 to 1975 when 'educational leadership was regularly conceptualized as the process of altering the status quo' (ibid.:285). In the 1980s, with scarcer resources, and the moves towards greater state control, the accountability demands on teachers and comparisons with what are commonly regarded as better Japanese schools, a new leadership role for professional educationists became apparent.

The number of conflicting interests between authority of the community and authority of school leaders has increased, and Reilly (1986) indicates a concern about the inability of American communities to recognise the differing value systems between American schools where education is for all pupils and Japanese schools which are elitist. Wiles and Bondi (1983:285) call for a style of leadership 'that acknowledges political and economic conditions in the immediate environment' based on open and responsive interpersonal skills as well as technical and teaching skills above question.

A more searching aspect of leadership in schools is considered by Tozer (1985) who sees that although teachers may view education in individualistic terms, the authority of the school as a state institution, becomes the authority of the teacher. As the state is regarded as the basis of his authority, he 'serves the interests of those who advocate the dominant ideology by carrying out their institutional objectives' (ibid.:152). Despite his position of leadership being determined to a significant extent by the ideological demands of the local community, Tozer is adamant that the teacher should not surrender his own autonomy to local ideologies lacking in moral values and that his authority is actually based on a 'wider ideal community: (holding) ideals of human dignity and equality, freedom, and mutual concern of one person for another' (ibid.:153). This could place a teacher's leadership role in jeopardy if the socially constructed reality (Berger and Luckmann 1976) of the local community differ considerably from his own.

Growing awareness in the literature that leadership roles in schools do differ from typical roles in industrial concerns has led to statements such as that by Derr and De Long (1982:129) that 'schools, unlike business, attract people who have high needs for autonomy' and that leadership should be more improvement-centred and less crisis-oriented. In a leadership role concerned with autonomous-minded people it has become acknowledged that they should be able to define and initiate elements of their own practice. Sergiovanni and Starratt (1971) have had considerable influence on leadership styles in schools through the promotion of a human resources type of supervisory leadership in which leaders guide others to do good and meaningful work, through effective dialogue based on an awareness of followers as autonomous beings.

In his studies of 'those activities of management normally referred to as leadership and supervision of teachers' Simon (1982:63) uses an interesting analogical mode of analysis between mysticism and the rational-oriented world of management. He applies thoughts of the Jewish mystic, Isaac Luria (1534-1572), to problems of contemporary leadership. Central to the concept of leadership is the intention of creation - a vision of what is desirable and how to move towards the desirable. From God's creative power, which contains a nature of extension and emanation, a view of leadership as an extension of ourselves arises. The term 'tzimtzum' is central to Luria's argument and is used by Simon in the sense where it 'implies a concept of leadership that requires an act of contraction of oneself to help others achieve independence' (ibid.:65). The emphasis though is on helping and guiding from a valuational stance on the part of the leader, in that 'supervision cannot be seen as simply a technical problem devoid of the historical and cultural influences

which, of necessity, impose an ideological cast to an act of supervision' (ibid.:67).

3.6 The leadership role of teachers

Ultimately the focus of any ideology influencing education must be on the learner. To obtain certain changes in learners, all modern states rely on the educative process of interaction between learner and teacher. Hence teachers are in a privileged yet politically sensitive position in which to influence learners through the transmission of educational policies and their supportive ideologies. As teachers' acceptance of the legitimacy of the ideology could be crucial in the efficacy of the promotion of the political hegemony's educational policies, consultation between government policy makers and teachers' unions or societies is likely to take place.

How meaningful the consultancy is between politicians, or their functionaries, and teacher unions is likely to be a reflection either of the political power of the union, or of the status in which teachers are held in society, or of the importance of the democratic process in government.

For example, in Israel the Teachers' Union has played a powerful leadership and ideological role in the resurrection of Hebrew as the national language and in its intellectual support for a national home for the Jews. In the days of the Palestine mandate, the Teachers' Union won the battle for Hebrew when it led a strike against the proposed use of German as the language of instruction at the Haifa Technion. This action gained the Teachers' Union support from the populace and from world Jewry as a defender of culture, and allowed teachers to determine largely the curriculum in Jewish schools. As the educated class in Israel has grown, and the influence of the Department of Education and Culture has spread, the status of teachers has diminished and teachers have lost their privileged cultural position as controllers of the curriculum. And the union has shifted its thrust from previous important social, political and educational issues to issues of salary and conditions of service for teachers, according to Gordon (1986) and Klein (1986). As a member of the general trade union movement, the Teachers' Union still has power but does not need to use it because of little ideological opposition within a labour government, claims its Secretary, Dr Shalom Levin (1986).

The National Education Association (NEA), which is the largest teachers' association in the USA, has had a somewhat similar history of influence to that of the Israeli Teachers' Union. Wiles and Bondi (1983:212) state that the NEA 'has played an important part in the development of educational policy in this country,'

particularly because it acted as a professional association and was close in its ideology to the conservative ideological views expressed from the US Office of Education. School boards preferred to deal with a professional association, rather than with the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) which was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. As the gap between the two ideologies widened, mainly over the professional rights of teachers issues, the NEA became more militant and had its image tarnished among the populace because of strike action. Perhaps the resultant drop in status of teachers was a further factor which was finalised when, 'in the early 197Os, NEA dropped the pretense of being only a professional organization, and became a teacher-dominated labor union' (Idem.).

While teacher unions through militant action have also had influence on educational policies in the UK, the taking of active stances in opposition to the political power group, has recently diminished teacher influence. Under discussion on curricular initiatives later in this work, the dominant role of the Department of Education and Science (DES) and the declining roles of the teacher unions is indicated. The largest teacher association in the UK, the National Union of Teachers (NUT), has recognized since the 196Os that administrative power in the UK was being concentrated in the Minister, and Sir Ronald Gould, their General Secretary, appealed for diffused teacher power to be unified. Clashes between teacher associations are still prevalent and these associations 'are resorting to a more public and political role' to defend their positions (Lodge and Blackstone 1984:364) .

Because NUT senior members have been openly supportive of the Labour Party and the union had published a scathing attack on Thatcher, while she was Secretary for Education, they have been seen as political opponents by the Conservative government. The political standpoint of the NUT could be regarded as a liberal progressive one. Support for more equality in education, which means an expansion of the service, but which would also mean more jobs for members, has been rejected by the government and cut-backs have resulted in industrial action being taken by NUT members, leading to a further drop in their status among the general populace.

Lodge and Blackstone (1984) have tried to research the influence of the NUT on educational policy making, but have been forced to speculate because of the difficulties in tracing influence. They consider that DES still consults widely through the publishing of Green Papers and then through negotiating and bargaining with local authorities and teachers' unions. NUT representation, they feel is more influential at this discussion level than in the making of open political statements; yet further influence is gained through planted parliamentary questions. In pursuit

of wider aims, the NUT has been influential in the abolition of selection, in the raising of the school leaving age and, in particular, in early childhood education. Their ideological thrust towards equality, even in the request for the establishment of clinics to help improve the cultural capital of parents of deprived young children, had substantial influence on the Plowden Report. Commentators such as Locke (1984) and Salter and Tapper (1981:224), feel that from the time of the Great Debate in 1976, the state apparatus for education in England and Wales has tended to rely on its own initiatives for change and 'in the case of the teachers' unions this has increasingly meant ignoring them when at all possible and merely including them in the consultative stage of policy formation.' They regard the policies of non-cooperation by teachers' unions to have led to their declining power under the Thatcher/Major government.

In Scotland, according to HMI Donaldson (1986), industrial action by teachers from 1985 onwards jeopardised the plan for the introduction of a new 16 + curriculum which is based to a large extent on functionalist economic bases. His view was that the opposition was attributable to reaction against the Thatcher government's wage freeze policy, rather than on pure educational grounds. Criticism by teachers, however, referred to the mechanistic approach in the 16 + modules.

Conflict between the political hegemony and teachers' unions is endemic in most democratic countries; but in the USSR, Lenin, aware that 'the school apart from life, apart from politics, is a lie and a hypocrisy' (in Lilge 1979:569), in 1919 suppressed the Federation of Teachers for reasons of ideological distortion and instituted the Union of Internationalist Teachers. As Lilge (1979:569-70) comments: 'the profession was explicitly denied the luxury of ideological noncommitment.'

In South Africa, where teachers' associations are split on language and racial grounds, it is obvious that some associations will hold assumptions at odds with the political hegemony. The militancy of white Afrikaans teachers' associations and their adoption of politics of a more rightist and fascist nature than that of his government, led to Prime Minister Hertzog's attack on Broederbond influences in education, at Smithfield on 7 November 1935 :

> 'Should it be tolerated that teachers who are being paid by the State to educate the children of the nation should misuse the opportunity given to them of contact with the children for purposes of provocative political propaganda' (in Malherbe 1977:23).

But the growing power of Afrikaner teachers' associations was not reduced by Hertzog's attack and Kruger (1977:190) refers to :

> 'Afrikaans teachers (who) exerted a cultural and

> political influence which was not confined to the environs of the classroom ... The conquest of education was but the beginning ... with the increasing influence of Afrikaans in the teaching profession republicanism was fostered ....'

Parallels can be drawn between the influences of Jewish and Afrikaner teacher associations on the formation of their national states.

Learning will vary with the arguments of metaphysics, epistemology and ethics which are held by teachers, who, at the chalk face of instruction, are a central part of the learning process and cannot remain ideologyless. As they conceive their aims, even though major curricular development may be bureaucratically controlled, teachers have to decide how they shall be employed in guiding the educative process; whether the method will be dogmatic and authoritative, or whether it will be investigative. What their view of man is, whether they are striving towards a definite unchanging ideal, or whether they see numerous ideals, will affect their teaching.

Teachers, widely, are obliged to follow curricular programmes which have been structured by a central authority. Yet if one accepts that a curriculum must consist of a theory of values and a theory of knowledge (Brubacher 1962) and that research into the curriculum should 'take account of both the "structural" and the "interactional" aspects of social life' (Bernstein 1975:155), then the teacher's interpretation of the curriculum and the teacher's own beliefs are likely to affect the transmission of culture. Teachers can see the world differently and so could transmit through their teaching an alternative ideology.

In support of Mannheim's (1972:111) opinion that a conceptual framework of thought has a given historical and social position, Gorbutt's (1972) research indicates that all knowledge is coloured by ideological distortion and social bias, while Bernstein (1975) has produced definitive work on how a middle class teacher's language code has a negative effect on a working class child's performance. Conceptual connections can be found with the attitudinal conception of schooling held by Collins (1971:187) who points out that:

> 'The main activity of schools is to teach particular status cultures, both in and outside the classroom ... schools primarily teach vocabulary and inflection, styles of dress, aesthetic tastes, values and manners.'

Even tests set by teachers are considered to be 'biased by inherited status and culture' by Cohen and Lazerson (1979:384), while the competitive nature of tests may also prejudice the performance of working class children (Bernstein 1975).

A question which does emerge from the untapped areas of sociological research is whether teachers are clear about their ideological positions or whether they shift with 'opposing social and educational cross-winds' (Brembeck 1971:491) which are reflections of ideology. Another question is whether their political superiors would allow them to promote a definite ideological view.

It would appear that vagueness and uncertainties over the holding of differing ideologies could be cleared in formal teacher training, and this idea would place teachers in teacher training in a powerful position to influence educational ideologies. In teacher training institutions in South Africa, ideological barriers between white English medium and Afrikaans medium approaches are vast and have been documented by Beard and Morrow (1981). Kruger (1977:189) claims that the conquest of education was won through the cultural and political influence of Afrikaner teachers after 'the increasing number of teachers provided by training colleges and Universities gained a firm foothold in education.' These assumptions are discussed later in this work.

Although there is bias in his critical view of Western world teachers for hiding the real condition of existence from children, Althusser's (1971:261) assertion that

> '... one of the essential forms of the ruling bourgeois ideology: an ideology which represents the school as a neutral environment purged of ideology (because it is ... lay), where teachers are respectful of the "conscience" and "freedom" of the children who are entrusted to them ...,'

should be given cognisance.

Teachers, as educational leaders, need to be critically aware of their own ideological position and the ideological thrust of those whose political and social power affects their institution, and be prepared to evaluate these positions in terms of Mannheim's (1972:69) general total conception of ideology. They cannot excuse themselves from the moral dimension of their leadership.

Summary

Leadership within a formal apparatus is crucial to the implementation of an ideology. Marx and Weber have influenced disparate views on leadership, and there are numerous generalized concepts of leadership, with most of the current ones being influenced by industrial models. Much work on leadership deals with the surface of the social world. Greater acceptance is needed that leadership does have a cultural base and is part of the social practices which reflect an ideology.

Weber responded to Marxist scholarship criticising leadership as emerging from the bourgeois class with the recommendation of a cultured gentlemen as a leader rather than an expert, which does open his own logic of bureaucracy to question. Protestant belief in hard work and self-discipline has also led to elitist forms of leadership in Western nations. Gramsci saw this type of leadership as emerging from the superior cultural position of traditional intellectuals. Concern over leadership from the proletariat moved Mannheim to suggest sober and rational leadership rather than leadership of the unqualified.

Psychological and sociological studies, ignoring class distinctions, postulated individual differences which could suggest leadership potential. A traits theory of leadership emerged. Stogdill, among others, has refuted the traits theory. A situational theory emerged and then a contingency theory gained momentum. In these more respectable theories, leadership is seen as an outgrowth of social interaction processes.

Out of leadership theory based on logical positivism, theories such as general systems theory and needs analysis with a scientific thrust towards efficiency have emerged. Bureaucratization, professional patterns of work, and statism are elements of this thread. Out of a humanistic-emotive leadership model of man has developed an ethic of self-fulfilment and liberalism, popularised by Maslow and McGregor. Transcendentalism could be seen as an extreme form of this thread.

There is a technical indispensability of leadership and however leadership is defined, there must be a leader, followers and a structure.

Power, authority, influence and legitimation are aligned to leadership effectiveness. Power exists not only within an organizational structure, but has a psychological reality. The dominant pattern of social formations is an element of power. In the late 20th century, manipulation has become more acceptable than naked power. Concern is expressed over careerism and the yielding of power to administrators.

Foucault asserts that an apparatus produces power, and that normalization is a new technology of power. Schools function under an ideology, according to Benton, and the dictatorship of an institution plus the power of examinations as normalizing vehicles, place school leaders in powerful positions to support the ideology. In the USSR all institutions, including schools, correlate communist ideology and power.

Power and authority merge in the concept of leadership, according to Hodgkinson. Collegial forms of leadership and authority of expertise are important factors, but

Simon indicates that cultural ethos determines authority.

Influence is a subtle force strongly associated with ideological hegemony, such as in informal selection which operates despite outward procedures. Peters and Austin regard superior leadership as salesmanship in which symbols are made legitimate, creating shared values while still allowing room for autonomy.

Dynamic features of leadership include leadership styles, decision-making and delegation. The classical distinction into democratic, autocratic and laissez-faire leadership styles has been broadened in terms of a leader's view of followers. Situational leadership, transactional analysis and quality of followership have become important aspects of study.

In the current sociology of an assertive and acquisitive society, leaders need socio-political skills to overcome cynicism in followers. Hodgkinson is critical of studies in psychological leadership, many of which reflect an ideology of structural functionalism and avoid values and ethics. Philosophical concepts of will and of consciousness are necessary ingredients of leadership he feels, while realities of ideas in ideological contexts demand the highest level of leadership.

Trends in educational leadership thought in England and Wales include the growth of central government domination have led to a loss of autonomy by school professionals and greater control by the community. The head's role has changed from one of despotic power to human relations influence. King sees a head's authority as being mainly bureaucratic, but traditional and charismatic too. Perception of power bases and ideologies of pressure groups is essential for effective leadership.

In the USA, Reilly notes new criteria to judge the effectiveness of the education system and hence of the head too, as well as a political agenda with economic emphasis. Greater state control has led to conflict of authority of community and authority of school leaders. The ideology supporting elitism in Japanese schools has influenced community views of broader Western social obligations in education.

The authority of the school becomes the authority of the teacher, influenced by the ideological demand of the local community. Tozer asserts that teachers need to retain a belief in a wider ideal community. Leadership in schools needs to be more improvement-centred and Simon suggests a contraction of self to help others achieve independence. School leaders need to help and guide from a carefully considered valuational stance.

Teachers hold a privileged and politically sensitive position in societies. In Palestine, Jewish teachers held a privileged cultural position which has weakened since the rise in educational standards of their community, despite little opposition from labour governments on ideological grounds. International teachers' unions hold powerful ideological positions, according to Levin; but Wiles and Bondi show how the NEA was powerful in the USA when its ideological views were close to those of the conservative ideology of the US Office of Education and how recently, as a labour union, it has less status. In the UK, militant action by the NUT in the adoption of active ideological stances in opposition to Thatcher's government, has diminished teacher influence on policy making. Although it is still agreed widely that the NUT has influence at discussion level. In the USSR teachers have not been permitted a stance of ideological noncommitment, and a similar situation exists in white Afrikaner education in South Africa.

The metaphysics, epistemology and ethics of a teacher help to form a teacher's own ideological beliefs and affect the transmission of culture. Bernstein notes how a teacher's language usage and tests are biased by status and culture. Although there is little support for an ideologyless school, and general acceptance that a school reproduces ruling group ideology, teachers need to examine the legitimacy of their own ideological positions and of the ideological foundation of school and general education policies.

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CHAPTER 4

Ideology and structure

4.1 Introduction

It has been argued that ideology in its 'total' conception (Mannheim 1960) has to be fostered by leaders, who through consciousness raising and rationalization and defence of ideological policies, are in a position to achieve domination. Educational leaders operate within structures and organizations and help to define the social practices which reflect ideologies. In development of the theme of ideology in action, the relationship between an ideology and structure, in a management and organizational sense, with its offices, agencies and channels, will be investigated. It will be shown that an ideology needs to be institutionalized within a structure before it can offer significance and force as well as creditability and usefulness, as established theoretically in Chapter 2.

It is argued that views of the 'New Sociology of Education' which imply that inner processes give the key to an educational system are unsound, and that while it may be questioned whether a structural primacy exists (Sharp 1980), the 'material existence of an apparatus' (Althusser 1971) must be as important as its rituals. No attempt is made to follow structuralism through its abstract and complex views, which Apple (1982:14) considers are often reduced to a type of functionalism, but an analysis will be made of how ideologies are constituted in and through the concrete. The intention in the present chapter is also not to explore in depth the myriad of associated topics which arise in studies of organizational structure and management, but to examine some generally accepted aspects which find direct ideological expression in schools as organizations. It is acknowledged that it would be suspect to ignore Pratte's (1977:122) dictum 'that a system of schools operates as an instrument of the social order,' and that sight must be kept of Sharp's (1980:9) view that 'a deeper structural reality exists below that encapsulated in consciousness.' In any organizational structure it is obviously the interaction between the system and the people in it that is crucial.

It is to educational systems and to schools as examples of organizations, that the writer turns in order to review different approaches to the analysis of the structure and behaviour of organizations. Weber's (1947) concept of bureaucracy is contrasted with Michel's (1959:71) belief that 'organization implies oligarchy and that organization without immanent tendencies of elite formation are unimaginable. In short, elite rule cannot be abolished.' Marxist criticisms that the 'orientation'

of education in capitalist systems is 'determined by the social classes which are in power' (Carnoy and Werthein 1977:573), and that 'an ideology always exists in an apparatus, and its practice, or practices' (Althusser 1971b:267), are considered.

Brennan's (1981:4) assertion that 'institutional forms do not endure by their own momentum: they are attitudinally sustained,' is central to the study of predominant views on the structure of educational systems, and of schools, whether the structure is seen as real and relatively independent, as in systems theory, or as being socially constructed and having little existence outside human consciousness, as in a phenomenological perspective. How functionality is judged is seen to depend to a large extent on whether the theorist is an organic or traditional intellectual in Gramsci's (1970) terminology.

King (1977:54) notes that schools 'are the legally established organizations of the educational process' set up by societies to serve specific functions. Like all organizations, they have formal as well as informal structures; like all organizations they have to be administered and, as King has shown elsewhere (1973), such administration is usually along bureaucratic lines.

Management, defined by Peterson and Plowman (1962:51) as 'a process of exerting leadership upon followers and the creation of an organization logically and systematically devised to allocate authority, responsibility and accountability within the group' is clearly linked with administration and the two terms are often used as synonyms.

Although management in education has until recent years been associated with measurable aspects of educational organization, such as the construction of time-tables and flow diagrams of job descriptions, it is argued that it is ideological support for what is institutionalized, and for acceptable patterns of development, order and control within an educational system or a school, which helps to determine the culture or ethos of the organization. Gray's (1982:30) assertion that 'the tangible and measurable is not the essential organization; there is always something else other than what is measured,' is one of the growing number of critical viewpoints which have followed Greenfield's (1975) work in refuting natural systems ideology and exposing the banalities and sterilities of earlier work on educational management, which was strongly influenced by organizational and management theories developed from business institutions in industrialized nations.

It is likely that all these developments, which ultimately focus on the public responsibility of schools and so on principals and others in management positions in

education, are linked with a growing ideological debate on the 'accountability' of education as surveyed, for example, by Becher and MacLure (1978). Attention will be drawn to some of the effects of organizational structure on the interaction which occurs, such as considering whether educational managers are 'the high priests of the ruling ideology (its "functionaries"),' who, according to Althusser (1971b:246) 'must be "steeped" in this ideology' - such as 'all agents of production, exploitation and repression'- if they are to 'perform their tasks "conscientiously".' Other points at issue are the criticism about 'widespread existence of bureaucratic pathologies such as evasion of responsibility, empire-building and displacement of ends by means ("red tape") ...' (Collins 1971:182) in schools, and the accusation by Benton (1974) that different structures of authority and different daily rituals lead to a context in which social differentiation can be effected.

4.2 Organizational models

Although there are a cluster of interrelated theories in the organizational field, Parsons (1951; 1966), for example, has had a major influence on corporate organizations and on others, such as school systems, which have been influenced by corporate models. He developed a structural functionalist theory in which the organization is seen as having goals, functions, and working largely on consensus. Commitment to goals was seen to be very important for the health of the organization and the various parts of the organization were to be judged on functionality. Often referred to as a systems approach, the structure was seen to have an independence and to work under rational procedures. Three basic threads are found in the structural functionalist theory: the efficiency of Taylor, Weber's bureaucracy, and coordination.

It is contended that the study of organizations needs to go beyond the conventional approach of Parsons, in that all organizational models reflect an ideology and that rationality, as in structural functionalism, is not neutral. Louis and Sieber (1979) refer to the system based on strucural functionalism, or nomothetic theory, as a strong system in which goals are specified and consensus reached on them; commitment leads to efficient functioning; subordinates are compliant; and little conflict emerges from sub-groups because behaviour is influenced by the belief that goals are stable. An example of a strong system of organizational structure is the centralized educational system in the USSR which reflects a world-view based on control of man. A belief in integration is a primary element in loose-coupled systems, which could be found in American schools, reflecting a world-view of the importance of the individual rather than rules and control, claim Louis and Sieber. Their third system is a conflict system based on the premise that organizations are

constructed on conflicting interests and coercion of those without power. A type of contingency theory would fit this system.

In studies of different systems, Burns and Stalker (1961) commented on how closed or open systems demonstrated different values through their internal structures. For example closed systems operated on grounds of efficiency, with different and separate functional tasks, obedience to supervisors, and instructional manuals; whereas open systems operated on rewards, contributive values, lateral communication, and open information. It will be demonstrated how centralized educational systems such as those in the USSR and in South Africa have a tendency towards being closed systems, whereas decentralized systems such as those in the USA and in the UK display more elements of open systems.

Another well-established description was made by Getzels and Guba (1957), whose systems theory contained organizational structures seen as idiographic (people-centred: unpredictable and idiosyncratic) or nomothetic (bureaucratic: predictable, rule-governed, formal, and stable). It will be argued that even nomothetic structures reflect ideologies of power groups.

4.2.1 Bureaucratic model

As public school systems and the schools themselves have been formed largely on the bureaucratic or nomothetic model of organization, this particular model will be examined. The word bureaucracy is used in a variety of ways, including an hierarchical group of officials, methods of work, or policies. It is often used in a pejorative sense, but will be used in this work as a structure incorporating a permanent, professional group of officials, organized in an hierarchy and applying norms.

The strength of bureaucracies has been firmly set by Weber (1947;1967) who considers that bureaucracy, once fully structured, is one of the social structures which is the most difficult to change. In agreement is Gramsci (1970:177) who refers to the difficulty that every new form of society or state has had, when requiring a new order of bureaucrats, in being able 'to put aside, at least for a certain time, the traditional and established interests, that is, the formation of functionaries already existing and preconstituted at the time of their advent.'

From Weber's work on the bureaucratic framework of the Prussian state, Mannheim (1972:105) extracts and discusses the concept of bureaucratic conservatism, in which the tendency is for all political problems to be turned into problems of

administration under the desire for smoothly functioning order. This stresses the centrality of ideology even in a bureaucratic structure and includes the concept of disguise in the promotion of the ideology, if the supposedly impartial bureaucrats do not recognise the world-view that lies behind the law. He refers to the 'socially limited horizon' of the bureaucrat who

> 'fails to see that behind every law that has been made there lie the socially fashioned interests and the Weltanschauungen of a specific social group.'

Out of this conservatism, bureaucratic policies could be devised which would not incorporate fully the policy which had helped to set the parameters for the law which had been decreed.

Mannheim (1972) also writes of bureaucratic lack of vision which could emerge at a policy making stage through the domination of other interest groups and the creation of a policy which is more inclusive than that of the political policy which begot it. It is at the bureaucrats' level that the political statement needs to be weighed in the scale of economic, social, and educationists' pressures for change. Structures developed to process educational policy differ from state to state, and the organizational framework would need to be studied before clarity on how policies are 'translated into formal governmental expression' (Salter and Tapper 1981:87) could be established. If, as Buckland and Van den Berg (1981:54) claim, 'the education crisis in South Africa is essentially a crisis of legitimacy,' because the user does not accept the authority which established the educational system and because the user is not involved in any real way within the decision making process in the system, the organizational framework of the policy-making process needs investigation. Within a centralized system where 'the determination of educational policy essentially takes place in the cabinet' and 'control over virtually all important educational decisions rests at Department level' (ibid.:52), an expected result would be that although the policy would be endowed with legitimacy and power of the political hegemony, the dynamic for change would be questionable in the eyes of the user. In this case the task of the bureaucrats would be to sell the policy change and to try to service its ideological backing.

Although the final forms which an ideology assumes are 'the political products of power struggles' (Archer 1979:2), the fact remains that ideologies have to be transmitted into policy and the policy implemented within organizations before the effects of the ideology can be assessed.

Althusser (1977:280), in claiming that 'ideologies are not born in the ISAs but from the social classes at grips in the power struggle,' reveals a similar position to that of Archer above, which tends to deny the possibility of those working in ISAs of

having views of their own which may conflict with the stated ideology of the ruling political power. If different ideologies are supported within ISAs, go-slows and administrative inefficiency could, for example, affect the implementation of the stated ideology. A shift in Marxist thinking is noted in Gramsci (1957:27, as cited in Salter and Tapper), who allows for the emergence of 'autonomous ideologies' from the economic base or from the state and indicates that changes can occur in the 'maintenance' of the ideology. The reluctance of both Althusser and Gramsci to investigate the 'maintenance' of ideologies has led to Salter and Tapper (1981:57) claiming that the problem which they do not face up to, is that in our increasingly complex society, group interests,

> 'and the ideologies supporting them, are expressed chiefly through highly bureaucratized institutions, such as those which make up the education system, which are quite capable of establishing their own logic of development in line with their own bureaucratic dynamic.'

Bureaucratic management has emerged under all types of institutional framework, and Hirszowicz (1980:5) comments on the difficulties which socialist politicians have faced in Western democracies, for even when they form the governing party 'the bureaucratic ethos of developed industrial societies seems to cripple socialist minds.'

Hirszowicz (1980:63) traces the historical importance of the bureaucratic apparatus in the USSR, from its original position with an arbitration function between peasants and state dominated industry, to Lenin's awareness of the 'growing bureaucratization characterizing the government' and his attempts 'desperately to keep it within limits.' She quotes support from Trotsky for her views, 'the party was always in a state of open or disguised struggle with the bureaucracy' (ibid.,: 17). According to Hirszowicz and Trotsky among others, Stalin achieved power through the institutional use of the bureaucracy, which subjected the party to its own officialdom. The threat which Lenin regarded from the state bureaucracy was an ideological one, in that its tentacles were stifling democracy within local soviets; but Stalin saw it as a threat to his position of power, in its ability to diffuse or deflect his policies in implementation, 'and twice broke his bureaucracy through terror' (ibid.,:83).

In the framework of the modern monolithic Soviet bureaucracy, Hirszowicz (ibid.,:112) claims that from an organizational change in which public functionaries are now remaining in separate divisions for their entire careers, an esprit de corps has developed which has resulted in bureaucrats becoming 'more and more attached to values relating to their occupational life, values that do not necessarily coincide

with the ideology promoted officially by the party leadership.' This reaction tends to show that although a particular ideology may entrench particular types of control, the structural framework of the institution in which it is to be implemented can influence the actual type of control behaviour of functionaries.

In the United Kingdom, the forum where educational policies are politically motivated 'is increasingly, the educational state apparatus: the Department of Education and Science (DES),' according to Salter and Tapper (1981:87). They claim that the struggle over educational policy making:

> 'takes place in a bureaucratic context which is far from passive in its policy preferences, and which, in fact, sets the parameters within which the policy debate is conducted' (Idem.).

As Bachrach (1967) has argued, the capability of keeping an issue off the agenda of political debate may well be the ultimate form of power.

Control by the DES of educational planning, which includes control of the agenda, enables the DES to define the issues for debate during policy formation meetings. In the course of the Great Debate, the DES seized the initiative, and through the use of the educational state apparatus, was able to gain 'a political ascendency which the teacher unions, partly due, admittedly, to their own incompetence, found it impossible to resist' (Salter and Tapper 1981:54). Calls for greater efficiency in education, including demands for teacher assessment, plus demands for a more rigorous academic curriculum and one tied to economic demands, have led to DES action in publishing numerous papers, which service a particular ideological view-point.

Some support from traditional intellectuals has been used by DES, but Salter and Tapper (1981:220) are concerned about the growth in creative ability of the DES, as an ideological state apparatus, which could enable the DES to grow powerful enough to legitimate government policies on its own :

> 'Until the Department's own organic intellectuals can assume an easy dominance of educational ideas, the elaboration and restarting of the new educational ideology must take place on an open and public basis.'

Moves by the Conservative government to negate power of local education authorities by offering schools grant maintained status, has created a 'third tier of schools alongside the independent and state sectors' (Ashdown 1987:1). Ashdown argues that the central aim of the Education Reform Act in delegating power to parents and making schools more accountable to them, implies a democratization

process and a diminished bureaucracy. However, the authority vested in the Secretary of State to specify the National Curriculum programme of studies and assessment targets, reveals a centralizing, unifying motive which will give more power to the bureaucracy.

In arguing for rationality and unifying power in school systems, Lungu (1985) states that the best feasible system would be one based on bureaucracy. He acknowledges resentment against bureaucracy, both in developing countries mainly because of corruption and in developed countries because of what is often seen as a contradiction between the cited aims of 'democratic, self-directive education' and 'administrative methods' and the surmise that the purpose of bureaucracy is found in an unholy alliance with education aims 'to prepare compliant, controlling bureaucrats, in which case the role of philosophy in education and social policy development is ridiculous' (Willers 1977:48). Failure of bureaucracy to apply impartial rules and norms in developing countries, particularly in regard to promotion and examinations, is not the fault of bureaucracy as an organizational system asserts Lungu (1985:174) and he defends the basic tenets of bureaucracy:

> 'Bureaucracy can be heralded as a significant equaliser, and an effective regulator within the educational sector. Equality of opportunity and before law is embodied in its principle of impartiality.'

He uses examples of schools which have deliberately developed a non-bureaucratic form of organization, such as Metro High School (Center for New Schools [1972]) and Summerhill and demonstrates how they have had problems in working effectively and are difficult places in which to study. Even democratization has failed to work at Summerhill because of the lack of structure.

Concerned about political ideologies influencing educational systems, Lungu (1985:177) supports a coordinating model , similar to the bureaucratic model of school management as identified by Bacharach and Conley (1986):

> 'In today's mass educational systems backed by an increasingly complex technology bureaucracy is needed to arbitrate conflicts from a more impartial perspective than is available to any party in the educational arena.'

But opposition is strong in the literature. The difficulty of altering the loyalties and ideologies of state bureaucracy personnel has been revealed by Hardin (1976:150) through research on the efficacy of political change and the need to 'institutionalize new values in many old organizations, as well as perhaps institutionalize new organizations of social control.' His examples of this in Eastern Europe are corroborated by Hirszowicz (1980:135-6), whose findings reveal

an oligarchical bureaucracy marked by:

- excessive growth of rules and regulations
- overcentralization leading to delays in decision making that require prompt solutions
- excessive time and effort spent on coordinating activities
- displacement of goals with a shift of attention from performance to control and the following of rules not results
- defence mechanisms of bureaucrats against outsiders, with secrecy and dismissal of complaints through official channels being endemic.

Despite claims for legal goals, professionality, dignity, competence, proper procedures, and anonymity in bureaucratic management, Hoyle (1986:24) regards bureaucracy as 'a heuristic device rather than a description of reality.' Apple (1979) sees increasing government support of accountability, technology and scientific systems in the USA as being ideologically motivated. The organizational vision which reflects an ideology which he refutes, is a conservative one of systems man, under which assumption internal conflict is negated and existing internal frameworks and systems of control are supported. The argument is that schools will be improved through technical sophistication. Habermas (1971) has clearly indicated the serious shortcomings for studies such as management sciences in following the positivistic science paradigm from the physical sciences which has had such a major effect on Western thought. As McCarthy (1978:22) explains:

> 'The real problem, Habermas argues, is not technical reason as such but its universalization, the forfeiture of a more comprehensive concept of reason in favour of the exclusive validity of scientific and technological thought, the reduction of praxis to techne, and the extension of purposive-rational action to all spheres of life.'

Bureaucracy, as a form of organization, can affect the structure and process of an organization. But it is associated with a rather narrow usage of the term ideology, one which indicates the climate and culture of the organization, and could be contradictory in that the good bureaucrat will espouse values at work totally opposite to those he upholds in private life.

4.3 Management of Education

4.3.1 A survey of the application of management principles in education

Ideologies which reflect the 'universalization of technical reason' and the attempt to rationalize human behaviour are even more apparent in works on management. Most of the work in this field originated from studies undertaken in industrial corporations, as indicated in the parallel studies on leadership discussed in Chapter 3, and hence there is an underlying production motive which has been transferred

uneasily into management in education.

Commentators such as Wiles and Bondi (1983) have shown how scientific management principles in quest of efficiency permeated American school districts, which were organized in a highly structured manner, after the publication of Taylor's work from 1911. The concept of mechanistic man and concentration on the lowest skill variables in industrial organizations, plus time and motion studies, also influenced educational management strategies. Principals of schools were expected to conform to Taylor's functional foremanship with clear division of labour between themselves as planners and teachers as workers.

Other influences spread into educational management in Europe from Fayol (1929), who stressed the importance of managerial principles in utilising human abilities rather than a strictly scientific approach and divided the manager's task into five functions: planning, organizing, commanding, co-ordinating, and controlling. Rules, regulations, organizational structure, control, and unity of direction were used to limit human variables and to ensure that managers would not make mistakes. Elements of this approach which reflect an ideology of structural functionalism are still pervasive in many works on educational management.

Emphasis on clinical efficiency and improvement of working conditions was proved to be very limited in improving production through the Hawthorne studies (1927-1932) by Mayo and Roethlisberger. These findings led to further work on motivation, and Herzberg (1968:34) discusses a growth in welfare capitalism in the USA, despite management adhering to the Protestant ethic, and the emergence of 'paternalism', which 'may be considered a first approach toward including a human relations concept of industrial relations - a motivation program.'

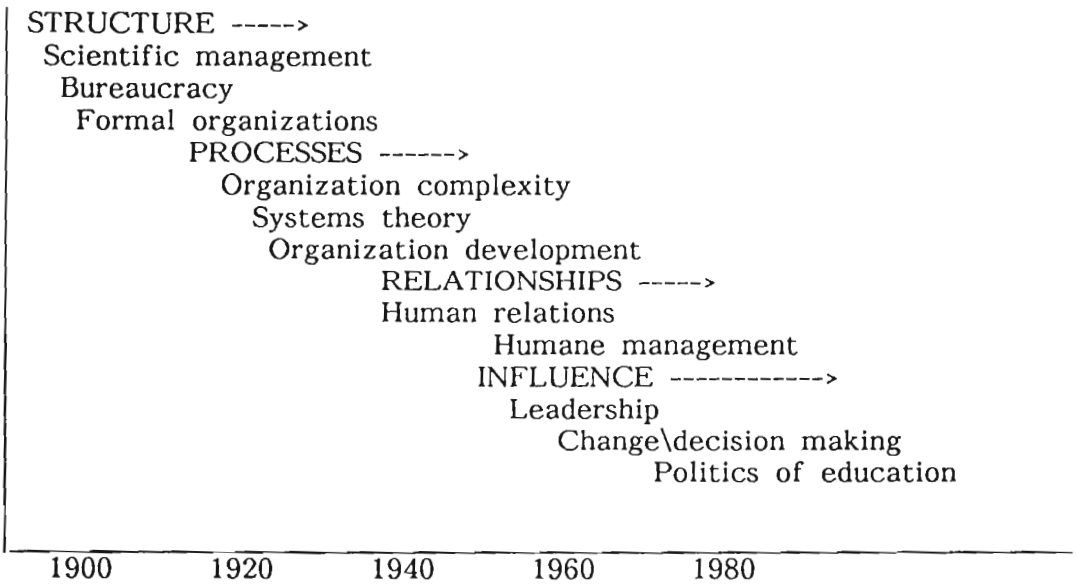
Parallel with technological development and increasing belief in the specialist (Vaizey 1966), with reliance on precision and rationality, was the developing emphasis on social values and concept of needs. A human relations approach had a brief heyday in management theory, but was superseded by what has been termed human resources management. This approach is based to a large extent on overlapping theories of McGregor (1960), Maslow (1954), Herzberg (1968) and Vroom (1970) among others.

