BLACK EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA : THE CASE OF THE QADI TRIBAL AREA, INANDA RESERVE, KWA ZULU

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PREFACE

This thesis was based on research conducted in the Qadi tribal area of the Inanda Reserve in Kwa Zulu. Subsequent analysis was supervised by Dr. Paul Wellings of the Development Studies Unit at the University of Natal in Durban.

The study represents original work by the author and has not been submitted in any form to another University. Where use has been made of the work of others it has been duly acknowledged in the text.

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Mrs. Jean Hooten, a complete stranger, offered, on hearing of my research, to type the thesis free of charge. She typed willingly and accurately, regarding the exercise as a challenge she could not turn down.

Being a part-time student, my wife and children took their toll. I owe them many hours of 'family time' together.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with formal education for black South Africans. Central to the argument is an appreciation of how formal educational systems tend to foster specific ideologies and reproduce particular social relations which protect the interests of the state and those class interests which are most closely reflected by it. This is demonstrated at a general level with reference to colonial and post colonial education in Africa (Chapter 1) before proceeding to the South African situation (Chapter 2).

In this context educational inequalities in South Africa have been systematically entrenched by the Nationalist government following its accession to power in 1948 in accordance with apartheid ideology and the perceived needs of capital. Specifically education has been deployed to: a) help maintain the proclaimed unique identity of the Afrikaner - and more generally the white South African; b) to perpetuate the myth of white supremacy; and c) to maintain and reproduce the social relations of racial capitalism. As such, it is a form of discrimination and social control (now drawing an organised and often violent black response) which aims to 'prepare' black South Africans for distinct and inferior roles within society. This is discussed in some depth drawing on both the 'liberal' and 'Marxist' interpretations.

Whereas the broad contours of the apartheid educational system have been well sketched by a variety of authors, comparatively little attention to date has been directed towards its impact on the micro level. In view of this a detailed survey of the education that is available to the Qadi tribal area of Kwa Zulu's Inanda Reserve was conducted by the author. This forms the kernel of the thesis (Chapter 3). The survey focused on both 'in-school' and 'in-community' factors to examine educational deprivation in the area. Comparisons were also made with a neighbouring white area to illustrate the depth of the inequalities that obtain under the apartheid framework. In addition, an attempt was made to evaluate the potential for education related unrest in the area by analysing pupils' aspirations and expectations.

The results of this survey highlight the urgent need for remedial action. Consequently, Chapter 4 - taking note of the various recommendations of _inter alia_ the HSRC and Buthelezi Commissions - is devoted to a discussion of possible _interim_ measures for alleviating hardship in the educational system. It is stressed that any attempt to adequately rectify inequality

is dependent on structural change within the wider political economy. Nevertheless, given that fundamental apartheid structures such as those in education are unlikely to disintegrate in the immediate future, a number of suggestions for improving black education within the present context are considered.

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INTRODUCTION

Largely as a result of colonial intervention Third World educational systems, most particularly those in Africa, have tended to duplicate traditional western models. Formal, academically oriented education has been employed ostensibly as a catalyst of social change and as a means of promoting economic growth along western lines. In this, western educational values and attitudes have been incorporated into 'development' programmes. This has long served as the dominant educational paradigm and its influence on geographic research has been considerable (Wellings, 1983a).

In recent years, however, the formal paradigm has come under attack from analysts who have stressed its role in the maintenance and reproduction of particular social relations which serve the interests of certain elites rather than those of national development. This is important in explaining the resilience of the paradigm despite the fact that it is, in many ways, quite unsuited to the Third World situation. By way of example, mention can be made of its inherent urban and modern sector bias, its emphasis on individualistic, competitive attitudes as opposed to the alleged traditional norms of communal and kinship loyalty, and its disappointing track record in promoting economic growth, in generating employment opportunities and in distributing material benefits equitably among the population.

The point is that most Third World governments use education, as did the colonial authorities before them, to achieve certain political ends. Differing forms of political socialisation, often extremely blatant, are common as are attempts, with the support and involvement of small elitist groups whose interests are closely reflected by the state, to maintain and reproduce particular social relations.

Such manipulation of the educational system is perhaps nowhere more blatant than in South Africa, particularly since the formalisation and entrenchment of apartheid ideology with the coming to power of the Nationalists in 1948. Apartheid seeks to maintain the identity of the Afrikaner and to perpetuate the myth of white superiority and the social relations of racial capitalism. As a result, the educational system came to be used as a form of discrimination and social control

to 'prepare' black South Africans for distinct and interior roles within society and, despite recent moves to 'modernise' the system initiated by the Botha Administration, black education in South Africa remains separate and unequal.

In adopting this position the major concern of this thesis is to show how the manipulation of the educational system at the macro level in South Africa has adversely affected access to education and thus also the potential for authentic development at the micro level. The pursuit of this objective involved the rejection of the methodology of conventional geographical research into Third World education and it is appropriate, at this juncture, to explain this.

Blaikie (1978) has argued that conventionally the geography of education has been preoccupied with 'spatial fetishism', a situation in which geographical space has been studied in such a manner as to ignore the political, social and economic forces which define it. The tendency has been to identify spatial inequalities in terms of access to education and to formulate models designed to optimize the use of space within a broad diffusionist paradigm (Wellings, 1983a). As a result, analyses have not recognized and explained the vital link between education and the wider political economy within which it is enmeshed. As Wellings (1983a, 88) notes :

> "By depoliticising and desocialising the issue geographic research operates within a compartmentalised vacuum, preferring to assume that the spatial factor is the fundamental variable in the equation."

The reality of the situation is that spatial and social inequality exist in such a way that there is not necessarily an automatic correlation between them. Indeed, it is possible for spatial inequality to decline while social inequality accelerates (Wellings, 1983a, 88) and this may only be understood by analysing the interaction between education and the political, social and economic structures in society. Blaikie (1978, 268) makes the point succinctly by noting that " ... space is precisely what the political economy makes it".

There is, in this context, a need for studies, not least at the micro

level, which recognize the centrality of social change and the inevitability of an ideological context so that, unlike ahistorical, apolitical spatial studies, they can challenge the status quo and identify :

> " ... who benefits from the promotion of wealth and commerce in the world and who is exploited."
> (Blaikie, 1978, 271).

Employing this paradigm, the thesis begins with an analysis of the role that education (or more accurately the way in which it has been manipulated) has played in development in Africa (Chapter I). It is shown how the colonial authorities used educational systems, closely modelled on the systems of the colonial powers, to intervene in traditional forms of educational socialisation so as to prepare people for new forms of political, social and economic organisation and to promote economic growth within the colonies. Note is also taken of their simultaneous attempts, using new forms of socialisation and concentrating on the co-option of an emerging bourgeois class, to ensure the maintenance and reproduction of colonial relationships of authority.

Attention is given to the way in which most of the independent governments of the Third World have retained and entrenched formal educational structures to serve their own ends, especially the maintenance of particular patterns of class control, usually inherited from the colonial era. It is argued that with one or two notable exceptions little more than lip service has been paid to programmes of rural education and development which might challenge the prevailing societal structures. At the same time it is noted that its employment has not always been entirely successful from the point of view of the authorities. For example, many of Africa's leading nationalists, like so much of black resistance in South Africa, emerged from formal educational systems designed to prevent their coming into being. Similarly, patterns of political socialisation aimed at national unity have often failed because educational systems are not based on equality of opportunity.

Chapter 2 moves to the kernel of the thesis and is devoted to an analysis of the highly complex situation in South Africa, a situation

which shares many problems with other Third World countries but which is also set aside by the all pervasive effects of apartheid ideology. The examination begins by briefly sketching the patterns of inequality and discrimination which existed prior to 1948 but concentrates on the post 1948 period since this is the period which has seen inequality firmly entrenched by apartheid legislation. It is argued that the Nationalist takeover of education and the subsequent manipulation of the system in terms of the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission (1951) and the provisions of the Bantu Education Act (1953) is best interpreted in terms of both the classical liberal thesis which has focussed on the racial basis of the system and the Marxist position which stresses the role of education in the reproduction of the social relations of South African capitalism.