McGregor's (1960) Theory Y with its stress on people enjoying work and a positive view that they seek responsibility and do not have to be closely supervised, has inflenced much of the writing on educational management. Maslow's (1954) motivation theory is based on a hierarchy of needs from physical security to self-

actualization, which incorporates a view of man not dissimilar from that in Theory Y, while Herzberg (1968) distinguished between 'hygiene factors' and 'motivating factors,' regarding 'working conditions' as a hygiene factor which would have to be met before 'achievement' or other motivators could operate.

No one version of human resources management has emerged from the literature, but most handbooks on management, for example Dessler (1982) and Wiles and Bondi (1983), refer to similar versions of criteria for organizational effectiveness: 1. a climate to be created that encourages human growth and increases motivation; 2. involvement in decision-making, so that all the resources of the organization can be tapped; 3. constructive communication based on trust and openness; 4. a flexible organization which reduces hierarchical, authoritarian and bureaucratic structures; 5. a belief that high performance is based, to a significant extent, on satisfaction that people get from work. These criteria reflect an ideology which Kimbrough (1982) refers to as classical liberalism.

Wiles and Bondi's (1983:13) inquiry into the functioning of organizations, has suggested a close association between changing ideologies regarding the relationship between man and work and the historical development of management or administrative concepts and their implementation in changing management approaches in school systems in the USA.



Their chart gives a useful overview of what appears to be an increasingly humanistic move in management concerns.

4.3.2 Ideological influence on management principles

Ideological differences do affect responses to scientific behaviourist theories despite claims of universality. Herzberg (1968:120) refers to the challenge of his theory by Professor Vladimir Yadov in Soviet Life 1965 who suggested that 'the Communist worker is motivated by the motivators, while the workers in a capitalist society are primarily wrapped up with hygiene concerns.' In response, Herzberg (1968:166) quotes findings of work that Yadov did in Leningrad:

> 'The Soviet worker realizes more and more deeply that the prospect of his development lies not in the sphere of consumption but in the plane of production. ... the initiative of a worker expressed by active participation in rationalizing the production process. ... peculiarities of the new attitude of labour. ... The initiative is connected with the development of the feeling of proprietorship in the socialist undertaking. A feeling that is unthinkable in the conditions of a capitalistic society.'

Herzberg (Idem.) sees this as a belief similar to that of the Protestant ethic and corrects invalid interpretation of work itself not being seen as a motivator in his research, but hoped, rather naïvely, that 'cross-cultural comparisons will serve to limit the ideological intrusions into the research.' A further example of ideological difference is shown when Herzberg (1968:167) refers to Soviet findings that unskilled manual labourers had shown a decreasing positive attitude to manual labour when they improved their education: 'In this case the appeal to the social value of work hardly helps, since other work is more useful to society due to its greater productivity.' Herzberg argues that what would be more meaningful for the individual in his own work would be a more accurate behaviourist finding than an appeal to other work being more useful to society.

There is a further naïvety in Herzberg's inability to recognise the way ideology affects even concepts of management, and his own hygiene-motivation theory is open to criticism with its implication that capitalist business exists for self-fulfilment of members and not for profit.

Likert was concerned about issues of communication in a changing American society in which demands were increasing for greater freedom and initiative for the individual. He suggested more creative organizational structures including communication patterns in which 'the capacity to exert influence upward is essential if a supervisor (or manager) is to perform his supervisory functions successfully' (Likert 1961:114). His unease over emphasis on top executives in

most studies on management, and his research findings of the success of firms using open and upward communication, led to his support of participative forms of management in which a collectively distributed control would operate rather than a one-sided authoritarian one. It was Barnard (1972) who moved management studies more firmly into consciousness of values through his interest in the moral aspects of executive behaviour. An awareness of philosophical underpinnings of systems permeates Likert's (1961:222) work, although he does tend to support an open systems approach:

> 'All component parts of any system of management must be consistent with each of the other parts and reflect the system's basic philosophy. In an authoritative form of organization, decisions are made at the top; in a participative form, they are made widely throughout the organization.'

Although participative management suggests a form of democratization, Althusser (1971:158) is correct in arguing that through participation in 'material practices governed by material riruals which are themselves defined by the material ideological apparatus' each individual is 'constituted' or given beliefs and dispositions and attitudes about himself and about social, including organizational relations.

Conflict between management principles on which organizations are based and the wider values or ideologies of the populace are indicated by Abrahamsson (1977:11) who questioned propositions of human relations theory with its individualistic approach to man's motivation which ignore the organisation 'as a power resource and as a means for the domination of others;' and by Kweit and Kweit (1981:7), who claim that

> 'Bureaucracies are designed to maximize such values as expertise, efficiency, hierarchical authority, routine, and impersonality, which are in direct contradiction to the democratic values of equality, freedom, and individual human dignity. ... In essence the anomaly of citizen participation is that democratic expectations have been imposed on governmental structures that were never designed to function democratically.'

The potential for dominance through governmental structures is more firmly established by Foucault (1980), although his assertion that man has little access to mechanisms that create reality, while having some validity, has not been accepted fully in this work because it is inconsistent with Mannheim's (1972) concept of 'total' ideology.

Althusser (1971b:246;261) saw the management of the school which as an ISA

functions 'predominantly by ideology,' as more important than the church, as ' ... no other ideological State apparatus has the obligatory (and at least, free) audience of the totality of the children in the capitalist social formation, eight hours a day for five or six days out of seven.' In agreement is Carnoy (1982:81) who argues that 'it is in schooling that reproduction takes its most organized form.' And the sociologist, Wexler (1990:70), has indicated diminishing democratic expectation in the USA through the 'expansion of methods of measurable organization and administrative surveillance [which] constitute the commodifying aspect of a larger historic process of educational reorganization.'

4.3.3 Management training

If one accepts the evidence that schools have a reproduction function and that they are managed ideologically as ISAs, the question of whether the training of educational administrators has taken cognisance of differences in ideologies and behaviourist theories needs to be considered.

Management training of educational administrators developed along different lines in the USA and UK after World War 2. Cultural differences, with the American business ethic emerging from Lutheran values of 'self-sacrifice, sobriety, God-fearing and sheer hard work that are not, emphatically, shared by very many Englishmen,' have been mentioned by Mant (1981:80). Demands for professional qualifications have introduced an ideological control factor, and Glatter's (1972:2) review of the situation in the USA revealed that 'the possession of qualifications in educational administration is closely linked to promotion within the administrative structure, (and) describes the inadequacy of most current course offerings and indicates the inhibiting factors upon change,' with administrative programmes being found to be too abstract.

Mant (1981) among others has generalized that in the USA there is a behavioural approach to management development, with emphasis on motivation and management styles; while in the UK the emphasis is on an institutional approach with concern over structures, roles and purposes. Many of the popular management ideas originated in Britain, with the personal development and sensitivity approach of the Tavistock Institute, developed from experience in rehabilitating ex-soldiers, moving to the USA in the guise of the T - group movement. Although the activity and character building methods originating in public schools such as Gordonstoun, with emphasis on natural systems, did not travel very well, Action Learning, Revans's revelation, that 'in practice, people, including managers, learn mostly from their peers and especially in a context of active problem-solving and solution-

implementation' (ibid.:83) did have great influence in America. Important work done in the Grubb Institute in London on organizational role analysis (ORA), which had been influenced by anthropological analyses, has merged behaviourist and role concepts. There has been insistence that the ORA manager must have a cognitive idea of his role:

> 'That idea probably reflects his own habitual patterns of thought and prejudice rather than the realities which surround him. No-one ever behaves illogically, by his own lights; some people just seem a bit illogical to others. Therefore, if any individual is to change, he must understand his own habitual ways of converting his experience into images, ideas and beliefs' (ibid.:84).

There is an obvious reference here to a 'total' ideology and Layton (1982) reveals how aspects of this idea have been accepted in modern schools of business administration in the USA.

Two perspectives in the theory and practice of educational administration have been highlighted by Gray (1982) who isolates an open systems theory and a phenomenological theory. An interrelation of parts, statistical charts and an Organizational Development (OD) approach which is too simple in its acceptance that consensus arises from an ideological desire for people to agree, is typical, Gray asserts, of American ideologies which seek expressed agreement; while a phenomenological perspective in which personal and subjective meanings and interpretation of reality dominate, are becoming more typical of the lack of agreement in the United Kingdom.

Surveying Western world theories on educational administration, Gronn (1985:56) shows wide-spreading of Grubb ideas and demonstrates that 'it ought to be possible with those who run educational institutions to systematically analyse their thinking and then to determine how this impacts on their own role performance with its attendant consequences for themselves and for their sudordinates.' Yet Gray (1982:219) is pessimistic about management training which is 'much more difficult than we like to believe not because we still do not have a good theory of educational organizations but because we do not have a very good practice of training.' Examples from many industrial management organizations are not edifying in their concentration on how to persuade and influence others, revealing a concern with personal advancement and manipulation.

Greenfield (1975), having been influenced originally by Weber, rejected systems theory and revealed an unease over thinking in university educational administration departments. He considered theories on administration to have been imposed by

the powerful in administration studies, based on perspectives of top executives and ignoring minority groups or subordinates. Awareness of power structures and ideological influence on educational administration has led to a restructuring of educational administration courses at University College of Los Angeles, Stanford, and at Harvard, where role based programmes have given way to political and policy themes, with policy oriented content, strategic planning and operations research (Layton 1982). An additional consideration is Mannheim's (1972:242) support of Weber's observation 'that the interest in systematization is in large part attributable to a scholastic background' and that interest in "systematic" thought is the correlate of juristic and scientific schools of thought, and that the origin of this organizing form of thought lies 'in the continuity of pedagogical institutions.'

In an attempt to extend the limited understanding of administrative work in education, Gronn (1985:59) has blended Greenfield's (1975) critique with aspects of Hodgkinson's taxonomy. This amalgamation of psychological and sociological thought with a resulting influence on structuralism, has also been noted by Wiles and Bondi (1983). It does, however, still indicate an 'organizing form of thought' (Mannheim op. cit.) and a systematic control function of administration despite Greenfield's (1975) thrust against power structures and towards democratization.

4.3.4 Management control of education

Mannheim (1943:19) regarded democracy as a method of social change which could 'be brought about by conciliatory means, with the help of discussion, bargaining and integral consensus' and his definition will be used as a general keystone. Despite moves towards democratization of management control in Western educational systems, the devolution of control has not really been significant according to Sharp (1980:117) who claims that

> 'the provision of universal state education
> reflects a resolution of the question of control
> over the schools in favour of the dominant classes
> whose interests are articulated in the apparatus of
> the state and in their functioning.'

The functioning of the state includes planning for and control of financial provision, employment of teachers and influence on the content of professional training, particularly in subsidised colleges of education. Legal requirements for parents to ensure children attend school and the creations of schools as institutions separate from the adult world, plus social controls in teaching under legalised demands for respect for property and good order, are elements of state management which are vulnerable to a specific ideological viewpoint. Despite 'equality of opportunity' being a catchword in Western nations, attitudes towards stratification can be more

clearly seen in the lack of real restructuring processes with economic, political and ideological dimensions.

Three specific forms of control in school organizations are indicated by Apple (1979): a simple form encompassing direct telling; a bureaucratic form with legitimate ascription to hierarchical relations of the workplace and governed by rules, obligations, and guidelines; and a technical form with curricular goals, processes, outcomes and criteria operating. He notes that teachers tend to avoid bureaucratic control, but have less chance to avoid technical control because of teacher-proof packaged programmes. Ideological technical control through packaged programmes has been noted in Scotland (SCOTVEC) and in Israel as well as in the USA. Greater subtlety of control in American education from the use of Taylor's simple time and motion control to technical control, has been claimed by Apple (1979:1982) who is concerned about the increase of prepackaged curriculum material which could lead to the deskilling of teachers and the minimizing of contact among them, hence reducing professional reaction to state hegemony. Even aims and objectives are specified and 'since the control is technical- that is, management strategies are incorporated into it as a major aspect of the pedagogical \ curricular\ evaluative "machinery" itself - the teacher becomes something of a manager' (Apple 1982:256). Simon (1982) has written of the increase in hegemonic control in school systems because it simplifies the complex of interests and negates opposing aspects.

Support for the idea of the school as a superstructural institution, and agreement with Marx and Engels who regarded the school as part of the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state, is given by Carnoy (1982:81). He notes that education is increasingly and primarily becoming a function of the state. In fact, his position is close to that of Lenin (1978:109), who regarded the management thrust of the bourgeoisie as trying 'to reduce schooling to the training of docile and efficient servants of the bourgeoisie.'

Centralization of planning, organizing, and the means of implementation is a critical factor in the management of educational systems. In a brief consideration of Carnoy's assertion of increasing state involvement in education, it is interesting to note moves towards what are referred to as attempts to democratize systems which emerged from colonial patterns. Chapman (1984:167) refers to the highly centralized system of state schooling in Australia, where there has 'traditionally been little opportunity for members of the community to participate in educational decision-making at the state, regional or school level.' Since the introduction of the 1975 Education (School Councils) Act with a more open structure, he claims

that 'the fear of ideological influences and the loss of their not inconsiderable autonomy, caused disquiet among many principals' (Idem.). Certain parallels with the situation in South Africa are drawn later in this work.

Gray (1982:2) acknowledges hegemonic influence over management of education in 'African and Asian systems (which) tend to be centralised administratively, highly structured, authoritarian and paternal and greatly vulnerable to economic and political change and influence.' Although he sees considerable autonomy in management in the local government system operating in England and Wales, with the education department being part of this local government system, and possibly slightly less in the American system because of political influence on separately elected school board managers, he does acknowledge that there has been little concern over fundamental ideological issues and inadequate grappling with reform of the system. He is critical of work in educational administration which has not considered Marxian theory, has little political perspective and has not used phenomenological and existentialist perspectives. Other than in work by Illich, Postman and Weingartner, and a few others, concern has been with innovation and not reform.

Centralist tendencies in some democracies has been noted by Layton (1982) who points out that countries under the influence of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence do tend to have traditions of localism. Jones (1987) writes of how the policy documents of all political parties in the UK imply more direct control of education. Since the establishment of the Department of Education in the USA in 1979, both parents and teacher organizations have sought for decisions to be made at national level when it suits their interest, while at local level greater community involvement and control have been strongly resisted by teacher organizations. Thus the movement towards decentralization has also ran 'foul of strongly organized teacher and other professional interests,' although 'economic elites predominate in local power structures, and while school administrators may choose to operate independently of such elites they may do so at their peril' (Layton 1982:120). Complaints about centralized and control ideologies have been made by Bacharach and Conley (1986:14) who are concerned that '- education reformers (who) imply that, to make education more effective, we need to control teachers more effectively. Most of today's education reformers continue to ignore basic lessons of organizational management.' Their discussion on school management reveals two models : a bureaucratic model in which the school system's need to coordinate activities predominates, and a preferable professional model in which teachers would plan, organize and conduct their own work. It was Mintzberg (1983:110) who asserted that 'the more professional an organization, the more decentralized its structure.'

In the Soviet Union, management of education has been marked by centralization, rigidity, attention to control and not performance, excessive coordination, dismissal of complaints and secrecy. Institutions, including schools, have been enmeshed in networks which reduce possibilities of independent action. Hirszowicz (1980:17) writes that bureaucracy in the USSR is different from that in the West, structurally, and in its 'constitutional charter, that is, officially acknowledged objectives.' Tomiak (1983:vii) is even more clear on the hegemony of the Party on educational management:

> 'Centrally directed and controlled, or oriented towards clearly identifiable objectives and goals, the diverse constituent part of the Soviet system of education have to respond to both ideological exhortations embodied in governmental directives and Party resolutions as well as social and economic pressures.'

In agreement is Grant (1979:25) who asserts that all aspects of Soviet education are planned in detail and that tight control is exercised by central authority, while 'education policy has always been conceived in the light of social and political objectives.' Despite the offering of language options in which all nationalities in the multinational and multilingual USSR may opt for mother tongue education, management is uniform because the 'general policy of the system, the content of the curriculum and ... the values taught, remain substantially uniform throughout the Soviet Union' (Grant 1983:34).

Control within all schools still lies firmly with teachers and not with pupils, except possibly in revolutionary situations such as in certain Black schools in the RSA, as Sharp (1980:125) indicates:

> 'However democratic the form of decision-making, ... there is always some degree of centralization of control located firmly at the purse strings, and an institutionalization of hierarchy which, however weak the boundaries, tends to preserve a basic asymmetry of power between teaching personnel and pupils.'

In the UK, a highly significant management change in state systems has been promoted by the Conservative government, that of allowing school governors and principals to opt their schools out of local authority control. Although this is a form of decentralization of control; with a national curriculum and testing system, opponents of the scheme have seen it as basically an ideological attack on Labour-controlled local authorities. Ideological support from Letwin (1987:104) is based on a view of a benign and non-ideological control, 'restoring the state as impartial arbiter of standards' and that 'British education could at last become one nation.'

A belief in competition with a blithe rejection of social class ideologies is shown in his vision of 'a multitude of independently-run schools, each with its unique character, and each with access to support from the tax-payer, could work together in amiable competition to provide the best possible education for all.'

Inabilities of state schools to operate effectively under radical changes in management ideology has been noted by Hoyle (1986:46-7) whose reference to the failure of the radical approach at William Tyndale Junior School in Islington in 1976 contains two elements of blame: 'the political account sees failure to sustain open schools as the result of conservative external pressures' while 'the managerial account holds that the failure to institutionalise open schools is due to the lack of an appropriate strategy of change.' In their report on the Cambire school project in the USA, Gross et al. (1971) reveal a lack of clarity about innovation and an incompetent attempt to match vague goals with a workable structure for the school.

Given the paucity of democratic interaction in the management of school systems and tendencies towards conformity and a particular reproduction in Western democracies, an inquiry into more significant aspects of management is required.

Hodgkinson (1978) opposes the view prevalent from the time of Max Weber that administration is a rational subject, akin to economics and science. He warns that the administrator must be aware of assumptions about human nature in that promotion and job assignments are not based on scientific criteria of a neutral, valueless or rational nature but on ideological affinities, often kinship. He distinguished between management as a science, dealing with routine programmatic work, and administration as an art concerning itself with value and human components, regarding the assumptions held about the nature of man as central, and defining it as 'philosophy in action' (Hodgkinson 1978:3). His request for a dialogue between administrators and philosophers is supported by Etzioni (1978:xi) who stresses the need to study 'value defects which can impair the quality of organizational life.' The inability of most writers on management to consider value systems has led to rigid organizations and continuity of value, in which self-perpetuating groups control the reward system and to 'mutual reciprocities between in-group members, all of which can be organizationally dysfunctional' (Hodgkinson 1978:166).

Hodgkinson's concern with values in administration, has influenced White (1987:85), who expresses concern over management thrusts in schools to manipulate people into compliant behaviour:

> 'Management theory is doomed to fail to achieve its aims because making institutions work better is inescapably bound up with certain ethical values and management theory, whilst priding itself on its status as a neutral science, unconcerned with moral matters, is deeply, and I suspect often unconsciously, committed to the most morally dubious aims.'

He quotes from Scheffler to support his view that policy makers fail to gain acceptance for their policies because they do not study the cultural environment of the people concerned, or treat them as hindrances to the implementation of the preconceived policy. The need for individuals to preserve self-respect is the central idea of White's (1987:87) thesis and he strongly asserts demands on democratic management for 'the raison d'etre of democratic arrangements is that they reflect institutionally the fact that as moral persons we have rights, duties and responsibilities.'

Harman (1974:18) wrote of educational administration scholars being able to see 'that how school systems are constructed and governed has an important bearing on what goes on in classrooms and how effectively schools are able to adapt themselves to social change and the agents of change.' This concept claims considerable influence for administrative structures and denies easy possibilities for democratic management. A change in outlook towards an awareness of disparate values affecting management decisions is taken by Gray (1982:38), who sees organizations functioning 'as expressions of collective value systems ... (that) are inherently in a state of conflict.'

According to Pettigrew (1983) values do not play a significant role in times of organizational growth, because growth takes place at such a rate that it becomes deified and actions taken in its name are not considered in terms of the underlying values informing this action. In his estimation cultures, structures, and operations of schools and business organizations are not totally different and that current concerns expressed by writers on educational management are general concerns governing poor and contracting environments which need new ideologies of action, because powerful groups remain and become more insistent:

> 'The new concern with control puts the spotlight on who governs the system, the new concern with resources releases new energy into the organisation's internal and external political processes' (Pettigrew 1983:106).

Davies and Easterby-Smith (1985:39) review the literature and find that in recent years there has been a clear recognition by both management and organizational

theorists that the analysis of structures and systems can provide 'only a limited understanding of what takes place in organisations.' What is needed is a greater understanding of the underlying assumptions of organizational members about the purpose of their organisation, assumptions referred to as organization cultures by Pettigrew (1983); or myths, which influence informal power distribution, by Mintzberg (1983). Although they acknowledge that a theory such as OD is open and sharing, it does not search myths which bind 'different individuals within a common ideology' and are concerned that 'trying to reorientate individuals in the face of strong organisation cultures is often counter-productive' (ibid.:40; 54).

Support for OD comes from Schmuck (1982) who regards OD as not merely a design and a technology for school improvement, but as a philosophy which is embedded in the values system of the organization. Through focus on the system and the effect of the culture of the school on teachers and pupils, he feels that culture modification would 'embody democratic values in ... norms, structures and procedures' (Schmuck 1982:140) and not involve traditional elitist or hierarchical methods of change. Marshall and McLean (1985) argue that the concept of culture from anthropology goes further that OD, which as a mainly rational analysis does not alter fundamental views, in that it illuminates an organization's norms and values and their significance in shaping attitude and behaviour. They are aware of the difficulty in unblocking organizational cultures for change and define organizations as 'complex patternings of meanings that correspond to paradigms or world views' (Marshall and McLean 1985:7) or Mannheim's 'total' concept of ideology. The difficulty of accepting rational management in principle is argued by Lakomski (1987:148), who uses an example of the solving of a conflict through 'administrative fiat' to demonstrate that such an action 'merely reflects the beliefs, personal preferences, or political allegiances of a given decision-maker.' He supports the cultural analysis or cultural perspective approach, suggested in works by Habermas (1971;1974), Geertz (1973), and Greenfield (1975).

The importance of cultural phenomena in management studies is gaining wide acceptance, with Johnson (1985:36) claiming that frameworks to assist with strategic management in action 'will require a greater emphasis on political and cultural dynamics of change rather than rationality of analysis.' Mintzberg (1983) refers to systems of beliefs which form an ideology about an organization and are shared by members as myths. Key features of organizational ideology are unifying power, generation of esprit de corps, a sense of mission, and feelings of rationality against uncertainty. All these are aspects of ideology as discussed in Chapter 2.

Summary

Education management is not exempt from general thinking on management. Despite a commonality in accepted functions of management, management is ideologically based. Ideological support for what is institutionalized and agreement on acceptable patterns of order do more than help to determine the ethos of an educational institution. Many of the management oriented skills being taught to principals focus on their public responsibility. Accountability in performance terms has penetrated schools. Concern over the banalities of education management has been expressed by Greenfield, claiming that what is measurable is not actually the organization.

Different ideological views of man can be seen in management theory, such as in systems theory where structure is seen as real and independent or in a contrasting phenomenological view. Althusser's assertion that ideology always exists in an apparatus and in its practices is confirmed through Michel's theory on elite rule, through Carnoy and Werthein's social class hegemony and through Weber's defence of the need for bureaucracy.

An historical perspective of education management reveals close association with thought on industrial management. The view of scientific and mechanistic man which held sway from 1911, could be seen in the thrust for clinical efficiency in schools; while later concerns of welfare capitalism and the belief in specialists, followed by human relations and human resources management have all been noted in works on educational management. There is little support in the educational management literature for the trite ideological theories such as that of the scientific behaviourists who see work as meaningful for the individual in making him more useful for society, and the capitalist theory that business exists for the self-fulfilment of the individual.

Schools as organizational stuctures moved from closed systems with emphasis on efficiency and obedience to open systems with emphasis on rewards and contributory values, although the systems approach with its structural functionalism and belief in rational procedures such as efficient bureaucracy, is still in ideological conflict with open systems and phenomenological theory. A movement from strong systems to loose-coupled systems or conflict systems has been mentioned.

Ideologies have to be transmitted into policy for effects of ideology to be assessed. Bureaucracy as a form of organization has emerged under all types of institutional

framework and is common in education systems. Mannheim observed that political problems are turned into problems of administration by bureaucrats. In the USSR, Hirszowicz notes how bureaucrats have become more attached to values affecting their occupational life than in official ideology. Bureaucrats may try to sell policy change or pursue other goals than those stated politically. In the UK bureaucrats from the Department of Education and Science set parameters for policy debates with teacher unions. In South Africa user rejection of bureaucratic influence has been apparent in black education, while in white education bureaucrats enforce policies to enshrine Afrikaner hegemony. Democratic education and administrative methods may seem to be mutually opposed, but as a management system, bureaucracy is theoretically an equaliser and regulator, and democracy will fail if there is a lack of structure. Although bureaucracy is considered to be able to arbitrate conflicts impartially and hence be ideologyless, in reality excessive growth of regulations, overcentralization, time wasting, control functions and secrecy emerge to support the status quo.

Ideological differences in the approach to management training for educators was noted. In the USA, with the belief in self-sacrifice and hard work a behaviourist approach with concerns of motivation and management styles has emerged. Professional qualifications in management are a control factor with educators requiring qualifications for promotion. In the UK there has been an institutional approach with emphasis on structures, roles and purposes. Behaviour and role concepts have merged into organizational role analysis and the understanding of ways of converting experience into ideas and beliefs. Even phenomenological theory is approached differently: personal and subjective meanings being predominant in the USA, and interpretation of reality predominating in the UK. Recent changes in university courses on educational management have been made in both countries. Criticism that previous courses have ignored minority groups and subordinates, has led to the introduction of themes on sociological, political and economic ideologies. Management courses have been politicized to investigate how particular social structures and world views influence thinking on leadership in education and how leadership is involved with politics of education.

States function on a control basis and governing groups dominate through control of education in varying degrees. Centralizing tendencies with tighter control of testing and ideological control of packaged programmes for teachers have been noted in the UK and USA. Co-ordination and secrecy predominate in the USSR where education has been managed directly under hegemony of the Party. In African and Asian systems hegemonic state influence, inherited from colonial systems, is still strong.

Democratic expectancies in school education, with its audience of children, cannot be met when they impose upon government structures, while hegemonic political and social ideologies do reduce real chances for participative management. Abrogation of critical faculties under the technological thrust, has led to greater state demands for curriculum change.

Many works on management do not consider human value systems. In many societies, hegemonic self-perpetuating groups tend to control reward systems and their aims are often morally dubious. Subordinate groups act in accord with dominating institutions such as schools although their values may differ. How systems are constructed and governed is an important study, but an analysis of purpose, organiaztion cultures and myths is required to make this study significant. Collective value systems, such as organization cultures, need to be unblocked and underlying ideologies clearly evaluated for real change to occur.

The need for flexible organizations to reduce hierarchical influence and the creation of alternative social structure and opportunities are being limited by existing structures. A climate for human growth needs to be developed.

Claims for a benign and non-ideological control of education with the opting out option in the UK where change is not being forced, could be a positive form of management change, although it does have ideological political roots. As schools actively promote the dominant social ideology, the need to examine their own ideologies of how they do not want to change, is of vital importance.

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CHAPTER 5

Ideology and the schooling process

5.1 Introduction

In this work so far, the nature of ideology and its relationship with leadership has been examined and the concomitant effect of ideology and leadership on organizational structure and forms of management has been reviewed. Now, in considering the question of how ideology finds application or expression in schooling, the emphasis of the research shifts to a more practical review of 'ideological concepts in action' (Kimbrough 1982:23), and to the question of whether ideology is 'governed by the rituals in which these practices are inscribed' (Althusser 1971:158). A consideration that ideology as a social phenomenon, which consists of thought that involves characterization, evaluation and prediction (as established in Chapter 2), helps to focus the scope of the question on to an investigation of ideological effect on three elements of the educative process. Young's (1971:5) criticism of the emphasis on social class and educational opportunity in the work of sociologists has been borne in mind, and his statement that detailed studies are needed of three problematic elements: 'the curricula, pedagogic and assessment categories,' which he regards as socially constructed, has influenced the selection of these elements.

5.2 The curriculum

5.2.1 Introduction

It is postulated that ideologies help to fashion the curriculum, including the hidden curriculum, in any educational system. Particular perceptions of social reality and particular value-orientations held by powerful groups will influence the development of a curriculum, while Apple (1979:35) argues that 'cultural distribution and economic power are intimately intertwined, not just in the teaching of "moral knowledge" as in some of the reproduction theorists, but in the formal corpus of school knowledge itself.' What is regarded as legitimate knowledge is influenced by specific social groups and emerges from their particular situation and historical setting (Mannheim 1972); so, to Apple (1979:45), the 'study of educational knowledge is a study in ideology.'

In another survey of the interconnection between ideas and situation, Mannheim (1972:2) claimed that 'the principal thesis of the sociology of knowledge is that there are modes of thought which cannot be adequately understood as long as their

social origins are obscured.' Wirth (1972:x-xvii) recognises this point and gives historical examples of how the authoritarian Church would not tolerate untrammelled inquiry, and then how its theology changed doctrines to fit in with scientific discoveries, and of selection of a curriculum by Japan in the 193Os which indicate how thoughts which are considered to be dangerous by controlling elements in totalitarian societies are not permitted to become part of a curriculum, because these ideas become 'so sacred that they will not tolerate their profanation by discussion.' The dominant ideology masks these ideas.

Political power groups are usually supported by an intellectual class which can persuade other interest groups, or students, to agree with the introduction of an acceptable curriculum. Mannheim (1972) has mentioned such situations in the history of Western thought and claims that one of the functions of an intellectual caste, such as supporters of scholasticism, is to sanction, through sermons and lectures, the ontology and epistemology implicit in binding modes of thought.

In his work on intellectuals, Gramsci (197O:124) supports the concept of the hegemony of upper class thought by referring to the 'spontaneous consent' given by the masses of population to the direction of social life through the '"prestige" (and hence from the trust) accruing to the ruling class from its position and its function in the world of production.'

The power of the dominant class to determine the curriculum, even if this is covert in action, is indicated by Bernstein (1975) whose research has shown that the transmission of established cultural traditions perpetuates a pattern of class relations. In their model of an educational system, Bowles and Gintis (1976) demonstrate how the influence of a capitalist mode of reproduction is a disguising one, in that :

> 'the process of social reproduction is disguised by ideological camouflages which legitimate inequalities that owe their presence to other causes' (in Salter and Tapper 1981:22-3),

while Bowles (1971:147) is clearly of the opinion that the upper class controls educational objectives and determines the accepted patterns within education, including the curriculum, and 'the ideological and institutional context in which educational decisions are made.'

A phenomenon which Apple (1979:44) terms 'ideological saturation' operates, he claims, to influence both parents and children through the general fabric of commonsense ideas in a society with wide media coverage, and which helps to induct children into the hidden curriculum and so maintain the ideological hegemony

of powerful economic and cultural classes. The effect of subtle influences within society, which imbue citizens with attitudes and viewpoints, is a more plausible theory than the conspiracy theory of many of the other neo-Marxists which postulates completely overt control of curricula in Western industrialized nations by specific and sinister power groups.

The importance of status groups, styles of language, manners, opinions and values et cetera, as elements of the hidden curriculum, is claimed by Collins (1979:125), who argues that school groups are distinguished in 'terms of categories of moral evaluation on grounds of breeding, taste, propriety and other such values: thus the exclusion of persons who lack the ingroup culture is felt to be normatively legitimated.' Education is seen as the purveying of status culture, by Collins (1979:127), whose research has led to claims that the determination of the important (hidden) curriculum by the powerful status group is also tied to control and restrictive practices within work organizations: 'to select new members for elite positions who share the elite culture.' There are close similarities in this view to the claim of Illich that

> 'the hidden curriculum transforms the explicit curriculum into a commodity and makes its acquisition the securest form of wealth' (in Bell 1973:613).

The evidence indicates that ideologies, of an explicit and an implicit nature, which are held by power or status groups in a society, will have a marked effect on the determination of a curriculum. Power groups, through political influence, would present an explicit curricular ideology which could be combated in an open arena; whereas the implicit nature of status group influence on the hidden curriculum is more difficult to define and hence to oppose.

5.2.2 Ideologies undergirding the school curriculum in the USA, the UK and the USSR

It is considered essential to the purpose of this thesis to show the pervasive influence of ideologies on the curriculum in major school systems to extend the general argument which will be used as a touchstone in later reference to South Africa. Various assortments of beliefs, motives and ambitions have led to the formulation of ideologies which have been used to exert influence on, or to become the dominant ideology undergirding the curriculum in the UK and the USA in recent years. Conflicting doctrines are surveyed in an endeavour to understand how they reflect major ideologies, while contrasts are drawn with the policies which reflect the totalitarian type of ideology which controls the curriculum in the USSR. Although there have been recent political changes in the USSR, it is postulated

that the research of the influence of a particular totalitarian ideology on education is apposite to the requirements of this thesis.

That a major discrepancy exists between the egalitarian ideology and reality in the pursuit of the egalitarian ideal in the USA, is indicated by Bowles (1971:144) who claims that the assertion that '"egalitarian" education compensates for inequalities generated elsewhere in the capitalist system,' is fallacious.

Referring to work by Mills (1963), Collins (1971:124) shows links between social class origins and occupational attainment in the USA. His reference is to WASP (White Anglo Saxon Protestant) schools which were started, he argues, because the function of the growing public schools was one of mass indoctrination which made them unsuitable as means 'of maintaining cohesion of the elite culture itself.' Therefore, ideological support for a different curriculum, both overt and hidden, from that legitimating education in the public schools, was established among elitist groups. The right to practise religion in schools was one of the ideological foundations of WASP schools.

Nevertheless, the belief in equal opportunity in education is a cornerstone of American ideas on democracy, and one which has found curricular support in the strong liberal tradition. In a survey of liberalism, Kimbrough (1982:28-33) found that, 'as a general ideological movement, "liberalism" in America is a broad, mercurial stream with numerous tributaries,' and feels that differing ideological positions have been accommodated in associations formed in opposition to right-of-centre views. He regards new liberalism as stressing social interdependence and producing broadly based progressive programmes of education with an underlying support for the underprivileged and for women's rights. Although new liberals have been active in educational circles, they have lost influence to the classical liberals who promote a more formal academic curriculum and a belief in meritocracy, regarding 'intelligence as the basis for the good life.' This ideology has connections with the social contract of John Locke and has been very influential in the USA since 'key decision makers in the Reagan administration (expressed) classical liberal views.'

A right-of-centre ideological grouping is one which Kimbrough (1982:32) terms modern conservatism. Its origins are Burkean with a view of man as a creature of emotion needing control under strict law and a belief that a change in the body of wisdom would not be sensible. Piety is an important force, supporting a belief that 'providence, not reason, should be the source of truth undergirding society.'

In the 1960s McClosky et al. found that certain educational ideologies of the Democratic party in the USA were used to legitimate policies affecting the curriculum, for example the need to elevate the lowborn, uneducated and poor with stress on group goals of a human and social welfare nature (in Kimbrough 1982:23). Their work also revealed ideologies of the Republican party, which stressed symbols and practices of individualism, personal effort and personal responsibility under a laissez-faire system. Kimbrough (1982:25) himself is in agreement with their findings and distinguishes, as already noted, between classical liberal ideologies with a 'basics' concept of schooling allied to individuality and self reliance, and New Deal liberal ideologies which propose support for the educationally deprived under the banner of a progressive, broader curriculum.

These divisions in liberal thought are acknowledged by Apple (1979), who adopts a neo-Marxist position, and who refers to an academic achievement curriculum model with emphasis on efficiency and discipline with a neglect of social school knowledge and a socialization mechanism of school knowledge which neglects the political and economic context in which social values function. In a plea for debate on worth-while standards, Ravitch (1981:181) surveys controversial opinions, and comes out in favour of a serious curriculum and the contraction of insubstantial courses, so that children will face a purposefully planned curriculum in both content and process 'in which they will need to know a great deal about language, history, economics, science, mathematics, music, art, and technology.' She sees a rigorous curriculum, taught by competent teachers, as a way forward for educators to demonstrate that schools do make a difference and to stifle lay criticism. A major concern of Apple's (1979) is the prestige of curricula in the academic achievement model and that high status knowledge, such as science and technology, is enmeshed in the economic reproduction ideology in the USA. He agrees with Habermas (1971) that purposive-rational forms of reasoning and action have replaced symbolic action systems and gives evidence of systems management approaches to curriculum design in which instructional goals are stated behaviourally under the guise of a manipulative and technocratic ideology. Government support of technology and of 'scientific systems' he sees 'in concrete ways in which the curriculum field supports the widespread interests in technical control of human activity, in rationalizing, manipulating, incorporating, and bureaucratizing individual and collective action, and in eliminating personal style and political diversity' (Apple 1979:128).

Concern over the economic and cultural power of industrial corporations has been voiced by Finkelstein (1985) and Apple (1979:12); but the report by the **National Commission on Excellence in Education: A Nation at Risk** (Gardner 1983) although claiming excellence for everyone through mandatory and demanding courses in basic

and scientific subjects, is underpinned by a particular economic ideology, which Wexler (1990) refers to as 'market ideology.'