Black reaction to Bantu Education is then explored in some depth, noting that school unrest has come to be seated firmly within the broader black struggle against apartheid. Attention is directed towards the government's response to the worsening situation in the schools and to its own assessment of the shortcomings in black education. In 1980 it appointed the HSRC Investigation into Education which, like the Buthelezi Commission (1982), called for complete equality of opportunity in South African education. However, the government's reaction to its recommendations, particularly its rejection of the concept of a single education ministry, has left no doubt that it is unwilling to change the fundamental aspects of apartheid.

Subsequently the thesis attempts to show how the structural inequalities of the apartheid education system have affected access to education in the Qadi tribal area of the Inanda Reserve in Kwa Zulu (Chapter 3). It becomes clear that the problems of access can be divided into 'in-school factors' (such as the shortage and poor quality of teachers, gross over-crowding and the shortage of classroom accommodation, and the lack of educational resources) and 'in-community factors' (such as the severe shortcomings in the education and attitudes of parents, and the extent of poverty and over-crowding in the homes of children). These factors reflect the socio-economic deprivation which prevails in the area.

In order to highlight the nature and extent of the inequality which exists, comparisons are made with the quality of education received by white pupils in white areas near the reserve. The superior lot of whites as far as both 'in-school' and 'in-community' factors are concerned is clear.

The analysis at the micro level concludes with an investigation of the educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of the pupils. From this it would seem that the pupils are not highly politicised as yet, unlike many blacks in other parts of South Africa, although by and large they want and expect more from life than the present structural framework is able to permit them. However, this is not without potential political consequences of some magnitude for it can only be a matter of time, given the social problems of the area (notably high unemployment amongst school leavers and exceptionally high failure rates at school) and the pattern of events that has unfolded in other parts of the country, before the pupils become more and more disenchanted with the system.

To conclude the study a number of possible solutions to the problems of South African education are offered (Chapter 4). It is argued that while the present political framework needs to be radically changed if authentic development is to occur, it is nevertheless necessary to be 'realistic' about the situation. The status quo, given the formidable power base that the Nationalists have established, is likely to persist for some time to come. Recognizing this and mindful of the criticisms from the left of the political spectrum, the solutions considered are those which may make possible some alleviation of hardship within the existing political framework.

C H A P T E R 1

EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Many claims have been made on behalf of rapid quantitative educational expansion in developing countries. In particular, it has been widely held that this would accelerate economic growth, generate employment opportunities, alleviate poverty and reduce inequality. Educational planning during both the colonial and post-colonial periods has been strongly influenced by such optimism and by a strong popular demand for a school experience that would provide access to the 'good life'.

However, in recent years Third World governments have become less enthusiastic about such claims. Nevertheless formal academic educational systems, inherited from the colonial period, persist with only a few exceptions. The main reason, besides inertial factors, would seem to be that governments, regardless of their political ideologies, find such systems too useful. Just as they were used by colonial authorities to help maintain colonial patterns of power and authority, so they are used by post-colonial states to secure the reproduction of particular social relations.

This chapter begins with a brief exposition of colonial educational policy in Africa with particular attention being given to the motives of the governing authorities. Subsequently the focus falls on the post-colonial period and the new emphases and problems ushered in by it. In particular, the role of the state in the realm of education is examined in some depth.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Prior to the onset of the colonial era education in the developing countries was an instrument for the promotion of stability and continuity in society. It served to transmit cultural values, skills and attitudes to the young and was set within a societal framework characterised by strong communal ties and a common consensus of beliefs. Considerable emphasis was placed on teaching individuals the roles they would have to play within a particular society (Thompson, 1981).

With the advent of colonialism, however, local cultures were greatly influenced by the formation of large, highly complex political units which, in most cases, incorporated diverse cultural groups. New supportive centralised administrative structures had far reaching impacts on local peoples. These structures were concerned with bringing about social change, transmitting new values and skills and preparing people for a changing society with divergent belief systems. People had to be prepared for a life of individual (as opposed to communal) responsibility and adaptability. It should also be noted that they were concerned with the creation of loyalty towards the ruling power and the survival of colonial structures of domination (Hanf et al, 1975).

In the face of this, education took on a new significance and assumed new roles (McDowell, 1980; Thompson, 1981). The old tribally based socialisation procedures were clearly inadequate to serve the colonialists' aims (Pollock, 1971; Thompson, 1981) and new formal educational structures came into being. Not surprisingly, the form which the new education assumed was drawn from the educational traditions of the various colonial powers (Bairoch, 1975; Mabogunje, 1980; Thompson, 1981; Wellings, 1983a).

The new structures were markedly pyramidical in character since the colonialists, particularly earlier on, were not interested in universal education (the mission schools tried to take care of this). Instead they wanted to develop an elitist system (Moyana, 1979) which would permit them to co-opt an emerging bourgeois class.

The schooling system rapidly assumed a literary, academic character

(Foster, 1968; Pollock, 1971; Thompson, 1981), it being realised that people, upon leaving school, would enter into a situation marked by a growing diversity of occupations and roles. This bias in education was also a response to the rapidly expanding modern sector within the colonies. The schools found themselves having to cater more and more for this sector's needs. In addition, growing numbers of people came to realise that their best chance of productive employment lay in the modern sector. They came to demand a broad, academic education in the belief that it would prepare them for (if not guarantee) the jobs, dominantly 'white collar' jobs, they desired (Foster, 1968; Thompson, 1981).

Colonial education authorities were not unaware of the problems in this. The fear was that:

> " ... African societies were fragile, threatened with destruction, and in danger of being replaced by a fragmented society characterised by disorientation, rootlessness, self-seeking individualism and blind copying of western ways."
> (Thompson, 1981, 35).

From 1920 to 1960 there was a steady flow of ideas and recommendations from colonial offices focusing on ways in which an educational compromise could be found between the needs of the modern sector and the indigenous cultures (Pollock, 1971; Thompson, 1981). Moreover, there were genuine efforts to put these ideas into practice and a number of schools, designed to teach a curriculum of direct rural relevance and applicability, emerged throughout Africa (Kingdom-Hockings, 1955; Scanlon, 1960; Swinbanks, 1961).

In spite of this, however, the formal schools of Africa at the commencement of the independence era were just as closely allied to European models as they had been in earlier colonial times. A number of factors can be identified as being responsible for this situation.

Mention has already been made of the need for the schools to respond to the labour requirements of the modern sector and to the aspirations of local inhabitants. The point to note here is that this need was severely underestimated. The schools found themselves caught up in a

tide of rapidly moving events and they simply had to respond in order to remain relevant and viable. Thompson (1981) makes the additional point that the growth of the modern sector led, in time, to the establishment of institutions of an advanced secondary and tertiary nature. This had a pronounced effect on primary school curricula. They became preparatory in nature and primary schools came to be increasingly concerned with selecting out talented pupils, acting as agents of differentiation instead of homogenisation.

It should be noted furthermore, that the people's notion of a formal academic education being the key to successful modern sector employment was strongly reinforced as their political consciousness grew. They became suspicious that rural education was designed to keep them on the land and saw this as a move aimed at the perpetuation of racial discrimination (Wellings, 1983a). They wanted the education Europeans were getting, being keen, apart from anything else, to show that they could be the equals of their masters (Thompson, 1981). Such thinking persisted in the post-colonial era (Hanf et al, 1975) despite the structural changes ushered in after independence. Technical and agricultural schools have been consistently rejected, being regarded as providing inferior opportunities for advancement (Godfrey, 1979; Marvin, 1975).

Of immense importance in explaining the resilience of formal academic educational structures was the great emphasis that came to be placed on economic growth in the 'modernisation' process (Wellings, 1983a), an emphasis which continued after independence. An economy's productive capacity, measured most commonly by indicators such as Gross National Product per capita and its growth rate, was regarded as being of supreme importance. It was believed that the benefits of such economic growth would 'trickle down' to the poor and that as a result poverty, inequality and unemployment would be eliminated in time (McCarthy, 1982; Zuvekas, 1979).

Import substituting industrialisation would take colonial and newly independent economies along a path of development phases similar to those which had been followed by the advanced countries. Ultimately they would 'catch up' and become 'modern' and industrialised. The contributions of Rostow (1960) and Kuznets (1971) are well known

examples of work exemplifying this approach.

Slater (1974) notes that any failure on the part of a country to 'catch up', to adopt ideas, attitudes, skills and technology of western origin, was blamed on the people with modernisation theorists identifying so-called 'barriers' to progress and advancement. However, these explanations of backwardness and underdevelopment were completely ahistorical, failing to acknowledge the adverse consequences of European expansionist policies (Arrighi, 1970; Slater, 1974).