The dominant world-view of classical liberalism does have opposition. Defining basics in the light of new concerns will be problematic for schools, according to Apple (1983), because the content of the curriculum has become a major political issue. He acknowledges the ideological trends which have been activated by conservative groups and the pressure that industry has had on the curriculum; but points to labour unions which have begun to flex their influence through the stressing of labour education. His view of the next two decades includes growing friction between business and organized labour, but with growing cooperation between state departments of education and the business community, 'the form or organization of the curriculum will become increasingly technical and management orientated' (1983:183). He sees increased emphasis on mathematics and science with a focus on computers in all areas of the curriculum. Much of the curriculum will be conceived outside of the schools, which could lead to the 'deskilling' of the teaching force which would no longer plan and control its own work. Another ideological influence would be exerted by publishers who would tailor texts for states which have textbook adoption policies, hence the curriculum would tend to become less controversial and would be unlikely to include aspects to oppose any powerful interest group.

To counteract standardization of the curriculum along mechanistic lines, Apple (1983:185) argues for curricular balance in a curriculum that must be both conservative and critical. He recommends wide participation by teachers and parents in reviewing social goals, the proper direction for schools and what should be taught and why, based on ideals of 'faith in the American people, commitment to expanding equality, commitment to diversity and liberty.' Apple's (1979:11) commitment is clearly 'to a social order that has at its very foundation not the accumulation of goods, profits, and credentials, but the maximization of economic, social, and educational equality.'

Interesting similarities in ideological positions to those mentioned in the American situation are to be found in the UK from the 196Os. Salter and Tapper (1981) refer to the 196Os version of the traditional dialectic between supporters of the ideological position supporting the expansion of educational opportunity and those supporting the view that education is basically for investment and efficiency. Political power at the time favoured the egalitarian ideology and sociologists were used formally to assist the Department of Education and Science (DES). Whether these sociologists were used as traditional intellectuals to legitimate the policy

changes suggested by DES officials, or whether they operated as creative organic intellectuals, is a question which has not been answered.

A major ideological shift in government thinking in the UK is noticeable in the 1975 government White Paper **An Approach to Industrial Strategy** which demanded that industrial objectives 'be given priority over other policy aims, and that policy in other areas, including education, will need to be influenced by our industrial needs' (205). The influence of this demand on DES publications has been noted by Halsey (1979) among many others, and the thrust from DES for a core curriculum is considered to have influenced Prime Minister Callaghan in his watershed introduction of the Great Debate in 1976. The change in ideological emphasis of the Labour party's attitude towards the curriculum led to an extreme attack on it in an editorial in the **Marxist Radical Education** which referred to ruling class reproduction intentions in redefining 'the content and the terms of access to education' (in Salter and Tapper 1981:191).

A movement away from the liberal ideology of Grace (1978) has been noted by Collier (1982), who comments on a more pragmatic approach to ideological influences in higher education. He does isolate four major kinds of ideological standpoints which influence ideas on the curriculum as well as educational policy in general. Those supporting an academic ideology believe in the importance of values in a barbaric world, open competition, and the need for a coherent conceptual structure to the curriculum; while the economic renewal ideologists see the importance of vocational education and support individual development, to improve problem solving abilities. An egalitarian ideology has emerged from the belief in meritocratic principles which both political parties supported in 1945. An egalitarian curriculum would offer equality of opportunity through support of means to combat unequal distribution of wealth. A broad curriculum would be supported. Finally, Collier notes the emergence of a consensus ideology which recognises conflict between groups of legitimate persuasions and offers freedom of action and accommodation within the curriculum, having close conceptual connection with Kimbrough's (1982) New Deal liberalism in the USA.

From the inception of the Thatcher government in 1979, ideological conflict between teachers' unions and government has spread to proposed curricular changes. Teachers, who in the past have had considerable influence on curriculum development in England and Wales, have lost ground with the dissolution of the Schools' Council and with the bureaucratic expansion of the DES. According to Salter and Tapper (1981:209):

> 'Teachers were both divided and unprepared for the ideological campaign the DES was about to wage,'

in support of a core curriculum following the Great Debate. The NUT opposed the very concept of a core curriculum, while the Head Masters' Association supported the idea. During his tenure as Secretary of State for Education, Sir Keith Joseph was at the centre of most controversies and his speech at the North of England Conference in 1984 gave a clear indication of his ideological thrust. Vestiges of functionalist and human capital theory are apparent influences on his thinking. His use of terminology from business management and the objectives-based approach are significant examples. In terms of Collier's ideological terminology, Sir Keith's statements place him in an economic renewal and an academic ideological quadrant.

Numerous references were made to Her Majesty's Inspectors' (HMI) surveys, to gain the support of traditional intellectuals, for the ideas presented. While the appeal to local authorities for consultation to lead to the formulation of curricular policy in each l.e.a. for pupils of all abilities and aptitudes, implied a belief in a consensus ideology. But the major curricular axiom was vague and general with the use of terms such as 'breadth, relevance, differentiation, and balance.'

Statistics used by the government to argue for a broadening of the curriculum were published in **TES** (22.11.85:14), and the emphasis was placed on bright pupils:

> 'The need to broaden the curriculum for bright pupils, (being) the aim of the Government's proposed Merit and Distinction awards.'

The broadening of the curriculum is seen in terms of traditional academic areas, and the achievement award is also consistent with what Cosin (1972:149-51) terms the 'elitist/conservative' ideology of education. Attitudes and opinions favoured within this curricular thrust are those on 'the best culture' in the tradition of FR Leavis and TS Eliot, but the elitist/conservative ideology is closely aligned to what Cosin (1972) refers to as a rationalizing/technocratic ideology. This ideology is also conservative in that it supports the status quo in most curricular areas, veering away in its emphasis on vocational relevance and its overriding motif of educational contribution to the economy. Criticism of the development of this latter-day functionalist-type ideology has come from supporters of an egalitarian/democratic ideology (Blackstone 1983:86-7) who have been concerned about the effect on disadvantaged children.

Strong support of egalitarian/democratic ideologies by teachers and teachers' unions has led to major opposition to the new '16 plus' curriculum, which has in it strong elements of vocational relevance. In **TES** (8.11.85:2) a report refers to the situation in Scotland where the Ministry of Education had introduced a new '16

plus' curriculum ahead of England and Wales, which also faced teacher disapproval so that 'discouraged by the unopened boxes piling up in the stockrooms, they have stopped sending out materials now.'

The problem in Scotland was corroborated by Her Majesty's Chief Inspector, Walter Beveridge, who in an interview with the writer, stated that little had been achieved in the implementation of the new '16 plus' curriculum in Scotland because of teacher opposition, despite support from industrial organisations and the Scottish Education Office. Teacher unions were involved in a financial dispute with government and so their tendency would be towards rejection of any proposed change, even to the curriculum.

The influence of the hidden curriculum and the power of status groups can be assumed from evidence given by the Confederation of British Industry to the Public Schools Commission (1968 ii:228) in which it was confirmed that, 'the public school tends to bring out at an early age the qualities of leadership, self-reliance, self-confidence and self-discipline' (in Salter and Tapper 1981:186).

A significant feature of the new rationalizing/technocratic ideology is that the connection between school curriculum and industry itself has affected the influence of class status in the determining of occupations. But Sir Geoffrey Chandler, director of 1986 Industry Year in the UK, could still refer to prejudice in his address at speech day at Cranford community school (**TES** 3.10.86:17):

> 'The whole community must help to reverse the anti-industrial attitudes formed at school if Britain's re-industrialization is to succeed,'

and claims that there are still attitudes which 'regard industry as somehow morally and socially inferior to the learned professions.' The target of Industry Year was a new 'business plan' to see all schools setting up links with industry and for children to go on 'practical exercises.' Sir Geoffrey indicated aspects of a technocratic ideology through his request for 'involvement of industry in the curriculum.'

The ideological position of the Confederation of British Industry regarding the curriculum had been made clear during their annual conference (reported in **TES** (22.11.85:16) when their aims of 'promoting the relevance and importance of industry' in schools, 'partly because of the increasing dependence of business upon knowledge and skills,' but also because of disenchantment with the educational system as a whole were started. Industrialists were recommended to become active on boards of governors and on other bodies.

Tyldesley (1982:144-6) notes how the political climate - or the politics of monetarism - has helped to promote the changing curriculum at local and national level in the UK. Schools facing falling rolls and reduction in finance have been gearing their curriculum to particular demands such as 'back to basics' or to prestige projects. Schools, which have been traditionally more expert in philosophical debate, have, within the ideological thrust of monetarism, been forced to argue in economic terms. Finally a National Curriculum has been laid down in what the NUT claim (in **A Strategy for the Curriculum: 1990**) is a more detailed form than the Education Reform Act requires and which stresses narrow academic and technological fields.

In the USSR, in 1976 at the 25th Party Congress, Leonid Brezhnev, stated:

> '... the party considers the inculcation of
>
> communist consciousness, the readiness, will and knowledge needed to build communism to be its constant concern... (in the previous five years) ... questions of ideological education, and the problems of the formation of the new man, a worthy builder of communism, have occupied a big place in all our work' (in Morison 1982:145).

A follow-up Central Committee decree on 26 April 1979, entitled 'On the further improvement of ideological and political-educational work,' included an aggressive scientific approach which called for the development of the country in economic, social, political and cultural areas, but acknowledged that progress 'would depend all the more on the success of ideological and political educational work' (Idem.)

A cornerstone of the Soviet curriculum follows the above directives and Ministerial instructions that all subjects should be related to ideological precepts. The core of Marxist-Leninist theory has been retained with a 'granite-like solidity' (Matthews 1983:7) since the Revolution, and current curricular ideology includes three major premises: a materialistic explanation of historical change and reality; a class analysis which emphasises the exploitation of the proletariat in pre-socialist times; and the promise of a utopian communist state as a revolutionary outcome. Education is also used to inculcate loyalty to the state and to develop patriotic attitudes. There is a similarity here with the demands on white teachers in the RSA. The blatant forms of manipulation expected from teachers is shown in Sovetskaya pedagogika 1981 No 5, as quoted by Morison (1982:153):

> 'the most important condition of the high effectiveness of this (political) work in the school is the deep ideological conviction and political competence of the teachers, the ability to evaluate facts and the phenomena of social life

from a party position.'

The most important difference between Soviet and American schools is seen by Bronfenbrenner (1970:26) to be the emphasis placed in Soviet schools not only on subject matter, but equally on vospitanie, which as 'upbringing' or 'character education,' has 'as its stated aim the development of "Communist ideology".'

Matthews (1983:7) states that 'ideology comes into the general school curriculum mainly through the medium of the so-called social studies ... history, anthologies, literary texts and economic geography.' In his review of the political content of education in the USSR, Morison (1982:161) relates how history is taught from a socialist viewpoint, that patriotism is stressed and that religion is regarded as a weapon in the class war with religious morality being classified as unscientific. Further ideological standpoints are taken against capitalist states in which 'imperialist circles inflame a military psychosis and connive at propaganda of a man-hating ideology.'

To ensure that 'the spiritual and intellectual needs of Soviet man' are met, as formulated in the 1974 Basic Law on Education, Grant (1979:25) reveals how films, newspapers, newscasts, Lenin posters et cetera are used consciously and deliberately to supplement what is taught in schools. Contents of school courses are determined in detail through centrally approved textbooks, which are re-written to meet changing stances - hence no history examination was set in 1956 because new textbooks had not been completed after the Hungarian uprising - and strict censorship of material operates. The highly conservative nature of Soviet education can be surmised from the fact that of the twenty subjects set for high schools in 1983, Matthews indicates that seventeen were the same as were set in 1947.

The Soviet system is profoundly vocational as O'Dell (1983:106) explains: 'the reasons for the significance of vocational education in the USSR are both ideological and economic.' Under Kruschev there was a reintroduction of a massive polytechnical component into the curriculum, with a creation of direct school-industry links. Although Kruschev tried for more equality of opportunity for peasants through this thrusting of them into an industrial culture during their schooling, the results were not encouraging and the diminishing of peasant entry to higher education has led to greater sensitivity in the promotion of vocationalism, according to Matthews (1983). O'Dell (1983:116) shows how the new vocational syllabus of 1981/82 which stresses skills beneficial to the economy, including agriculture, has been aided ideologically through active state support of an extra-curricular nature in Pupil Palaces, Pioneer Camps, Children's Railway and Young Technicians groups. A central axiom, that 'the communist man will not only have

a deep need for work, he will also need to work according to his full abilities,' is retained.

Matthews (1983:9) indicates that authorities do know that 'ideological subjects'..'are popularly regarded as boring and superfluous' in the USSR. As 8% to 12% of school time is used for the study of strictly ideological components, and the examination of these subjects (such as Scientific Communism) was introduced in 1974, Morison (1982) states that the Politburo has taken account of popular aspirations such as physical education and sport, which has led to curricular development in tying labour principles to physical education and military purposes to sport.

Matthews (1983) mentions the expansion of the special sector for talented pupils and that elements of differentiation and a diversity of approaches to learning are found in these schools. Apologists argue that Soviet advancement depends on scientific excellence and that these schools also manifest patriotism in their later contribution to the Soviet economy; but elitism is being served at the moral expense of the dominant egalitarian ideology, and as children in these special schools tend to come from high-status families, accusations usually reserved for cultural and economic reproduction in industrial capitalist societies, such as those by Althusser (1971), can be levelled against the ideological undergirding of the curriculum in these schools.

Much of the discussion on how ideological influences find expression in the educational curriculum, is apposite to the question of how ideology would find application in what are regarded as acceptable principles and methods of teaching and in specific pedagogical theories by controlling authorities, because ideological influences on a curriculum which help to determine what is to be taught, would have little practical value if they were divorced from how the curriculum was taught.

5.3 Pedagogy

5.3.1 Teachers

Numerous segments exist within the teaching profession, and differences in social context, in systems of interests and values, have resulted in varying ideological attachments which do affect the formulation of educational ideals, policy, and of practice, according to Bucher and Strauss (1961:325-34). Colleagueship does have influence on active behaviour of professionals they claim, and teachers' unions do tend to have adopted a particular view of an educated man and of acceptable

means in which children should be influenced towards this pattern. In England and Wales teacher members of NUT have taken industrial action to demonstrate the strength of their idealistic position, in support of an egalitarian and democratic ideology which presupposes that children should be influenced towards the pattern of man as a social equal. In contrast, an elitist and conservative, or at least a rationalizing and technocratic ideology, could be said to have influenced the Head Masters' Association to support the new initiatives. Teachers in this association would be influenced to some extent to teach for efficiency and to support a view of man such as that expressed in Social Darwinism. Cognisance needs to be taken of Gramsci's (1970) assertion that a society tends to establish a process determined by cultural variations.

Although professionalism may promote particular ideologies and could have an effect on the behaviour of teachers as Bucher and Strauss claim, many teachers would have been influenced by other cultural capital, both overt and covert, in their attitude towards teaching method and teaching styles. It is a truism (Bernstein 1975) that a teacher's own ideological beliefs are likely to affect his transmission of cultural and economic values and dispositions, but an essential aspect of a teacher's behaviour should be a critical survey of his own assumptions about teaching and the curriculum. Simon (1982:75) clearly points to the need for individual introspection by all teachers in order for them to understand cultural influences on their own ideological perspectives:

> 'it is hard to imagine how any form of curriculum leadership concerning the relation of language and learning could be effective without finding a way for teachers to address the ideological bases of their own thought.'

Although many nuances of teaching styles could be elaborated, the comparison of two major paradigms by Esland (1972) contains sufficient scope to examine many of the axioms and assumptions about teaching practice which is found in the literature.

5.3.2 Two major teaching paradigms

5.3.2.1 Psychometric paradigm

The first paradigm mentioned by Esland, which he terms the psychometric paradigm, stresses measurable advancement and reflects a behaviourist outlook. Focus is on products of learning and there is an objectivist view of knowledge and of the pupil. A passive and collective view of learning prevails. The use of visible data is used to make schooling seem neutral, and Social Darwinism has

helped to give ideological support for this paradigm. Apple (1979) is critical of the assumptions which undergird teaching styles which could be regarded as psychometric. Passivity of students and a collectivist ideology leads to a consensus theory and socialises pupils to accept increasing bureaucratization and control in later life, he claims. Teachers help pupils to learn to work in a bureaucratized society, through a consensus ideology, and help to foster the high status of certain subjects, as well as aiding in cultural reproduction through the use of data from intelligence quotient tests and tests of achievement, he asserts (Apple 1979:58).

In comparison with teaching methods in the USSR, the manipulative and deterministic method observed by Apple is a subtle influence, mainly of the hidden curriculum, and is not part of an overtly directed system as Morison (1983:154) claims prevails in the USSR where:

> 'all subject disciplines are intended to be taught in a manner which is not only ideologically acceptable, but also actively political in the sense of inculcating a communist world outlook.'

Grant (1979:117) confirms that teaching methods are prescribed by the central authorities in the USSR and how 'correct' methods are employed in a rigid system which is highly resistant to change. His classroom observations have led him to describe most Soviet teaching in terms of a telling, lecturing, and correcting style on the part of teachers and of an absorbing form of learning on the part of pupils.

A move towards more independent and practical work by pupils has evolved from 'an increase in experiments on teaching method in the pedagogical institutes and the Academy of Pedagogic Sciences' (Grant 1979:120). Problems have emerged because of the discrepancy between the new primary curriculum and old teaching methods, according to Dunstan (1983:56), whose research revealed that:

> 'the discovery methods ... the group teaching that might be recommended, and the freer interpersonal relationships that these things often imply,'

were not acceptable to the general file of teachers. Teachers who have been trained under a psychometric paradigm and whose pupils will proceed to the ordinary school in which the assessment of performance is the sole criterion of achievement, would be slow to change regardless of what Grant (1979:121) calls 'powerful forces for conservatism in teaching' in the USSR.

Despite recent moves by authorities to improve academic results through the promotion of active learning and individual initiative, teachers have been hesitant to move away from formal expositions, writes Morison (1983). His reference to an

authoritative Soviet article which called on teachers to train pupils to conduct polemics at the centre of ideological thought and which stated that it was essential for them to go further than explaining and expounding party policy in the traditional manner, for it was 'no longer sufficient just to receive knowledge; pupils must be convinced of its truth and guided by it in their activities' (1983:154) , reveals the dilemma Soviet teachers face in that initiative and active learning are factors which must be approached from the ideological perspective of the state.

Despite the ideological insistence on egalitarianism, forms of 'social elitism' have developed in the special schools which follow differentiation of study programmes and whose pupils tend to dominate entrance examinations to higher education. Special tutoring for their children has been pursued by a great number of higher-status parents, and Dobson (1975:263) refers to an article in Komsomol`skaia pravda:

> 'This means that our system of free education,
> equally available to everyone and based on competition
> in knowledge, has been invaded by the ruble.'

The case of teaching in the USSR is consonant with Althusser's (1971b:254) findings that an ideology always exists in an apparatus, and its practices. His assertion that schools in capitalist nations, like churches, 'use suitable methods of punishment, expulsion, selection, etc., to "discipline" not only their shepherds, but also their flocks,' is probably accurate in specific schools where the teaching method is firmly within the psychometric paradigm; but is more accurate as a comment on most of the teaching in Soviet schools in which depersonalization and compulsory socialization takes place, not into a corporate world, but into a collectivity - a gesellschaft. Possibly the psychometric paradigm is one suited to deterministic societies, such as that in the Republic of South Africa.

Paradoxically, extreme forms of teaching under a psychometric paradigm, whether in the capitalist post-industrial societies of the West or in the socialist society of the USSR, would lead logically to what Buber distinguishes as the two greatest dangers which man faces in this century: 'individualism and collectivism,' which both lead to an 'existential constitution of solitude such as has probably never existed before to the same extent' (in Prosser 1979:76).

5.3.2.2. Phenomenological paradigm

A focus on the processes of learning is a major characteristic of Esland's (1972) phenomenological paradigm. Cognition is seen as a growth process with the pupil having the mind and power to organize meaning for himself. In this paradigm, as

the pupil would have more responsibility over the structure of his curriculum, the teacher would be more of a guide than an instructor. Piaget and Bruner are among thinkers whose work has influenced this phenomenological paradigm. In Cosin's (1972) terminology this phenomenological approach would, in attitude and opinion, fit most closely into his romantic and individualist ideological category. A belief in self-realization of the individual in a non-competitive society is a hallmark of this ideology which has been expressed in action in progressive private schools such as Dartington and Summerhill, where teachers would use play and other innovative approaches in their methods. A movement towards integrated studies, to avoid categorizing of subjects for disciplinary, prestige or assessment ends, and concentration on development of faculties or innate abilities, are characteristics of this paradigm.

Musgrove (1971) was critical of an extreme American version of the phenomenological paradigm which he observed in the counter-culture movement. His reaction was firmly opposed to views of AS Neill and Marcuse, and he was scathing about the progressive ideology of post-industrial societies in which authority was disgraced and truth was regarded as open-ended. In referring to Barzun's (1959) **The House of Intellect**, he indicates the progressive ideological effect on teaching and the teacher:

> 'At best he is a friend, or perhaps an older brother; his job is to expose his frailties in the interests of mind-expansion. Boundaries between teachers and taught are removed, and so distinction of roles. Teaching and learning are encounters - sometimes intellectual, invariably emotional, and increasingly physical' (Musgrove 1971:89).

This extreme reaction seems to be based on Musgrove's totally different assumption regarding a teacher's role, in particular his authority or his social control function, and on the replacement of a belief in objective knowledge with subjective emotionality.

Esland (1972) recognises that the phenomenological paradigm has not had the ideological influence of the psychometric paradigm on teaching methods within state systems of education; but 'critics of consciousness' such as Sartre (1963) and Schutz (1967), through their questioning of the objective existence of traditional culture and knowledge, have influenced thinking on teaching. Novak's (1970:94) criticism of teachers as 'enforcers of reality' who accept that 'existing norms determine what is to be considered real and what is to be annihilated by silence and disregard,' has had influence in the USA on moves towards individual personal development of pupils.

Bowles and Gintis (1976:38-9) demonstrate a paradox in liberal ideology on teaching in the USA, in that moves to democratize the position of children in school have not attempted to change schools as hierarchical social structures in which ideas move down from teacher to child, while liberal experiments:

> 'can be viewed as attempting to broaden the discretion and deepen the involvement of the child while maintaining hierarchical control over the ultimate processes and outcomes of the educational encounter.'

Management of education has remained firmly in the hands of adults in all societies, despite ideological thrusts towards more democratic means of learning. Yet concern over depersonalized education and compulsory forms of socialisation have led Green (1972:39) among others to consult phenomenologists for an approach to pedagogy:

> 'for one thing they remind us of what it means for an individual to be present to himself; for another, they suggest to us the origins of significant quest for meaning, origins which ought to be held in mind by those willing to enable students to be themselves.'

It should be noted that a quest for meaning is not the same as laying down what that meaning should be.

The links between Green's references to phenomenology, within Esland's phenomenological paradigm, and the sets of interests in South Africa which have developed a philosophy of Fundamental Pedagogics based on a phenomenological approach, appear to be almost non-existent. Although ideological positions in South African education are examined in detail in Chapters 6 and 7, at this point criticism of Fundamental Pedagogics which places it within the psychometric paradigm as far as teaching style is concerned, is apposite. Parker (1981:27) states that:

> 'Fundamental Pedagogics embodies an authoritarian conception of education in which the child must be moulded and inculcated into an attitude of obedience and submission towards the figures and instruments of society.'

Ideological distortion of phenomenology by South African writers such as Viljoen and Pienaar (1971) under the guise of Christian-National education which entrenches 'a servile submissiveness to authority, a naive acceptance of bourgeois moralism, and the inculcating of a Calvanistic (sic) Christian ideology,' is argued by Fouche (1981:223). Her complaint that the defining of central concepts such as authority is avoided by proponents of Fundamental Pedagogics, including Viljoen and Pienaar, is justified; yet a close examination of this question is made by Prosser (1979), whose concept of Fundamental Pedagogics is not imbued with 'bourgeois moralism,' a Calvinistic ideology and submissiveness to political authority.

Her work on the pedagogical relevance of Buber's philosophy, shows the teacher in action in a form which would link aspects of both phenomenological and psychometric paradigms as defined by Esland, while rejecting extremism from each. In defining authority as 'the command and discipline the educator must exercise in his support of the educand on his way to adulthood,' Prosser (1979:124) is not implying an influence towards uniformity but a creative force within Buber's philosophy of dialogical encounter which would prevent the teacher's action from being authoritarian. Although the pupil is in a subordinate position, as opposed to the belief within free and radical education, Prosser (1979:132) is explicit that 'legitimate pedagogy condemns authoritarian moulding according to a pre-conceived pattern.' Her view is influenced by Buber (1973:115) who argues for a distribution of roles in teaching, with the teacher's constant values and unambiguous knowledge of good and evil, allowing him to use his authority in the following way: 'now now the delicate, almost imperceptible and yet important influence begins - that of criticism and instruction.'

5.4 Assessment of pupils and teachers

5.4.1 Introduction

Questions of the need for and validity of evaluation or assessment of both the performance of teachers and the achievement of pupils, are closely related to ideological views on the act of teaching itself. In the literature semantic differences exist among the terms evaluation, appraisal, and assessment. In this work **appraisal** is seen as the act of observing performance and indicating general aspects of strength or weakness (from OF aprisier, a -to and prisier -praise - Concise Oxford Dictionary). **Evaluation** (from F evaluer, e - ex and valuer -value) implies a slightly more judgmental response based on specific aims or values. **Assessment** (from L assessare - a combination of frequent and sit, originally to fix taxes) is seen more as an act of judgment based on numerical or other fixed expressions.

5.4.2 Pupils

Any considerations of the evaluation of pupils must be linked with views of teachers, of education authorities, and of society at large on categories such as 'learning,' 'bright' pupils and 'dull' pupils. Young (1971:2) warns about the prevalence of these dominant legitimizing concepts to be regarded as absolute, whereas he considers that these concepts:

> 'must be conceived of as socially constructed, with some in a position to impose their constructions or meanings on others.'

In agreement is Bernstein (1975:85) who is strongly aware that evaluation of pupils does not take place in a social vacuum but is determined by the ideological position of those who exercise power and control:

> 'curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge, and evaluation defines what counts as valid realization of this knowledge on the part of the taught.'

What counts as 'valid realization' is often determined by occupational groupings whose demands for proof of cultural transmission in their own terms has had particular ideological sway on school leaving and university entrance examinations.

Cohen and Lazerson (1979:384) review research findings since the 192Os in the USA of how children of poor, working class and immigrant parents have been disadvantaged by intelligence testing and through examinations. They regard the failure of economically disadvantaged or culturally different children on 'the schools' methods for measuring merit - especially the tests - (which) were biased by inherited status and culture.' As part of a continuing thrust for accountability and standards, Karabel and Halsey (1979:32) note the raising of educational requirements by superior status groups in order to reinforce their privileged positions. Accusations that examinations are part of the arsenal with which dominant social classes repress deprived classes have been made by Althusser (1971) and Postman and Weingartner (1969). Apple (1979) regards testing as a central facet of control within the systems management approach, and regards heavy corporate funding of mathematics and science in the USA as being based not solely on the grounds of high status knowledge, but also on grounds of accountability because they are testable. Continuing his argument, Apple (1979:13O) claims that types of performance and achievements are not necessarily good in and of themselves, but that they are historically and ideologically 'conditioned' in that the assumptions which are regarded as guiding principles for planning, ordering and evaluating activity - the very '- conditions of achievement, of success and failure, of good and bad students - are <u>social</u> <u>and</u> <u>economic</u> <u>constructs</u>.' He regards evaluation as presupposing categories of a social and intellectual nature in the mind of the evaluator which are based on value judgments which reflect particular ideological standpoints.

The power of the teacher, in terms of Gramsci's (1970) 'traditional intellectual' is of particular importance in an examining role, firstly because of the ability to reward success and secondly because the examination finally defines the approach

to and the significance of the curriculum.

Principles of selection and the rewarding of academic excellence in educational promotion is 'a basic part of the process by which the social division of labour is reproduced' maintains Bowles (1971:149), and Jencks (1975) has agreed to the extent that through the internalizing of failure schools do legitimate inequality. Concern over labeling (Apple 1979; Jencks 1975) which reduces self-esteem of low track pupils has intensified among educationists in the USA since the role of standardized tests has increased. Wiles and Bondi (1983:277) refer to ideological disputes between school principals and political authorities since 1976 when 'state boards of education or legislatures began to require what is now known as minimum competency testing.' Strong ideological forces insisting on accountability from schools, emanating from former Secretary for Education William Bennett, downwards, have increased the lobby for more traditional examining methods based on competitive evaluations in American schools. The groundswell for 'back to basics,' including formal examination of what has been taught and the influence of industrial corporations on what should be examined, has been opposed by Finkelstein (1985) among many others. But Finn (1990:9) has support in arguing for compulsory education to be tied to attainment levels.

The fallacy that social reform can be promoted through the meritocratic belief in individual mobility of bright, underprivileged children, has been demonstrated by Jencks (1975), while Cohen and Lazerson (1979:384) assert that 'equality in education will require the elimination of the meritocratic structure.'

Bowles's (1971) theory of 'correspondence' which reveals links between schooling and social relations of production, in that a relation between pay in the workplace and examination results in school could be shown in the extrinsic character of both rewards and a lack of intrinsic satisfaction in work or study, does indicate a close connection between value systems that underpin social inequality and the hierarchical character of the educational system, including its evaluation system. Yet this Marxist ideological perspective towards education in capitalist societies can be used in a criticism of educational processes in socialist societies, where the abolition of capitalism has not resulted in the emergence of non-hierarchical school systems.

Even in the Soviet system which espouses an egalitarian ideology, examining is based on meritocratic principles under an examination system which is 'to a large extent textually uniform' and in which 'a system of tests and examinations ... though subject to some relaxation ... is still regarded as the keystone of the

system' (Matthews 1983:19). Only two types of school qualifying certificates are available: a complete secondary certificate and a secondary specialised certificate, and pupils who wish to apply for entrance to higher education would need to write a highly competitive and meritocratic entrance examination. Dobson (1975:268) writes of the sensitivity in the USSR towards the pattern of inequality in access to higher education despite the 'ideological insistence upon egalitarianism, and the superiority of socialism over capitalism.' In response to this ideological setback, preparatory faculties were established to prepare workers and peasants for entry to higher education (vuzy). An average grade in a workers' faculty allows entrance to a vuzy, and these students do not have to take a competitive entrance examination. Notwithstanding the academic success of children of higher-status families in formal vuzy entrance examinations, market forces of demand over supply have even penetrated the entry system to vuzy designed to improve equality of opportunity for the underprivileged. A correspondent for Komsomol skaia pravda (quoted in Dobson 1983:268) complains that:

> 'with the help of parental connections and forged documents, young idlers take the places in the preparatory divisions and workers' faculties which rightfully belong to young workers and collective farmers.'

Attempts to socialize children into cooperative endeavour have taken place, particularly in the primary schools in which charts of performance by groups or 'cells' are used as a motivating force and pupils are used to monitor the behaviour of others in their groups (Bronfenbrenner 1971). In the secondary schools, however, examining is formal and uniform with heavy emphasis on examinations in scientific subjects which could be attributed, partly, to the Soviet ideology that the USSR is a rationalist society, and with emphasis on the examining of ideological subjects which would demonstrate that the pupil was 'a worthy builder of communism' (Morison 1982:145). Examinations in the USSR are vehicles for conformity and indoctrination in subjects of a dialectical and ideological nature and are imbued with a meritocratic ideology.

In the UK, the examination boards have a tradition of considerable influence over the curriculum at school leaving level, according to Tyldesley (1982), which has led to criticism by Shipman (1980) for example. His observation of inner-city teaching which concentrated on containment of children rather than on learning, and in which children were taught a restricted curriculum without proper access to difficult textbooks, were factors leading to their not being properly prepared for examinations. Blackstone (1983:87) reiterates criticisms that have centred 'on the narrowness of the assessment (testing as it does one kind of academic ability)' and agrees that public examinations 'are the key to the secondary school curriculum.'

Although the current drive for accountability in education is tied to a conservative and elitist ideology as well as to economic demands for vocational relevance in a post-industrial society, democratic processes of consultation and debate have been pursued by the Tory government in attempts to create national structures of pupil assessment. Despite heavy criticism of inflexibility from teacher unions, Sir Keith Joseph, in arguing that 'there should be some kind of attainment targets across the ability range,' did refer to the lack of research about what primary pupils could be expected to achieve in the broadened curriculum (in **TES** 22.11.85:12). There did follow moves to reach national agreement about the objectives of the curriculum and then to reach broad agreement on standards to be achieved at different stages of educational growth. Concerns of many educationists that what was easy to measure in tests could influence curricular objectives and that national agreement on curricular objectives as well as on the testing of them could lead to central control were expressed. However, what outweighed these concerns, was the need for patterned testing and appraisal that would act constructively to improve educational achievements (in **TES** 22.11.85:13).

An undertaking by the Secondary Schools' Examinations Council to consult teachers more widely over the draft grade criteria for the proposed new examination, GCSE, was seen as essential by Michael Duffy of the Secondary Heads' Association (**TES** 8.11.85:1), who considered that, if workable, 'grade criteria are going to have an immense effect on the curriculum and on good classroom practice.' Consultation led to the foundation of a national system of assessment, with Secretary of State for Education, McGregor (1990:10), stating that 'systematic assessment is central to the National Curriculum' (in **Junior Education** July 1990).

Criticism of British teachers' hostility to written examinations and the explanation of this in terms of a folk memory about 11- plus examinations in the Left, by Secretary of State for Education, Clarke (in **TES** 28.8.92:8), has led to a reasoned response by Black, who was Chair of the Task Group on Assessment and Testing. He rejects the stereotyping of expert opinion which makes political points and which brackets people who believe in the value of tough and reliable assessments 'with those opposed to all testing and thereby labelled as woolly-minded' (in **TES** 28.8.92:8). The recommendations of the task group have not been implemented according to their design, thus revealing political dominance of education aspects as well as ideological rejection of teachers' views.

5.4.3 Assessment of Teachers

In the educational world of the 198Os, despite burgeoning technologies and the use of the silicon chip, it is still axiomatic that progress amongst learners depends on the effectiveness of teaching and so on the quality of teachers. 'The definition which effective teaching assumes in any particular society is determined, of course, by many inter-related factors, not least the prevailing political, religious and economic ideologies' (Jarvis 1982:viii). Successful teachers are, in most educational systems, viewed as those who succeed in the transmission of 'valid' knowledge and values, and judgment by others on ideological grounds is implicit in the concept of validity. Depending on how a society interprets evaluation (as well as curriculum and pedagogy), identified by Bernstein and Young (1971) as basic to any process of education, or on what view of the teacher and his task prevails, the criteria of good teaching will vary.

How a teacher's effectiveness should be judged, has given rise to a variety of comment, which, in its extremes, calls to mind Esland's (1972) psychometrical and phenomonological paradigms. If teaching is seen in terms of instrumental goal-attainment by pupils through a skills-based or objectives-centred approach, the concept of competent teaching is in danger of being reduced to allegedly measurable entities. Under a psychometric paradigm ideas on efficiency could become equated with 'good teaching' because short term objectives could be seen to be met. Successful pupil examination results would enhance the focus on products of learning, with pupils being seen in passive and collective roles under a manipulative teacher.

In the USSR, where the teacher is definitely regarded as an agent of ideological socialization, centralized prescription and co-ordination has resulted in the emergence of generally acceptable forms of teaching. Uniformity in procedure, and even in the inculcation of socialist ideology, is stressed. Grant (1979:55-6) writes of dull clinical procedures in classrooms, in which teachers have to inculcate the twenty standard 'Rules for Pupils' in the USSR:

> 'Not only are the children supposed to know <u>what</u> they are, but also <u>why</u> they are made ... (and if a rule is broken) why they should have observed it.'

The twenty rules set a standard of behaviour and attitudes: the Soviet school 'takes moral education very seriously indeed.'

What is expected of teachers in the USSR is 'conformity based on knowledge and study of political theory, conformity in the positive sense' (Grant 1979:26). The educational system is used to inculcate the political viewpoints of the Communist

Party and the theories of Marxism-Leninism. Indoctrination follows stated political aims of the educational system, and there is a belief that 'there is an ideologically correct approach to every field of knowledge and study' (Idem.). Morison (1982) writes of the ideological emphasis during refresher courses, which teachers are compelled to attend, on the appropriate application of Marxist-Leninist theories to their subject areas, and of the influence of Teacher Improvement Institutes on acceptable forms of pedagogy. He comments on the strong supervision and direction which teachers are expected to give pupils to ensure that collectivist rather than individual goals are pursued. Principals have a stated duty of assessing the political competence of teachers under criteria such as that expressed by Gavrikov et al. (1981:35) in Sovetskaya pedagogika, quoted by Morison (1982:153):

> 'The most important condition of the high effectiveness of this (political) work in the school is the deep ideological conviction and political competence of the teachers, the ability to evaluate facts and the phenomena of social life from a party position, and to answer convincingly questions arising from the pupils.'

This insistence on the moulding influence of the teacher from one particular ideological perspective (which is clearly stated in the overtly published educational aims) and the co-ordinating effect of the highly centralised system, implies not only that 'good teaching' means conforming to rules, but that assessment of teaching will concentrate on the teacher's skill in conforming to these rules. Efforts are made to reward good teachers and many decorations are awarded to them according to Grant (1979:173), who writes of how the social importance of teachers is boosted through propaganda and the fact that respect for teachers is held by the authorities as a political and social virtue. The ideological moulding role of the teacher remains his most important function:

> 'The teacher is the closest aid of the Party in rearing the New Man' (in Pravda, July 1960, quoted by Grant 1979:173), and he will be evaluated accordingly.

Although the definition of effective teaching is inevitably connected with what the society (or at least the dominant power group within it) considers appropriate, in centralized educational systems such as those of the USSR and the RSA, it is easier for authorities to decide on what is or what is not acceptable behaviour in a teacher. A national system of teacher assessment, based on quantitative results, is unique to the RSA; and is discussed later in this work.