Nevertheless, such thinking, adopted wholesale by planners and politicians, had a powerful impact on educational development. Public expenditure on education came to be regarded as an 'investment' in human capital. Such an investment, it was alleged, would contribute to economic growth by providing the skills and knowledge required (Landes, 1972; Myint, 1964) and thus by generating increases in modern sector productivity (Bowman, 1972; Wellings, 1983a).

Such a conviction was based on the findings of numerous empirical studies which were conducted to investigate the relationship between education and economic growth. The overwhelming conclusion was that a positive relationship between the two did exist (Curle, 1963; Hunter, 1963; Nwosu, 1971; Razin, 1977; Schultz, 1971). This is not to suggest that the parameters of the relationship were clear-cut, however. Wellings (1983a) notes, for example, that there has been no universal agreement on which level of education is the best investment. Some scholars advised on investment in primary and secondary education (Pscharopoulos, 1972) while others favoured primary expansion (Peaslee, 1969). It is worth noting at this juncture that in practice governments in the post-colonial era have found it politically wise to expand education at all levels (Wellings, 1983a).

At the macro level the manpower planning approach to educational development became important. Here attempts were made to match the monies spent on education to the future manpower needs of specific economies. With the emphasis on economic growth primarily by means of industrialisation, it followed that most of the manpower needs were identified within the modern sector. Education had to respond by

undergoing considerable expansion in order to satisfy the manpower requirements of the growing urban areas (Bairoch, 1975; Mabogunje, 1980; Pollock, 1971).

The expansion was rapid and took place in such a manner that quantitative considerations overshadowed those of a qualitative nature. The provision of extra classroom space became the crucial factor, one which pushed education, particularly towards the end of the colonial era and in the earlier years of the post-colonial period, well beyond the capacity of the limited number of teachers. Overcrowding became a norm and standards dropped as a result (Bairoch, 1975; Myint, 1973).

THE POST-COLONIAL PERIOD

It has already been noted that such thinking about education and its role in promoting economic growth overlapped into the post-colonial period. Educational expansionist policies, aimed at providing the modern sector with its labour needs, were strongly reinforced by the need on the part of newly established national governments to :

a) Provide labour in terms of Africanisation programmes;
b) Respond to ever increasing popular demands for more and more education at all levels;
c) Build new nations out of tribal diversity. Politicians came to realise that education could do much to prepare people for national integration (Mabogunje, 1980; Thompson, 1981).

In more recent years, however, education's role has been reassessed. Developing countries have not entirely dismissed the role of education in economic growth but have become less enthusiastic about its ability to create employment opportunities and to alleviate poverty and inequality. Their thinking has been justified to a large extent for many of the claims made by the earlier protagonists of educational expansion have :

> " ... been shown to be greatly exaggerated and, in many instances, simply false."
> (Todoro, 1979, 236).

Planners and politicians came to realise that the ability of developing economies to absorb the massive increases in the number of school leavers generated by educational expansion was extremely disappointing (Bairoch, 1975; Buthelezi Commission, 1982; Wellings, 1983a). The progressive expansion of formal education structures had, in fact, created an educated unemployment problem of alarming proportions (Hoppers, 1980).

They also realised that investment in formal education structures had done little to improve the distribution of wealth. In fact, it appeared to have enhanced the positions of those who already enjoyed access to power and advantage to a greater degree than it had been of any assistance to the poor. Education had, in this way, contributed towards the formation of a small educated elite committed to the preservation of the political and social structures which made its existence possible (Buthelezi Commission, 1982; Duruji, 1978; Scudder and Colson, 1980). Those rejected by the selective mechanisms of the schools had received sufficient education to have felt divorced from their own cultures and were thus unwilling to contribute to the development of their communities of origin (Buthelezi Commission, 1982). The rural areas remained underdeveloped as a result and this was severely aggravated by excessively rapid urbanisation caused by the urban bias of educational curricula and the increase in the number of school leavers seeking employment (Buthelezi Commission, 1982; Nash, 1980).

In the 1970's it was realised that far greater attention would need to be paid to rural upliftment programmes in the interests of more balanced development (Karp, 1976; Lele, 1976; Livingstone, 1979). Rural-oriented vocational education projects would need to be of central importance in these programmes (Adams, 1977; Carnoy, 1975; Dove, 1980; Elliot, 1977; Ward, 1972). It should be noted, however, that the only African countries to have taken rural development to heart have been Tanzania (where Nyerere's rural villagisation programme operates as a cornerstone of his socialist policies (Bothomani, 1983)) and Mocambique. Most countries have accorded it a low priority (Wellings, 1983a) with national education programmes retaining their academic and urban biases.

These realisations were seated in a broader developmental framework in which it was realised by large numbers of academics, planners and some Third World governments that genuine development was a process which involved far more than could ever be accommodated within the restrictive, mechanistic 'growth' framework (Bromley and Bromley, 1982; Fair, 1982; Laker, 1979; Mabogunje, 1980; McCarthy, 1982; Smith, 1977; Zuvekas, 1979). Development was a far broader, multi-dimensional concept concerned primarily with 'distributive justice' (Smith, 1977), a concept concerned initially with the alleviation of the problems of unemployment, poverty and inequality (Seers, 1972) and leading ultimately to a total 'human ascent' on the broadest front possible (Goulet, 1977). Such thinking was fired by the failure of programmes of economic growth to live up to their expectations. Increases in national income were not 'trickling down' to the poor and the rich-poor gap on a national and international level was as wide in the 1970's as it ever had been, if not wider (Dwyer, 1977; Griffin, 1977; McCarthy, 1982; Smith, 1977; Zuvekas, 1979).

With the decline of manpower planning in development, an increased awareness of the needs of rural areas and the disparities between rich and poor, and the emergence of a new developmental theoretical framework one would have anticipated a complementary transformation of the educational structures, certainly in terms of attempts at making people more employable and therefore more able to hoist themselves out of their poverty. But this was not the case. The traditional, academic, urban biased formal educational structures remained intact and as dominant as they had ever been. It will be shown in the pages that follow that this was and is primarily due to what the state stands to gain from the preservation of the status quo.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE

The resilience of the formal academic educational structures is, to some extent, the outcome of inertia, but should be seen, more particularly, in terms of the political values, objectives and ideologies of the state and of those classes whose interests are most closely reflected by the state (Hanf et al, 1975; Wellings, 1983a).

Education in the hands of the state can be used to achieve a wide variety of political and social objectives. As such its traditional formal structures are highly valued and indeed manipulated by governments although there are important differences between them. Education is used to serve the political objectives of the state through procedures of socialisation and indoctrination and the control of social mobility mechanisms (Wellings, 1983a). However, some political systems are far more subtle and indirect in the approaches they adopt than others.

Socialisation is regarded as a fundamental function of education in any society. Mabogunje (1980), for instance, regards education as a 'formalised information flow'. It is a means whereby various types of information can be interpreted, condensed and passed on to the young. Included in this information are the aspirations, standards, beliefs and ideals of a society, its culture in fact. Dewey's (1916, 3) comment on this is that :

> "Beings who are not born totally unaware of, but indifferent to, the aims and habits of the social group have to be rendered cognizant of them and actively interested. Education and education alone spans the gap."

In a traditional, tribal society the teaching and information offered by elders is sufficient to maintain the status quo and ensure the reproduction of society but as a society grows more complex in time the traditional pattern of 'information flows' has to be supplemented by formal, national education structures which function to sift, select, interpret and convey those attributes of the society which are deemed most worthwhile and appropriate to the perceived needs of the society. It is here that the political dimension of the socialisation process can become important as the state, via its control over knowledge and the curriculum, intervenes to legitimize its ideology. Thus the schools become agencies for political socialisation irrespective of the political ideologies which dominate the polity. Morrison and McIntyre (1971), for example, document this process in such diverse settings as the U.S.S.R., U.S.A. and Britain. Similarly, the totalitarian tendencies of the South African state are reflected in its manipulation of formal educational structures in accordance

with apartheid ideology. Via its control over school curricula, for example, the state is party to a textbook campaign bent on indoctrinating white superiority, Afrikaner superiority, patriotism and the non-questioning of authority (du Preez, 1984). Separate schools and communities are, of course, a powerful, concrete form of political indoctrination in their own right (Christie and Collins, 1982).

So, the newly independent states of the Third World are not alone in politicising the 'normal' socialisation process. Obviously each of these states has its particular objectives in mind but most of them share the common problem of ethnic and cultural diversity, a problem often related to the arbitrary imposition of boundaries by colonial authorities. It is widely held within these states that, in the interests of national development, these differences have to be suppressed and a new national unity fostered (Hanf et al, 1975; Mabogunje, 1980; McDowell, 1980; Maliyamkono, 1980; Thompson, 1981). It is not surprising therefore to find that often the most important role of education in these states is to socialise children in such a way that they develop :

> " ... a new world view and value system that accepts common nationality and development as desirable goals." (Mabogunje, 1980, 256).

Three examples from Africa are mentioned below to illustrate the point. In Nigeria, a country of very considerable geographical and human diversity, schooling forcefully and deliberately challenges traditional educational content and community and tribal affiliations. Nigeria's experience has perhaps been more disturbing than many others for here national socialisation efforts draw much strength from the experience of the civil war (McDowell, 1980). In Tanzania, on the other hand, socialisation efforts are directed towards the building of new political attitudes and values in accordance with Tanzanian Socialism. The schools play a vital role in the development of a 'higher socialist consciousness' and in this the inculcation of certain values and beliefs such as a sense of commitment to the total community, co-operative endeavour, obedience and respect for authority are particularly important (Bothomani, 1983; Samoff, 1979).

Similarly, Zambia's socialisation efforts are integrally bound up with Kaunda's philosophy of 'Humanism'. This philosophy, formally taught in the schools, is seen by Kaunda as "God's declaration of the social form" (Wright, 1972, 23) and this confers upon it the status of the supreme philosophy in proclaiming the need for a complete revolution in the political, social, economic and cultural spheres such that a new, post-revolutionary person, created by the state and an integral part of its new unity, comes into being (Wright, 1972). The schools are the key agents in this socialisation process which draws its strength and guidance from 'Humanism' and the national slogan, 'One Zambia, one nation'.

A number of problem areas undermining the integrative aims of the state present themselves, however. In the first instance note has to be taken of the various socialising influences outside the school. Hanf et al (1975, 75) point to the fact that in their studies :

> " ... factors preceeding or running parallel with the formal education system, such as ethnic group, social stratum or class, religious affiliation or identification with a certain religion, are more strongly correlated with political attitudes than all educational variables."

Adams (1977), in support of this, notes the well known study by Jencks (1972) who found, in the U.S.A., that the socialisation function of the school is not as important as influences beyond the school. He suggests that while schools may be more important in the Third World than in the U.S.A., the considerable importance of outside influences such as family background can not be brushed aside.

It can be argued, of course, that the state is at least in indirect control of most of the influencing factors. It can, for example, exert an influence on family background and social class via wage control, educational provision and the manipulation of employment opportunities. Even religion can be used by the state as it works to establish a state religion.

Adams' (1977) point is not completely invalidated, however. While the state is often in indirect control of many of the factors shaping attitudes, it may not be in full, direct control of all of them.

Certainly its grip is not always as tight as it would like, as the colonial powers found to their cost. Whilst elitist educational channels were designed to generate a hopefully loyal bourgeois cadre available for co-option as junior partners within the colonial structures of power, they also produced many of Africa's nationalistic leaders[1]. A similar situation exists today where economies cannot accommodate fully the aspirations of each generation of university graduates and grievances are therefore articulated by disenchanted students. Hanf et al (1975) point, for example, to the student political activism which has not been uncommon in many parts of Africa. In fact it appears that :

> " ... massive attempts at gaining political influence through formal education fail, if the political intentions contradict the career or political interests of those concerned."
> (Hanf et al, 1975, 74).

Popular protests which have been articulated within the school system in recent years in South Africa (see on) lend weight to this view.

A further factor undermining the state's integrative intentions is that the formal education systems in the Third World are not always based on equality of opportunity. As such, education tends to perform a disintegrating function rather than a nationally integrating one. This aspect is now examined in some detail.

Mention has already been made of the considerable cultural diversity in many developing countries. While internal conflicts between groups are not uncommon (Thompson, 1981) the precise role that education (and the way in which it is manipulated by some groups) may play in these is not well known. However, some studies report the manipulation of educational structures by dominant tribal groups in an attempt to maintain and reproduce the desired social relations (e.g. Moyana, 1979 (Zimbabwe); Samoff, 1979 (Tanzania); and Tomlinson, 1982 (Kenya)).

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1. It should be pointed out that at the same time the educational structures helped the colonial powers to maintain their economic influence after independence.

A further feature which tends to make for national disintegration in developing countries is that educational institutions tend to be heavily concentrated in urban areas. As a result, urban dwellers have better access to formal schooling (Hanf et al, 1975). This is related to the urban and industrial bias that has been such a dominant feature of Third World development programmes. A related aspect here lies in the nature of the schools' curricula. The traditional academic bias is strongly modern sector orientated and thus does much to encourage the process of urbanisation (Adams, 1977; McDowell, 1980; Nash, 1980; Thompson, 1981). This process has become nationally disintegrating particularly in view of the growing inequality between the traditional and modern sectors. The urbanisation problem is severely compounded by the inability of national economies to absorb the growing numbers of school leavers within the urban areas (Foster, 1980; Hoppers, 1980; Nash, 1980).

Illich (1971) and Reimer (1971) argue that the national disintegration problem has been severely compounded by the way in which schools have been allowed to absorb virtually all of the public funds set aside for Third World education. The problem lies in the fact that the school has been allowed to monopolise education almost entirely. Yet, by virtue of its cost, they continue, schooling will stay beyond the reach of the masses. The concentration of scarce resources on the schools means that only the few who are privileged to have access to them can ever benefit. As Reimer (1971, 16) puts it :

> " ... the majority must, for generations, be denied all but marginal educational resources if a tiny minority is to enjoy the luxury of schooling ..."

The few who do have access to schooling, most often urban dwellers, become established as an elite. The inequality and discrimination generated as a result is clearly counterproductive to authentic development. Illich (1971) and Reimer (1971) feel that the situation could be avoided by the pursuance of educational paths which are not linked to the formal structure. They have in mind non-formal education resting primarily on the greater responsibility of parents in the education of their children, on-the-job training and the assistance of political parties.

Kashoki (1980), by contrast, argues that much can be achieved by changing the formal structures instead of sweeping them aside. He suggests that the key to change lies in cracking the notion that a formal education certificate is the 'passport to heaven'. Education has to engender a respect for manual labour in the interests of meaningful development. Such an emphasis will break the link between schooling and the creation of an elite but, he is at pains to stress, can only be achieved if social reform accompanies the necessary educational reform.

Oyeneye (1980) argues along similar lines in lending his support to Nigeria's new policy of vocationalising the lower level of the school system. The aim is to produce self-reliant citizens who can work on their own as tradesmen or farmers if they are unable to continue their schooling at secondary level. The main problem, however, lies with the aspirations and expectations of the people. They want more and better education but exhibit a strong bias towards 'white collar' employment in the modern sector. Oyeneye (1980), acknowledging the problems of an educated unemployed and of the formation of an elite amongst those who manage to secure such employment, argues that it might be possible for the government to intervene by controlling 'white collar' incomes in the modern sector so as to narrow income differentials in the labour market. Such a policy could be supported by government aid to self-employed manual workers and should be, where possible, couched in a framework of planning with, instead of for, the people.

Kashoki (1980) and Oyeneye (1980) both contend, therefore, that elitist structures can be broken without going to the extreme of removing the formal school system altogether. It is interesting to introduce Foster (1980) to the debate at this juncture for while he too would not agree with the abandoning of formal structures, he does contend that in their present form they are widely used to generate and sustain elitism in society. In this, the points he raises are a useful addition to those made by Illich (1971) and Reimer (1971).