In decentralized educational systems, such as those in the USA and the UK, in which local autonomy is a key principle, strong opposition has emerged to counter any idea of a centralized system of teacher assessment. Recent demands for accountability of teachers, in which assessment would be a key procedure, because of massive financial investment in education, have been made by political

authorities in the USA and the UK. Because of the growing concern about the quality of teaching in some areas of the United States, several groups and institutions have set up research projects or issued guidelines in connection with the idea of teacher competence. Armstrong, Henson and Savage (1981:141), in drawing attention to public demands for accountability, note that:

> '... it has been easier to express a need for accountability than to develop procedures that assure accountability ... should teachers be expected to produce learning when nonschool variables do not appear conducive to learning?'

It can be assumed that teachers in the USA have become more conscious of the needs for effective instruction, despite 'nonschool variables', if only to ensure that their pupils meet the demands set by the state-wide competency tests which have been introduced in a number of states; but supporters of competency-based teacher assessment have had little success at state level, possibly because of the opposition of teacher associations. Wiles and Bondi (1983:213) attribute teacher associations' shifts towards the use of bolder and more militant union tactics in opposition to the turn to the political right in the USA in the late 197Os. Layton (1982:116) claims that it was the National Association's lobbying that led to the creation of the new United States Department of Education in 1979, and he comments on the increasing power of teachers to control elements of the educative process. In 198O the National Education Association with 31O delegates (1O% of the total) at the Democratic National Convention, revealed an increase in its political power as well as its support of an egalitarian and liberal ideology in education, with emphasis on a phenomenological, rather than a psychometric, concept of teaching.

The idea of participatory democracy is, of course, a basic tenet of everyday American ideology, and attempts to impose national or state control of systems (for example of teacher assessment) have been resisted by teachers' unions and by many supporters from the general public. House (1978:4O1) asserts that 'a monolithic evaluation is not appropriate for a pluralistic society.'

The unsuitability of one system for evaluating schools is compounded in terms of attempts qualitatively to analyse teaching, and in the USA the freedoms which teachers enjoy in terms of method and content renders fatuous any attempt to measure competency according to uniform standards.

Although Schaefer (in Joyce and Weil 198O:xix) also warns that there are no ready solutions to the question of what 'good teaching' actually means, for

> '... there is no royal freeway to pedagogical success, no painless solution to complex instructional problems, and no future in our

persistent effort to describe "best teaching practice,"'

numerous efforts have been made at local levels to design teacher assessment instruments which would help to meet the requirements of an accountability lobby but which would also be of value in the development of teacher competence.

Numerous researchers, such as Wynn et al.(1977), have distinguished between evaluation for assessment (which stresses accountability, hence including an element of fear in its ritual, and is summative in nature) and evaluating for assistance (which concentrates on professional accountability and personal development). Wynn et al. (1977:56) are critical of the primitive instruments of evaluation which have been in use in the USA, but stress that the movement is towards 'formative' evaluation which they state 'is continuous, diagnostic, remedial in nature, bilateral and individualized; and (it) aims toward the continuous improvement of teaching and learning.' The writers claim that the major trends in the evaluation of teachers include:

> '. Increased involvement of teachers in the development of evaluation programs and procedures
> .. Greater linkage among educational objectives or goals and teachers' behavior and students' achievement
> .. Displacement of rating scales by qualitative descriptions of teachers' behavior, students' achievement, and teacher-student interaction
> .. More attempts to combine processes with input
> .. Increased emphasis on formative evaluation and less on summative evaluation
> .. More careful attention to consideration of due process regarding teachers' right of appeal, hearings, and reviews of evaluations' (Idem.).

In the State of Georgia, much progress has been made in the design of 'teacher performance assessment instruments' through a research project of the University of Georgia, Athens. The immense nature of American research in comparison with South African can be seen in this Teacher Performance Assessment Instruments (TPAI) project which extended over a period of four years and 'involved thousands of teachers and other professional educators in the process of designing, developing, and field testing (Johnson et al., 1980:iii). Since thousands of teachers were involved in the TPAI project, it has gained respectability in Georgia. Assessors of teachers are trained to ensure high rater reliability, while discussion of findings and re-assessment are part of the assessment procedure. This scheme is, of course, limited to fairly simple objectives and does not presume to assess the teacher in all aspects of his 'multi-faceted' role.

That tension and ideological conflicts surrounding the accountability debate on

American public education are eroding what he terms 'tax-will faith' in the educational system, is claimed by Morgan (1985:215). His antagonism toward the report **A Nation at Risk** (Gardner 1983):

> 'As with other "reports", it suffers political motivation and is cast in the right-wing rhetoric of Reagan' (Morgan 1985:215),

is based on a belief that the concerns expressed over 'back to basics' in teaching and the need to 'increase quality,' partly through the assessment of teachers, focus on the needs of the elite.

Stress on teacher accountability in England (for example as noted by Becher and Maclure 1978, Sockett 1983), and the evolution of the Assessment of Performance Unit have drawn attention to feelings among the public and the teaching profession about alleged declines in standards. The **Green Paper** of 1977 pointed out the problem of discharging incompetent teachers when there was no recognised procedure for the assessment of teacher performance.

The determination of the Thatcher government to achieve efficiency and accountability was indicated by Sir Keith Joseph in a written answer in the House of Commons (as reported in **TES** 22.1.82:7) in which he stressed the aspect of teacher accountability and affirmed that his duty towards children, parents and taxpayers was to ensure that he did not 'keep ineffective teachers in the schools or employ more teachers than we can afford.' This commonsense approach was interpreted by the NUT as part of Thatcherite policy to denigrate the teaching profession.

An almost revolutionary concept for the decentralized educational system in England was the request for an 'establishment of standard procedures for the assessment of teachers' performance' (as quoted in **TES** 15.1.82:2).

Honey claims that his request (**TES** 29.1.82:21) for a form of 'democratic accountability and control,' which in essence is similar to Caroline Benn's description of the reasons for her Socialist Education group's attack on church schools, was criticized by teachers' unions whereas her views on accountability were not because of political affiliations and ideological perspectives.

The traditional autonomy granted to heads, including the right to appraise teachers in a manner suited to the individual case, has made the idea of a centrally-determined policy for teacher assessment unacceptable to many principals, while teacher unions have come out in strong opposition to proposals for a national framework of teacher appraisal. In particular the NUT refusal to co-operate in running the pilot schemes devised for certain areas, had led to Sir Keith's intention

of seeking enabling powers to 'bring reluctant l.e.a.s and unions into line on assessment schemes' (**TES** 22.11.85:12). Debate on this issue during a DES national conference, resulted in Sir Keith stating that he had learned that appraisal of teachers could not be linked with pay and that he hoped that regular teacher appraisal would be introduced voluntarily between employer and employee. Although he supported the concept of a national system within which local schemes could operate, he stressed that there was no 'hidden agenda' such as the imposition of state control:

> 'The Government position is that teacher appraisal should be largely conducted at the level of individual school by the teachers themselves' (Idem.).

Knight (1984) questions the effect of the drive for public accountability in teaching on traditional teacher professional concerns of autonomy and self-monitoring. He refers to authorities and professional associations who have tried to influence teacher views on teaching quality through the publication of works such as the **White Paper on Teaching Quality**, March 1983, and questions the lack of teacher involvement in the formulation of concepts of good teaching, claiming that

> 'the less the consensus in the teaching profession about what competent teaching involves, the less its ability to influence the performance of its members' (1984:165).

To meet the demands for greater accountability, an increasingly large part of the debate in England has turned towards the desirability of a professional code in teaching. Both Hoyle (1983) and Sockett (1983) have tried to elucidate the nature and boundaries of teacher professionalism and have suggested solutions to the demand for accountability. Hoyle looks toward intellectually rigorous, but practice-centred training and compulsory in-service training to improve teaching skills so that children can be seen to be benefiting. That these efforts would not enhance the status of the profession, Hoyle is aware, but his view of the teaching profession is of unsophisticated anti-intellectuals, who do not keep up with professional study. Criticism of views by Hoyle, on what he claims are ideological grounds, have already been mentioned. Teachers are unlikely to accept the assumptions about their abilities and to be wary of mechanistic aspects in his proposals. A key factor which would need to be explored in a large-scale re-training system is that of a teacher's own ideological position. Fullan's (1982:247) research has shown that beliefs are often buried at a level of unconscious assumptions and that 'relationship between behavioural change (e.g., teaching approach) and changes in beliefs is complicated.'

Sockett (1983) is concerned that political demands for accountability will result in a sterile and bureaucratic form. His answer is a professional codification, based on

best practice, to which teachers would owe allegiance, and which would enable teachers and schools to publish their codes in a demonstration of a unified front against the external clamour for greater accountability. A commonly expressed fear, and one vigorously pursued by Locke (1984:155-6), is that the pressure for greater accountability 'could prompt a re-examination of what counts as professionalism and how professionals are held to account.' It is the ideological assault of a cash register accountability which particularly concerns Locke, for he sees 'a mercantilist philosophy and central government domination' of accountability. Differing political views on education make it difficult to predict developments in teacher assessment in England. Strong socialist forces in education appear to be gaining ground in the literature, and concern about the authority and power of central government, of l.e.a.s, and even of head teachers, have led to suggestions for extreme democratic changes. Although Thatcher's winning of a third term of office (1987) implies that Tory ideologies of efficiency and accountability will be pursued by central government, changes to policies concerning teacher assessment have been affected by opposition, as indicated earlier.

A significant aspect of the debate of the issue of teacher assessment in England, is that there can actually be public debate over such an issue. Politicians, professors of education, journalists, representatives of teacher unions and teachers themselves give their views openly before the procedures for any major change eventuate, unlike the centrally determined introduction of 'merit assessment' in South Africa.

Summary

As Althusser postulates, ideology does exist in apparatuses and in their practices. Three practices in education: the curriculum, teaching methods and the assessment of both teachers and pupils were investigated and found to be influenced by ideology.

School knowledge is generally ideologically based, with particular influence emanating from situations and historical setting. Sociology of knowledge stresses the importance of social origins and how the power of the dominant class determines the curriculum and bans conflicting thoughts. Ontology and epistemology are sanctioned in modes of thought.

Although in the 20th century norms are no longer unambiguous, cultural traditions, such as styles of language and status occupational groups, tend to perpetuate class relations. Children are inducted into the hidden curriculum through media sources

as well as in schools, but the conspiracy theory cannot be held in totality.

Ideologies which reflect social upliftment, individualism, the prestige of curricula, technocracy, and particular economic policies have been noted. In Western nations the power of business rationalization with its back to basics thrust currently tends to have more influence than the social equality policies of trade unions. In totalitarian states all subjects are related to ideological precepts and in the USSR the thrust is also heavily vocational.

Assumptions about educated man differ widely, but two opposing models of teaching were surveyed to illustrate the influence of disparate assumptions.

In the psychometric model, assumptions of Social Darwinism, consensus theory, and of a manipulative and bureaucratic society are made. Teaching must measure advance, must inculcate a world view, encourage passive learning, present resistance to change, and convince children of the truth of knowledge in a lecturing and telling style.

In the phenomenological model, assumptions are made of education as a growth process and the self-realization of the individual. Teaching is seen as guiding, with active involvement of the child, and truth is seen to be more open-ended, while aspects of authority are questioned. A mixture of creative force and influence is promoted.

Evaluation defines what is regarded as valid realization of knowledge. To appraise or assess children as 'bright' or 'dull' reflects social and economic constructs as these are socially constructed terms. Occupational groupings sway assessment through particular demands and requests to raise educational requirements for entry to their occupations.

Examinations are often a form of repression, testing what is testable and supporting elitist competition in achievement. The social reform fallacy of meritocratic belief has been demonstrated.

In the 'egalitarian' system in the USSR the keystone is performance by cells and not by individuals, but examinations are vehicles for conformity and indoctrination.

What is regarded as effective teaching is influenced by political, religious and economic ideologies. Assessment of teachers conforms to this influence. Where

ideological social pressure leads to the demand for co-ordination, measurable psychometrical checklists are applied. Approaches to subjects, strong direction of pupils, skills in conforming to rules, and promises of rewards perhaps force political competence from teachers, making them servile to authority. This tends to be seen in centralized systems such as in the RSA and the USSR, where authorities decide on acceptable norms and the accent is on accountability.

In the USA many teacher assessment programmes involved teachers in development and later evaluation of the programme. Educational objectives and teacher behaviour with qualified discussion and formative evaluation were common factors. The accent was on professional development. In the UK, moves towards standardized testing of teachers have been re-formulated because of the lack of teacher support. Public debate and respect for teacher professionalism were factors very different from the centrally-determined 'merit assessment' system in South Africa.

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CHAPTER 6

Ideology and education in white South Africa

6.1 Introduction

The nature and function of ideology, including its pervasive influence on educational leadership, structure and process, has been established in this work. In a wide-ranging review of the tangled web of ideology and visible elements of the educative process in particular educational systems, certain threads of comparison of the totalitarian nature of the dominant ideology in South Africa and others, such as that in the USSR, have been made already; but now the research will be focused within frameworks of what actually happens, or how power operates, within an educational system which is stratified by race and by language. It has been argued that leadership, structure, the knowledge allowed and how it is taught are all part of 'the socially constructed world [in which] the human organism is transformed' (Berger and Luckmann 1976:204). Education as an institution has been related to legitimating symbolic universes, connected with culture outside the school, and influenced by world trends. An analysis of formal and informal cultures of schools within the white apparatus will be undertaken to test the effect of ideology in action. The reasons for the selection of the two white ideologies are given in Chapter 1, and briefly repeated here are that these ideologies are visible and established, and that order within a system is a requirement for the study of ideology in action. Although the white system is separated on language grounds and produces different cultural reproduction, with the English medium section reflecting an ideology influenced largely by the liberal-humanist nature of the systems in the UK and the USA, both sections legitimate social privileges.

In order to provide a broad perspective from which to view the relationship between ideology and education in white South Africa, the role ideology has played in the origins and development of the South African educational system is reviewed. An historical approach is deemed to be necessary as the present situation emerged from the past and as Turner (1970:14) comments on the South African situation, 'unless we bring in the past we cannot fully understand why the present is as it is.' From this historical base, with its political, religious and economic foundations, the current dominant ideology of government is analysed and its influence on educational structure, process and leadership is explained.

To analyse the concrete and actual political, cultural and economic meanings and practices of two groups within a social formation such as education, Mannheim's

strategy based on the concept of 'total ideology' is used. It has been demonstrated in this work, through reference to situations in other countries, that there is an inbuilt bias in the ideological content of education 'towards the reproduction of hegemonic meanings and practices' (Sharp 1980:118) and that a dominant ideology is always reactionary. A survey of socially reactionary thought and hegemonic meanings, which perpetuate themselves as part of the dominant ideology within the system of education, is made.

There is a splinter within the dominant Afrikaner ideology, with Conservative Party members revealing reactive racism against social reform, while a mercantilist movement by government is possibly narrowing the gap in economic viewpoints between Afrikaans and English speakers. How the 'dominated' (Althusser 1977) ideology of English speaking whites operates in schooling under the legal system and ideological coercion is investigated, using Mannheim's (1960:76) method of 'relationism' which signifies 'merely that all the elements in a meaning in a given situation have reference to one another and derive their significance from this interrelationship in a given frame of thought.' But sight is not lost of the need to view ideology in action and this includes a survey of the role of teachers, under terms of accountability and control and appropriate attitudes towards authority and order.

6.2 Ideological conflict

In tracing the origins of the 'dominant' ideology, the relationship between idea and social structure is conspicuous from the beginning. Early formal schooling for white Dutch East India Company settlers was religious in nature and under formal control of the Dutch Reformed Church 'through bodies such as the Consistory, the Scholarch (1714), and the Bible-and-School Commission (1813)' (Behr 1980:3-4), thus a reformational form of Christianity and the Dutch language formed the ideological superstructure of this education. The Church instructed the child in a system of thought and imagery which underlay values and aims of culture.

The influence of this early cultural attitude on education has persisted among the Dutch-Afrikaner community and Ruperti (1976:3) states widely held views that

> 'The organised education of the youth of a community is part and parcel of the culture of the community. When one talks of education, therefore, one is also inevitably talking of community culture and cultural communities.'

A settled community with a cultural continuity concerning language, family and Church emerged.

Following the political act of occupation of the Cape by the British in the early 19th century, a cultural conflict, exacerbated by language and Church differences as well as different attitudes towards race, emerged.

This conflict led to the Great Trek of Boers from the Cape Colony from 1838 onwards to escape British hegemony. These Boers established their own school systems in their Republics, which were strictly religious in a dogmatic way, no Roman Catholic priest being permitted to enter the Transvaal until the first British occupation of 1877. Hence religious dogmatism and concomitant isolation from opposing ideas can be seen from an early period.

After the discovery of gold in the Transvaal, an influx of foreign miners, including a majority who were British, led to educational conflict. Mansvelt (Superintendent of Education in the ZAR (South African Rebublic) in 1891) was hostile to English influence and in an Act of 1892, Dutch was made the only medium of instruction in the Transvaal. English uitlanders refused to accept this political decision and the Witwatersrand Council of Education, an English speaking group, established private schools (Behr 1980:13). Thus there was the establishment of English medium schools in the Transvaal before the Anglo-Boer War, despite Kruger's policy. A later refusal by the Witwatersrand Council to offer Dutch from the fourth year as promulgated, led to ZAR education policy becoming 'a matter of acrimonious debate between opposing factions' (Behr 1980:14).

The Anglo-Boer War brought great changes to Afrikaners. They were 'now confronted with a world view and liberal philosophy quite unlike the puritan and seventeenth century outlook and way of life to which they were accustomed' (Behr 1980:15). Economic impoverishment after the war was lost and bitterness over issues such as the concentration camps, led to feelings of solidarity and opposition to the English.

Another cause of bitterness was the educational system introduced under Public Education Ordinance of the Transvaal (No. 7 of 1903), which was designed 'to Anglicise and denationalize the Boers' (Behr 1980:15). English became the sole medium of instruction, although Milner later allowed parents a 'considerable say in deciding the language in which their children should be educated' (Fisher 1969:219).

The cultural and political struggle of Afrikaners intensified and a powerful symbol was the call for mother-tongue education. As English was the language of a government being led by people with first loyalty to England, Malherbe (1977:13), explains how this 'made many of the Afrikaans-speaking inhabitants look upon

schooling as something imposed on them from without.'

The framework of the state educational system limited the choice of Afrikaans speakers and over two hundred Christian National Education schools were established by the Dutch Reformed Church in opposition to state schooling. Even in these schools, though, bilingualism was stressed and English was even used as a secondary school medium of instruction in urban C.N.E. schools (Idem).

With the granting of limited political rights to inhabitants, and a reduction in colonial power, education in the Orange River Colony (Orange Free State) and in the Transvaal became more bilingual. In the Transvaal in 1907, Smuts ensured that Dutch was to be used as the medium of instruction in two subjects. Differences in policies regarding parental rights of language medium choice emerged both before and after Union in 1910. In the Orange Free State (Orange River Colony), Hertzog, whose own father had believed that English was the key to a career, was opposed to parental choice of language medium because 'there was a danger of English superseding the Afrikaners' native tongue in all spheres of education' (Fisher 1969:219). Although policies promoted by Smuts and Hertzog differed, there was a shared aim in that white children living in the same community would attend one school regardless of their mother tongue (Malherbe 1977:7).

By 1921 the choice of language medium by parents remained only in Natal, and a move for separate language schools intensified as Behr (1980:26) indicates: the 'desire for separate schools was particularly strong for Afrikaners.'

Malherbe (1977:3) argues that the role of language usage in schools had become 'one of the most important national issues in South Africa, politically as well as educationally.' Identification of language with group self-interest could be seen as part of the growing strength of the vernacular in public education, which arose out of the relativism of Romantic philosophy (ibid.:1) and helped in the formation of the 'total' ideology of the Afrikaner.

The nationalistic struggle for survival of the Afrikaner was fought against British ideological hegemony and politically against rights for blacks. Behr (1988:13) writes of the essence of British policy in South Africa prior to 1910, which was based on standards of civilization rather than on race, and which can be seen in the photographs of Malay boys at South African College School. On the other hand, 'the Voortrekkers were not prepared to countenance equality between Whites and Blacks on a footing of equality' (Idem), as this would be against God's laws.

Afrikanerdom became more powerful politically with a nationalistic fervour and reaction was strongest in Natal with its predominantly English speaking white population. Kruger (1977:163) writes of how Natal became 'more truculent' in 'its despair,' and of how 'some extremists even demanded devolution and complete secession from the Union.' With emotive use of the words 'truculent', 'despair' and 'extremists', Kruger's position is clear with, in Mannheim's terms, a 'particular' ideological attack on an opponent's view.

Smuts's political party with policies based partly on a policy of co-operation of Afrikaans and English speakers, and encompassing a world view of man, was defeated by the National Party of Hertzog, which was insular, comprised of Afrikaners with a limited view of Afrikaner economic development and cultural hegemony. More radical strains of Afrikaner nationalism emerged in the 1930s, with 'organic intellectuals' striving for power and control. Hertzog, speaking at Smithfield on 7 November 1935, condemned state-employed teachers who were guilty of 'provocative political propaganda' and who through 'their membership of the Broederbond ... declare their hostile attitudes to the English-speaking section of the parents whose children have been placed in their care' (quoted in Malherbe 1977:23). These teachers, members of a clandestine and exclusive Afrikaner nationalist organization, working in an Ideological State Apparatus, were actually intensifying underlying ideological conflict and demonstrating anti-English feelings.

Political forces of rapprochement led to an alliance between Hertzog and Smuts, but with the advent of the Second World War, Smuts dominated the split and declared war on Germany. Further anti-British feelings were aroused and organizations such as the Ossewabrandwag opposed the war effort even with sabotage. Ideological conflict in education increased as the United and National parties attempted to 'use the education system - the one to unite, the other to divide' (ibid.:40). Another 'organic intellectual' Dr Erik Holm, poured 'slimy, hate-generating stuff ... nightly in Afrikaans into South African homes' (Malherbe 1977:29) from Germany. He was sentenced to ten years imprisonment in 1947 for high treason, but was released from prison and employed in the Union Department of Education when the National Party came to power in 1948. The base of the 'total ideology' had been set and the arrogant disregard for the legal system and the employment of a 'traitor' to foster ideological hegemony in education as well as the support for Afrikaners above others had come into effect.

6.3 Developments from 1948

The National Party won the 1948 election on a policy of apartheid. The separation

of people on grounds of race continued with the promulgation of the Group Areas Act of 1949, and the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 which consolidated authority for blacks in the hands of tribal chieftains and not in the central white government. The power of Afrikanerdom became associated with 'racial discrimination and repression' (ibid.:17). Davies et al. (1988:268) write of the ideological debate waged by the Broederbond to redefine the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism:

> 'Refined through the prison of "reformed" Calvinism, the emerging Broederbond ideology of "Christianisation" embodied a rigid ethnic exclusivism, and anti-British republicanism and a growing concern with developing the principles of "apartheid".'

These elements were being solidified into the 'total' (Mannheim 1972) ideology of white Afrikaner nationalism.

Coloureds were removed from the common voters' role after the packing of the Senate to alter the 1910 Constitution. Thus use of the Afrikaans language was made into a political issue and not a cultural one.

The Eiselen Commission report of 1951 and the Tomlinson Commission report of 1954 led to legislation which brought to an end unco-ordinated control of education for blacks in South Africa and led to the formation of one state department to organize and administer black education. With the centralization of Coloured education in 1963 and Indian education in 1964, 'all non-white education, from the kindergarten to the university, as well as vocational education, became a responsibility of one authority, viz. the Central Government' (Malherbe 1977:349). This centralization of power was supported by 'organic' intellectuals such as Ruperti and Kruger (1969:283) who was able to write that following the transfer of Bantu education to a central department 'the Bantu have grown to appreciate the beneficial results.' Bitterness among blacks at this central department and its bureaucratic control of their education, including the forcing of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in a number of high school subjects, led to the explosion in Soweto in 1976.

Malherbe (1977:17) is conscious of how the power of Afrikanerdom 'has become associated with racial discrimination and repression' and writes sadly of how 'history has repeatedly shown that when culture becomes the superstructure and the justification for power and privilege, the quality of that culture suffers' (Idem).

In support of separation is Ruperti, who claims that of the three principles concerned with cultural growth of a group, cultural integration has been emphasised at the cost of differentiation and continuity in societies outside of South Africa.

She argues (Ruperti op cit.:8) that 'normative cultural development - including that of an education system - is characterised by a balanced functioning of all three principles.' Again this thinly-veiled 'organic' intellectual's support for the ideology of apartheid is noted. Although her concept of differentiation allows for all groups to develop on their own, in ignoring hegemony of the Afrikaner, she actually ignores ideological cultural integration in the structure, process and leadership of separate educational systems.

6.4 Developments from 1967

A milestone in white education was reached with the promulgation of the National Education Policy Act of 1967, which rationalized all 'full-time education given to White adolescents up to and including Standard 10' (Malherbe op cit.:349). Basic predeterminants of this Act were a centralizing structure, separation of races and mother tongue education. Principles enunciated were that education was to have a Christian and a broad national character. In a Government Gazette of 1971 the Minister proclaimed that Christian character should be

> 'defined as education founded on the Bible and imprinted
> i) through religious instruction as a compulsory non-examination subject, and
> (ii) through the spirit and manner in which all teaching and education, as well as administration and organization shall be conducted.'

Although this religious character could be seen as love and justice, it could also lead to domination through the holding of one particular view of the Bible. A religious insularity, a doctrine of original sin, the omnipotence of God, the impotence of man, divinely ordained success and failure, and the belief that diligence and work lead to salvation, are aspects of the dominant ideology.

The principle of national character includes a child's knowledge of the fatherland 'embracing language and cultural heritage, history and traditions, national symbols, the diversity of the population' etc. It is noteworthy that the term 'fatherland' is used and not the English cultural view of a mother country. A strange mixture of language and cultural heritage with cultural diversity is expressed. Teachers must teach this national character

> '(b) by developing this knowledge in each pupil into understanding and appreciation by presenting it in a meaningful way' ... to ...'inculcate a spirit of patriot ism'... and to ...'achieve a sense of unity and a spirit of co-operation.'

This ideological instruction to inculcate patriotism is similar to instructions referred to in connection with educational ideology in the USSR. The 'sense of unity ' in

diversity could only lead to a false sense of unity, when co-operation among racially separated pupils could not even include sport.

Loyalty to the state was forced on trainee teachers provisionally registered by the South African Teachers'Council for Whites (SATCW), who, according to a Government Gazette of 1975 have to show a 'spirit of patriotism, loyalty, and a sense of responsibility towards the fatherland and its inhabitants.'

Blacks were not offered mother-tongue education at high school level and the attempt 'on the efforts of politicians to ram it (Afrikaans) down people's throats ... (resulted in) ... a fine language (becoming) associated in the minds of non-Afrikaans-speaking people with a particular political party or an ideological issue' (Malherbe op. cit.:17).

6.5 Developments from 1983

The Republic of South Africa Constitution Act (Act 110 of 1983) was promulgated in 1983. As the legal base of all state institutions, the Constitution created a new kind of racial federation in the relationship between whites, Indians and coloureds (Devenish 1986). A legislature comprising a Parliament consisting of three chambers: a House of Assembly for white 'own affairs;' a House of Representatives for coloured 'own affairs;' and a House of Delegates for Indian 'own affairs' was established. Education was declared to be an 'own affair' and so separate departments were to operate under a white, a coloured and an Indian Minister in the respective houses. A white minister for 'general affairs' would control black education and oversee aspects of general concern, i.e. non-cultural issues in a racial sense, such as salaries of teachers, for all education departments. A booklet issued by the RSA House of Assembly (undated:1), explains management of own affairs of the white group, in the following terms:

> 'The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa recognises, in addition to general rights of the individual, also the universal right of traditional population groups to their own community life. One of the national objectives is therefore deference for and promotion of each population group's determination of its own affairs.'

A President's Council, comprising indirectly elected and nominated members, was established to ensure government control of the legal process. This reflects categoric thinking by the ruling party.

Of greater concern is the power of the State President to spread what can be classified as 'own affairs' (Section 1892) at his incontestable discretion, as he is not

accountable to a majority in any single House or to a majority in Parliament as a whole. The restriction of the Supreme Court's power of judicial review 'creates a climate for the abuse of power' claims the South African Bar Council (Hansard col 12499 29 August 1983). With blacks left out of the political model, abuse of power had occurred already; but the negative power of a control ideology was enshrined.

6.6 The dominant ideology in white education

The conceptual apparatus undergirding the dominant ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism has been indicated from an historical perspective, which has revealed that the production of an ideology has 'to be conceived as a tortuous and continuing process' (Salter and Tapper 1981:62). A closer analysis of the 'total' ideology will now be made and then an analysis of how a 'dominated' ideology has co-existed in white English medium schooling will be reviewed. Obviously all Afrikaners do not concur with all tenets of the dominant ideology and all English speakers do not support all aspects of the dominated ideology.

According to Behr (1980:30) 'the exponents of CNE believed that God ordained that there should be an Afrikaner nation, with a land and language of its own, and a religion based on orthodox Protestant-Calvinist principles.' From these principles the socialising function of the school was particularly important to ensure that each child was developed in a particular religious pattern and with particular patriotic views towards his nation which was really his cultural group. Afrikaans was used as the 'outward symbol of their exclusiveness and separateness' (Malherbe 1977:19) and the slogan of mother tongue education became 'one of the battle cries' (ibid.:22). In criticism of this ideology, Robertson (1974:3) argues that the South African government 'considers its prime duty to be the preservation of a society moulded in terms of an ideology compising two basic interrelated elements - apartheid (segregation) and baasskap (white domination). This ideology [is] termed "Christian Nationalism" ...'

In arguing for justification for the current system, Ruperti (1976:32) claims that the Afrikaner is an independent cultural entity with a more marked internal correlation of 'educational and community development.' This tends to imply that development is set and fixed within a clearly defined pattern. In stating his opposition to nationalism, including the form taken by Zionism, Buber (in Prosser 1979:45) observed that 'it made "an idol of the people" putting the needs of the group in place of universal justice and truth.' This will be shown to have occurred in South Africa.

A brief description of this ideology will be done in terms of the definition of ideology indicated in Chapter 2 as that to be used as the analytic tool in this thesis.

As a world-view the ideology of the Afrikaner has been intentionally distorting to forward a particular group interest. Part of the power of this ideology could be attributed to the structure and function of the ideology itself, which fosters Salter and Tapper's (1981:65) view that

> 'some educational ideologies are more complex and more sophisticated than others and therefore better able to legitimate the interests of their groups.'

The set of beliefs, ideas and assumptions which have been enculturated by Afrikaner whites into a 'total' ideology which is reflected in education, include the following characteristics.

Education is seen as an ideal with the child being moulded in terms of the correct way according to a Calvinistic Christian view of man. A belief in one true religion is upheld. A concept of broad Nationalism is espoused, based on racial group rights, although the assumption is held that the Afrikaner group is ordained of God to play a leadership role in Southern Africa. Anti-British republicanism was an important forging influence based on historical oppression.

The individual is seen to be in service of the state and state schools are separated on principles of race and mother tongue instruction. Moral standards are very important in schools with strict discipline being based on set norms. Pupils are expected to be co-operative, although competition and meritocracy is promoted within the Afrikaner group.

The authority of the teacher is respected because of the belief in his guidance, or accompanying, role, but he must conform to imposed religious and social norms. All the authority in the school is seen as God-given. Oligarchical control of schools is acceptable under Church, parents and a hierarchical system of educators. Under Calvinism, man is central to existence and man must follow God-given norms. Opposition to humanism and to man as human capital is expressed. A belief in free and compulsory state education prevails. The Afrikaner group has a belief in state socialism for themselves as a group, although elements of free market capitalism are important in the economy. Education is explicitly linked to cultural reproduction and implicitly to economic reproduction.

Consciousness raising and rationalization of ideological policies and practices have

been achieved, through the use of particular elements. Slogans and rhetoric include the view that Nationhood has been under a 'total onslaught.' To this highly organized and determined group, education is Christian and anti-communist to preserve Western civilized standards under leadership of the National Party, the Church, professional parent and teacher bodies. Traditional intellectuals claimed valid laws of education such as 'essential authority' and 'mother tongue education is cultural transmission' in the development of a particular approach to Fundamental Pedagogics. Adulthood has been linked to a particular community - a prescribed group of whites.

In schools, control is exerted through a centralized structure, in which segregation is important, a set curriculum based on Christian Nationalism, and with culturally-biased merit assessment of teachers. A conformity of approach to teaching is demanded with the curriculum stressing religious and cultural aspects. National examinations, of a multiple-choice variety, are supported to offer fairness and therefore equality of opportunity for all children, but not open-mindedness. Education for responsible citizenship is promoted. The ideology is internally coherent, based on pluralist principles, but there is a strong demand for hegemony to be preserved.

This ideology is a thought form with a relationship to action. Schools have been used to support the ideological perspective and to explain and justify the 'prevailing social order in terms of the beliefs and values of the dominant social class' (Tozer 1985:148). The ideology is attached to a concrete power interest, which has been institutionalized to reveal creditability and usefulness. A belief has been fostered in the power of a state bureaucracy led by Afrikaners. There is opposition to class, but a belief in cultural groupings has been fostered, for example in the ethnic exclusivism of the Broederbond. The ideology sets out to realise a particular racist design, using elements of a control economy. Totalitarian, oligarchical rule has been the norm, except for democracy within inner-circle Afrikaner groups.

Rigid ethnic exclusivism and to ensure this, repression, has been a central part of the ideology in action. Own affairs legislation, with blacks controlled by whites, has emerged. Legitimation has been achieved through social control with the ideology being seen as inevitable. Education is supposed to inculcate patriotism, while incorporating loyalty to the fatherland. Schools should operate under hierarchical, authoritarian management, in which the control motive, under set rules, is predominant. The Afrikaans language has been turned into a political rather than a cultural issue and the concept of culture has been used as a

justification for privilege.

The belief that education is founded on the Bible and should be imprinted through religious education and other subjects as well as in administration and organization, has led to a belief in divinely ordained success and failure and religious insularity. This ideology applies moral and value prescriptions to the educational process: opposition to communism has been taught as being anti-God and opposition to liberalism has been taught on the grounds of it being morally permissive.

In the South African situation, this has been the only carefully structured ideology in terms of ontology, axiology and epistemology. It is a good example of ideology as 'the collective unconsciousness of certain groups [which] obscures the real condition of society both to itself and to others and thereby stabilizes it' (Mannheim 1960:40). For many years there has been a feeling among Afrikaners that this ideology was real and true and that political results were capable of being achieved, while the support of the Dutch Reformed Church made it morally acceptable to the inclusive audience.

The objection of the civilized world to its moral position, has resulted in the widespread view that it is morally unacceptable, and it has been heavily criticised in respect of value beliefs such as inequality being preferable to equality because of legitimation of apartheid, and for the preservation of rights and democratic procedures for Afrikaners only.

A limited epistemological base can be noted, with the ideology promoting the view that the only knowledge possible is the knowledge of God. The religious influence on the ideology offered a rationalization of a particular morality, and cultural prestige has been maintained through the religious concept of being a chosen people. Hence racial purity has been pursued. The symbols of the Church have promoted nationalism, and religion has been placed in a relational, situational and contested arena.

Although ideology is a tool for understanding reality, it can be criticised in terms of ontology if it prevents rather than facilitates new ways of seeing things and if it incorporates a view that there is only one way to question things. Divine endorsement of leadership and a reaffirmation of the dominant ideology that all authority in the school is God-given, preclude a search for reality.

The ideology has become blurred in action, and is no longer effective in ensuring social stability, and indicates the validity of Mannheim's (1960:76) comment that

'when the social situation changes, the system norms to which it had previously given birth ceases to be in harmony with it.' In order to protect some aspects of hegemony, a process of adaptation and incorporation of other viewpoints can be noted.

6.7 The dominated ideology in white education

English-speaking South African whites are said to support a liberal view of education. Ashley (in Behr 1988:218) in writing of how the School of Education at the University of Cape Town is trying to ensure the survival of the liberal tradition in South Africa, defines the liberal education tradition as

> 'a commitment to open discussion and enquiry, a tolerance of different viewpoints, a desire for the development of critical and questioning minds, and the constant attempt to view people and individuals without reference to racial, religious or gender characteristics.'

Although this view of a liberal goal may be typical of the ideological thrust behind English medium education, the definition is theoretical and probably idealistic if one views this ideology in action. It does contain a basis of truth though and similar views are expressed by Chesler (1983:6), who writes that English speaking South Africans' (ESSAs) 'ideology is identified as broadly liberal democratic' and also argues that the ideological nucleus is from the UK and that the majority of ESSAs regard their ethnic inheritance as British. It would appear that the changing nature of white English-medium schooling, with many children from Portuguese, German, French and eastern European ethnic origins, has reduced the regard for an ethnic inheritance from Britain; but the school structure, patterns of leadership and pedagogy, lie within the British tradition.

A clearer sense of ESSAs' dominated ideology is given by Chesler (ibid.:234) in the following terms:

> 'ESSA ideology definitely falls within the broad category of liberal democratic thought in its support of the principles of freedom (as defined by liberalism), tolerance, rationality, the importance of the individual, and the optimistic view of the nature of man.'

The set of beliefs and assumptions that have been enculturated in the English medium school milieu contain 'key elements of liberal ideology' as explained by Sharp (1980:126) as 'a belief in individualism and equality of opportunity.' Education is seen as the development of the individual, on the basis of individual choice. The value of individual efforts towards self-realization is stressed. A broad, liberal democratic view is espoused, with democracy being seen in terms of individual rights with the individual pursuing liberty.

There are Christian aspects, but tolerance towards other religions is apparent. Nationalism is not supported. There is clearer opposition to the Christian National ideology of Afrikaners, than a coherent ideology of their own. Support for non-racial state or private schools, allowing parental choice is strong. Mother tongue education is no issue, although there is a belief that parents should choose the language medium for their children, and English is obviously not under threat as a language.