Foster (1980) argues that primary schools are not the preserves of the privileged. These schools are relatively open and much progress has been made towards the attainment of universal primary education[2]. The question of exclusivity becomes an issue at the post-primary level. He notes that in Africa only about four or five per cent of the relevant age cohort attends secondary schools. A sizeable minority, if not a majority of the pupils in question come from humble homes, suggesting that the school system has not been entirely ineffective as a mechanism of social mobility. However, the schools are extremely selective and there is a definite over-representation of pupils from higher socio-economic backgrounds. The suggestion of inequality of access is loud and clear. The children from higher socio-economic backgrounds are, of course, better able to pay for their schooling but, Foster (1980) reminds us, access to secondary schools is heavily dependent upon measured achievement. Academic achievement has, as mentioned previously, close ties with out-of-school factors and it is here that other 'class' variables such as parental literacy and encouragement come into play. Foster's point is that while schools have not been a total barrier to mobility thus far, they could well come to function within a far more closed system in future as the process of class formation takes a hold and as, with the help of the schools and the way in which they are used, the boundaries between social classes become reinforced.

He sees the state funding methods as a particular problem area. Secondary and tertiary education in Africa are heavily subsidised by the state. Since the higher socio-economic groups are over-represented in these higher educational levels then :

> " ... the effect of across-the-board subsidies is likely to transfer income from the poor to the more affluent." (Foster, 1980, 229).

He adds that it is possible that African education systems may experience some constriction in future. Adams (1977) notes that an increasing number of voices are being heard in favour of this. The

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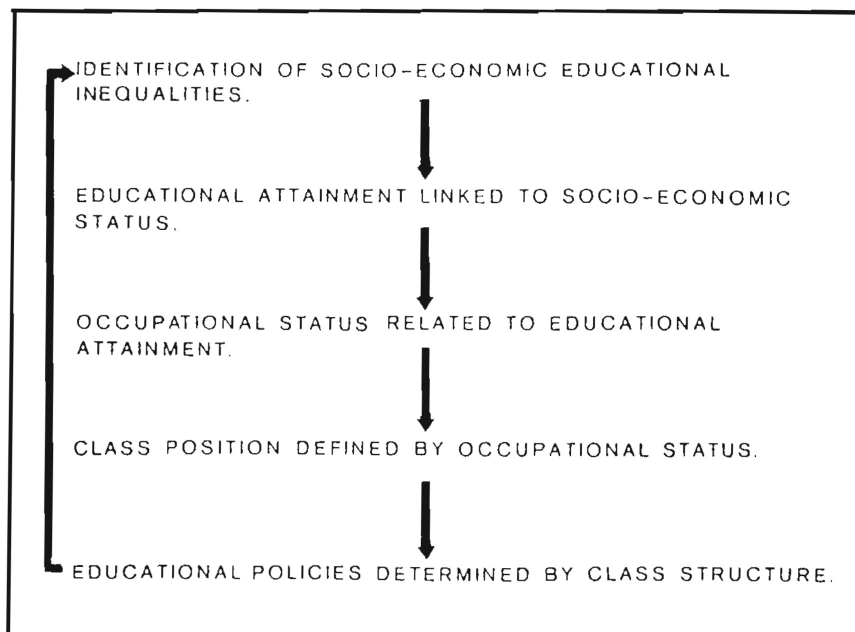
2. Foster fails to point to the considerable quality differences which are manifest within the universal primary education framework.

main reasons are given as being the enormous costs of continued expansion (which in itself is no guarantee of equality (Wellings, 1983b,)) and the very limited absorptive capacities of African economies as far as the finished products of the schools are concerned. Foster (1980) argues that such constriction will increase competition for access. The children of the new elite will exploit the situation, taking advantage of the higher academic education of their parents and of the fact that their parents will know how to manipulate the situation in their favour. Noting that there is already evidence of this happening in a number of countries, he also points to the possibility of jobs being given to young adults of similar backgrounds, to social equals in a kind of 'old boy' framework.

One is here really dealing with a situation in which a class structure in a society comes to be reproduced. Figure 1 demonstrates the process in simple terms. Initial socio-economic inequalities are reinforced by the fact that educational attainment is closely linked to socio-economic status. Educational attainment is instrumental in the determination of occupational status and thus to a large extent class position. Future educational policies are determined by the resultant class structure (Wellings, 1983a, 100).

Fig.1 CLASS REPRODUCTION THROUGH EDUCATION



After:Wellings,1983a,100.

Wellings (1983a) concedes that the model is incomplete and somewhat simplistic. It takes no account, for example, of social mobility and ignores the fact that 'class' is not simply related to occupation and education but also to a person's position in the political system and his position in relation to the means of production. In defence of the model, however, he suggests that it is, if nothing else, a starting point, a framework for our understanding in the absence of adequate empirical analysis.

Carnoy (1975) couches his exposition of class reproduction within a capitalist-bourgeoisie framework. He argues that in capitalist systems the state's interests are those of the local bourgeoisie. Schools are mechanisms of control and manipulation at the disposal of the state. The teachers identify with the value system of the local bourgeoisie and they act as a middle management group in controlling the behaviour and values of school pupils and in teaching adherence to the capitalist mode of production.

He argues, furthermore, that the state distributes access to knowledge by offering differing amounts of knowledge to children at different levels of schooling. Children with only a primary school education gain little understanding of the world around them, especially in the technological sphere, whereas pupils with a post-primary education have a far greater understanding. He adds that at each school level different schools study phenomena in different ways. For example, schools drawing on high income areas have more equipment. They bring their pupils into wider contact with modern technology and pupils are even encouraged to consider alternatives and to question technology. Children from lower income families, by contrast, do not acquire this experience and therefore later in life have difficulty in understanding the world and the changes taking place within it.

His point is that such control over access to knowledge enables the local bourgeoisie to reproduce its class control. The schools are used to :

> " ... subordinate people's values and behaviour to a particular development process."
> (Carnoy, 1975, 395-6).

Poverty, inequality and unemployment can only be alleviated if a stop can be put to the production of socialised labour and the reproduction of the local bourgeoisie. For this, capitalism has to be dismantled. One has to arrive at a stage where the curricula in the schools and the organisation of the educational system no longer legitimizes and reproduces capitalist social relations.

In this way Christie and Collins (1982) conceptualise education as it is administered under the apartheid system in South Africa in terms of a conflict between white capitalists and a black proletariat. Education is, they contend, manipulated by the capitalists to reproduce the existing class structure within a labour repressive framework. Their argument is presented in greater detail in Chapter 2.

It is interesting to observe that this pattern of education being used as a mechanism for the recruitment of elites and for the reproduction of particular class systems is not confined only to those Third World states which have elected to retain traditional formal educational structures within a capitalist framework. Mbilinyi (1976), for example, presents a fascinating argument (supported by Samoff (1979)) to show that the same is true in Tanzania, a country well known and, in some quarters, highly praised for its attempts to de-link from world capitalism and to establish revolutionary socialism.

Mention has already been made of the importance of education in this process (Bothomani, 1983). Here it is necessary to add that the country has instituted a programme of 'education for self-reliance', a programme which aims to make education relevant to rural life and to counter the elitist bias of traditional educational structures (Maliyamkono, 1980). The content of curricula is strongly geared to the rural areas with education being manipulated as a means of making the 'Ujamaa' and 'villagisation' programmes successful (Maliyamkono, 1980).

Mbilinyi's (1976) point, however, is that while this reform has, in theory, sound socialist intentions, it has, in practice :

> " ... not lead to a struggle against imperialism or against the capitalist system; nor against the reproduction of class

relations of exploitation and dominance in production." (Mbilinyi, 1976, 237).

Gross inequalities persist. Peasants are strongly disadvantaged in relation to wage earners. There is a definite class structure (rooted in the colonial era) with bureaucrats and a petty bourgeoisie (both rural and urban) enjoying positions of dominance based, in large measure, on their manipulation of the educational system.

The main points raised in support of her claims are :

1. The educational policy calls for an agricultural and production orientation, the raising of the school age, a de-emphasis on examinations and a redefinition of primary education as terminal in the educational hierarchy. Mbilinyi (1976) contends that, as such, education is made to contribute to the increased skills, knowledge and adaptive attitudes required of a more productive labour force. Education contributes to the reproduction of the capitalist system, particularly capitalist relations of production in which workers and peasants are manipulated and exploited by the petty bourgeoisie.

   Primary education as terminal education lowers people's aspirations and expectations and helps them to adapt more readily to their place in the productive system. The downgrading of examinations and the emphasis on school assessment contributes towards an earlier and far more intense experience of failure quite apart from the possible recognition of low probabilities of upward educational mobility.