School standards required are mainly academic, and morality does not play as large a role as in the Afrikaner ideology. Discipline is expected to be based on rational norms. Discipline in dress and manners (as part of status culture, cited by Collins (1971)), but not in thought, is promoted. Teachers are judged on their ability in the classroom, and no group observance is required. Tolerance of different views is supported, with significant professional autonomy being permitted for teachers, while freedom as a policy and method and organizing principle is promoted. Schools are meritocratic and elitist and a competitive ethos prevails.

There is little belief in community involvement in schools, and more concern for personal involvement, with man being seen apart from a civic pattern. There is support for the view that education is to be paid for by parents, but supported by a state subsidy. There is a strong belief in capitalism, involving economic freedom, with education linked implicitly to economic reproduction.

Rationalization and defence of ideological practices is carried out in various ways. Slogans of equality of educational opportunity for the individual and of the need for education to be non-racial, open and democratic, based on freedom, are used as credo and method. The principle, however, is not one of equality, but of access to equal opportunity for all. This is a type of social mobility ideology.

The ideology promotes Western liberal democracy under English press rhetoric, through the power of large industrial concerns, and liberal teacher bodies. It argues for autonomy for individual schools, in a clash of interest and issue with the centralizing tendency of Afrikaner Nationalism. There is opposition to the fusing of legislative and executive powers of government and to bureaucratic organization. The curriculum supported is academic and traditional, with a scientific thrust on a free market economic base.

The belief in change is that it should be based on a non-racial system of choice. An ideology of humanistic purpose is apparent: to develop in the child a need for

autonomy, a concern over authoritarianism, to teach decision making and problem solving and to trust. An openness of approach, with an economic usage based on the criterion of functional efficiency, is seen in an elitist technological view, as exposed by Habermas (1974), which presents educational problems as technical problems.

Examinations are supported although acknowledged to be competitive and elitist, while schooling is to be judged by utility of product in academic terms and on the ability to solve problems.

This ideology does not have government support, so it is limited in action on a macro-level. It can be seen in action in schools which are attached to its economic power interest and which are given financial support. Conflict with the dominant ideology of Afrikaners is seen over a belief in local control of schools and not in centralized control. There is support for consociational groupings, and there is a close association among English medium schools. An upper-middle class, even bourgeoisie, view prevails. There is no high cultural group.

There is support for a policy of upward mobility, with many schools having opened to other racial groups, under selective entry. Social mobility for blacks is morally acceptable, under the strong belief of justice for the individual. A belief in individual self control is espoused, with creativity encouraged and streaming allowed, under democratic leadership.

Reasoning is regarded as vital and critical questioning of state and religion is encouraged. Schools are functionally efficient and do not have a real humanistic purpose, because an elitist technology prevails. Games are important from a social viewpoint, and the strength of old boys' associations supports economic reproduction and infuses the schools with corporate values.

Teacher societies and the coercive power of English language groups in the world, including the English press, have all helped in the successful avoidance of certain legal strictures of Christian National Education under the slogans of a need for autonomy and the need to question authority. The ideology has a relativistic perspective - the ideology of the Afrikaner is not seen as an absolute.

The English ideology is an example of ideology as challenge because it is not espoused by the political power that operates the schools. It is not a carefully formulated ideology, such as that of Christian National Education, but in general its axiological base is one of freedom and justice for the individual. It is a person-

centred view with ultimate value seen in an individual striving towards self-realization. The principle of justice is limited in that it is not based on equality but on equal access to equal opportunity for all, although it does support the values of tolerance and freedom of choice.

The epistemological base is wide. It teaches the need for autonomy and the need to question the validity of authority. Although freeing of the human spirit is supported, there are rationalizations based on economic factors. As a tool for understanding reality it does deal with elitist technologies, turning educational problems into technical problems. It opposes state powers, and supports critical enquiry of state and religion. Although liberalism has large-scale support in the world, it has been criticised as a coercion ideology and Sharp's (1980) claim that liberal truth resides nowhere, that it has a position of epistemological relativism, does have validity.

The vision of reality offered by this ideology has not been popular enough in South Africa - it shows a lack of patriotism and sense of nationhood. The very nature of support for a decentralized system and devoluted power makes it difficult to promote this ideology at a political level. Liberal ideology has been heavily criticised by Afrikaners (such as ex-Prime Minister Vorster and his brother who was moderator of the NGK, in the 1970s) as leading to a permissive society with communist involvement and as a threat to their dominant ideology. But whatever else it is, liberal ideology has certainly been resilient.

6.8 Differences in ideological influences within English and Afrikaans medium education

The interrelationship between ideology in theory and in social function needs to be investigated, in terms of Mannheim's (1960:174) argument that ideologies are 'intelligible only with reference to the concrete situations to which they have relevance and in which they are valid.'

Following the method of direct observation, a survey of differences of ideology in action, that is in ideological influence on educational leadership, structure and processes within English and Afrikaans medium schools administered by the Natal Education Department, was conducted by the researcher with the co-operation of all Superintendents of Education (District) who have had experience of both types of school. It was considered that these were the only people with adequate practical knowledge, through continuous visitation of schools and through numerous evaluatory procedures which they have undertaken, of leadership, management,

structure and assessment within various schools. A copy of the questionnaire used to obtain information, before the responses were discussed with each Superintendent of Education (District), is attached as Addendum 1. The questionnaire is not intended to provide sophisticated statistical evidence but to establish general trends in attitude, and its importance in the context of this thesis must not be over-emphasised. The purpose of the survey is to establish whether the theoretical ideologies discussed above, could be observed in action in particular schools.

Definitions of, or statements about, the dominant Afrikaner ideology showed variations between theoretical ideology and ideology in action. The following definition was written by an Afrikaner and indicates the pillars of Afrikaner belief:

* 'The Christian-National Education ideology is very strongly grounded in Afrikaans schools. It originates from the Bible and has two foundations - religious philosophy - that everything should happen to the honour and glory of God, and a national principle that the state is an institution of God, that the state is a supreme power and that citizens are in service of the state. This philosophy of life must be intrenched in all aspects of life.'

An English speaker revealed a critical view of the 'dominant' ideology as an isolationist one:

* 'The purpose of education is to transmit a narrowly Calvinistic view of society and so to perpetuate the Afrikaner culture, defending it against penetration by challenging or conflicting points of view.'

The theoretical views which were given by Afrikaner Superintendents of Education on English medium ideologies, include the following:

* 'In English medium schools - my impression is that they have a more liberal outlook and are based on almost a pragmatic/materialistic philosophy. Biblical norms do not play an important role and the state should be in the service of the citizens, not the citizens in service of the state.
* 'More acceptance of different opinions, but once decided on policy it is rather fixed. Academic drive rated highly and guarded jealousy. Parents financially more involved than Afrikaners. Policy from Pretoria questioned more openly.

In general terms, though, their views could be said to reflect a view expressed by an English speaker, that in English medium schools

* 'the purpose of education is to create a thinking individual, able to debate and defend a point of view. Education, therefore, must expose the individual to as many stimuli and points of view as possible so that the individual may develop his/her own philosophy of life.'

The particular effects which the 'dominant' ideology, as explained theoretically above, has had on educational leadership, structure and process will be analysed below and observations will be made on how the 'dominated' ideology has fared in action.

6.8.1 Leadership

Just as Weber (1967) promoted dominance of the bourgeois class, so the dominant ideology in South Africa since 1948 has demanded the dominance of the Afrikaner group. Although not elitist in Weber's terms, because of a socialistic belief about their own group members, hence no Afrikaans medium private schools, the pre-occupation with leadership as domination is the same and the lack of interest in 'democratization, mass participation or social justice' (Sharp 1980:11).

Of powerful influence on leadership in education is the Broederbond and Serfontein (1979:161) writes of 11910 Broeders in education in 1977, in Bantu Education, Indian Education, Coloured Education, the provincial education departments and the Department of National Education. The Bond's executive committee in 1965 appointed a committee to investigate the Afrikanerising of English speakers (Idem). Even in 1935 Hertzog wrote of 'provocative political propaganda' (Malherbe 1977:23) of Broederbond teachers. Afrikaner leaders have been selected and placed in leadership roles in all provincial education departments and in most other education authorities, such as DET. Leadership with a strong emphasis on domination has continued in the structures, and Davies (1986:366) writes of continuing resistance to reform by reactionary 'Afrikaans-speaking teachers' and educational organizations, who voiced opposition to the co-optive aspects of the Report of the HSRC Investigation into Education (1981).

Davies et al. (1988:266) refer to the Broederbond as the 'war council' of Afrikaner nationalism because of its directive and co-ordinating influence over 'all Afrikaans political, cultural, ideological, economic and religious organisations.' The split between the 'verligtes' (the enlightened) and the 'verkramptes' (the conservatives) in Afrikanerdom, which has led to split political affiliations, can be based on productive forces, they (1988:269) argue. An 'emerging Afrikaner monopoly capital' interest is being opposed by the 'petty bourgeoisie' of small farmers and labour. This belief in a class split appears to be too simplistic, based on Marxist dialectic instead of on ideological adaptation and incorporation.

Scott and Beckmann (1988:1) write of the 'twee hoofstrome' in white South African education: the 'Republikeinse ideaal' of Hertzog and the 'koloniale liberalisme' of Smuts. It has been shown how Hertzog's views were radicalised by the Broederbond and the purified Afrikaners of Malan. This stream of separateness and a particular republican ideal under Afrikaner hegemony, persists within the structures, process and leadership of education in the RSA. It is clear that the 'essence' of the leadership task in education which the leader of the Broederbond, Dr PJ Meyer,

saw as the political nationalising and acculturization of the English speakers within Afrikanerdom (cited in Serfontein 1979) has failed. It is argued that the thrust of FAK (Afrikaans Cultural Organization), the Institute for CNE, the Dutch Reformed Church and the National Party for domination and hegemony have not altered, despite ideological adaptation.

In an attempt to explore whether the 'twee hoofstrome' ideologies could be established in leadership in action in schools, the writer conducted a limited survey of the leadership roles of principals in the NED. The sample was comprised of forty detailed reports on the performance of principals in NED schools (A Form Reports), twenty two on English speaking principals and eighteen on Afrikaans speaking principals. These reports were selected specifically because all the principals had been delegates at the Natal Heads' Seminar, a week long leadership seminar, during which the theoretical concept of leadership in schools is approached from a democratic standpoint reflecting the views of Maslow, Herzberg and McGregor (as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3) among others. Some significant patterns emerged. Words, or explanations, regarding discipline and control appeared at least twice as often in the Afrikaans reports, which could be interpreted as a reflection of beliefs in hierarchy and moulding. Other areas of comment of greater frequency in the reports on Afrikaans principals were positive support of community involvement and the inculcation of Christian norms. Thus, the volk slogan and the belief in God-given authority was emphasized. Greater concern in the English reports was laid on more practical aspects, such as academic leadership and pupil creativity, which could be regarded to be in line with a liberal-humanist ideology.

As these reports were written by the same evaluators (Superintendents of Education), what emerges is that they were written in the language code which would be understandable to the principals concerned and that the ideological aspects underpinning acceptable forms of leadership in different communities were accepted and endorsed.

In current school situations an Afrikaans speaking Superintendent of Education (District) noticed change in Afrikaans medium schools:

* 'CNE flavours the school but is not all that evident in practice. Authority is accepted by pupils and staff and parents to a large degree. Mother tongue is important because it may be threatened. Academic standards are important but standards of conduct are more important.'

While urban Afrikaans medium schools are

* '... characterised these days by a more autonomous and independent spirit of thinking amongst its pupils. Traditional values are not necessarily always questioned, but there is a tendency to be more proactive in discussions about a Socio-Economical dispensation.'

The answers to the questions on ideology in action in different language medium schools, given by the Superintendents of Education (District), have led to the following interpretation. As far as leadership by heads and teachers is concerned, a more autocratic style with firmer belief in pupil control and the value of legitimate authority was noted in Afrikaans medium schools. English medium leaders tended to be more creative and proactive, with a greater recognition of self reliance in pupils. Ideological influence from the tone of instructions delivered from authorities, conformist responsibilities demanded of principals, and greater apprehension of inspections has been noted among Afrikaner heads. To a marked extent deeply reflective thinking is not promoted and responsibility to superiors is considered to be of extreme importance.

These observations are supported explicitly by Niemann (1985:248), who writes that, the training of school principals, even in financial management, should be 'culturally differentiated and in accordance with their life views,' and that these programmes must 'put Christian principals on their guard against humanistic presuppositions' and must be 'scripturally founded.' The influence of a broad Christian National ideology on the leadership required of Afrikaner heads is apparent.

English liberalism and humanism survive, and Dostal and Vergnani's (1984a:iii) indication that 'in South Africa there is a growing trend towards acceptance of integration in education except among Afrikaans-speaking whites' offers a possibility of future change for educational leadership.

6.8.2 Structure

The 'total' ideology which has fashioned South African society is also revealed in the structural arrangements of education. The political system which could also be described as a facet of the total ideology, is characterized by 'one of the most centralised systems of government in the world - a system which is not only undemocratic, even for whites, but also completely inappropriate for our plural society' (Kendall and Louw 1989:29). Organic intellectual, Ruperti (1976:6), argues that government policy has been based in principle on what have been seen as 'universal structures ... (which) ... are part of creation and given by the Creator, the Source of all that is ....' This religious support for separatist structures and opposition to liberal thought is part of Ruperti's ideological viewpoint, which also contains a belief that Reformational thought has led to decentralization and a lessening of hierarchical structures. She sees predominantly Roman Catholic countries as having organizational patterns based on a hierarchy from the 'Pope

downwards' (Ibid.:23) and that the actualization of truth is found only in the central government. Another example of the 'total' ideology of the group is Smit's (1987:166-7) criticism of black radical aspirations in education when he states that education 'is a phenomenon, ... and no man-made object, let alone an instrument for fighting for a specific cause or to get the better of one's political opponents.' He claims thet education could not be used for political purposes as defined, and is critical of Marxist slogans which are used not for education, but for the desire to promote 'one ideal only, namely to work for liberation and political freedom under the cloak of education.' He is blinded to the fact that structure has been 'an element in indoctrination' (Robertson 1974:22) in South Africa.

Hanf (1980:228-9)) reveals how intentional political education is in South Africa. He writes of how the government of the Afrikaner National Party has 'pursued two comprehensive and rigorous ventures of political socialisation by means of formal education,' Christian National Education for whites and Bantu education for blacks. These respective policies were created to ensure 'political convictions favourable to the National Party's policy of separate development.' This blindness to the realities of the South African situation and to the source of anger that imposition of 'Afrikaner nationalist values and history' has had on blacks (Kendall and Louw op cit.:228) and on white English speakers (Robertson 1974; Chesler 1983:233) is typical of an organic intellectual's apologia for the dominant ideology.

This ideology is totalitarian and its power is exercised methodically, according to design, and like most totalitarianism with a thrust towards total domination of inhabitants. It is not quite the same as that which has prevailed in the Soviet Union where besides political subordination, interference with the private lives of its subjects includes the enforcement of patterns of thought and behaviour and the dictation of the ideology which must be embraced (Hirszowicz 1980). Part of the power behind Afrikanerdom is the Broederbond which has, according to Serfontein (1979:159) been intermeshed with the Afrikaner's battle to 'assert his control over education - first his own, then that of all other race and language groups.' In agreement is Robertson (1974:ii) whose study revealed the 'mass political indoctrination of South Africans through the educational system.' His study revealed further how the Christian National ideology is shown 'in the educational practice in the country as a pervasive and striking degree' (Idem).

Cultural control has been exerted through the mass media, censorship has been aggressive, and the rule of law has been a weapon of authoritarian power. Hirszowicz (1980) showed similar state controls in the USSR. Over a period of decades the social order in South Africa has been static, and part of the ability to

preserve and fortify this situation has been a bureaucracy of those who could be termed uncritical receivers of orders in a closed system (Burns and Stalker 1961). Speer (1970) indicates the ease with which modern dictatorships, with technology of communication, can replace independent thinkers in their structures by bureaucrats who follow orders.

There is little change in ideological approach to education in a new act for white education, the Education Affairs Act (House of Assembly) 1988 (Act No 70 of 1988). School Boards comprised of parents have little real authority and their role is mainly concerned with upkeep of buildings, the opening and closing of schools and financial affairs. This is another example of how undemocratic structures are because of 'the extreme concentration of power in central government' (Dostal and Vergnani 1984a:1). It must be pointed out that part of the world-view of Afrikaners is that children should be raised jointly by home, school and Church; hence parents have enjoyed considerable power in school affairs. Alhough there has been no change in the principle of mother tongue education, the regulations governing this have been tightened and it is now not the parents who decide on their mother tongue, but the principal who shall 'ascertain in which official language the child is more proficient and shall then determine that that language shall be the mother tongue of the child' (Act No 70 of 1988 section 5.5. (1)). The religious demand remains (section 62.(1)): 'In every public school there shall daily be a religious ceremony which shall consist of the reading of a portion from the Bible and the saying of a prayer.'

Nothing in this Act suggests educational change, with the move towards centralization being excused in terms of rationalization, and the re-entrenchment of Afrikaner ideology. Dostal and Vergnani (1984a:2) suggest a need to stimulate 'a review of educational structures and procedures, many of which date back to the church schools of the middle ages.' Their argument that 'educational inequalities can only be removed by redesigning the structure of the educational system of all groups in South Africa' (ibid.:40) is valid.

In **Die Unie** (Jaargang 84 Nommer 6 Desember 1987:152) organ of the Cape Afrikaans Teachers' Union (SAOU) total support for the educational structure was given: 'Die jongste SAOU-kongres het dit beklemtoon dat onderwys gemeenskapsgebonde is, en daardeur sy geloof herbevestig in onderwys ook as eie saak.'

Another element of the new structure was the formation (provided for in the National Education Policy Amendment Act (House of Assembly), 1986 (Act 103 of 1986)) of the Teachers' Federal Council which was a combination of the old Federal

Council of Teachers' Associations, which was a voluntary association of white associations concerned with teachers' salaries and conditions of service, and the South African Teachers' Council (for Whites), which was a registration and disciplinary professional association.

Ideological control of teachers had now taken firmer hold. The Natal Teachers' Society (NTS) had been outmanoeuvred at the formation of the SATC when their delegates had believed that the new council would be multi-racial, and the late recognition that it would be a racially exclusive professional association had found them already committed. In 1979 when the writer, as President of the NTS, had explained the opening of the constitution of the NTS to all races at the AGM of the Federal Council, the minutes expressed the view that the NTS had merely made a gesture and that the society would not admit non-whites. When these minutes were challenged, the reply from the chairman of Federal Council was that the proceedings had been taped and that the minutes were correct. The NTS asked for a copy of the tape recording. Federal Council called an extraordinary meeting in Cape Town to discuss this issue. At the start the chairman informed the meeting that the recording tape had run out prior to the statements made by the NTS and that he supported the integrity of the secretariat. Delegates were asked to vote on what statements had been made by the NTS. Without exception all Afrikaner delegates from provincial asociations declared that the minutes were perfectly correct, even identifying the speaker, while all English delegates from provincial associations declared them to be incorrect and agreed with the position of the NTS. This example of conflict and the use of power to persuade, with the Afrikaner delegates in the majority, is typical of how the dominant ideology has been pursued within structures. In 1988 the NTS withdrew from the Teachers' Federal Council because of its inability to move towards involvement with other race groups. After minor changes the NTS rejoined, indicating the difficult position English societies face in that their moral position has to be balanced against their inclusion in a centralized structure which helps to determine the salaries and conditions of service of their members. Although the charter of the Teachers' Federal Council does reveal some influence from the English associations, in essence the ideological support is Christian National (sections 3.1 and 3.4 of the credo). Disciplinary action against teachers (under SATC and TFC) has caused concern to English teacher associations. A weak response to 'political' actions by Afrikaans teachers who tarred and feathered a professor who questioned an Afrikaner slogan about the Day of the Covenant could be contrasted with strong responses against sins of the flesh. Protectiveness of Afrikaner unity and Calvinistic views on sin are obvious ideological aspects.

The dominant ideology supports centralized, hierarchical structures with bureaucratic elements as a control mechanism. That implementation of policies is through a rational and impartial bureaucratic process is a guise because of pre-ordination of how people will act. Excessive respect for officials holding higher positions is a common phenomenon, and little opposition emerges to question official policies. Responsibility is to superiors and not to principles. In essence the structure is a strong system (Louis and Sieber 1979) and a closed system (Burns and Stalker 1961) as discussed in Chapter 4.

An example of how seminars, or meetings, are conducted under the dominant ideology could serve to elucidate particular aspects of the 'authoritative form of organization, [with] decisions made at the top' (Likert 1961:222).

A large-scale seminar on 'Relevant Education' was held by the Department of Education and Culture (House of Assembly) in Pretoria in 1989.

The religious opening served as a mind set and ideological basis, while the long agenda indicated formality and efficiency. The Executive Director, Stone, indicated aspects of education which were not negotiable and stated that what was in opposition to the government's policies could not be regarded as relevant education. He did not consider the old CNE schools in the Transvaal during Milner's control in his thinking. Black education did not have any relevance to this seminar.

Questions for group work offered little scope for controversy. Group reporters had invariably been selected by Department of Education and Culture officials and some of these people had actually been given prepared answers for their report-backs, prior to any discussion having taken place. This was another control mechanism by the central authority. Some Afrikaans speakers reported back along the lines of their own ideologies and ignored what the group had discussed. Often weak responses were able to escape criticism through reference to the Bible as a defence mechanism. Natal delegates, both English and Afrikaans, were amazed at the ideological racial positions of many other delegates.

There was much thanking, and acclamations of new group solidarity in the old Christian National terms, while sponsorship was by an Afrikaans book and audio-visual firm and the sponsor was permitted to talk at reasonable length during the official dinner which was attended by the Minister of Education and Culture. All these elements of a particular group help to underline the concept of power and its relationship with the dominant ideology in action.

Hegemony can be seen in the post structure of education departments. Even in Natal where over 70% of the pupils are in English medium schooling, and the teaching force is largely English speaking, Afrikaner hegemony can be seen in top management posts in the Natal Education Department. For example, of those working closest to teachers and pupils, the superintendents of education for regions and for academic subjects, the breakdown in 1990 was approximately 70% Afrikaans speakers and 30% English speakers.

That there has been design in the selection of top members of the bureaucracy is argued by Asmal (1991:22), who writes of how under an ANC government, English speaking whites would be given, what they do not have under the National Party government, 'a genuine chance of promotion on the basis of merit.'

The question which emerges from a review of macro-organizational structure and management method in support of the 'dominant' ideology, is whether Afrikaans medium schools reveal similar structural and management tendencies. One of the most significant differences in the survey of English and Afrikaans medium schools was revealed in this area. Afrikaans schools were considered by the respondents to be more bureaucratic in organization and based on moral prescriptions. It was noted that there was a coherent philosophy underlying the structure and that this tended to inhibit personal development in Afrikaans medium schools, while hierarchical influence by members of school management was also stronger than in the English schools and there was less delegation of responsibility. Staff were more strictly controlled and hence not allowed as much autonomy, even in the educative process. Under these structures, and ideologically more submissive to management, Afrikaans teachers were seen as less self reliant and more concerned with rote teaching. They also did not allow pupils significant freedom of thought and expression. This resulted in clear differences in pupil attitudes, with English speakers being more strongly influenced by peer pressures and being less conformist to the school situation then their Afrikaans counterparts.

An Afrikaans speaking respondent felt that English medium schools were 'eventually as structure bound as Afrikaans schools,' a view supported to an extent by an English speaking superintendent with experience overseas, who felt that the dominant ideology (that of the Afrikaner hegemony) had influenced English medium NED schools. It would appear that a difference between stated liberal ideology and a somewhat bureaucratic organization and aspects of authoritarian leadership can be observed in the structure of a number of English medium schools.

Differences in teacher attitudes are shown through the results of a survey, con-

ducted for the Natal Heads' Seminar in 1991, in which the writer was involved, in which current motivating and de-motivating factors in teaching in NED schools were investigated. The target group was comprised of 204 English speaking teachers and 138 Afrikaans speaking teachers. Asked to respond to various statements on motivating factors on a five point scale on a continuum from negative to positive, substantial ideological differences emerged. With regard to the educational system, 51% of English speakers considered working for the Department of Education and Culture: House of Assembly as a strongly negative motivational factor, with 8% strongly positive; whereas Afrikaans speakers were 27% strongly negative and 36% strongly positive. Working for the NED was regarded as highly negative by 44% of English speakers and by 19% of Afrikaans speakers, while as a highly positive motivational factor, English speakers responded with 19% and Afrikaans speakers with 52%. The education system, controlled under Afrikaner hegemony, is seen to be far more acceptable to Afrikaans teachers. Thus ideology 'interpellates' or produces the subject, which, according to Althusser (1971:172), is the 'elementary ideological effect.'

6.8.3 Process

6.8.3.1 The curriculum

A core curriculum, based on subjects, is in operation in all education departments. The present core was developed mainly by white officials and teachers in the four provincial departments, although involvement of officials from Coloured and Indian departments has occurred and there is growing input from black education, while universities influence all higher grade syllabuses. Even though this process is reasonably democratic, all syllabuses have to be approved by the heads of the various education departments before they can be implemented. Of grave importance is the power to control what is regarded as acceptable knowledge. Since control of white education was centralized, instructions from The Department of Education and Culture concerning the curriculum have included the movement to modular syllabuses, even in process subjects such as English, and no objections were accepted. Attempts to create uniformity in setworks throughout the country were opposed successfully from Natal (letter from Johnstone, chairperson of Natal Association for the Teaching of English), but the desire for uniformity on grounds of efficiency also includes the ideological aspect of control of literature which could offer different moral codes than those espoused under Christian Nationalism.

In the new act (Act 70 of 1988) mention is made of only two subjects: religious education and physical education. In Section 62. 2(a) 'Bible instruction shall be

offered as a subject on all levels in public schools ... (and in (3)) ... no doctrine or dogma which is peculiar to a particular denomination or sect shall be instructed ...' Although there is a warning about dogma, complaints from non-Reformational churches have been made about the thrust of the syllabus (for example from the Roman Catholic priest in Westville about the teaching of religious education at Westville Boys' High in 1988).

The reason for physical education to be given legal significance (section 63 (1)) is open to question. Whether this is traditional fitness and sport orientation, or an alliance to defence of the fatherland is not clear.

Probably the most ideological of subjects has been that of Youth Preparedness or Civic Responsibility (as it is known in Natal). The introduction of this programme was opposed by one teachers' society as being a form of indoctrination. The physical and moral needs of children were seen in particular ways, as Behr (1980:44) shows, with Kotzee, Director of Education in the Transvaal, talking of the breakdown of loyalties and negation of authority by youth, and Coetze, Deputy Director of Education in the Orange Free State, arguing that 'growing liberalism and antireligious tendencies in the Western World paved the way for Communism.'

National Party arrogance about a particular view of Civic Responsibility in Natal can be seen in the telephoned threat to the principal of Westville Girls' High School by the Secretary of the National Party in Natal about a teacher's use of a National Party poster as a good example of propaganda. His threat was one of the reasons which led to the resignation of the teacher concerned. In the Transvaal the situation has been even more controlled and a Broederbond circular was issued stating that positions advertised for Education Guidance teachers, to deal with the Youth Preparedness programme, must be 'filled by teachers with the correct attitude and motivation' (Serfontein 1979:160).

A rejection of part of the set curriculum by ACE (Accelerated Christian Education) schools has led to a confrontation with educational authorities. The original strong attitude and threats to ban these schools, probably because of an ideological difference in religion and a threat to state control of education, have weakened under political representation to the Minister by the schools concerned. In Natal a number of these schools have ignored the Director's instruction not to admit high school pupils, but no action has been taken against them. They appear to be winning the right to an adaptation of the formal curriculum and their own religious approach.

From 1992 a new programme of Citizenship Education will be introduced in white schools. Greater awareness of other points of view has been shown in the development of this programme, which includes the controversial aspect of cadets. At a workshop seminar in Pretoria in 1989 officials and principals from the provincial departments were given a preview of the experimental programme which was then introduced in particular schools in 1990. Parts of this programme are politically oriented against baasskap, racial prejudice and concepts of only Afrikaner purity, and the thrust appears to be against the political programme and attitudes of Conservative Party supporters. The process of ideological accommodation by the hegemonic ideology, Sharp (1980:109), is at work. Although there is a refreshing suggestion towards open-ended thinking, the fact that all lessons have been pre-prepared for teachers with all material aids, indicates that the less involved teacher will tend to copy the lesson format and so the school as an ISA will follow a formalized centralized approach. The role of a woman is still controversial with the set version being of a home helpmate to her soldier-citizen husband being unacceptable in English medium schools. Of significance is what has been left off the agenda and currently racism and sexism are not taught as important social issues.

In the survey of ideology in action in NED schools, questions on the importance of various aspects of the formal curriculum revealed the greatest discrepancy in the survey on the subject of religion. Superintendents rated religion a high 4,3 on a 5 point scale in Afrikaans medium schools and a low 2 in English medium schools. Reasons essayed for this variance are the concept of the separation of church and school in liberal-humanist ideology and the added antagonism towards Christian and National Education which has been regarded as foisting religion 'as a social control mechanism' on English medium schools. In keeping with elitist and conservative perspectives, a higher regard for academic subjects was indicated for English schools, while it is possible that Calvinist reaction to the visual arts resulted in music being regarded as significantly more important than art in Afrikaans schools and vice versa. A much lower regard for physical education, and significantly, for cadets and civic responsibility was indicated for English medium schools (4,3 to 2,2 and 2,3 respectively). This could be interpreted, partly, as a rejection of symbols of Afrikaner nationalism.

6.8.3.2 Pedagogy

The ideological thrust of the 'dominant' ideology is to mould pedagogically. Cabinet Minister CP Mulder could state in Parliament (Assembly Debates 23.2.67:col 1827) that as a teacher of history in an Afrikaans-medium school he did

indoctrinate children:

> 'I want to say that after a child had been taught history in my classes, there was very little left for the United Party' (cited in Malherbe 1977:71).

Children are expected to conform to behaviour that sustains the existing social order, which is taught as a natural order under a hierarchy of authority. In South Africa, the need for the school to exert a moulding influence, and the conception of the teacher as a guide towards acceptable adulthood, finds expression in the work of some South African educationists. Cilliers (1975:82) asserts that the learner craves direction, and an indication of society's expectations - for the teacher must (he states)

> 'assist the educand to know ... what is right and what is wrong, and hence what is good and what is evil ... The educand (must) be convinced that what is right is better than what is wrong.'

Vehement opposition to the ideological viewpoints espoused by Cilliers and Viljoen and Pienaar (1971) among others, has been expressed by Fouche (1981:222-3) as 'indoctrination into given, ordinary, unquestioned values' and that it includes 'a servile submissiveness to authority, a naïve acceptance of bourgeois moralism, and the inculcating of a Calvanist (*sic*) Christian ideology.'

While a basic moral responsibility on the part of the teacher would be questioned by few educationists, the form which such responsibility takes is important. The ideological influence of Calvinist inspired moulding of pupils has led to a favouring of firm pupil control by teachers, and such control is a key factor in current provisions for the assessment of teacher competence.

Another form of moulding which is really teacher control, is that originally exercised by the South African Teachers' Council for Whites (currently the Teachers' Federal Council), which expressed appropriate norms in a Code of Conduct which all White teachers had to accept by law. This Code decreed inter alia, that a teacher:

> 'accepts character development as part of the task of education and promotes the highest moral standards by word and example' (Section 3.3) and 'practices (sic) his calling in an awareness that education in the country is founded on the Bible.' (Section 3.1 South African Teachers' Council for Whites 1979:22-3).

In South Africa, breaches of the Code of Conduct as established by Act 116 of 1976 may lead to a registered teacher being struck off the roll and so prevented from practising. Legislation such as this is not very common in the world as a whole, but pressure (both formal and informal) may often be brought to bear on

teachers to require them to conform to accepted norms. 'Good teaching' can presumably only be expected to occur within the parameters of such norms.

There is a positivistic epistemology in operation, in which recipes of professional knowledge can be learnt, and in which the social context is taken for granted. Schools are unalterable and teachers carry out explicit and implicit goals efficiently. Teachers are told what to do and transmission is generally psychometric. Randall (1982:184) refers to research findings that Afrikaans schools are less innovative than English ones, waiting for an 'official beleid' before trying to innovate.

'An ideology of liberalism is more apparent in the classroom, where democratic interchange occurs' in English medium schools, according to an Afrikaans speaking Superintendent of Education (District) and this was reflected in the views of others, who did see a more formal and dogmatic approach in Afrikaans medium schools. The respondent mentioned above, did see the ideology of liberalism in action in the classroom to a much higher degree than in the structure of the school and school leadership.

High motivators for both English and Afrikaans speakers lay in classroom interaction, in response by children to their subject, in support by teacher colleagues, and in supportive leadership by school principals. In these school based areas, no significant differences emerged on a language basis.

6.8.3.3 Assessment

6.8.3.3.1 Teachers

Initial consideration will be given to the assessment of teachers. To be appointed as a teacher in a state school, the applicant must register or provisionally register with the Teachers' Federal Council in terms of section 8B of the National Education Policy Act, 1967 (Act No 39 of 1967) and this applicant cannot become permanent 'until he has passed the proficiency test in both official languages,' despite the fact that he could teach in a single medium school. While in service his conduct will be monitored in terms of section 76 of the Education Affairs Act, 1988 (Act No 70 of 1988), under which definitions of misconduct are made:

> '76 (1) Any person employed at a departmental institution shall be guilty of misconduct if he -
> (a) contravenes or fails to comply with any provision of this Act or any law relating to education, or encourages disobedience or resistance to an Act of Parliament;
> (b) performs ... any act which is prejudicial to the

> administration, discipline or efficiency of a department, office or institution of the State;
> (c) without the prior permission of the Head of Education, discloses otherwise than in the performance of his official duties information gathered or obtained by him as a result of his employment in the Department ...;
> (d) uses his position to promote or prejudice private or sectional political objectives.'

The merit assessment system is an example, already mentioned, of a psychometric approach to teacher evaluation. This system originated from the Public Service Commission and its aims were never stated, while 'the actual decision-makers have never been publicly revealed, but lie hidden behind the paper curtain of so many autocratic decisions that have been taken vis a vis teachers in the RSA' (Jarvis 1982:183).

The committee which worked out the format and criteria of the system are named in an internal Public Service Commission document dated 7.10.1977:3-4 :

> 'Sameroeper: Mnr. PJ Colyn, Kantoor van die Sdk.
> Lede: Mnr. G Krog - Indiersake as verteen woordiger van Nie-blanke onderwysdepartmente.
> Prof. GJ do Toit (TOD as verteen woordiger van die
> Mnr. P Kruger provinsiale onderwysdept.
> Mnr. DM de Wet, Nasionale Opvoeding
> Mnr. JDV Terblanche, Verteenwoordiger van die Federale Raad.'

No practising teachers were included (Terblanche was Rector of the Pretoria Normal College), and neither was there an English speaker or a person of colour.

In 1978 when the Natal Teachers' Society queried the 'check list of criteria,' including aspects of character assessment, and a 7-point scale for each criterion, the Director of Education stated that 'teachers' societies had been "involved" in the Public Service Commission's efforts to establish criteria for a merit system' (Jarvis ibid.:185). Consultation with teachers took place when the issue was a fait accompli. It must be pointed out that the committee was concerned and found that

> 'weens die talle praktiese probleme, soos bv. wrywings-vlakke, ontevredenheid en anomaliee, onmoontlik is om die stelsel van prestasie-erkenning onder die huidige struktuur in te stel sonder om die Onderwys en onderwysers ernstig te nadelig to beinvloed' (Internal Public Commission document:2).

As the writer has pointed out: 'the use of "beinvloed" suggests persuasion rather than consultation' and is an ideological device of a totalitarian structure and form of management. The centralized bureaucracy determines policy, while handing responsibility for implementation to the provincial and other departments. 'Strictures on confidentiality of the criteria and total silence on the aims of the

system, reveal a form of administration which would be unthinkable in the more democratic processes of administration of education in the United Kingdom or the United States' (Jarvis ibid.:186).

A survey of all the Afrikaans medium and English medium high schools in the NED, revealed an average matriculation exemption rate in the 1989 Natal Senior Certificate Examination of 31% in Afrikaans medium schools and 56,5% in English medium schools, whereas the number of merits awarded to teachers in the Afrikaans medium schools was 28,6 % and 22,5 % in the English medium schools. If one accepts that intellectual ability and socio-economic backgrounds of Afrikaans and English pupils are similar, then one could suggest that the criteria and norms of the merit assessment document are culturally based and weighted in areas such as 'character' and 'community involvement' to act as a control mechanism over teachers and as a reward for correct behaviour above pedagogical ability. The findings of **An Investigation into the Workload of Teachers in the NED** (1991:169) include the claim that the merit system has been a disservice to teachers in that it supports the view that 'education should be teacher-directed and teacher-dominated, instead of pupil-centred and learning orientated.'

Widespread opposition (Jarvis 1982) has led to an approach by the Department of Education and Culture to change the system. Various officials and teacher representatives were asked by the Department of Education and Culture: House of Assembly to respond to statements using the Delphi method of agreement. The requirement for agreement to each statement of principle soon gave way to the acceptance of majority viewpoints, in a typical control move. After six rounds of questionnaires a task group comprising a chairman, one representative from each of the provincial education departments and three representatives of the Teachers' Federal Council was formed to conclude 'finale en gedetailleerde strukturering van nuwe meetinstrumente.' Although this approach has been more democratic than the introduction of the merit assessment system (Jarvis 1982), English speakers were in a minority of two on this committee.

A control mechanism, based on a belief in hierarchical aspects of bureaucracy, is built into the proposed criteria governing ratings in the section 'ingesteldheid teenoor onderwysowerhede' which include 'lojaliteit, respek en samewerking.' The ideological thrust of Christian Nationalism is strong, and in the section on 'religieuse orientering' teachers are to be evaluated on a 7-point scale which even includes a criterion of Church attendance. A low rating will be given to one 'wat soms twyfel laat oor sy geloof in 'n God en sy godsdiensbeoefening,' although many religious mystics and saints have gone through the dark night of the soul, while a

rating of 6 would be given to one who is 'op kerklikegebied 'n leiersfiguur.' The belief in group solidarity, a desirable factor in all ideologies, is revealed in the criteria under 'professionele ingesteldheid' where a rating of 1 would be given for one 'afsydig teenoor professie' and a rating of 7 to an 'erkende leier in georganiseerde professie.' A rather strange respect for orderliness is noted in the section on 'klimaatskepping,' where a criterion of 'die klas is pynlik netjies' is included under the rating of 7.

The majority of the proposed criteria are of management origin, for example decision making and problem solving, indicating an ideology of management as technology.

Another anomalous issue is that of bilinguality which is proposed to be judged under speech, reading and writing. As the ideological demand has been for mother tongue education and single medium schools, this judgment is unfair to teachers.

The ideological aspects mentioned refute the claim that these proposed psychometric instruments are scientific. Elements of this psychometric approach to evaluation are found in the arithmetical determination of final marks based on an 'evalueringspunt, gewigsfaktor en toepaslikheidsfaktor.' The purpose of this attempt at conformity appears to be to retain power in the education authority and to delegate work to schools.

In the survey on motivation, conducted for the Natal Heads' Seminar of 1991, and mentioned above; in reference to the system of evaluation for merit award, the highly negative response was 50% by English speakers and 34% by Afrikaans speakers. The system was seen as a high motivator by only 10% of English speakers, but by 31% of Afrikaans speakers. Again the opposition of English speakers to a management process within the education system is seen to be more marked.

Annual evaluations are done on head office professionals, but these are not released to the evaluee, implying a control mechanism under the 'dominant' ideology.

In marked contrast is the approach to evaluation in the Natal Education Department, which is indicated in Circular No 21 of 1990. A concern that teachers were being over-inspected and a need for appraisal rather than assessment to lead to professional growth are mooted. Assessment is considered inappropriate in promoting professional growth as it would imply that:

'* a universal, theoretical model of perfection exists,
and
* a superior, who knows all, is able to create and apply

absolute criteria to measure the subordinate's achievement against such a rating scale.'

Assessment is regarded as a barrier to open communication and a discourager of responsible experimentation at the work face. It could lead to 'an efficient conformity rather than an affective diversity.'

Each school is asked to develop an in-house system of continuous staff development and appraisal. Recommendations include the involvement of the 'whole staff in the design of the system' and that in reporting on performance the 'purpose of the report be understood by both the person writing the report and the person receiving the report.' Responsibility, power and work have been delegated to schools.

Even within this system, Superintendents of Education (District), did indicate differences in assessment of teachers by management in schools which were noteworthy. There was a greater respect for creativity in English medium schools and more awareness of disciplinary needs in Afrikaans medium schools. More demand for the teacher to offer pastoral care for the child and to propogate parent-school community spirit was revealed by Afrikaans members of management.

6.8.3.3.2 Pupils

In high schools in the Natal Education Department continuous assessment of pupils' work includes formal testing of no more than 50% of the maximum and appraisal of classwork, projects, orals et cetera. The Natal Senior Certificate Examination is norm based, and although it is accepted that the norm is a form of control (Foucault 1979), the thrust of higher grade papers in the examination is demanding, requiring interprative and imaginative responses.

The results of the 1989 NSC Examination were typical and serve as an example to show the contrast in achievement between pupils in Afrikaans and English medium schools.

NSC Statistics 1989

High Schools:

	English medium	Afrikaans medium
Exemption rate:		
average of schools	54,37%	31,5%
highest school	95,2%	52,5%
highest govt. school	82,4%	52,5%

The highest exemption rate in an Afrikaans medium school (that of 52,5%) would have placed that school in 36th position of the 60 English medium schools.

A comparison of top candidates' results reveal further discrepancies. A selection of common academic subjects and a comparison of subject A's indicates that although Afrikaans single medium schools comprised 20% of the single medium schools' total number of candidates (English medium schools comprising 80%), their performance in any particular subject did not even reach half the pro rata percentage.

Subject A's as comparative percentage - NSC 1989

Afrikaans medium schools	20%	English medium schools	80%
Accountancy	9,8%		90,2%
Biology	5,5%		94,5%
Geography	1,2%		98,8%
History	8,5%		91,5%
Mathematics	9,5%		90,5%
Physical Science	8,8%		91,2%.

The factors which cause these discrepancies need investigation. It would appear that socio-economic causes are not a possibility, because schools in similar socio-economic areas still reveal discrepancies, with English medium schools being more successful. Particular differences which could help to explain achievement variations are that the leadership and structure are more bureaucratic and teaching more authoritarian in Afrikaans medium schools.

Criticism of the Senior Certificate results of the Transvaal Education Department in comparison with other provincial education departments has led to research by Vorster (1988) among others into methods of equalising and moderating examination standards. Item bank tests have been promoted as a vehicle, but objections to them on grounds of dictating content of curriculum and methods of teaching in line with a simple testing format, have emerged. Translation difficulties and standardization of different levels, allied to the inability of the examinee to be able to argue answers, would tend to refute the value of this form of testing.

What could have a more sinister influence is the South African Certification Council, which will, from 1992, certify all Senior Certificate passes on an identical type of certificate which will not indicate the name of the examining body. This attempt to create equality, in that, for example, the Department of Education and Training's Senior Certificates has been regarded as low in status, is based on an untenable supposition. If education is separate and unequal in terms of funding,

teacher expertise and numerous other factors, then having an 'equal' certificate ('van dieselfde standaard') will still preserve inequality. As the SACC will moderate examing bodies' papers and be able to change candidates' results through a moderating mechanism of multiple choice questions, the power this body holds is extreme. Of concern is the statement made in terms of the HSRC decision in the **Verslag van 'n Intersektoralekomitee van ondersoek na die samestelling en funksies van 'n nasionale sertifiseringsraad (1984)**, that general standardized itembanks must be implemented by all education departments in their school evaluations, but that no reason is given for this.

Teachers will tend to teach towards the type of questions which the SACC submits because of the standardizing nature in quantitive terms of these questions and could ignore a more interprative and open-minded approach to subjects. And the question which needs to be answered is which group in the country will benefit from such examining. The SACC could also refuse to register or de-register an examining body and this could be done on grounds of ideological dispute.

What is typical of the SACC as a South African government's statutory body is its Afrikaner leadership and its power. Its insular nature can be seen through the references in the Report (1984) of which only 4 out of 36 refer to research outside South Africa. Most research is either of HSRC or Afrikaner 'traditional intellectual' origin.

Of further concern is that 'Die regering ag dit noodsaaklik dat die sertifiseringsraad 'n betekinisvolle navorsingsvermoë tot sy beskikking sal hê met die oog op wetenskaplike verantwoorde kurrikulering' (1984:3). This opens the door for control of the national curriculum. Principle 1 on 'equality of opportunity' in the HSRC Investigation into Education (1981), which was distorted by government in the White Paper (1983:1) to 'providing education of equal quality for all population groups,' has been further distorted in this example of ideological hegemony. It demonstrates the dialectical relationship between access to power and the legitimation of dominant groups and their processes to retain control.

6.9 Reaction from English medium ideology

Objections by ESSAs to Christian National threats to their liberal democratic ideology has caused resentment, but Chesler (ibid.:233, 245) feels that ESSAs have a legal right to develop their own system of education 'which is true to their heritage and ideology' within the provision of the 1967 Education Act. The dominant ideology within educational structures in South Africa, which does not

make separate provision for English speakers, creates the hegemonic situation which has been discussed in connection with educational structure, process and leadership in South African white schools. It seems pointless for Chesler to write that 'ESSAs also have the right to reject fundamental pedagogics' (Idem), unless writing within the UNISA tradition, this rejection was deemed to be important. The rejection of fundamental pedagogics by Fouche, Morrow and Gluckmann has been mentioned earlier, and possibly the differences in philosophical approach to education between English and Afrikaans universities is a major reflection of the ideological conflict which exists.

The ideological clash has been noted for many years, with Lighton in the **Transvaal Educational News** of May 1976, writing of 'the two predispositions or biases, not only diverge; they appear irreconcilable. Apparent incompatibles, they form part of the field of forces within South African education.' The editorial in the **Transvaal Educational News** of September 1979 expresses concern that without English speaking teachers of calibre 'the traditions and values which have been cherished through the centuries will not survive in South Africa.'

Because of the contention that educational policy is Afrikaner oriented even being directed through 'informal processes involving specified Afrikaans political, religious and cultural organisations' (Robertson 1974:iii), education is not a popular calling for English speakers, particularly in the Transvaal. As Chesler (op. cit.:29) indicates, although ESSAs comprise 32% of the white population in the Transvaal, only 18% of the teachers are English speaking. Randall (1982:187) considers this fact an important reason in the decision of ESSA parents to face the extra expenditure of sending their children to private schools where they could be taught by English speaking teachers. In general though, English medium schools have been subversive in terms of the 'dominant' white ideology and despite policies and structures which give, in Ganderton's (1991:33) terms, 'theoretical power,' it is actually 'the culture that translates this into an institutional reality.'

Many English speaking teachers have been in the vanguard of liberalism and have opposed ideologies of authoritarianism and racism. The role of the NTS has been mentioned already in support of liberalism in the educational battleground which prevails in teacher politics in South Africa. Acceptance of Sharp's (1980) view of liberalism as a coercion ideology has been mentioned already, but this seems particularly true in South Africa where Afrikaner ideology has felt threatened by English liberalism and had reacted strongly against it.

It is ironic that English medium schools, if they have attained Model B or Model C

status, may now alter their admission policy to accommodate non-white pupils, but only in terms which protect the ideology of Afrikaner Christian Nationalism which most English medium schools have rejected. This slogan of Afrikaner ideology is still powerful enough for the Minister to have insisted on it in the description of his new models. These models were rejected as ill-timed because a new political dispensation is expected, by 19 out of 26 voting members of the Natal Education Council (**The Daily News** 10.6.1990:8).

But it is of interest that the option granted to white schools controlled under the House of Assembly to vote on certain restricted open models of schooling, under conditions of a poll of 80% and an affirmative vote of 72% of the parent body, led to a surge of English medium schools opening limited access to black pupils in 1991. In Natal over 70 English medium and one parallel medium school opened in 1991 under scenes of jubilation from parents. The ideological separation of children on racial grounds has been rejected by a large number of English speaking whites, but in 1991 only three Afrikaans medium schools in South Africa opened out of a total of 201 white schools, indicating the powerful effect apartheid has had on white Afrikaner thinking.

A questionnaire (Addendum 3), which surveyed the initial effect of open schools, was submitted to the 61 NED schools which opened to other races under the controlled situation of the Model B option in January 1991. Forty six of the principals responded to the questionnaire on the effect of this change, giving a 75% return rate. As far as problems experienced by pupils of colour are concerned, the most significant areas noted are in aspects of language and teaching, of perception, expression and conflicts of information. Little of significance was noted in value systems conflict and in areas of structure.

Problems noted many times:

Language usage	58%
Language comprehension	42%
Self-expression	40%.

The next highest was a conflict of information, that of misunderstanding different approaches to subject matter, at 18%.

Among the lowest aspects noted 'many times' were some of the myths of apartheid:

God and religion	2%
Life values	4%
Peers and peer groups	4%

Discipline 2%.

Although the stated approach to the introduction of pupils of other races is one of assimilation in 82% of schools, with a multi-cultural approach in 13% and a multi-ethnic approach in 5% of the schools, and the number of pupils of colour admitted to these schools has been limited, initial comments by principals indicate success in the management of this change process. Efforts by children to come to terms with a different educational ethos and system have been helped by the induction programmes and support systems which have been operated in these schools. Courtesy and acceptance of differences have been noted. Principals are aware that changing circumstances and a greater intake of children of other races will lead to demands in curriculum and other process areas.

6.10 Conclusion

The conflict-ridden state in white education has not lessened after years of working within the same educational apparatus. Attacks of a 'particular' ideological nature have been made and are being made, there is a widespread rejection of the liberal humanism ideology in English medium education by a majority of Afrikaner organizations and teachers, while English speaking public opinion is opposed to Christian Nationalism, and in varying degrees, to Afrikaner slogans. Although there is a political split in Afrikanerdom and a possibility of a change among National Party supporters from the laager syndrome, which had been formed as an ideological symbol through the 'thoughtful planning and pervasive organization of the Broederbond' (Malherbe 1977:27), a large group of Afrikaners are intensifying beliefs in master symbols of ox-wagon and laager and the ideology of threats from liberal humanism and communism. The reported speeches from the meeting of the Conservative Party and AWB members at the Voortrekker monument in June 1990 and comments in the press are relevant. In Parliament, Conservative Party members have been critical of the ideological shift within the National Party. Gerber (1991:6257) quotes a 1989 debate in which Minister Clase had indicated his opposition to open schools on 'valid historical, cultural, educational, pedagogic and practical considerations.' As Berger and Luckmann (1976:140) point out 'traditional definitions of reality inhibit social change.'

Conflict in Afrikaans schools is intensifying and although Hanf (1980:229) could write that 'the more educated an Afrikaner is, the more likely he is not to believe in the teachings of his party,' by 1990 sufficient numbers of educated Afrikaners had started to change the deeply entrenched separatist hegemony of the National Party. This is a political move in attitudinal form, however, and has not yet been

seen in structure or leadership within education. Even in 1989, Clase, Minister of Education and Culture: House of Assembly (Hansard March 1989:vol 13 col 260), regarded the demand from numerous English speaking whites for open schools 'as gestures without much substance - so-called tokenism!' But in his budget debate on 23 March 1990, he commented on two proposed models of schools which would move beyond the racial barrier. One is a privatising model, possibly along the lines of Thatcher's independent (of local authority) model and the other was an allowance of a restricted number of non-whites to attend a government school, so long as "n baie hoe persentasie van die totale ouerbevolking (byvoorbeeld 90% van die ouers ...) eers 'n ondubbelsinnige mening oor die skool se toelatingsbelied uitspreek' (NED document 1990:18). His major restriction is an ideological one, namely that 'die onderliggende beginsels van die onderwys naamlik Christelike, kultuurgebonde, moedertaalonderwys moet egter gehandhaaf word' (ibid.:16).

If the thrust towards a 'democratic dispensation for South Africa and all its people' (De Klerk 1990) is to include education and the education of white English speakers, then changes in structure and possibilities for new forms of leadership need to be permitted to emerge. If one moves beyond the ideological conflict within the white system and surveys the potential for ideological conflict in education among all people in the country, then the research findings of Hanf (op. cit.:229) become exremely significant:

> 'there is hardly reason to believe that education can change attitudes and opinions in cases of deep cleavages and conflicts characteristic of plural societies.'

Schools do transmit a particular culture as part of ideology and in South Africa we have a situation in white schools where there are crucial differences in ideology, but because of a privileged political and economic situation for whites, there is a common acceptance of an ideology that fits Tozer's (1985:148) view of supporting 'the institutional and economic dominance of a society's ruling class.' And although the prevailing social order may not be justified in the classical sense of ideological dominance, beliefs and values of the 'superstructure' of dominant white social class have not been questioned by large numbers of whites.

Apple (1982:14) appeals for intervention by the state in a particular way 'in legitimating and setting limits on the responses that education can make to the processes of stratification, legitimation and accumulation.' An aspect of the situation in South Africa is reflective of Western world ideologies towards accountability of schooling under a mercantilist ideology, which is criticised by Apple.

Marxist and socialist research cannot be ignored in South Africa. Although the white system of education has been surveyed in this work so far, it is

acknowledged that all 'the processes of reproduction have a history, a history that needs to be uncovered if we are to know the possibilities of action today' (Apple 1982:4).

Summary

White South African education is controlled under a hegemonic and reactionary ideology, the origins of which can be traced from early conflict between Dutch and English colonialists, based on Church, language and social differences. The 'total' educational ideology of the Afrikaner, that of Christian Nationalism, is based on a religious doctrine of original sin under which a divine mission to develop the child in a particular pattern has emerged. Patriotism and loyalty to their own people have been developed through Broederbond ethnicity and this racist ideology in action can be seen in the social engineering of apartheid and the employment and promotion of Afrikaners in state departments. 'Own affairs' legislation is still current, despite moves towards more general management of education.

A methodical development of a totalitarian education system with extreme concentration of power at the centre has created a view of leadership as domination. Moves away from an ideology which reflects aspects of national socialism to a type of monopoly capitalism have been noted, but little change in leadership style has emerged.

The structure is that of a centralized Afrikaner bureaucracy in control of all education departments and all major committees. There has been a pretence of democratic decentralizing. Ideological control of teachers is attempted through the Afrikaner dominated Teachers' Federal Council, plus draconian legislation demanding correct attitudes and no criticism of state departments in the new Act.

The process of education contains a centrally-determined curriculum with only two subjects, religious education and physical education, being mentioned in the Act. Both have ideological attributes. Civic responsibility is being transformed into Citizenship Education, which will be compulsory, and which has pre-packaged material for teachers. This subject appears to be aimed at Conservative Party ideology of racial separation - to explain National Party change in attitude. Mother tongue education is enshrined without parental option until the eleventh year of school.

Teaching has a clear ideology of moulding along particular Calvinistic lines. A code of conduct and registration with the TFC, are mechanisms to ensure that

teachers do not oppose state ideology openly. A further control mechanism is that of merit assessment, with an ideological grounding of community values and character. That this assessment mechanism is culturally based and weighted can be shown through the greater number of merit awards granted in Afrikaans medium high schools than in English medium high schools in Natal, although academically the English schools have proved to be superior. This psychometric test is to be replaced with what is called a 'scientific' form of assessment, but which is not and merely reinforces an ideology of conformity and apparent fairness based on management and particular attitudinal criteria.

Pupils are examined on set subjects, with set mark allocations, throughout their school careers. At senior certificate level, provincial education departments examine independently. Criticism of the Transvaal results has led to moves towards item bank testing. In Natal, English medium candidates have fared far better than Afrikaans medium candidates, possibly because of less authoritarian teaching methods in English medium schools.

Differing ideologies were noted in Afrikaans and English medium schools in Natal. Christian National Education, with strong Biblical undertones of education being in the honour of God, and the state being an institution of God, were noted in Afrikaans schools. Calvinistic views on particular standards of conduct with a strong moral ideology shown in pastoral care were revealed. There was less delegation of authority to teachers and a strong sense of hierarchical structure in the school. A perpetuation of Afrikaner cultural isolation was an important symbol.

English schools were more liberal in approach, allowing numerous views of life. In general they were pragmatic and materialistic in outlook, with an academic thrust towards a free market economy. An optimistic view of the nature of man prevailed. The state was seen to be in service of the citizen. Schools were less authoritarian, with a great deal of delegation in academic areas, but not in school management. Culture was broad, with a strong influence from English public schools of yesteryear.

English speaking South African ideology was seen to be classically liberal in theory with tolerance of open discussion, of ideas; but strong in opposition to CNE and Afrikaner slogans. Afrikaner hegemony was considered to be incompatible with liberalism. Although numerous English medium schools have opened to other races, hence helping to deny the accusation of tokenism, they do transfer an ideological view of elitism and economic dominance.

In any new educational dispensation, research will have to move from the two general white ideologies to incorporate Marxist and socialist thought.

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CHAPTER 7

Ideology and future possibilities for Education in South Africa

7.1 Introduction

The hypothesis that education is inherently ideological, despite its illusive nature in some decentralized systems of schooling, has been validated in this work. A study of the nature of ideology and its influence on components of the educative process, mainly through a comparative review on a theoretical level, led to an analysis of a dominant and a dominated ideology in action in South Africa. Evidence has been offered to explain how the ideology of the dominant political group is most marked in totalitarian systems and in centralized educational structures, such as that in the RSA; where it has been demonstrated how strong bureaucratic management has solidified the educational system into an authoritarian structure, and how leadership at top levels has been autocratic, in trying to deny rivalry to state orthodoxy from opposing ideologies.

The 'total' ideology of apartheid and Christian National Education has, however, had limited influence within the process of education in English medium schools, where an ideology aligned to liberal humanism has predominated, despite a critical dimension of opposition since 1948. This dominated ideology has survived because it is part of a dominant world discourse and because it did not threaten the dominant cultural group, as Berger and Luckmann (1976) theorise. Now the ideology of cultural and political segregation is threatened by a popular aspiring ideology. The nature of the dominant ideology will be used as a touchstone in this Chapter to determine possible reactions from the opposing aspiring or ascendant ideology.

The fierce reaction from the ideology of Afrikaner white domination, enshrined in the concept of Bantu education, which exploded among black pupils in 1976, has been the most significant catalyst towards change in education in the RSA. As Muller and Tomaselli (1989:311) indicate, this was 'a period of major rejection of Bantu education through a series of struggles the ferocity of which remains unmatched in any regime of mass formal schooling.' From pupils leading a national struggle for liberation, a theoretical ideology with elements of democratic humanism has emerged in support of People's Education, which appears to have significant support among black intellectuals and will be explored.

The emerging black education ideology cannot be found in settled structures and practice in schools as can be found in the white sector. Enforced leadership, structures, curriculum and methodology as well as the taint of Fundamental Pedagogics as a philosophical underpinning have led to open revolt against black systems of education.

Leadership in the structures has tended to be authoritarian and hierarchical and there is sufficient evidence from the archives in white education departments to indicate how very moderately rated educationists with little chance of advancement in the white sector, have transferred to positions of leadership in black education authorities.

The enforced structure, curriculum and methodology have been rejected dramatically by most major black groups, and a process depending on passive acceptance has been questioned. Hence black ideology will not emerge from government structures and conceptual bases such as Fundamental Pedagogics.

There have been suggestions of possible changes in ideology within the political reform movement of the government, leading to what Sharp (1980:109), in another context, aptly observes as a 'process of accommodation and incorporation which is characteristic of any hegemonic ideology.' Viljoen, when Minister of Constitutional Development, for example, indicated the need for publicly stated political and social consensus in the new South Africa, but talked of enshrined rights which would guard group 'values' of language, culture and religion (**Sunday Tribune** 13.5.1990:1). This is an indication of how, in Mannheim's (1960:97) terms, ideology 'conceals the present by attempting to comprehend it in terms of the past.'

But that there are 'cognitive and cultural factors constraining teaching and learning,' as Dostal and Vergnani (1984a:3) argue, has been acknowledged by Bernstein and Apple among others. It is apparent, though, that in the South African context these factors are likely to be misinterpreted as racism in the educational debate. In this period of rapid social transition, educators will have to cope with anxiety and uneasiness for a long time, but must not hesitate to search for ideological roots and to be courageous enough to recognise that cognitive and cultural differences do exist and to question whether 'total' multiracialism in schools could not be as educationally unsound as 'total' separation has proved to be. Although idealistic, Pratte's (1977:177) comment could be a significant base:

> 'Educational policy must be made by the disinterested who desire to do justice for justice' sake.'

In this Chapter, the researcher probes the ideological underpinning of People's Education as it emerged under the apartheid mantle and then attempts to be disinterested in his descriptive approach towards future possibilities for education in South Africa. An endeavour is made to synthesize aspects of the 'dominant' ideology with those of the 'dominated' ideology as analysed in Chapter 6, and with those of the 'theoretical' or 'aspiring' ideology which could also be regarded as a dominated one, to achieve a symbiosis based on justice and pragmatism in Mannheim's (1972) terms of a 'general total' ideology. Recommendations flow from the research undertaken on ideology and its influence on elements of education, discussed earlier in this work.

7.2 Educational policy of apartheid

In 1948 the National Party came to power on an ideology of apartheid. Residential segregation, race classification, and political rights for blacks based on traditional ethnic authority, followed. The ideology behind Bantu education, as it was called, were summed up in the words of Dr HF Verwoerd (then Minister of Native Affairs):

> 'It is the policy of my department that education should have its roots entirely in the Native areas and in the Native environment and Native community. .... The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour...
> Up till now he has been subjected to a school system which drew away from his own community and practically misled him by showing him the green pastures of the European but still did not allow him to graze there. It is abundantly clear that unplanned education creates many problems, disrupts the communal life of the Bantu and endangers the communal life of the European' (Assembly, Senate Debates, 7-11 June 1954:cols 2595-2622).

The state took over black education from the provinces and the churches. This separate and inferior education for blacks, who were granted poor financial provision, and based on the Verwoedian concept of racial baasskap, was given theoretical support through the influence of traditional intellectuals in Afrikaans universities. Fundamental Pedagogics was claimed to be a scientific method which could give a value-free scrutiny of society, but Beard and Morrow (1981) show the pervasive influence of this theory on educational policy in South Africa, referring to work by Viljoen and Pienaar (1971) among others. Organic intellectuals, Unterhalter and Wolpe (1988:2), claim that this period revealed the 'continuation of white domination and the repressive forces which support this.' Opposition to the Act was based largely on the Freedom Charter, which was vague on education.

During the years 1960 to 1976, policy making was centralized for all race groups and the 'process of segregation and ethnic demarcation of educational institutions was completed' (Idem:4). A rise in black consciousness saw black student opposition to the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and to the content of syllabuses which contained racial references to the superiority of Afrikaners (du Preez 1983). Unterhalter and Wolpe (1988) see this period as one of alliance among monopoly capitalism, black bourgeoisie and the regime.

The student revolt in Soweto on 16 June 1976, when 6000 students clashed with the police, led to violent confrontations resulting in almost 600 deaths and large-scale damage. Bot (1986) isolates an initial rejection of Afrikaans and Bantu Education, followed by a demand for free and compulsory education as the cause of the revolt. The Cillie Commission Report laid bare for the government the dissatisfaction with Bantu education among blacks, although Molobi (1988:156) is critical of the Cillie finding that Bantu Education was a minor contributor to the riots and asserts that 'students clearly saw Bantu Education as a system training them to become slaves.' A new act, the Education and Training Act (Act 90 of 1979) offered greater provision for black education, an improved curriculum with a scientific bias, and the elimination of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, but did not generate much support from black students. Conflict over the content of 'gutter education' and school boycotts pitted students directly against education departments; probably, in some measure, because the expansion of provision gave greater power to the Bantustans while outside them 'centrally racially divided education departments virtually extinguished the limited powers of local school boards' (Unterhalter and Wolpe 1988:7). The ideological, political and economic crisis led to the HSRC Investigation into Education (1981).

The Report's guidelines for recommendation to the Cabinet were seen by Davies (1986:355) 'to have been lifted straight off the pages of capital's own book of reform' in their ideological underpinning. He regards implications from the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions as being economic influential factors on the guidelines. The acceptance by government of part of the key principle in the De Lange Commission Report (1981:16) regarding 'equal opportunities for education, including equal standards in education, for every inhabitant ..,' but still insisting on racial separation in schooling, did lead to the abolishment of racially segregated pay scales on some levels and some improvement in general provision for black education. The concept of equality and financial implications are ambiguous or unexplained in De Lange, but as Davies (op cit.:360) argues, the vagueness and qualifications of the principles enunciated could not help in the 'genuine struggle against inequalities and discrimination in education.' The white

Progressive Federal Party supported the Report's recommendations and called for de-segregated education. More private schools became non-racial, while the Urban Foundation and other bodies increased their sponsorship of educational reform.

The growing belief that all white ruling bloc members supported the State of Emergency 'paving the way for a Buthelezi-Muzorewa option' was voiced by Sisulu (1986:99). Rejection of puppet structures and the development of community leadership and student representative councils in schools followed. The Report's criticism of provision for technical education was seen to have been inspired by the ideologies of 'capital-inspired reformism' (Davies op cit.:361). According to Soobrayan (1990:4) the black sector rejected 'notions such as value for education, "scientific curriculating"' as proposed by the De Lange Commission and started to move away from the concept of equality of opportunity to the concept of a changed and improved education. The De Lange Commission proposals were seen as modernization of apartheid with working class black children following the vocational and technical route while middle class white children would follow the academic route (Christie 1986:270).

The model of education recommended in the Report was rejected by black students, among whom the metaphor which gained strong support was that of 'Liberation first, education later.' Probably owing to this emotional reaction, 'virtually nothing was advanced in regard to either the methodology of teaching or the democratisation of the organisations of the schools,' prior to the National Education Crisis Conference in March 1986, according to Unterhalter and Wolpe (1988:12).

7.2.1 People's Education

An emotional alliance with 'people's education' in the press and in action for a brief period in schools which had revolted against government control are possible pointers towards an ascendant ideology. Molobi (1988:157) writes of 'the soldiers who refused to leave classrooms,' the stalemate which followed and the emergence of a move towards the democratization of education through involvement of communities in discussion about content and quality of education. In the keynote address to the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) meeting on 29 March 1986, Sisulu spoke of continued attacks on puppet structures and Bantustan sellouts. All government bodies were required to be withdrawn from Department of Education and Training (DET) structures and progressive parent, teacher and student bodies were to replace them. The view of leadership expressed was not individual but group based: 'people's power, unlike exercise of power by individuals, tends to be disciplined, democratic and an expression of the will of the

people' (Sisulu 1986:106). Anti-capitalist sentiment, with rejections of state bureaucracy in the form of the DET, was voiced. Aspects of resolutions taken, include support for 'the May Day celebrations' ... an urge to 'fight against Inkatha' ... the withdrawal of investments in South Africa and the statement that 'we consider the Reagan Administration as accomplices in the crimes of apartheid' (Bot 1986:49). The thrust was towards an education with community acceptability, with parent, teacher and student participation and with contributions from progressive intellectuals (Idem.). The ideological underpinning of liberation pedagogy had become apparent.

People's Education in South Africa does not have a coherent educational philosophy with complete methodology and structure, but appears to have emerged from social and political strife within the people themselves. Soobrayan (1990:1) considers that People's Education is 'not a theoretical model' but began with the rejection of apartheid ideology. In an attempt to suggest the underpinning of People's Education, the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA) produced the following charter:

> '* Enables the oppressed to understand the evils of the apartheid system and prepares them for participation in a non-racial, democratic system;
> * Eliminates the capitalist norms of competition and individualism stunting intellectual development while it encourages collective input and participation by all, as well as stimulating critical techniques and analysis;
> * Eliminates illiteracy, discrimination and exploitation of any person by another;
> * Equips and trains all sections of our people to participate actively and creatively in the struggle to obtain people's power in order to establish a nonracial, democratic South Africa;
> * Allows students, parents, teachers and workers to be mobilised into appropriate organisational structures which enable them to enhance the struggle for people's power and to participate actively in the management of people's education in all its forms;
> * Enables workers to resist exploitation and oppression at their workplace' (**Sunday Times** 30.03.1986:2).

Support for the democratic basis and involvement of of the whole community in decision making was argued by Michael Gardiner (**The Cape Times** 29.05.1986:10), but this move towards democratization also leads to the position of the teacher being reduced - the teacher 'as the source of authority with the power of selection and interpretation is gone.' The significance of the charter was seen by Unterhalter and Wolpe (1988:15) in these terms:

> 'first it formulated a vision of a future system of people's education; second, it recognised that "people's education" could not be substantially achieved until a national democratic state was successfully installed; and

> third, that, nonetheless, the struggle to insert structures, curricula and methods of people's education was itself, part and parcel, of the national liberation struggle and not primarily a reform of the educational institution as such.'

But, as Ashley (1986:28), indicates, 'the ideological underpinnings of "People's Education" lie in a fundamental critique of the existing social order.' It states more what it is against than what it is for, and so cannot be regarded as an institutionalized educational ideology.

Organic intellectual influence on the Charter is Marxist, with attempts to make the connection explicit between 'education and political, economic and cultural reproduction' (Kruss 1988:9), but particular threads from Gramsci (1970;1975) and Freire (1973) can be found. Freire stressed the importance of the oppressed needing to understand the cause of oppression, the need for an active dialogue among the proletariat, and the need for the raising of consciousness. Gramsci stated the need for the development of a 'critical consciousness' (1975), the need for participation, and for education to be regarded as part of the counter hegemonic force (1970). His destruction and construction theory did contain a problematic, in that 'organic intellectuals' could raise consciousness among workers to remove bourgeois hegemony, but then could dominate the movement themselves.

The Charter is not a detailed theoretical and conceptual apparatus, but is idealistic and theoretically anti-capitalist. Its political implication is that of a people's democracy rather than a constitutional one. And a concern regarding democratization could be that of workers belonging to a trade union, which even Marxists such as Sharp (1980) have regarded as oligarchic in character. Although Gardiner, past president of NEUSA, claims that the democratic process will reject the current hierarchical system (**The Cape Times** 29.05.1986:10), Gramsci's (1975:149) concern that 'if revolution comes by decree from above the worker simply changes his boss,' needs to be borne in mind.

The proposed or assumed structure appears to be highly decentralized, but the comment that workers would be mobilised in the thrust for people's power, does indicate a centralized ideological control of the workers. There is much reference to democratic values such as active participation and co-operative work in opposition to the authoritarian ideology inherent in apartheid (Kruss 1988:19). Of concern is the belief espoused by Sisulu (1988:109) that 'progressive' parents, students and teachers are acceptable whereas the 'traditionally conservative ATASA [African Teachers' association of South Africa]' is not.

A dramatic change to the established curriculum would be needed to teach 'the evils of the apartheid system,' while process of 'collective input' and critical thinking is also implied to be very different. The presumption that competition and individualism stunt intellectual development is an ideological and not an empirical educational statement. Individualism, an important aspect of liberal ideology, detracts from concentration on People's power.

Unterhalter and Wolpe (1988:11) argue that the major thrust in People's Education is a broadly based humanitarian education, but which would use particular beliefs to develop critical thinking skills and actively 'mobilise people in building a non-racial democratic society.'

Fierce opposition was expressed in the Afrikaans press about the resolutions taken at the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) meeting. In Die Burger (31.03.1986:1) reference was made to 'nog 'n besluit moedig leerlinge aan om skole wat deur die owerheid gesluit is, te beset "onmiddelik met 'n alternatiewe onderwysprogram" te begin en "kreatiewe metodes" uit te werk om die Regering te opponeer.' The inability of government supporters to understand the extent of the revolt and the reaction to emphasise its revolutionary nature can be seen in: 'verskeie ander radikale en militante besluite wat niks met die onderwys te doen het nie, is ook op konferensie geneem.'

Revolts in schools and burning of books led to polarisation and strongly worded support from the laager mentality and a strengthening of rejection of a single education authority in newspapers such as the **Transvaler** (10.04.1986:4): 'bevestig die wysheid van die Regering se standpunt dat 'n enkele onderwysdepartement vir alle rasgroepe in hierdie stadium totaal buite die kwessie is.' Resentment aimed at teachers, paid by the state, who rejected departmental syllabuses for People's Education workbooks, indicated a further paternalistic viewpoint and the concept of hierarchical management which is so central to Afrikaner ideology.

The **Sowetan** (11.04.1986:2) in its turn reported this incident in terms of children having burnt 'inferior' textbooks as a part of their demand for People's Education.

Afrikaner teacher organizations reacted and Koos Sadie, chairman of SAOU (Suid Afrikaanse Onderwyswesunie), claimed that, 'People's Education is indoktrinasie, 'n aansporing tot geweld en het niks met opvoeding te doen nie' and that 'opvoeding buite gemeenskapsverband nie ware opvoeding is nie' **(Die Burger:**

28.06.1986:3). The apologists in favour of Fundamental Pedagogics had done their work well, but the fear of interference with Afrikaner education led Sadie to make a statement in support of community involvement in education which is a central factor in People's Education.

For example in the **Sowetan** (2.06.1986:2) TRASCO (Transvaal Students Congress) had indicated its support for People's Education in the following terms: 'Government structures should be disbanded and rendered unworkable. The structures should be replaced by people's committees, comprising parents, teachers, and pupils.'

Focus on interim structures and the initiation of new syllabuses, particularly in political, historical and religious subject areas were promulgated and reported on in **The New Nation** (6.05.1986:1); while the revolutionary move by pupils of dismissing their principals and appointing chosen staff members to run the schools was reflected in **Business Day** (28.05.1986:7). In general the mainstream English press made bland statements (**The Star** 8.12.1986:10), without the ideological shock and outrage expressed in the Afrikaans press, and considered it was perhaps better for children to be at school.

Government reaction was strong in opposition to People's Education and Viljoen, then Minister of Education and Development Aid, indicated his reasons in refuting:

> '... "people's education" as it led to revolutionary education, the promotion of violence and disorder, the political brainwashing of pupils and the passing of educational control from professional educationists to politicised community organisations' (**The Citizen** 16.07.1986:17).

He did see merit in two aspects, however: greater community participation and more relevant syllabuses for blacks.

The brainwashing that had taken place through Christian National Education ideology and the Broederbond influence and control as a 'politicised community,' was not mentioned. Hartshorne, for years involved in formal black education, agreed in **The Star** (10.08.1986:10) that people's education was politicised in that it was tied to People's power, but argued that the present authoritarian system 'has been marked by strong and often arrogant bureaucratic control with little freedom for parents, teachers or pupils - particularly those outside of the Broederbond establishment - to exercise much influence.'

People's Education was banned in January 1987.

Viljoen reiterated his view towards the end of 1987 that the goal of People's Education was 'to politicise school subjects ... instruments for promoting dis-satisfaction, ... revolutionary unrest and change.' Again he conceded that some syllabuses were irrelevant and strange to black people (**Sowetan** 14.10.1987:2).

Despite the turmoil in black schools and the theoretical ideology of People's Education, government policy did not shift. In **The Cape Times** (10.11.1987:2) FW de Klerk, then Minister of National Education, reiterated that 'education is a community-bound discipline; education, tradition, family and community life all go hand-in-hand.' Viljoen, in **Die Burger** (5.03.1988:9), claimed that 'wat blankes betref ... dat hulle blanke onderwys as eie sake wil bly beheer,' tenaciously holding to ideological beliefs from a defensive position. It would seem that the government should have acknowledged Hanf's (1980:228) research, using examples from Italian Somaliland and the Portuguese colonies, that when interest conflicts arise 'intentional political socialisation in educational institutions, i.e. the teaching of certain subjects and the suppression of others, is unlikely to prevent radical political change.'