2. The educational policy sees the schools as becoming productive farming units in themselves, as catalysts for productive, popular change in the community as a whole. However, this is not materialising. The behaviour of the teachers and the bureaucrats closely resembles that of 'bosses' in any capitalist organisation. Student responses correspond with those of workers in capitalist factories. They are tightly controlled from without. Administrative procedures have penetrated the production process in that there is tight supervision of the producers. This amounts to " ... an intensification of peasant

labour" (Mbilinyi, 1976, 235). Ministerial bureaucrats, furthermore, control the curricula, the recruitment and training of teachers and the whole selection process. The entire organisational structure is run along very hierarchial lines and there is no popular participation.

3. The various educational changes which have been made do not incorporate any change in the relationship between formal educational credentials and occupational opportunities. Wage employment is as dependent upon formal qualifications as ever and even these may be insufficient as there are times when 'who knows who' becomes more important. The few, supported by their class background, with access to post-primary schooling, come to a position of considerable dominance over peasants who are systematically excluded from secondary education. A related point here is that private schools do remarkably well in Tanzania, being used by the elite to maintain and reproduce itself.

4. The reform programme is heavily dependent on foreign aid. 'Adaptive education', the theme of some colonial education, has become popular among international capitalist agencies which are greatly involved in Tanzanian reform. This means that the country has anything but de-linked from international capitalism.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

It has been argued that as a process development is supposed to lead to 'distributive justice' (Smith, 1977) and in time to a total 'human ascent' (Goulet, 1977) in which people are free from the adverse effects of domination and manipulation. Dadzie's (1980, 60) expansion of this theme is rather appropriate at this juncture.

> "Development is the unfolding of people's individual and social imagination in defining goals and inventing ways to approach them. Development is the continuing process of liberation of peoples and societies. There is development when they are able to assert their autonomy and, in self-

> reliance, to carry out activities of interest to them. To develop is to become not only to have."

It would seem that education's role in this process of 'liberation' in the Third World has been somewhat disappointing. Education has not been a complete failure by any means. It has contributed towards economic growth, it has made possible some upward social mobility and it has shown itself to be an effective agency of socialisation. The point is though that it has also been used as a powerful agency of manipulation and domination. It is certainly not an independent parameter of development. The colonialists used it to ensure the maintenance and reproduction of their system of government and administration. Independent Third World governments have used it to blatantly indoctrinate people and, with the support of new elitist groups, to guarantee the survival of class structures of domination and power. Indeed, the way in which education has been deployed in the majority of African settings, capitalist and socialist, has made for anything but the total 'human ascent' and 'liberation' that is the final outcome of the development process.

Similarly, the educational system in South Africa has been pressed into service to shore up and reproduce the social relations embedded in the apartheid framework of that society. The manipulation of the educational system has been particularly blatant and while there have recently been moves aimed at reform, the type of change envisaged by the authorities would seem to be largely cosmetic. A detailed account of the situation in this country is offered in the next chapter.

C H A P T E R 2

EDUCATION FOR BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA

"Let me mention only one thing that fills me with anxiety for the future. It is the vast gulf between white wealth and black wealth, between white possessions and black possessions, between the white high schools around my home and the black high schools in the Valley of a Thousand Hills, between - let me face it - my home at Botha's Hill, and the size and conditions of the homes in the Valley. There can never be any just and stable society while this gulf exists. If the gulf persists, I can foresee nothing but an era of violence in which the gun will prevail until the will to use it wearies, as it surely would; or alternatively, until the 'total onslaught' really happens.

Is there any hope for the future? Yes there is. I believe that more and more white people are beginning to understand these things " ... (Alan Paton, Sunday Tribune, January 2, 1983 - Article entitled 'The hopes (and fears) of a white South African').

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter the process by which education for black South Africans has become structured in line with apartheid ideology is discussed. Attention is given to the imperatives that have underpinned this process, namely the need (for Afrikaners) to preserve white hegemony and the need (for the South African State) to provide conditions under which the social relations of racial capitalism could be reproduced.

Initially the historical context of educational provision is briefly considered: the situation prior to Nationalist rule is sketched and then the motives for the 1953 take-over of black education are discussed. Attention is then directed towards the nature of the inequalities in education under apartheid and to the black response to them. Consideration is also given to the HSRC Investigation into Education (1981) and to the government's reaction to its recommendations. The chapter then focuses on the nature of the situation in Kwa Zulu and on the recommendations of the Buthelezi Commission (1982) in preparation for the detailed study of educational provision in a selected peri-urban area of that Bantustan.

INTRODUCTION

South Africa is a country beset with socio-economic and political inequalities which penetrate deep down into almost every aspect of daily life. While many of the inequalities, not least those in education, predate the formalisation of apartheid, this policy has done much to entrench and rationalise them in legislation.

Apartheid legislation originated in the nineteenth century but it was only after 1948 that it was organised into a coherent, national system. The National Party which won the general election of that year was concerned primarily with the survival of the whites in general and of Afrikanerdom in particular. Until the recent past Afrikaners were mainly of the working class (in the white South African context) and hence their class interests joined with linguistic, religious and cultural factors to form them into a united group in opposition to the wealthier English-speaking South Africans on the one hand and the poverty stricken blacks on the other.

As far as black education is concerned the situation has been and is such that education and schooling have been manipulated by the authorities to suppress the political and economic aspirations of black South Africans. Some of the more important aspects of black education and the discriminatory practices which have adversely affected it are examined in the chapter.

EDUCATIONAL PROVISION AND INEQUALITY PRIOR TO 1948

The South Africa Act of 1909 made education in South Africa (other than higher education) a provincial responsibility. There was provision for a complete take-over by the central government after a period of five years (Behr and Macmillan, 1971; Malherbe, 1925) but this never materialised because the provincial system quickly became firmly entrenched, partly as a result of local pride and because people simply had no desire for a national, centralised educational system (Behr and Macmillan, 1971). This meant that black school education fell under provincial control along with white, 'coloured'

and Indian school education[1]. The children of the various racial groups attended separate schools but fell under the same inspectors, in particular geographical areas.

The missionary influence in black education prior to 1948 was a particularly powerful one (Malherbe, 1977). In fact, the bulk of black schools were mission schools[2] which drew financial assistance from the provinces which, in turn, drew funds from the central government (Luthuli, 1982). The missionary presence had been established by 1800 and was driven by an overwhelming desire on the part of the various missionary societies involved to use education as an evangelising agency (Behr and Macmillan, 1971; Du Plessis, 1911; Kgware 1978; Molteno, 1984; Pells, 1954).

Despite the missionary presence and the many advances which the missionaries made, segregationist and unequal educational provision prior to 1948 was very much the order of the day (Christie and Collins, 1982; Dugard, 1978; Kgware, 1978; Molteno, 1984). The administrative structures were clearly designed to reproduce existing racial inequality.

The major problem lay in the sphere of funding which was, in the final analysis, the responsibility of the central government. Table 1 illustrates how badly off blacks were in relation to whites.

Table 1 Per capita expenditure (p a) on schooling between 1930 and 1945

Date	Whites	Blacks
1930	£22.12.10	£2.02.08
1935	23.17.02	1.18.06
1940	25.14.02	2.04.04
1945	38.05.10	3.17.10

Source: Christie and Collins, 1982, 62, using Horrell, 1968.

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1. Certain other forms of education, apart from higher education, were controlled by the central government, e.g. vocational and technical secondary education, the training of specialist teachers and 'special' primary and secondary education (Behr and Macmillan, 1971).

2. There were some provincially controlled non-mission schools.

The result of this was a system of educational provision for blacks which was totally inadequate (Christie and Collins, 1982; Pells, 1954). Teachers were in short supply and the vast majority were underqualified. There was a shortage of school buildings and they were very poorly equipped. Drop-out rates were very high and there was a particularly strong lower school dominance. In 1945, for example, 76% of black pupils were in the first four years of schooling while only 3,4% were in secondary classes (Christie and Collins, 1982, 63). In 1954, 50% of black pupils were in the sub-standards and only 0,05% of the pupils who had started school twelve years previously had reached the matriculation year (Pells, 1954, 147).

It should be borne in mind that there was also widespread discrimination and inequality in the broader socio-economic and political arenas. After World War I a series of Acts of Parliament, all of which limited black advancement, came into being: the Apprenticeship Act of 1922, the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 and the Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1926 (Rose and Tunmer, 1975, 228). The aim was one of black subordination with the schools functioning to reproduce the sorts of workers demanded by capitalism in general (Christie and Collins, 1982)[3].

A number of Commissions were also appointed as South Africa looked hard at its 'native problem'. One of the most significant of these was the Welsh Commission (1936). Its main task was to consider whether the Union Government should take over the administration as well as the direct responsibility for financing black education. Of secondary importance, it was also given the task of examining the relationship between the state and the missionary bodies, as well as the aims, scope and method of education (Rose and Tunmer, 1975).

The Commission recommended a full Union Government take-over (which was never acted upon), coupled with significant upward adjustments in financial provision. What is particularly interesting, however, for the purposes of this thesis, is that the report of the Commission provides a penetrating insight into some of the prevailing white

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3. This argument articulated by Christie and Collins is examined in greater detail later in this chapter.

attitudes of the time. These are important in helping us to understand the discriminatory laws and practices which came into being.

The Commission found, for example, that the average white South African was opposed to the education of the 'native' on the grounds that :

> " ... a) it makes him lazy and unfit for manual work; b) it makes him 'cheeky' and less docile as a servant; and c) it estranges him from his own people and often leads him to despise his own culture."
> (Cited in Rose and Tunmer, 1975, 231-232).

As a further example, the Commission found widespread doubts among white South Africans as to the educability of the 'native'. It noted that these doubts had arisen from two sources, namely :

1. "The general a priori argument that it took the white man more than a thousand years to emerge from barbarism to civilisation. How then can it be expected that the native will become civilised in a few generations?"
   (Cited in Rose and Tunmer, 1975, 235).
2. The evidence afforded by the results of intelligence tests. Blacks failed to perform as well as whites and were therefore regarded as being less intelligent. No account was taken of the cultural biases of the tests used.

Prior to 1948, therefore, black education was very largely a matter for private initiative. While the state provided financial aid, it also created a situation of gross inequality and total inadequacy in terms of educational provision (where the idea was to give blacks a significantly watered down version of the type of education given to whites (Kgware, 1978)) as well as in the broader political economy.

EDUCATIONAL PROVISION AND INEQUALITY FOLLOWING THE FORMALISATION OF APARTHEID IDEOLOGY IN 1948

The educational inequalities which existed prior to the coming to power of the Nationalists in 1948 were systematically entrenched and formalised by them within a comparatively short period of time. The

Eiselen Commission (1951), charged with the duty of investigating the whole question of black education, and the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953, based on the recommendations of the Commission, are particularly worthy of note.

The main terms of reference of the Eiselen Commission were :

> " ... the formulation of the principles and aims of education for natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitudes, and their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration."
> (Christie and Collins, 1982, 59).

The Commission argued, in keeping with its terms of reference, that black education should be planned and administered as an integral part of overall apartheid ideology (Christie and Collins, 1982; Luthuli, 1982; Molteno, 1984; Brooks and Hurwitz, 1957). The function of black schools was to help develop a strong, separate Bantu society :

> " ... educational practice must realise that it has to deal with a Bantu child, i.e. a child trained and conditioned in Bantu culture, endowed with a knowledge of a Bantu language and imbued with values, interests and behaviour patterns learned at the knee of a Bantu mother. These facts must dictate to a very large extent the context and methods of his early education.
> The schools must also give due regard to the fact that out of school hours the young Bantu child develops and lives in a Bantu community, and when he reaches maturity he will be concerned with sharing and developing the life and culture of that community."
> (Eiselen Commission cited in Rose and Tunmer, 1975, 251).

Hence the Bantu Education Act, No 47 of 1953, drawing heavily on the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission, placed black education in a category of its own and firmly entrenched inequality in education (Davies, 1984; Motlana, 1978; Oxford History of South Africa, 1971, 78). Black education would now fall under the direct control of the

central government and thus under the impress of apartheid ideology. The thinking of the government, bitterly opposed by the majority of blacks (Oxford History of South Africa, 1971, 78-79) was identical to that of the Eiselen Commission and precisely what it had in mind was clearly spelt out by Dr H F Verwoerd[4] in his infamous speech to the Senate in 1954. The following extract is particularly illuminating :

> "It is the policy of my Department that Bantu education should have its roots entirely in the native areas and in the native environment and in the native community. This Bantu education must be able to give itself complete expression and there it will have to perform its real service. 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. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has its aim absorption into the European community, while he can not and will not be absorbed there. Up till now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his community and practically misled him by showing the green pastures of the European but still did not allow him to graze there. This attitude is not only uneconomic because money is spent on education which has no specific aim but it is even dishonest to continue with it. The effect on the Bantu community we find in the much discussed frustration of educated natives who can find no employment acceptable to them."
> (Cited by Malherbe, 1977, 546).

Malherbe (1977) notes that Dr Verwoerd conveniently ignored the fact that only 37% of blacks were at that time domiciled in 'their own areas'. The rest worked in white areas. There they felt frustrated because the education system had not adequately equipped them for meaningful, productive employment, because of 'job reservation' which

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4. Dr Verwoerd became minister in charge of 'native' education with the passage of the 1953 Act.

was established to protect the interests of whites and, it may be added, because they were unable to participate in the political system of the areas in question. Clearly it would be difficult to conceive of Verwoerd and the 'Bantu Education' for which he stood as doing anything to alleviate their frustrations. Indeed, as Malherbe puts it :

> "As political events subsequently proved, the aim was that the Bantu child was to be taught that he is a foreigner when he is in white South Africa, or at best, stateless."
> (Malherbe, 1977, 546).

In placing black education under the direct control of the central government the 1953 Act forced the decline of the provincial and missionary influences in education. Verwoerd, who tended to regard the missionary influence (which argued for equality between blacks and whites (Pells, 1954)) as an agency of liberalism (Malherbe, 1977; Maree, 1984) explained the take-over in clear terms. The central government had to control black education if it was to be consistent with the general policy of the country (Maree, 1984). It is possible, however, to read more into the take-over than this. Christie and Collins (1982), for instance, contrast two opposing views of the position in black education :

a) <u>The Liberal View</u>

This view suggests that Nationalist Afrikaners view themselves as a pure race. They believe that this purity can only be maintained by racial dominance and separation. They establish their identity through apartheid, a policy which removes others from themselves geographically, socially and culturally. It is significant to note here that a :

> " ... reinforcing mechanism to the apartheid creed is the Calvinist religion in its most severe form, adding the divine touch of predestination of the Chosen People to Afrikaner cultural identity."
> (Christie and Collins, 1982, 59-60).

Afrikaner supremacy is built in and the direct control of black education is seen as being necessary so that :

> " ... Blacks would be taught not merely the value of their own tribal cultures but that such cultures were of a lower order and that, in general, the blacks should learn how to prepare themselves for a realistic place in white dominated society, namely (at that point in time) to be 'hewers of wood and carriers of water'." (Christie and Collins, 1982, 60).

The influencial policy statement of the Institute for Christian National Education (1948, cited by Rose and Tunmer, 1975) was quite emphatic about the place of blacks and the education they should receive.

> "We believe that the calling and task of white South Africa with regard to the Native is to Christianise him and help him on culturally, and that this calling and task has already found its nearer focussing in the principles of trusteeship, no equality and segregation. We believe besides that any system of teaching and education of Natives must be based on this same principle. In accordance with these principles we believe that the teaching and education of the Native must be grounded in the world view of the whites, most especially those of the Boer nation as the senior white trustee of the Native."
> (Institute for Christian National Education, policy statement (Article 15), 1948, cited in Rose and Tunmer, 1975, 127).

According to the liberal standpoint the 1953 Act emerged from the conflict between Nationalist Afrikaner ideology and the philosophy of the missionaries. While the latter believed in providing people with sound broad-based academic backgrounds and in Christian character building so that they could take their rightful place in the commercial world, the Nationalists emphasized :

> " ... an inferior and somewhat more 'vocational' education for the purpose of producing inferior non-threatening tribal Africans."
> (Christie and Collins, 1982, 74).

b) The Marxist View

The argument here is that the conflict in South Africa is not simply one between white racists and blacks as oppressed people but between white capitalists and a black proletariat. Whites are oppressing blacks because they are needed as a non-competitive source of cheap labour. The struggle is therefore class centred with whites using the school system in order to reproduce capitalist social relations (Dale et al, 1976, cited by Hunter, 1978; Kallaway, 1984). As an elite they look for the maintenance of the status quo to the schools' ability to reproduce labour with the appropriate attitudes, skills and work ethic. The task of the schools in the Bantu Education system is to prepare blacks for subordinate, inferior positions while white schools have to prepare pupils for elitist, super-ordinate positions (Christie and Collins, 1982).