The contrast with the statement by Naidoo, general secretary of COSATU (a federation of trade unions in South Africa), in the **Sowetan** (27.10.1987:4) is extreme: 'Bantu education was designed to keep people in ideological bondage and enslave the working class to the cheap labour system.'

Further disputes arose between those who supported People's Education as an improvement on the formal system and apologists for the system. The Head: Public Relations: Department of Education and Training in **The Sunday Star** (4.09.1988:22) refutes the claim that teaching in black schools is dismal. His claim was that the standard of school leaving examinationss are identical and proof therefore that 'school leaving certificates obtained by blacks are ... in no way inferior.' This attempt to use norms, which would not hold up under any empirical educational research, and are arrantly skewed, is the formal attempt to answer Kambule (former head of Orlando High) who made the 'dismal' statement. In **The Sunday Star** (14.08.1988:12) he indicated people's demands:

> 'we want to produce our own leadership... people want to be part of the structures of their education. They do not want to be manipulated, they want to manipulate.'

Hanf (1980:228) is once again clear that attempts at political socialization in the formal educational system may 'shape the form and intensity of student political articulation,' but that socializing agents outside this system are more

powerful in the shaping of personal attitudes.

Unterhalter and Wolpe (1988:17) argue that the new schools in the formal sector which purport to support elements of People's Education 'are simply "top down" and managerially instituted and take as given the existing structures of apartheid in South Africa.' They regard People's Education as having gone backward since the banning of the NECC.

With the removal of certain banning restrictions in 1989 and 1990 and an opening of debate between the government and the ANC, numerous statements have been made about educational change, but by mid-1992, no real change has taken place.

From NECC (Conference 1989 report made available by NTS) sources, it would appear that the ANC requests children to return to schools so that they develop skills and will not be 'held hostage by those who have the skills but are not committed to a liberated South Africa' (message from Walter Sisulu) and rejection of gangsterism in schools.

Awareness of state hegemony and the political and ideological leadership which encourage overt and covert alliances emerged. Aware too of the interrelatedness of education and politics, Molobi (op cit.:7) spoke of a government official as 'either a convenient liar, or an unconceiving victim of state hegemony' in his attempt to separate education and politics. A re-affirmation of the rejection of state structures was made. Awareness too of the challenge to the state being on the level of control of education of and the need to extend this to the curriculum, teaching methodology and ethos of schools emerged.

From the Secretarial Report a need to diminish the gap between intellectuals and workers was mooted. Teachers were to operate within 'a new dynamic authority relationship as concretised in PSTAs [Parent, Student, Teacher Associations] (and our developing understanding of the role and place of PSTAs in a new non-racial, democratic, unitary People's Education department.' Organic intellectuals, who in the ideological rhetoric were termed 'our education cadres' (ibid.:31) were sought from educational units at Witwatersrand and Natal universities to consider education policy options. Resolutions passed were that:

'* Schooling should be free and compulsory for all children
* Privatisation of education does not serve the interest of education for all ....
* That PTSAs represent the basis of the communities democratic control over schools' (ibid.:80).

A principle that all schools should be open with the right of pupils to attend the school of their choice was mooted. This principle has been supported by Nelson Mandela, who stressed that 'urgent measures are required to ensure that all our people are subject to the same education and that all schools are open to all, without discrimination on the grounds of race and colour' (**The Natal Mercury** 10.1.1991).

Among pupils, traditional authority has been found wanting. Parents are considered to have ignored their responsibilities, probably due to their indoctrination under Bantu education and the need for a student organization 'with the legitimacy and political discipline of COSAS' (op cit. NECC report:12) was emphasised.

Authority of the school and of school principals has been undermined in many areas and the ideal of community democratic control over schools has given way to control by pupils. Principals of schools in Kwa-Mashu were asked to leave by their pupils in April 1991 and told 'they should return only when the pupils' demands had been met by the department' (**The Daily News** 30.4.1991:2). Zwane, secretary of the Kwa-Zulu Department of Education and Culture, appealed to principals to return to their schools.

Total rejection of apartheid structures, including the inability to co-operate with bodies such as the DET, is apparent. Commentators such as Hartshorne (1991) and Rensburg (1991) reveal the lack of bona fides of the DET. Demands for authority, with a statutorily entrenched legal right to make decisions, which would not be connected in any way with apartheid structures, before responsibility could be expected to be shown regarding black education, has been made by NECC sources. Rensburg (1991:40) writes of this need and also of the tragic stagnation in black education as:

> 'a crisis of provision, a crisis of quality, a deep crisis of management, ... a paralysing crisis of legitimacy and morale.'

From the actions and views mentioned above, an analysis of this theoretical ideology is attempted from a 'total' ideological viewpoint. The set of beliefs, ideas and assumptions which will need to be enculturated reveal a broad consensus of the following characteristics and conditions of society.

Education deals with the development of the mass of people. The political view is socialistic, showing elements of Marxism, in that education is seen as an ideological superstructure linked to the means of production. Democracy, as defined, is based

on a people's majority constitution, and nationalism is seen in terms of a People's democracy.

The individual is seen to be in the service of the state and the educational system should be comprised of open state schools. A language choice would be allowed. Broad standards for all would replace beliefs in meritocracy and elitism. Discussion in the community would determine discipline norms.

Teachers, as part of Parent, Student, Teacher and Workers' associations, would need to conform to the common good. Control would be achieved through majority involvement with little autonomy for individual teachers. Community involvement in schools would be encouraged. The thrust in schools would be co-operative and not competitive. Free and compulsory education under a political policy of state socialism would prevail. Education would be seen to be linked to economic and cultural reproduction.

In attempts at rationalization and defence of viewpoints, moves towards coherence through the use of slogans and consciousness raising, include the statements 'Equality for all' and support for 'People's Education,' or even 'Revolution now, education later.'

Education is to be used for mass action with students being mobilized to support socialism and political ends. Promotion of Marxist norms under ANC and NECC rhetoric, the labour movement and progressive teacher bodies has taken place. A unitary education system (non-racial and non-sexist), under central control, with a curriculum heavily biased towards liberation and production has been proposed. Compensatory education is an ideal.

A mass power base, or a proletariat one, would be used. Involvement of PSTWs would offer a particular democratic viewpoint. A set approach with a curriculum comprised largely of scientific and Marxist aspects has been promoted, with compensatory examinations.

As this theoretical ideology has not been tested in action, commentary on how it could be institutionalized is speculative. A harnessing of education to political expediency is presumed under a state bureaucracy with education firmly set as a state institution which would reflect an economic base of a command economy. Working class interests would be met, with support for communism and socialism. The prescriptive class would be large, the proletariat, and this mass would need to be lifted through collective action for free and compulsory education.

The concrete power interest of a People's democracy would be totalitarian and under strict group control. Institutionalized in schools would be a scientific and technically oriented curriculum, with moulding humanitarian subjects, leading to direct production, with no classic university. Classes would be of mixed ability.

This emergent or theoretical ideology has not been tested in practice, largely because as it has not had influence at government level, and has not yet achieved effective participation in the decision making structures of society. On axiological grounds it appears to offer justice for all, but associations with the proletariat alone suggest a partiality.

Its ontology is questionable on the grounds of the social order it envisages, in which it would make up for deficits by taking from others. It also does not see economic realities. Although its epistemological base seems broad, in seeing domination in schools which are only able to reproduce the social relationships of production, it supports an outworn creed.

7.3 Future educational policy and ideology

Mannheim's (1960:40) argument that ideology is accessible to ruling, subordinate and ascendant groups has been verified in relation to South Africa. The distinguishing ideology of each of three groups, which reflect these types of ideologies and the relationship with the social structure has been indicated. In redefining education policy in South Africa, the extension of education to all children is an imperative need and a fundamental principle of social justice. Preparation of all individuals must take place so that they be provided with the skills, knowledge and attitudes they need if they are to function effectively in contemporary society. Each man, woman and child must have the right to useful work and self-fulfilment. As social reality has been viewed as a human invention (Berger and Luckmann 1976), a symbiosis of attitudes and opinions, characteristic of these ideologies, but capable of being defended on grounds of social justice, needs to be attempted.

An ideological groundswell away from apartheid as 'one of the most dangerous social engineering experiments in the history of the world' (Alexander 1989:7) towards democracy and a gradual fusion towards a new democratic culture is essential. Deliberate rejection of the concept of domination must be pursued, because in terms of social engineering as Freire (1970:127) aptly indicates:

> 'domination, by its very nature, requires only a dominant pole and a dominated pole in anithetical contradiction.'

Frost (1991:26) accords political leaders De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi ethical positions in a search for democracy. But as Dhlomo (1991:27) indicated, when starting his Institute of Multi-Party Democracy in South Africa, there are many different views on what is understood by democracy. His thrust is to promote 'multi-party democracy, ... political tolerance and ... national reconciliation,' in a country in which these concepts have not been taught in schools or elsewhere, but in which they are vital ingredients for a democratic future.

If one were to regard political democracy as government by the people in which minority rights were protected and in which participation by citizens with negotiating and voting rights over issues took place, then there is no democratic tradition in South Africa, where the entire social system has been built on a foundation of racial separation under a central controlling authoritarian government. In schools domination aspects of leadership, set forms of management, curriculum, teaching methods and assessment have been formulated by the ruling group and have been discussed earlier in this work.

If national reconciliation is to be developed into a social system where the essence of reality is unity then an 'assumption of wholeness' (Clark 1990:47) must replace that of separateness. The logic and scientific validity underpinning our Newtonian-Cartesian model must be questioned. Recognition of Smuts's (1926:315) view of holism for a country or an educational system, with the whole being greater than the sum of parts, and the individual human need to 'be yourself with perfect honesty, integrity and sincerity; (to) let universal Holism realise its highest in you as a free whole of Personality,' could offer a philosophical base. Many South Africans have experience of both the good and the hard which will aid in the holistic development of the 'pure and free soul' (Idem.).

What is needed is dialogue as an act of cognition and not merely as a transferral of information. Dialogue close in concept to that of Buber (1973:124) where a person without 'forfeiting anything of the felt reality of his activity, at the same time lives through the common event from the standpoint of the other' and of Freire (1970:77) that it must involve humility and hope and critical thinking and that it cannot exist 'in the absence of a profound love of the world and for men.'

It would seem that South Africans should learn to accept different ideologies, recognising that they provide 'stability and identity to groups in a period when many feel the new shape of events outpaces their ability to orient themselves' (Pratte 1977:282). They must try to avoid the action of nihilation (Berger and Luckmann 1976:132) in the rejection of other's terms, and the use of the technique

of 'particular' ideology of Mannheim (1972) in rejecting the faith of their position.

An understanding needs to be built up of the complicated ethical, ideological and aesthetic problems of educational purposes and of who controls decision making (Apple 1982). Hegemony needs to be analysed to indicate how social groups have been aided by the way education has been organized and controlled.

A critical appraisal of the school as a reproductive force needs to be undertaken to reveal how certain sectors of the population are more vulnerable to disadvantage than others.

To be able to persuade others about the importance of one's own viewpoint depends partly upon 'adequately apprehending the ideological space within which the other lives' (Sharp 1980:160). Hence the theoretical base of each major ideology needs to be investigated on metaphysical, epistemological and axiological grounds. The coherence of the ideology needs to be questioned; while how the system of beliefs through rhetoric and argument is translated into action, the limits in shape and in grouping that occur, the appropriateness of its data base and the adequacy of its utility and ends must be studied. Mannheim's concept of 'general total' ideology should be used to search for similarities in beliefs and valuational stances.

In the current monopolistic tradition, Afrikaner whites occupy decisive power positions as defined by Berger and Luckmann (1976:139) and 'impose traditional definitions of reality' on people 'under their authority.' Political expediency and economic advantage have been the hallmarks of National Party policy, resulting in a relatively prosperous bourgeoisie, reflecting elitism; and 'spoiled by its political domination and by the way the political monopoly was misused for sectional favouritism and patronage' (Terreblanche 1990:18).

The legitimation thrust by government suggests a change in theoretical ideology (Sharp 1980) although not yet in the lived experiential practical ideology of Althusser (1971). Movement is needed away from the thinking revealed in **Die Unie** (SAOU journal) December 1987:152, when this Cape Afrikaner teachers' association stressed their opinion of support for education as an own affair because of its community links. In the **DEC News** March 1990 (Department of Education and Culture: House of Assembly), the Executive Director, Stone, stated: 'Die kind moet weet dat sy eie kultuur, hoewel uniek, raakvlakke met alle ander kulture het.' His looking to the future 'in 'n sisteem wat historiese groepering vrywaar van kultuur-bedreiging en dus vrymoedigheid kweek vir demokratiese samewerking in 'n groter Suid-Afrikaanse orde,' reveals positive aspects of co-operation although group

sentiment remains. The evocative words of Beyers Naudé (1987:4) that the Afrikaner can never be free in South Africa

> 'solank hy homself gevange hou in die eng raamwerk
> van 'n eie identiteit en 'n eie kultuur wat nie ook
> ruimte het vir die kultuur en identiteit van ander nie,'

are being more generally recognised at an intellectual level, yet the facts remain that of the first 201 white schools which voted to open to other race groups, only three were Afrikaans medium (Debates of Parliament **(Hansard)** 18-22 February 1991:158). Even Minister Clase (**Hansard** 23.4.1991:6250-1) in 1991 spoke of values based on religion, and no longer on race, but commented on the importance of a 'volkskultuur.'

The shift in Afrikaner ideology from a form of national socialism to include elements of mercantilism, can be found in the Walters Report (1990). Emerging from a predominantly Afrikaner committee was the argument that 'the education system should concentrate on the development of individualism (*sic*) and lateral thought in all children' (ibid.:115) to encourage *entrepeneurship*. It is critical of conformity in thinking and associates itself with business and the teaching of economic concepts, from a capitalist viewpoint. Part of the school's task was seen to be to develop work ethics to lead 'to the creation of wealth and technology orientation' (ibid.:127). Aspects of liberalism are emerging to close the gap with mainstream English speaking white ideology, but strong elements of community involvement do indicate similarities with people's education. Clase (ibid.:6249) talks of 'a winning course' towards the future, indicating elements of a capitalistic ideology, while a colleague of his, Swanepoel (**Hansard** 23.4.1991:6266), comments on the child being 'oriented to the business world, prepared for responsible citizenship and oriented in respect of our multi-ethnic society.'

Fundamental support for Walters was expressed by O'Dowd, Executive Director of Anglo American, at a symposium at the Natal College of Education in Pietermaritzburg on 12 April 1991. Schools and universities were blamed for inculcating incorrect attitudes towards technology in pupils and students. In response to the question whether industrial organizations were giving the recognition and status to technologists and supporting technical initiatives in schools, O'Dowd's answer denied the duty of industry to invest in schooling and indicated that one technologist had now been appointed to the Board of Anglo American. His support for the introduction of Walters Committee recommendations in white schools immediately on the grounds that black children would more readily follow a technological course when education systems merge if white children were already following these courses, implies a paternalistic approach based on capitalist needs, and is fairly typical of

English medium ideology.

Ongoing dialectical relationship between the two ideologies in white education needs to be extended. Liberal educational ideology with the concept of neutrality and education as a type of social amelioration needs critical investigation. The ethic of individual achievement being based on merit is questioned by Apple (1985:18) as an inaccurate description of how education functions and he regards it as ideological in its claims for 'a language of justification.'

The success of English medium white schools in the RSA and the powerful forces supporting ideologies of mercantilist liberalism in the USA and the UK indicate considerable influence on an emerging South African system through financial aid and scholarships. With the demise of numerous socialist systems in Eastern Europe and in Africa, Ashley's (1989:42) view that 'the influence of liberalism in South Africa in the future is going to be even more tenuous than in the past,' appears dated. In the UK, a Secretary of State for Education, MacGregor, has reiterated that 'we have to match the international competition ... we should be up there in the top level of this competition' (**TES** 6.10.1989:4). The scientific high status study which concerns Apple (1985:115), and national goals for school achievement are required says President Bush of the USA, because 'to get results we will need a new spirit of competition between students, between teachers and between schools' (**TES** 6.10.1989:17). Wexler (1990:171) warns us of how 'liberalism, displaying its hegemonic effectiveness, absorbed radical critiques into its terms of debate, and so insured the continuation of the ideology of school as education.'

Restructuring of capitalist production with reductions in the public sector being allocated to the private sector are occurring in the UK, the USA and other industrialized nations. A decade ago, Sharp (1980:157) wrote of this re-organization of forms of capital accumulation to ensure hegemony.

Davies et al. (1988:475) are opposed to bourgeois democratic liberalism which they believe does 'favour the elimination of national oppression while retaining capitalism.' From their research unit at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, they recommend a form of revolutionary socialism. In asserting that the ANC is based on 'an alliance of class forces amongst the nationally oppressed ... (to) forge a broad non-racial movement of all democratic elements,' they argue that the working class will guarantee the form of national liberation achieved in South Africa which will result in a democratic state in which wealth and basic resources are 'at the disposal of the people as a whole' (ibid.:283). Their criticism of capitalism in South Africa, is based, for example, on Anglo's strategic thinking being close to

that of government. Training programmes and decentralized projects are being used to create a 'supportive black middle class,' but they argue that these programmes would not 'abolish any of the fundamental institutions of the apartheid system of capitalist exploitation and national oppression' (ibid.:69).

A materialist view of history and ideological leanings towards a command economy such as that in the USSR can be seen in ANC commentaries, with awareness of Marx's analysis in which 'economic circumstances were (seen as) the fundamental determinants of all social relationships and even of human consciousness itself' (Barber 1985:120).

In a mood of national reconciliation, one could agree with Marx that there is no point in condemning individuals for ideological actions, but disagree with the basis for his reasoning: 'what avails lamentation in the face of historical necessity' (Marx 1912:652). In this work the need for the unmasking of all ideologies, and the assertion that Marxism is an ideology, has been made. The complexity and ramification of this problem is apparent, but if Marxism as a social movement can overcome 'relations of exploitation' and result in a better future for human self-realization' (Sharp 1980:159), then its ideological influence could be invaluable. Of concern is not the political commitment to overcome 'deformations inherent in relations of domination and exploitation' (Idem.) but the increase in social control of education which has resulted under totalitarian regimes in Marxist states. The situation in the USSR has been discussed at length.

In reflecting ANC attitudes, Sisulu (1986:110) rejected education for domination, seeing this as the same education for whites, 'American or other imperialist alternatives,' and commercially run schools. He stressed the need to advance the broad mass of students, but appeared to support an ideology of revolutionary socialism.

The collapse of authoritarian regimes in Eastern Europe and a widespread discrediting of the theory of revolutionary socialism, suggests a problematic in this ideology in action. Breytenbach (1991:18) observes that 'the ANC is not (yet) a democratic organisation, that it still shows a hegemonistic drive based on intimidation; that it was never a vector for revolution.'

A clear claim by Kirkpatrick, former US Ambassador to the United Nations, (**The Daily News** 13.6.1990:14) that if the ANC 'remains a fundamentally Leninist liberation movement, then it cannot contribute to the democratisation of South Africa,' indicates right-of-centre liberal opposition.

New ideological initiatives are arising in South Africa, and People's Education as one of them is not seen as a Marxist-Leninist ideology by Soobrayan (1990:4), but as a majority interest need to be controlled by the majority, with the belief that 'the people must also participate in its conception, formulation and implementation.' Molobi (1988:156), in rejecting alternative education which tried to depoliticise education and create an apolitical black middle class to defend current hegemony, talks of principles of consultation and accountability to 'democratic forces' being vital to the cause of black education. Similarities can be seen with Eagleton's (1984:14) calls for a return to grass-roots control of schools to exercise creative and effective reactions in the USA. Kruss (1988:4) also suggests that the process of People's Education could 'lay the foundations for a future education system.'

Whether or not reflecting wishful thinking, Gordimer, at the University of Cape Town graduation for arts, said in her address:

> 'I do not believe an alternative indoctrination in the totalitarian sense is envisaged in the populist demand for people's education in our country' (**The Cape Times** 23.12.1986:8).

In beginning with the premise that ideology is a social necessity in a democracy in that it offers belongingness and psychological solidarity particularly in times of change (Pratte 1977; Sharp 1980), it follows that discourse on legitimation is essential and that for such discourse to take place 'the need for an acceptance of the existence of differing ideologies' (Banks and Lynch 1986:188) is essential.

In accepting the reality of democratic pluralism (Habermas 1976), a need for identification of and negotiation over issues emerges. It is imperative to co-ordinate education with other institutions and policy areas to achieve an acceptable form of justice. Full participation in the structures and processes leading to ideals of democracy, must be allowed, despite the lack of a culture of democracy in South Africa. As Pratte (1977:60) observes 'the relationship between ideology and social institutions is never static; rather, it is dialectical.' In attempts to reach rational judgment and to avoid rhetorical proscription, ideologies must be studied, and it must be acknowledged that they are not fixed, normative and inert. As Banks and Lynch (1986:185) argue:

> 'Ideologies are the stock-in-trade of the democratic pluralist climate, in the values and attitudes which they pollinate, and the action which they may legitimate. They are, in that sense, the unpredictable agenda-makers of a democratic society, with which any strategies for change have to reckon, but by which they do not need to be stultified.'

In education in South Africa, the roots of two major practical ideologies in action and one formative ideology have been discussed. Differences and similarities are

apparent, with a significant group consciousness aligning the ideology of Afrikaner whites and that of People's Education. The importance of the individual to English whites is in ideological contrast.

What is needed in South Africa is a questioning of ideologies which have emerged from Marxism and liberalism and national socialism, so that we are not trapped by history. Democracy and democratic practice must be defined and then through a conciliatory means of discussion and bargaining (Mannheim 1943:19), agreed common factors could be established to lead to the building of general policy, while ingrained areas of difference could be left to particular policies of consociational groups.

7.4 Leadership

In the desperately appropriate time for leadership in South Africa, Freire's (1970:165) warning to revolutionary leaders that they almost never perceive that they constitute 'a contradiction to the people' is apposite. A need to avoid domination and totalitarianism is apparent, but as Apple (1982:121) comments 'there are no easy alternatives to a management and control ideology.' Breytenbach (1991:18) is right in asserting a 'need for brave and visionary leadership,' which presupposes a philosophical understanding of leadership and not merely a psychological one as argued by Hodgkinson (1983) in Chapter 3 of this work. It is a time for leadership initiatives by unattached intellectuals (Mannheim), radical intellectuals (Habermas), and organic intellectuals (Gramsci). As Hartshorne (1991:51) comments, change can be brought about only in 'an atmosphere of trust in, and acceptance of the bona fides of, those initiating the changes that are necessary.'

In South Africa leadership in education should incorporate a responsible use of social power and be concerned about 'right and wrong, justice and injustice, truth, aesthetics and the negotiation of practical ideals in education' (Duignan and Macpherson 1987:51). An awareness of power and the use and abuse of it is essential and the redefining of rightness and consultation with communities is appropriate (Freire 1970; Molobi 1988; Rawls 1971). Writing of schools in England, Jones (1987:1) argues the 'need to be more open to the society they serve, if indeed they are to remain useful and viable as institutions.' This need is as essential in South Africa. The leadership of the school should be based on a statement of philosophy (Hodgkinson 1983) incorporating why the school teaches certain skills and knowledge and how it teaches students to think and act. Educational goals need to be clear to give a clear sense of purpose. Strong leadership from principals with a vision of over-arching goals, a need to be forceful and

knowledgeable, to support academic standards and to allow teachers freedom and collegial support (Chubb 1990; Jones 1987) is required. There is also the need to adapt to a rapidly changing environment, to manage processes of change through the development of a contingency approach (Fiedler and Garcia 1987) and to change leadership styles to a more democratic form (Jones 1987).

Leadership training such as that propounded by Adair (at Edgewood College 18 March 1991) and courses run within the Natal Education Department, and by ELOS and Shell, for example, need to be re-considered in light of anti-leadership comments by Molobi (1988) probably under the influence of Freire (1970:138), who opposed individual leadership training which lifted the leader into a position to manipulate the community to retain his leadership. Adair (op. cit.) suggested that all high school children in South Africa should be exposed to leadership training, preferably in a multi-cultural setting. While recognising different cultural aspects among participants, he did not envisage a content more challenging than his own leadership method of interlocking circles of the task, the group and individual feelings. The emotional reaction and political infighting which emerged after a leadership course was run under the aegis of the Shell Maths and Science Foundation at the University of Natal, but was led by ANC supporters, indicates the simplicity of Adair's suggestion. What emerged from the publicity surrounding the Shell course was a drop in petrol sales in local Shell garages of up to 60%, a meeting between Shell representatives and parents, chaired by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Natal, and a plethora of ideological viewpoints. The liberal view of indoctrination at the course following misrepresentation of its content was opposed by the ideological necessity to sensitize white South Africans to violence in society and that education must be political in a 'people's education' context. A member of the Conservative Party questioned sinister motives in the Shell programme, an alignment of capitalism with communism. Ideological positions were set and leadership, by definition, was not seen to be neutral.

Group leadership initiatives which posit possibilities for the future, include that of the NECC, which has launched a National Education Policy Investigation, which is an 'initiative aimed at exploring policy positions in the sphere of education, from the perspective of the democratic movement' (source Proposal document 1990:1). The search is for a non-racial and non-sexist system of education. The task set is an exploration of policy, a choice of policy and then a 'compromise between different political parties and interest groups during negotiation' (Idem.). An NEPI principle is that the investigation will be 'closely accountable to the educational needs of the people' (ibid.:3). The time-table is for an Education Charter to be ratified by the end of 1991.

Of interest is the democratic involvement at grass roots level, the declaration to study all current and proposed policies of education, centralized and decentralized structures, and efficient management with a participative bias. Although there is a particular ideological thrust in that the Principles and Frameworks Commitee has been commissioned to 'formulate a political economy of education' (ibid.:6), an overall thrust is 'how to democratise the planning, adminstration (*sic*) and control of education' (ibid.:11). The budget for this investigation is over three million rands, indicating its scope.

There is not a particular political party slant to the investigation, but numerous people and institutions are allying themselves with it. For example Brookes (Report on the NEPI meeting 7 November 1990:2) writes of the need for 'UD-W (University of Durban-Westville) to be involved with respect to the political implications of being a democratic institution.'

In teacher circles, a leadership initiative by the Natal Teachers' Society is noteworthy. The NTS has been the foremost white teachers' association attempting to negotiate with all teacher groups. At the whites only Teachers' Federal Council it has faced heavy criticism, and still refuses to allow its members to sit on Department of Education and Culture: House of Assembly committees as representatives of TFC. The NTS has made contact with WCOTP, the ANC and other teacher unity movements, but was not invited to attend the Teacher Unity meeting in Harare on 7 April 1988, which met 'to propogate the feasibility of one national teachers' association' (**Mentor** Vol 72 No 1:30). Guidelines accepted at the meeting were a commitment to 'a unitary non-racial, democratic South Africa' and of a 'compulsory democratic education in a single education system.' The meaning of 'democratic' was not explored, but the promotion of the 'rights of teachers as workers and professionals' has a strong socialistic aspect. A strange guideline (number 8) was that ideology should not be a precondition for unity, because it was not consistent with 'non-collaboration with all structures of the Apartheid sytem' and, guideline 11, the 'realisation of a people's education in our country.'

COSATU was asked to convene meetings as facilitator. WCOTP was having difficulty in trying to align numerous 'progressive' left wing small teachers' associations with large groups such as ATASA (African Teachers' Association of South Africa). Each group was permitted four members at meetings, denying the weight of numbers on which People's Education is purported to be based.

The NTS was then permitted to join the National Teacher Unity Forum. Although

COSATU did a fair job as chairman facilitator, a split obviously developed between the conceptual support for a union or for a non-racial professional body. NEUSA has emerged as a powerful ideological body, often pursuing democracy with undemocratic means. At a Teacher Unity Rally on 20 May 1990, for example, the NATU speaker was booed and not permitted to continue.

The NTS President's statement at the rally (source NTS files) indicated a liberal ideology:

> 'As teachers it is we who must give a lead in the field of education. It is we, who in consultation with our communities, have to convert rhetoric into constructive plans of action.'

An acceptance that there had been a lack of trust and various hidden agenda which had made it impossible to see 'that a united purpose does not necessarily mean a single common strategy.' His plea was for a movement from rhetoric to practicalities and the need to involve all concerned with education regardless of ideology.

The basic premise of NTS ideology is written in their principles (undated document, but current in acceptability):

> 'Education should be under one portfolio (one Minister).
> This would allow for decentralisation into non-racial geographic regions, each with a large measure of autonomy....
> ... state school communities should be allowed to determine their own educational criteria for the admission of pupils (though the ideological thrust here was for the opening of schools, it could be argued in closing them) parents should have the right to choose the school for their children.'

The ideology is liberal with statements about the 'development of the individual as a rational and tolerant person who is adaptable to a changing society,' and 'all education should be liberal where the focus is on the needs of the individual.' There is no comment on religion or on patriotism, or the state, only the mention of a 'changing society.'

In sharp contrast is the 'total' ideological standpoint of the NOU (Natalse Onderwysersunie). At their congress in 1990 (source - **NOU Nuusbrief** November 1990) the chairman, Brand, commented on change and questioned the whites only constitution of the NOU. While looking at changing issues such as 'Suid-Afrika, en in besonder die Afrikaner, gaan 'n nuwe toekoms tegemoet' under ''n nuwe grondwet' and possibly ''n Enkele onderwysministerie,' with 'Afrikaans as amptelike taal in die weegskaal,' (ibid.:1-5) his reference to what he regards as not negotiable, still reveal metaphysical, epistemological and axiological beliefs on which apartheid was founded although it has been rejected as a political ideology. A synopsis of 'wat ononderhandelbaar is' contains:

* die Christelike en breë nasionale karakter
* moedertaalonderwys
* erkenning aan groepsidentiteit
* gedissiplineerdheid
* gehalte-onderwys
* handhawing van standaarde
* 'n professionele gedragskode
* kultuurgebondenheid
* gesonde menseverhoudinge
* die reg tot inspraak deur die ouergemeenskap (Idem.)

Support for a number of these ideological principles, 'moedertaalonderrig, Christe-like basis, breë nasionale gerigtheid, kultuurdrag, gedifferensieerde onderwys,' has been expressed by Terblanche (1991:4-5), Superintendent General of the Department of Education and Culture: House of Assembly. As Weinberg (1991:49) correctly interprets, in education the 'government's reform zeal has filtered through least.'

These, though, are the very issues which need to be discussed with other leadership groups, to describe the beliefs behind the ideology and so indicate their importance to Afrikaners. Together these beliefs could be evaluated and their creditability and usefulness discussed.

Concerns over a liberal ideology with individual rights was expressed by a member at the congress: 'mensregte 'n baie liberale soort instrument is' (op cit.:11) and a preference for group rights was mooted.

The need to build bridges with their children was expressed and the value of the present curriculum for a multi-cultural future was questioned (op cit.:29-34).

As far as teacher leadership from the TFC is concerned, the initiatives seem to be ambivalent. In a Declaration of Intent, following an extraordinary council meeting on 28 September 1990, the assertion was made for an organised teachers' body 'without discrimination (for example on the basis of gender, race, colour or religious conviction.' Pupils should be guided to become citizens of a 'democratic state' without being involved in 'any act of resistance or other collective action.' The statement that 'education should be provided outside the party-political arena' seems naïve. Actions which would not be acceptable are 'strikes, ... stay-aways, ... withholding services' etc. An awareness of change emerged in the point that the organised teaching profession 'should be able to adapt in an orderly and unforced manner to changing needs and circumstances.'

An embryonic, but fast growing union, the South African Democratic Teachers' Union, has been in conflict with education authorities over official recognition, yet through displays of force has managed to gain the initiative and will be a powerful

force in the restructuring of education. Despite differences in ideology, South African teachers should not regard political authority as the central basis of their own authority, and need to assert themselves as professionals, to indicate the imperative need for them to be involved in the design and production of innovation in education. Leadership in schools needs to become more democratic, with principals adapting to a rapidly changing environment, and recognising that schools must change. Openness to the community, supported under Afrikaner and people's education ideologies, is essential, but need not lead to a diminution of the professional educative role. A lessening of hierarchical control by school management and the development of a corporate spirit among teachers would appear to be essential.

7.5 Structure

As Lister (1974:4) indicates, the school 'arose as part of the apparatus of the modern, bureaucratic state.' Structures and management were devised to lead to political education in acquiescence. Strong views on the linkage between systems and power have been shown, and Apple (1985:2) was clear on how cultural life is dominated by the way institutions, people and modes of production, distribution and consumption are devised and controlled.

If in education planning 'we are engaged in political acts which imply an ideological choice' (Freire 1972:18), then problems of structure support his argument that 'neutral education cannot, in fact, exist.' Arguments by Kimbrough (1982) from a liberal viewpoint are in agreement. Freire's (1972:19) statement that systematic education, in that it 'constitutes a superstructure,' ...'functions as an instrument to maintain the infrastructure in which it is generated,' has been corroborated in this work.

In regard to management, Hodgkinson (1983), Apple (1985) and Habermas (1971, 1974) have questioned technological ideologies such as systems management which separates moral and technical questions, is limited to scientific endeavour and uses techniques of control. The concept of accountability, current in the USA, UK and the RSA, is not technical and valueless as Apple (1985:8) shows, 'through behavioral analysis, systems management, and so on become hegemonic and ideological representations.' He shows how the importance of technical and scientific competence tend to flatten reality with procedures under systems management, showing a tendency towards centralization. Order and consensus instead of conflict predominate.

The current structure in South Africa, although separated on racial grounds, is centrally controlled either directly under Afrikaner hegemony or through particular bureaucratic influence within the structures. Even in April 1991, De la Cruz (1991:6202), in the House of Representatives, could state that blame must be laid 'at the door' of the National Party because so-called coloured schools were not really open to blacks except as 'a sop.' His view was that

> '"Apartheid" which is supposed to be dead for many people, will remain alive as long as separate ethnic education remains in existence.'

Totalitarian control has links with that in the USSR, because the separated units come under final control of the Department of National Education, composed largely of Afrikaner Nationalists, with ideologies similar to those expressed by their colleagues in the Department of Education and Culture: House of Assembly.

For example a proposed achievement recognition format to replace the merit assessment format already discussed, has been devised within the Department of Education and Culture: House of Assembly under Afrikaner majority decision and is being tested in 1991 by the Department of National Education for possible replacement of the merit assessment system in all education departments. No people of colour have had input.

The ingrained mentality of bureaucrats and 'traditional' educationalists is inimical to a new education system. Bureaucrats in East Germany who were too influenced by Marxist-Leninism have been replaced, because of the view that they could not be re-trained to fit into the new system. The choice could be to remove Afrikaner Nationalists from bureaucratic control posts and replace them by ANC supporters, untrained in ways of organization, which could result in inefficiency, or could create a new centralized totalitarian system. Rensburg (1991:40) writes of the inefficiency and corruption in the DET and of "spoilers" in the new administration, who are obviously impeding progressive reform, and Hartshorne (1991:51) calls for the dissolution of the DET, as 'it has lost all credibility.' In recommending that the public service must be representative, impartial and competent, Asmal (1991:22) complains about the 'artificiality of a top-heavy civil service' which was created through 'affirmative action since 1948 of the most extraordinary dimension' in the firing of thousands of people of colour for Afrikaners, resulting in sixty percent of Afrikaners being employed by the state. He claims that political civil servants will have to go under an ANC government, but that English speaking whites would then have 'a genuine chance of promotion on the basis of merit' (Idem.).

Although the ANC has called for a unitary structure, to avoid ideological

domination it is argued that there is a need to reduce central responsibility. Van der Merwe (1991:16) is right in stating, from his position as Minister of Education and Training at the time, that 'one education department will turn into an unmanageable and uncontrollable monstrosity.' Freire's (1970:152) statement that 'a rigid and oppressive social structure necessarily influences the institutions of child rearing and education within that structure,' is an important one. There is inherent tension between bureaucratic structure and democracy, and a bureaucratic rationality about structure is not self-justified.

A structural redefinition is necessary with a movement away from bureaucratic modes of reasoning, prescription of managerial and procedural processes, and economic outputs. The management of finance, advice on a core curriculum and co-ordination of teachers' conditions of service are among the aspects which could be centrally determined, but delegation of all other aspects of education to local units would offer a less ideologically explosive and abusive structure.

The concept of management as technology needs to be rejected and consideration needs to be given to the true locus of power being altered in decentralization, not as has occurred in the UK. Mintzberg (1983:110) stated that the 'more professional an organization, the more decentralized its structure...' He argued that the source of decentralization is the power conferred on the professionals by their expertise, whereas centralization denies the expertise of professionals and reduces their power and status.

The need for parental influence in education is suggested by the government, the ANC and by Dostal and Vergnani (1984a) who feel that direct financial involvement by parents in schooling will lead to a greater demand for a say in management. Although the political ideologies differ markedly from those of Dostal and Vergnani, what Freire and the ANC / NECC are asking for is community involvement and in the USA, Seeley (1990:5), comments on a third wave of reform incorporating 'success for all children' and 'a collaborative model' of teachers, parents, students, administrators and community and away from a bureaucratically organized state administration. This restructuring of the teaching profession, and the management of schools, has practical similarities with NECC statements, but by calling it a success-oriented model, implies an ideological difference. There is a need to be wary of the ideologies of investment in education for success in the world economy currently in vogue in the USA and in the UK.

In the UK, publicly funded but independently governed schools, also offer community involvement but the devolution of decision making authority to local

levels is part of a free enterprise and competitive initiative based on business values. In reflecting on this model, the importance of epistemological and ontological characteristics which inform and restrict the debate about the organization and the individual's role in it, should be kept in mind.

Large scale research on effective schools in the USA by Chubb (1990:58) indicates the importance of school based influence and in recommending the demise of democratic community involvement and the devolution of power to school principals, he runs counter to the enshrined American belief in numerous democratic structures in any control situation.

It is considered that a form of consociational democracy as recommended by Lijphart (1977), Hanf (1980) and Kendall and Louw (1989) could offer a workable educational structure. It is the nature of consociational democracy to make plural societies even more aware of differences, Lijphart (1977:42) asserts, as 'its approach is not to abolish or weaken segmental cleavages but to recognise them explicitly and to turn the segments into constructive elements of stable democracy.' There are obvious connections here with Mannheim's (1972) 'general total' ideology. It should be acknowledged that the school does not operate as the most effective of socialising agents and that ideological indoctrination, for example that of white English speakers in South Africa, has shown limited success. In Holland groups of parents are able to begin a new school and have it financed by the government if they have a minimum number of pupils and meet 'the national standards of educational quality' (Van den Berg - Eldering et al. 1983:xxiii). Attempts at nation building by the Dutch, with particular ideological thrusts, led to the Belgian break-away in 1830 and this experience has influenced Dutch thinking on consociational democracy in education. A surprising statement of an ideological shift from a National Party member of parliament, when one considers that this party created one of the most centralized systems on earth, is that supporting

> 'community oriented schools where people cherish shared values, establish an own ethos and mission for their schools and guard the standards of their institutions themselves' (Swanepoel 1991:6266).

Although it must be recognised that from the perspective of 'particular' ideology, this statement could be regarded as preservation of Afrikaner white privilege in segregated schools.

In Switzerland education is so decentralized that there is 'not even a national authority for education matters' Hanf (1980:230). Language, culture, and familial connections can form a group, develop its ideology, and decide how the children will be educated. There is no political conflict about language, which in South

Africa presents a massive problem, as 'each group gets the school and language of instruction that it wants' (Idem).

Opposition by Lynch (1986:186) to 'creeping apartheid of parallel school systems, public and private ...' because of conflict with concepts of social cohesion and equality does indicate the problematic between equality and freedom for the individual. Taking opinions of all ethnic groups in South Africa into consideration and through the viewpoint of people's values, Dostal and Vergnani (1984a:39) claim that 'there should be no objection to an educational system in which - on a voluntary basis, some schools are integrated and others remain segregated.' De Lange, chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond and chairman of the HSRC Investigation into Education (1981), is quoted by Kruger (1990:138) as saying:

> 'I can see no solution where diversity and communality are not accommodated. If we concentrate on diversity alone, we will sink into poverty ... . If we strive only for commonality, the harsh reality of our diversity will explode and we will destroy each other.'

Change in South Africa must lead to the elimination of racialism, and voluntary association should not have a colour base. Asmal (1991:22) indicates the ANC opposition to the government's approach with 'ethnicity dressed up as community values,' and states that no apartheid structure can be maintained. He argues that a unitary structure can give 'proper recognition to people's religious, culture or linguistic values,' and questions the government's right to allow people to dis-associate to keep schools racially exclusive (Idem.). In practice any unitary structure for education can only be partially so, there will always be general and particular conflict for control of the meaning of education. Mandela (1991:2) also argues that all children should be subject to the same education, but Lynch's (1986:188) claim that 'the individual's option to belong to a cultural group or not is surely a part of democratic freedom,' is worthy of recognition.

Although the educational structure will depend on a new Constitution and political controls, it is argued that democracy guarantees the rights of liberty of the individual under a constitution, whereas majority rule (the state is the people) is a totalitarian philosophy, which aims at control through insistence on conformity and uniformity. A 'people's' democracy is not a constitutional democracy. In order to avoid authoritarianism, devolved educational systems of small local size would seem to be essential. These should be open systems (Burns and Stalker 1961) and the most democratic model for schools, the professional model (Litwak and Meyer 1974) should be encouraged.

If a canton-type system, based on magisterial areas for example, is introduced, it

would be possible for an educational authority to perform educational support and development functions, even if schools which worked to the authority were split on consociational grounds. Community involvement has been supported by the proponents of People's Education and by Afrikaners, although the definition of community would differ, with the Deputy Minister of State Development in the RSA in 1990, Roelf Meyer, stating that 'eiesoortige onderwys met gelyke staatsteun bedryf moet kan word vir dié wat dit verlang" (**NOU Nuusbrief** 1990:20). There can be no justification for state-aided [Model C] schools which have opened in white education in 1992. The introduction of this model is obviously a ploy to retain either elitist education for whites or a form of privileged class-based schools. This is a classical case of Berger and Luckmann's (1976) concept of the use of ideology as legitimation, incorporating the arguments for Model C schools, and nihilation, in the denial of the validity of opposing views. Opposition has been strong, by Mabandla (1992) among others, to this unilateral restructuring by government. State property should revert to the state, unless school communities are prepared to buy or lease properties at market-related costs.

There must be the right of access to the nearest school for all children, although currently school facilities are too limited for this statement of justice to be achieved. But educational choice is considered to be fundamental to De Klerk's (1990:2) 'new, democratic dispensation,' the importance of which as a guideline for this thesis, was mentioned in Chapter 1.

A mission statement about the aims, ethos and values of each school would allow parental choice. Groups could be formed on an ideological basis of solidarity, and not suffer under ideological dominance as at present. This would also tend to reduce conflict and incoherence in educational debates. A national core curriculum could be established with genuine cross-section input which could be recommended to consociational groups, with the core of syllabuses either agreed to, or if in ideological dispute, different cores could be offered. As part of holism, democracy and democratic method would need to be taught in all schools, for example negotiation skills and acceptance of democratic decisions. Examining could be done of modular syllabus skills, for example as done under a system such as SCOTVEC, and independent examining bodies could also be established. As upper-status influence determines educational policy and programmes, it must be recognised that standardized tests are not reliable for ethnic minorities. 'Disinterested' or 'unattached intellectuals' whose own ideological attachments have been studied personally, and bias and beliefs accepted, could be used in local offices as advisers to different schools and systems. These posts should be advertised and filled through cross-section interviewing to result in a professional service, untainted by

past associations of a bureaucracy reflecting the ideology of apartheid. These incumbents would be able to give independent judgments on schools, but schools should be able to ask for a particular adviser when in need of assistance. There would obviously be no racial bar in local offices.

It is acknowledged that in a consociational structure inequalities would emerge, such as emerged in the USA when WASP schools opened on religious grounds to retain elite culture (Collins 1971). But it has been argued in this work that 'educational equality cannot be achieved through changes in the school system alone' (Bowles 1971:149). Asmal (1991:22) writes of the need to 'find money for minimum primary education' and asserts the ANC support for 'affirmative action,' which is in line with Rawls's (1971) concept of justice and should be introduced. In the financing of education, a voucher system with affirmative action for the poor could be established. Parochial schools could face a discounting of vouchers by a certain percentage, while new schools or under-equipped schools could be granted a percentage increase in voucher payments.

Under such a structure a national and regional offices would have very limited functions. A regional office would be purely administrative: controlling salaries, pensions, conditions of service and provision of resources.

Bureaucratic interference, or obduracy, at present, with too many officials in numerous departments, could be avoided. Mediocre people have left the NED, for example, for high positions in less sophisticated departments, and it is obvious that these people are not capable of offering effective leadership and their bureaucratic structures should be abandoned. There are too many research departments producing little in quality, and these should also be abandoned. Research expertise could be bought by the local units when necessary.

Private schools survive without a controlling education department. They are registered with education departments and have contact on subject and didactic levels. Their loose association is consociational and private schools combine to undertake research or send people on study tours overseas. Although this is an elitist system, the loosely-coupled structure could serve as an example.

Even in the USA, the state with the most practical democratic ideology, Elmore (1991:18) refers to the political climate that turns policy debates into 'ideological litmus tests, (in which) thoughtful, reasoned, and constructive advice is often mistaken for partisan advocacy.' But new laws are being introduced across the country to encourage choice among public schools. Moves away from local

authority control to school control are taking place, for example in Boston, and Glenn (1991:43) shows how 'very difficult it can be to reform an entrenched institution with a monopoloy position and a tradition of top-down decision making.'

Concern has been expressed by Moore and Davenport (1989) that special magnet schools do lead to a lowering of standards in other schools. Teachers also tend to believe in equality, so choice of schools for them is a problematic.

From a large-scale experiment covering 500 schools, Chubb (1990) argues that effective schools in all socio-economic and cultural areas reveal certain structural similarities. One is that principals must have more influence, in particular over hiring and firing of teachers, curriculum decisions, instructional methods and disciplinary policy. He recommends parental choice of schools, but is opposed to control by democratic authorities, arguing that the diffused democratic system leads to bureaucracy. It is argued that the professional model of organisation (Litwak and Meyer 1974) is the most appropriate for a school.

A professional registration body for all teachers should be formed. This would be a professionally accepted model for the purpose of registration and discipline, offering professional autonomy with accountability. Separate societies or trade unions could be formed on ideological grounds.

Banks (1983:39) argues that the cultural pluralist and the assimilationist ideologies have not been successful in leading to reform in democratic pluralist nations. He recommends the 'multiethnic ideology.' Minorities in the USA, he contends, tend to exist in groups because of exclusion from the social, economic and political institutions and because of psychological and sociological needs which the '"thin" culture of modernization leaves starving' (ibid.:40).

In support of the debilitating effects of modernization, Berger and Neuhaus (1977:7) refer to the sense of powerlessness felt by people

> 'in the face of institutions controlled by those whom we do not know and whose values often do not share.'

If true for English speaking whites as revealed through NTS frustrations, how immeasurably greater must this be felt by black South Africans.

Banks (op. cit.:41-47) develops his argument for a multiethnic ideology in which students retain cultures and languages allied with the best interest of the State. Thus a flexible structure is envisaged in which to develop 'positive identifications and commitments to the nation-state, the school should reflect cultural democracy

and equality.'

7.6 Process

7.6.1 Curriculum

It is essential to be conscious of what Freire (1970:151-2) terms 'cultural invasion' with its dualism both as a form of domination and its results. The control aspect, which is 'antidialogical' is deliberately planned and a 'product of oppressive reality.' There must be a curriculum and a programme, but he is opposed to 'the authoritarian and elitist ways of organizing the studies' (ibid.:107).

As Pratte (1977:275) argues: 'a system of public education sympathetic to cultural diversity demands standards drawn from more than one culture.' A nationally recommended curriculum must, of course, include involvement of all. Apple (1979:150) expresses opposition to the factory model of curriculum and the 'manipulative ethos and the structures of ideological domination of a larger society found within curriculum discourse.' He is wary of technology and technological control of human activity under business ideologies. In the UK, the industrial renewal objective under an ideology of rational technocratic monetarism, is supported in South Africa by O'Dowd and Walters among others. There is need for participation wider than on the current framework committees in the RSA. These are still Afrikaner dominated and the discussion document: **A Curriculum Model for Education in South Africa**, verifies this.

Of significant interest is the concept of holistic education, a world view that challenges reductionism, espoused by Clark (1990). He argues from a broad spectrum of interdependent relationships, using examples such as ego-shadow, time as seasonal or measured in micro-seconds, and information to enslave or enlighten.

The core recommendation should not be too ideological, but the principles of democracy and justice must be taught to all. Collier (1989:15) asserts that in values issues it is essential for pupils

> 'to get an existential understanding of their own driving values, ... the underlying forces, the driving purposes or aspirations of their lives.'

Ashley (1986:28) claims that liberalism has failed in South Africa because it is too individualistic and did not generate patriotism and general moral commitment. National symbols of Afrikaner and African nationalism have prevailed with popular support. His request that good schools should be protected from 'heavy ideological

pressure,' arguing the need for critical intellect, economic prosperity, ethnicity and culture, could be met if local units were permitted to substitute aspects of the curriculum, in consultation with the local education office.

In a subject such as history, principles of research would need to be taught, with with content choice being open, allowing for both Euro-centred and Afro-centred to be explored. It is generally acknowledged that the study of history will always be an ideologically combative area.

In Switzerland cantons choose history books, which prevents 'one line of propaganda from being taught to all schoolchildren, as happens in South Africa and allows for diverse interpretation of the past' (Kendall and Louw 1989:119). They support the canton system. In Holland, without cantons, the 'contents of the curricula are to a large extent determined by schoolboards and teachers' (Van den Berg-Eldering et al. 1983:xxiii).

Marland (1989:19) argues that the national cultural consciousness in the UK is Western/Eurocentric and a bourgeois European ideology. Little fundamental aesthetic, philosophical or epistemological study of arts takes place. The narrative, naturalistic approach predominates over, for example, the unified view within Islam.

Concern over the way big business has influenced the school curriculum in the USA through the introduction of materials 'designed to meet their own corporate needs' has been expressed by Giroux (1988:3). He considers public education to have been largely redefined through big business with its ideology of consumerism and right-wing elitist ideologues. The political power of the right and their insistence that progressive education movements, espousing an ideology of cultural relativism, in the USA after World War 2, led to a decline in American education, has led to curriculum boards instilling traditional values with culture and history being taught as acts of patriotism.

A thrust towards combining education and work among educators from Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana and the ANC, has led the production of syllabi. Their Education-with-Production booklet (Harare June 1990) attempts to reverse the division of mental and manual labour, involving students in productive activities, from which they can sell goods and services. The ideological antagonism is towards education which develops 'intellectual qualities, competitiveness, individualism and authority,' but supports 'commitment, responsibility and perseverance, integrity and empathy, diligence and sociability ...' (ibid.:2). The subject Fundamentals of Production will be tested by the University of Cambridge in 1993 at O and OA

levels. Examinations in Development Studies have been conducted already, and aspects of the syllabus indicate a linkage of theory and practice, politics and environment. Study of post independence includes:

> 'a. the need to develop national culture and self-expression
> b. the need to develop all strands of culture within the society' (ibid.:18).

In Development Studies (syllabus for Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Subject 2271), the aims include 'tools of analysis necessary for the understanding of socio-economic and political relationships' (ibid.:20). The ideological connections with Marxism are apparent in the study of 'production as the basis of social relations' (ibid.:23), but it does open to a study of economics. In regard to the Post Colonial State, industrial strategies such as capitalism, socialism and a combination of the two are studied. Students would be expected to do development work in communities, in areas such as non-formal education, créches, building etc., similar to the approach in Cuba (Carnoy and Wertheim 1977).

Similarities and differences can be found in the Walters Report (1990:122) where the need for greater concern about 'development of basic economic concepts, creation of wealth, productivity, entrepeneurship and technology' was expressed. Although the Walters comments are basically capitalist in nature, reference is made to Productivity Studies, but there is no intimation of change in the economic structure of South Africa in the assertion that 'formal education has to be in step with the actual commercial and industrial development of a country.' (ibid.:126).

The concept of career education recommended by Walters, and supported by O'Dowd, reflects an aim of regulating behaviour in line with current economic policies, with what Apple (1985:110) calls a 'conservative orientation [which] is so deeply embedded in "technological" models of educational thought.' A similar belief in a free-market system has been advocated by the IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party) which bases its economic policy on entrepeneurship with financial support, decentralized industrial development and relevant mass education which would guarantee an 'adequate and appropriate labour' force (Gavin Woods executive director of Inkatha Institute in **The Saturday News** 20.4.1991:5).

In arguing for the teaching of inter-personal skills, such as conflict resolution, communication and management skills, because of the coming political changes, Dostal and Vergnani (1984a:43-44) are critical of the current curriculum in South Africa. Although process and affective skills need to be taught, democratic studies are essential to investigate claims of corporate acquisitiveness and to remove the ideological barrier from vocational education, to enable vocational education to move from being a reproduction of a stratified workforce.

7.6.2 Pedagogy and Evaluation

From research findings discussed in Chapter 5, it is considered that teaching should be regarded as an autonomous and professional action, which should be stimulating and nurturing. To perform adequately as transforming intellectuals, which Giroux (1989:4) defines as:

> 'professionals who reflect on the ideological principles that inform their practice, connect pedagogical theory and practice to wider social issues, exercise power over the conditions of their labor, and embody in their teaching a vision of a better and more humane life,'

teachers need freedom and power.

Despite community influences and management demands within the school, it is essential for teachers to respect the freedom of the mind. What is needed is a reconstruction of education to support and develop the intellectual growth of all children and not to offer merely 'narrower training for tightly defined and fragmented tasks' (Bell 1990:ix).

There should be no centrally imposed accountability mechanisms, such as Merit Assessment or the proposed Achievement Recognition model. A professional model of guidance by colleagues and of teacher discipline, even in a unionised body, would be preferable. Appraisal and developmental systems should be school based, such as the NED has proposed. Schools should have different mission statements and it should be the choice on the part of a teacher to teach in a particular school. Teachers should be encouraged to be actively resourceful and the model should be a professional one, so that communities do not have authority over the teaching process.

Although there is authority of community, there is also the authority of justice and freedom, which should take precedence for the teacher. As Derr and De Long (1982:129) indicate, teachers have high needs of autonomy and low 'required collaboration.' Tozer (1985:152) shows the need for teacher autonomy, because if 'the teacher regards the state unproblematically as the central basis of her authority, she serves the interests of those who advocate the dominant ideology by carrying out their institutional policies.'

Ideological influence from the accountability movement in the West, is regarded by Tyson-Bernstein (1988:37) as having upset 'the critical balance between facts and concepts, skill and knowledge, pedagogy and substance.' Giroux (1988:6) writes of deskilling of teachers faced by competency-based testing based on an ideology of

technocratic rationality. Packaged work for teachers is inappropriate, Connelly (1979) asserts: it is essential for teachers to analyse programmes themselves, to look at perspectives and to see the prejudice of designers.

The suggestion that critical democracy as a social movement should be taught to encourage in pupils 'discourse of public association and social responsibility' to develop 'moral leadership and responsibility' is made by Giroux (1988:6). In South African black schools, Hartshorne (1991:51) pleads for each teacher and each school to 'restore the "learning" culture without which education is doomed to further disintegration.' The crucial role of a teacher having to take a critical view of his own ideological location and to analyse his 'own assumptions of what is important and desirable in social affairs,' has been expressed by Connelly (1979:82). Simon (1982) argues how important it is for a teacher to take an active, reflective, defining stance towards his practice. What is vital is how form and content of dialogue is defined.

Cognisance should be taken of Verma's (1989:239) assertion that teachers must enable pupils to search for reasons of 'unequal social status and disadvantaged position' of members of society, and that the school must 'actively seek to change the attitudes and behaviour of its future citizens.' In the teaching of democracy and democratic method, teachers need to understand that democratic education is built on faith in men. It is only possible to learn about democracy through the exercise of it, Freire (1973:36) believes, for 'that knowledge, above all others, can only be assimilated experientially.' Dialogue, similar to that espoused by Buber, is essential to avoid a banking mode of education which is a barrier to authentic free thinking and real consciousness (ibid.:38).

7.6.3 Evaluation of Pupils

Examinations do serve to instil ideologies of intelligence and competitive individualism, and control is achieved through a reified set of criteria. Awareness that examinations display three models of control: direct through orders, bureaucratic through specialisation and premise through thought control (Smith 1990:42) suggests it is necessary to avoid, as far as possible in a democratic system, a control ideology, and a cultural validation process is required to enable examinations to give 'access to social and economic mobility' (Lynch 1986:191). As Apple (1979:130) argues, testing is tied to social divisions of labour; learners are manipulable because 'conceptions of achievement, of success and failure, of good and bad students - are social and economic constructs'. In the light of constructivist theories of learning there would appear to be a need for more qualitative forms

of evaluation with a balance between a process for an economic role and that for active democratic citizenship.

Different testing methods, such as a SCOTVEC-type of testing, in which skills are tested over different periods of time to lower the sense of failure, as well as independent school leaving and university entrance examinations could be offered. Employers and tertiary institutions should be involved, with teachers, in developing what is to be tested and in an understanding of results. Consideration must be given to concentration on success rather than on failure.

The current situation in the RSA in which all Senior Certificate candidates will be given the same type of certficate regardless of whether they wrote the searching Natal Senior Certificate or the DET version, is an external attempt by the government at fairness, but makes a mockery of different standards. The ideological thrust is one towards equality in separation, and there are aspects of a centralizing tendency of control.

A similar ideological approach is that of Item Bank testing, which also tries to offer the appearance of equality and fairness, in that all pupils could be tested on the same test. Vorster (1988:1) reacted to criticism of Transvaal Education Department results in comparison with results from other departments, by arguing for standardization of Senior Certificate marks through the use of Item Bank testing. Problems in translation, with even a majority of questions in the English as Second Language series in 1990 being ambiguous or grammatically incorrect, and the inability to test important parts of the curriculum and to test a written and argued response indicate important educational flaws in the concept of Item Bank testing. The ideological support of Taylorism and scientific management can be seen in the assessment of competence as a quality control mechanism supporting economic utilitarianism. The urge for conformity is totalitarian and would be unnecessary in a consociational system.

7.7 Conclusion

The choice for education of the future in South Africa is to be democratic in approach with an openness towards different ideologies, granting the opportunity for consociational decentralization and professional models of schools; or to replace the current totalitarian system, based on the ideology of apartheid, with a similar ideology of control and domination. It has been argued that the concept of holism can be approached only through independent and interdependent people, and units, aware of ideological differences and aware of interrelatedness and of the whole

being greater than the parts, but with the whole not being permitted to dominate the parts. Mannheim's (1972) 'general total' concept of ideology has been proposed as a method of establishing ideological differences and similarities. The picture drawn of Breytenbach's (1991:18) fear of reactionary and revolutionary forces in South Africa, careless of the sanctity of life, driving us 'towards the abbatoir of a repressive state,' can be seen in Berger and Luckmann's (1976) terms in their thrust for legitimation of their ideologies and nihilation of others. This picture can be contrasted with that of democratic education drawn by Nadine Gordimer (**The Cape Times** 23.12.1986:8):

> 'Freedom of education ... begins with the individual's right ... to appropriate the world's store of knowledge the world's exploration of the power of the imagination, as the heritage of mankind.'

Summary

Education is inherently ideological, with hegemony most marked in totalitarian states such as the RSA. Extension of education to all children in South Africa is a principle of social justice, and as school is not a neutral environment, conflicting ideologies need disinterested investigation. Domination is to be avoided, but this is difficult as there is no democratic tradition in South Africa. Holism could offer a philosophical base with its need for open dialogue and love of man.

Different ideologies need to be accepted as social necessities, but the coherence of how their beliefs are turned into action needs to be examined. Similarities in outlook should be explored. Mercantilist liberalism will probably have a powerful influence, but opposition to bourgeois democratic liberalism as technocratic reductionism has been made. Ideologies of revolutionary socialism lack coherence and cannot offer democratization.

The focus in black education has been on the National Party's ideology of apartheid from 1948, which planned for black education within traditional ethnic authorities and under Afrikaner hegemony. The Freedom Charter aided the rise in black consciousness against centralized education control based on the assumptions of the superiority of Afrikaners.

The rejection of Afrikaans as a language of instruction and Bantu Education in general, led to the Soweto uprising. The Cillie Commission of Enquiry led to a new Act, with greater provision for black education and the elimination of

Afrikaans as a forced medium of instruction. The capitalist ideology was questioned.

The De Lange Report recommended 'equal opportunities for education,' but its ambiguous terminology did little to remove discrimination in education. Technical education was proposed. Educational reform was sponsored by the Urban Foundation and industrial concerns. Black community leadership and SRCs rejected equal opportunities in separate education departments and capitalist support, demanding 'liberation first, education later.'

People's Education emerged as a concept and a possible pointer towards an ideology. Opposed to DET structures and anti-capitalist in sentiment, it lacks a detailed theoretical apparatus and has not been institutionalized as an educational ideology. A demand for people's power and liberation pedagogy has been refined through contributions by progressive intellectuals. A democratic basis with a decentralized structure and the diminishing of the teacher's authority has been mooted. Opposition to the paternalistic nature of the Afrikaner hierarchy, competition and individualism have been expressed.

A demand for interim structures and interim syllabuses, plus physical control of certain schools led to the banning of People's Education in 1987. Accusations of bringing politics into education were made by the National Party and by the DET. This inane view was rejected, and People's Education re-emerged as a forceful theoretical ideology in 1990.

The emerging ideology incorporates beliefs and ideas such as free and compulsory education for all in an open democratic system. A unified system with a decentralized structure is envisaged. No co-operation with the DET, which has no bona fides, has been suggested. Politically, a democratic people's democracy, would be anti-capitalist and anti-individualism. Education would involve teaching the evils of apartheid, explain the cause of oppression and raise consciousness. Parents, teachers and students would manage education with the help of workers.

The crisis of education based on the ideology of apartheid has led to stagnation in black education.

Disinterested leadership is needed in the search for justice and truth in education. Strong, creative, and collegial leadership is required in schools in the promotion of a particular mission statement. Teachers should offer professional leadership and not be dominated through demands from the state or through pre-packaged teaching

material. A professional registration body would seem to be appropriate for all teachers, but there should be a variety of societies or unions. Bodies such as the TFC, which has not offered disinterested leadership, would need to be replaced.

Authoritarian structures need to be transformed, and power in the new system must be curtailed. Centralization and conformity under the dominant ideology has resulted in ingrained mentality of bureaucrats. A decentralized structure with authority conferred on professional teachers, in collaboration with parents, seems appropriate. Influence should be devolved to schools.

Consociational democracy could serve as a model for a plural society, in which people would be made aware of differences but also of wholeness. The problematic between equality and freedom exists; but a unitary structure, in reducing an individual's option, also reduces democratization.

Concern over cultural invasion in the curriculum is real and it is necessary to be wary of technological control and scientific curriculation. School groupings could choose their curriculum, which need have but a small common core promoting democratic process and affective skills.

Teaching should be an autonomous and professional action - a nurturing one. Teachers have a high need of freedom, and to be able to restore a learning culture in South Africa will need to be active and reflective thinkers.

A measurement oriented and manipulative examination system should be avoided. Item bank testing is too flawed and indicates an urge for conformity, which is not fairness. Success not failure should be the predominate approach, whether it be in connection with qualitative, skills testing, or university entrance examinations.

In a search for holism in South Africa, independent and interdependent people need to be made aware of ideological differences and to understand that education must be refreshed and replenished and must not be subordinated to state control and conformity under one dominant ideology.

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IDEOLOGY

Ideology can be defined as a system of beliefs which are institutionalized by a group. Its use in action is to achieve group solidarity and to control social processes. Methods used could be to 'disguise motives' or the 'use of master symbols.'

Schools transmit a particular ideological view of culture. There are conflicting ideologies about the nature and purpose of schooling in South Africa, but the ideological hegemony of the ruling political party has been established over a long period.

Comparison of Ideology in Natal Education Department schools

In Afrikaans medium schools						In English medium schools					
Dominant ideology						**Dominated ideology**					
Define, or indicate elements of these ideologies											
Low				**High**			**Low**			**High**	
						Please circle appropriate number					
						Dominant ideology					
1	2	3	4	5		Is supported by schools as correct and justified.	1	2	3	4	5
						Structure					
1	2	3	4	5		Is bureaucratic.	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5		The structure is based on a belief in schools as moral guardians of the nation.	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5		The structure of the organization inhibits development.	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5		There is a philosophical coherence underlying the structure.	1	2	3	4	5
						Management					
1	2	3	4	5		Is hierarchical in most respects.	1	2	3	4	5

1 2 3 4 5	Delegation of responsibility.	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Parental involvement.	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Control rather than development of staff.	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Support for systems management and organization charts.	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Allowance of teacher autonomy.	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Teachers are traditionally submissive to management.	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Democratic processes are found in schools.	1 2 3 4 5
	Teaching	
1 2 3 4 5	The teacher is autonomous and self reliant.	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Content and rote learning.	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Passive dependence of pupils.	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Active resourcefulness of pupils.	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Teacher seen as fountain of knowledge (by pupils).	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Pupils allowed freedom of thought and expression.	1 2 3 4 5
	Pupils	
1 2 3 4 5	Peer influences more powerful than traditional values.	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Fit a conformist mould.	1 2 3 4 5
	Assessment of teachers by management	
	Importance of aspects:	
1 2 3 4 5	Discipline	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Creativity	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Academic challenge	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Pastoral care	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Extra-curricular	1 2 3 4 5
	Leadership by heads and teachers	
1 2 3 4 5	Often autocratic.	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Often democratic.	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Tends to be passive and reactive.	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Autonomy and self reliance admired in pupils.	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Control of pupil behaviour is important.	1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5	Tendency to be creative and proactive.	1 2 3 4 5
	Legitimate authority	

1	2	3	4	5	not questioned.	1	2	3	4	5
					Curriculum					
					Importance, in concept, of:					
1	2	3	4	5	Religion	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Art	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Physical education	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Music	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Cadets	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Civic responsibility	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Academic subjects	1	2	3	4	5

MIKE JARVIS

1. Could you identify the particular ideology/ideologies which influence educational policy and practice in this area?

2. What is the relationship between individual schools in your area and central/state/local authorities, in terms of formulation of educational policy?

3. Are political actions taken by school boards before the philosophical basis for them has been examined? (This question and others - vide J. Burstyn).

4. Would you say that democratization is generally accepted as a goal in the organization of education?

5. Tension between professionalism and democracy. Do you have a hierarchical division of practitioners, administrators, and conceptualizers in your system?

6. In a democratic society the widest possible dissemination of ideas and the widest possible input into decision making is supported.
How wide is the net for ideas and input in your system?

7. Walter Humes, in a recent text, accuses the Scottish system of
- bureaucratic expansionism
- professional protectionism
- ideological deception

Any comment on the existence of these factors in your system? e.g.

7.1 Has the extended role of educational bureaucracy reduced teacher or pupil freedom of choice?

7.2 Is there overcentralised decision making?

7.3 Downs A. (1978).
'In the foreseeable future, then, the growth of bureaux in the United States will continue to represent the interaction of a long-run trend toward increasing individual choice.'
Would you agree with this statement, concerning your system?

7.4 How elitist is the system?

8. How is "educational leadership" defined in your system, and how are school principals or administrators trained/educated for it?

9. Are any particular models (theories) of management upheld in your system - e.g. participatory democracy, autocracy, etc.?

10. Discuss any in-service training programmes in educational management.

10.1 Are teachers taught the process by which consensus is built and the skills to take part in it?

11. How powerful are teachers' unions and other groups, in shaping concepts of acceptable "leadership" or management?

12. Who controls the promotion of teachers? Is nepotism, on ideological grounds, a factor?

13. Is financial provision for schools shaped or threatened by any particular ideas of management / leadership?

14. How are parents and pupils involved in the running of your schools?

15. Regarding the curriculum ...

15.1 To what extent if any could it be criticised as a means of cultural reproduction?

15.2 Are ethnic minorities catered for?

15.3 What effect do pressure groups have, e.g corporations which pump money into the school system (vide B. Finkelstein)?

15.4 Would you agree that the "back to basics" movement is anti-democratic, i.e. that it forces a particular approach?

15.5 To what extent are taechers free to develop the curriculum and means of assessment?

16. Who are the major change agents in your system?

NHS1and2-91

Questionnaire sent to principals of all NED schools which opened under the Model B option on 1/1/1991

Dear Colleague

Your assistance in answering this questionnaire will be of significant use to the Natal Heads' Seminar committees in preparing modules on such topics as **Schools of the Future** and **Open Schooling** for both NHS1 and NHS2 seminars.

Although it is recognised that your responses will be based on limited experience, they will nevertheless give the committee a useful starting point of practical information to share with other principals.

Thank you for your co-operation.

MAM Jarvis
Superintendent of Education

Questionnaire on Open Schools

Please indicate your type of school by making a cross on the appropriate descriptions :

High Senior Primary Junior Primary Primary

Co-educational Girls only Boys only

PUPILS

Have your pupils of colour shown any of the problems indicated below? Please tick in the appropriate column.

1. Problems of Perception	Have been noted	Many times	Seldom
Perceptual dissonance (the pupil sees the same thing in a different way from other pupils)			
Unperceived events (the pupil does not see at all what others see)			
Unfulfilled expectations (that the pupil has both of self and of others)			
Attitudes about "the problem" (has the pupil seen race as a problem?)			
Values identification (have the pupil's values of self, others and group been seen to be different?)			
Language comprehension (has the pupil shown a lack of understanding of what others are saying, and in receiving non-verbal communications?)			

2. Problems of Expression

Self-expression (the pupil not having the ability to express himself in a given context, choosing inappropriate communication forms)			

	Have been noted	Many times	Seldom
Language usage (the pupil using incorrect pronunciation, sentence structure, choice of words, grammar)			
Interpersonal expression (the pupil not having the ability to interact appropriately with others, not using accepted rules of conversational interaction and listening behaviour)			

3. Value system conflicts

The pupil's attitude towards:
Life values
God and religion
Institutions and their representatives
Affiliative ties
Peers and peer groups
Discipline
The pupil's:
Expressions of hostility
Expressions of love

4. Conflicts of Information

The pupil having difficulty:
in following methods of teaching
in understanding different approaches to subject matter
in accepting conflicting sources of data and information
in coming to terms with the large variety within the curriculum
in coming to terms with the obvious wealth of facilities

5. Conflicts of Structure

The pupil having difficulty:
in following the set routine of the day
in understanding the formal management structure of the school

SCHOOL

Please indicate successes, omissions or problems arising from the opening of your school.

5. General preparation and planning

Successes:

Omissions:

6. Induction of children

Successes:

Omissions:

7. Induction of parents

Successes:

Omissions:

8. Training of staff

Successes:

Omissions:

9. Attention to needs of pupils
cultural
religious
linguistic

Successes:

Omissions:

10. Have you adopted any special policies which could be of benefit to your colleagues?

Elaborate:

11. Problems of adaptation experienced by the school.

Elaborate:

12. How would you define your approach?

Please tick:

Assimilation

Multi-ethnic

Multi-cultural

Do you see this approach changing?

If so, please comment on any strategies which you are considering for the future.

Thank you once again for your assistance. I dislike asking principals to do any extra work, but your input could be of vital use to your colleagues and I look forward to receiving your submission in the near future.

Post to: Superintendent of Education
Mr MAM Jarvis
P Bag 13
Congella
4013

Abbreviations

ACE Accelerated Christian Education

AFT American Federation of Teachers (United States of America)

ANC African National Congress

ATASA African Teachers' Association of South Africa

AWB Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging

CNE Christian National Education

COSAS Congress of South African Students

COSATU Congress of South African Trade Unions

DEC Department of Education and Culture

DES Department of Education and Science for England and Wales

DET Department of Education and Training

ELOS Education Leadership Development Project (University of Stellenbosch)

ESSA English speaking South Africans

HMI Mer Majesty's Inspectorate (United Kingdom)

HSRC Human Sciences Research Council

LEA Local Education Authority (United Kingdom)

MBO Management by Objectives

NEA National Education Association (United States of America)

NECC National Education Crisis Committee

NED Natal Education Department

NEUSA National Education Union of South Africa

NOU Natalse Onderwysersunie

NSC Natal Senior Certificate

NTS Natal Teachers' Society

NUT National Union of Teachers (United Kingdom)

OB Output-budgeting

OFS Orange Free State (a province in the Republic of South Africa)

PERT Programme Evaluation Review Technique

PPBS Planning, Programming and Budgeting System

PSTA Parents, Students and Teachers' Association

SACC South African Certification Council

SAOU Suid Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie

SATCW South African Teachers' Council for Whites

SCOTVEC Scottish Vocational Education Council

TES Times Educational Supplement

TFC Teachers' Federal Council

TPAI Teacher Performance Assessment Instruments (State of Georgia)

TRASCO Transvaal Students' Congress

UC University of California

UCLA University of California, Los Angeles

UK United Kingdom

UNISA University of South Africa

USA United States of America

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

VUZY Vysshee Uchebnoe Zavedenie (USSR)

WASP White Anglo-Saxon Protestant

WOCTP World Council of Organisations of the Teaching Profession

Dear

Request by Curriculum Committee for English First Language Co-ordination of Prescribed Works

In response to your undated letter we wish to advise that your suggestions have been given careful consideration by the Natal Education Department English Syllabus Committee and the Natal Association for the Teaching of English.

We wish to note :

1) Both the Minister of National Education, Minister de Klerk and the Minister of Education Own Affairs, Minister Clase, have affirmed that in spite of changes in education structures and policy in South Africa the ethos of Natal education as at present would be maintained.

2) As a consequence we oppose the moves towards a co-ordination of prescribed works in the four provinces. It is of concern that at a time of significant political change when we should be concerned with developing greater diversity that in education we should be contemplating a move towards uniformity which would be against the spirit of the statements made and reassurances given by both Ministers.

3) Inasmuch as we appreciate the economic factors involved in the mounting of separate examinations, in view of the different cultural expectations of the peoples of the different provinces, we consider that a co-ordination of prescribed works will seriously disadvantage our pupils. We are cognizant of the fact that there are very different approaches to the teaching of literature in the different provinces and indeed that certain works occasion a different degree of acceptability both by departments and the respective parent bodies.

4) Literature by its very nature invites the reader to question his values and attitudes. The compilation of a short list of preferred works could in itself become counter-productive to the educational goals which Literature seeks to realise. No matter how carefully such a list were devised it would be reflective of the attitude of the group doing the selection. The smaller the group involved the more restrictive the list would in the long term be.

5) We deem it imperative that if such a co-ordination were to be implemented that a committee should be comprised of representatives from each and every education department and that membership should not be determined by number of pupils in that department but that each department should be accorded equal weighting.

6) Furthermore as Natal was responsible for chairing the committee which produced the latest English core syllabus and as Natal at present is chairing the Curriculum Development Committee, we think it important that if such a co-ordinating committee were to be constituted, such a committee should be chaired

by a member of the N E D.

7) Mention is made of the fact that there have been continual requests for rationalising the setworks. Neither the source/s of these requests nor the motivation for such requests is indicated. We are unaware of any such requests that have been made by teachers of English. It is hoped that educational issues will be determined by educational rather than practical considerations.

Yours faithfully