There is, furthermore, a close link between Bantu Education as seen in this light and attempts by the South African state to forge class divisions in the black community and to co-opt emerging elites (mainly bureaucratic in the Bantustans and the professional, entrepreneurial and labour aristocracy fractions in the townships). One of the functions of Bantu Education is to contribute towards this objective with the small elite being drawn from the few who succeed at school (Christie and Collins, 1982).

While Christie and Collins (1982) regard the Marxist view as being the more valid one the situation in the country is probably best understood in terms of both the Marxist and Liberal analyses. There is a class struggle (Davies, 1978; Erwin and Webster, 1978; Hartwig and Sharp, 1984; Webster, 1978) but there is also an ideological clash between the Afrikaner Nationalists

and the liberal traditions of integration, equality of opportunity and academic excellence (Luthuli, 1982; Malherbe, 1977; Thembela, 1982).

Verwoerd was emphatic that black education would gain from the state take-over, declaring in his Senate speech (1954) that :

"The state is taking over from the churches to prosecute the same work more efficiently."
(Cited in Rose and Tunmer, 1975, 262).

There is abundant evidence to show, however, that the quality of black education declined markedly following the take-over.

One particularly significant consequence of the change of administration was that 'Bantu Education' started to lose most of its white teachers as part of Verwoerd's separate cultures philosophy. The exodus led to a serious deterioration in teacher-pupil ratios (Christie and Collins, 1982; Malherbe, 1977) as there were insufficient black teachers to satisfy the needs of the system (Table 2).

Table 2 Deteriorating teacher-pupil ratios following the 1953 Act

Year	Ratio
1953	40
1960	50
1974	more than 60 (in some homelands)

Source: Malherbe, 1977, 550.

Interestingly enough, in the few mission schools which remained in 1974 the ratio was less than forty (Malherbe 1977, 550).

The quality of the teaching corp also deteriorated. There was an increase in the number of people teaching without matriculation and a marked drop, in comparison with the pre 'Bantu Education' period, in the number of professionally trained people with degrees (Christie and Collins, 1982, 71).

There can be no doubt that in the years following the introduction of 'Bantu Education' there were appreciable increases in black school

attendance (Bromberger, 1978; Christie and Collins, 1982; Oxford History of South Africa, 1971, 80; Ruperti, 1983). It is clear from the figures, however, (Table 3) that the distribution across the standards did not change while the school population was increasing. The government was clearly doing little to redress imbalances which tipped heavily towards the lower standards. Christie and Collins (1982, 70) note that :

> "On this pattern of distribution it is obvious that most schooled blacks would be prepared for subordinate positions in the work force."

Table 3 Black pupil enrolment by years and standard

	1950	1955	1960
Total enrolment	747 026	1 005 774	1 500 008

Percentage distribution across the standards

	1950	1955	1960
Class 1 - Std 2	73,5	72,7	72,8
Standards 3 - 6	23,4	23,8	24,0
Standards 7 - 10	3,1	3,5	3,2

Source: Christie and Collins (1982, 71)

To enable the system to cope with the influx of pupils 'double sessions' were introduced in the lower school standards. Facilities could be used by two groups in a day and the school day for each group was shortened by about one-third. Verwoerd's Senate speech (1954) casts valuable light on the government's thinking on this policy.

> "Approximately half of all Bantu pupils are in the sub-standards. Just as in the case of pupils in the higher classes, these children are under the supervision of their teachers for a full school day of four-and-a-half hours.
> It is wrong to utilize expensive teaching staff to supervise large classes of bored pupils while thousands of children who are entitled to the same measure of primary education are kept out of school.

> For this reason school hours for pupils in sub-standards will everywhere be shortened to three hours per day. In this way both the teacher and the classroom will be able to serve two different groups of pupils every day."
> (Cited in Rose and Tunmer, 1975, 263).

It goes without saying that the quality of education suffered as a result. Facilities were strained and the burden on the teachers concerned must have been very considerable indeed. Furthermore, the shortened school day in itself detracted from the quality of education which might have been possible (Christie and Collins, 1982). A further criticism of the policy is that it led to a bottleneck higher up in the school as 'double session juniors' competed for a limited number of higher places.

The quality of education throughout the school system also declined as a result of grossly inadequate monetary allocations. The Bantu Education Act broke with previous funding arrangements. An inelastic financial 'pegging' system became operative and from the time of the education take-over for a period of twelve years there was actually a decline in the amount of money spent on black education (Malherbe, 1977, 552).

In simplified form the financial arrangements which were made can be summarized as follows. In terms of the Exchequer and Audit Amendment Act, No 7 of 1955, a fixed amount of R13million per annum was paid into a Bantu Education Account. In addition four-fifths of the general tax paid by blacks was channelled into the Account. Loans which might be made available by Parliament as well as monies from other sources such as hostel and examination fees would also be credited to the Account (Horrell, 1973). In 1958 black taxation rates were increased and from 1963 the full amount collected was paid into the Account.

Black parents were also expected to make direct contributions towards the costs of educating their children (Malherbe, 1977; Roodt and Lawrence, 1984 a). McGrath (1978) mentions a number of costs which white parents did not have to bear. Blacks had to pay for text-books and stationery and for additional teachers apart from the

contributions they had to make towards the costs of erecting and maintaining school buildings. The burden on them was appreciable indeed. The poorest sections of South African society were required to pay for their own educational services, this situation serving to reinforce their social handicap (SPROCAS, 1971). Auerbach (1981) notes that in the western world there is, in fact, an opposite trend. For example, the Plowden Report in Britain (1967) argued that :

> " ... it was the task of state schools to ensure that all children had an equally good 'learning environment', and that where homes and schools were 'disadvantaged', it was the duty of the state to 'discriminate in favour of the disadvantaged' in order to compensate as far as possible for their poorer home environment."
> (Auerbach, 1981, 67).

It should be noted by way of qualification, that expenditure on black education increased dramatically following the introduction of Bantu Education. Christie and Collins (1982, 73) note, for example, that in 1945 R4 637 962 was spent on black education while in 1953/4 expenditure had climbed to R16 032 494. Thereafter, however, the amounts spent remained virtually static for a number of years with the actual expenditure per pupil declining from R17,08 in 1953 to R12,46 in 1960 (Christie and Collins 1982, 74). Clearly the establishment of Bantu Education as an entirely separate system could not be achieved without considerable expenditure at least initially.

Meanwhile, white education, couched in an entirely different ideological framework, continued to flourish with the financial discrepancy between it and black education expanding in the years following the 1953 Act. In 1945, for example, whites enjoyed a financial advantage over blacks of 9,84:1, while in 1960 the advantage was 11,60:1 (Christie and Collins, 1982, 74). The declaration of the Institute for Christian National Education, in its policy statement of 1948 (Article 15), that " ... the financing of Native Education must be placed on such a basis that it does not occur to the cost of white education" (cited in Rose and Tunmer, 1975, 128) was clearly finding expression in concrete policy measures.

The first signs of some improvement in the situation emerged in the mid 1960's. Public expenditure on black education, even when the inflation of the 1960's and 1970's is taken into account, started to show signs of some progress (Table 4) and while enrolment figures continued to rise there was also an increase in the average length of stay at school. In support of this Nattrass (1981, 49) notes that the number of children registered in the tenth and twelfth year of school increased during the period 1970 - 75 by 18% and 24% respectively.

Table 4 Increased public expenditure on Black Education

Period	Average % increase p.a.
1948-60	5,4
1960-74	15,4
1973-77	26,0

Source: Nattrass (1981, 49).

A major improvement in itself was the abolition of the Bantu Education Account in 1972. In white South Africa and in those Bantustans without legislative assemblies, black education would now be financed by the Bantu Education Department which would in turn draw funds from the Consolidated Revenue Fund. As Bantustans became self-governing they would take over the administration of education in their areas by drawing monies from the South African government (Horrell, 1973).

It is to be stressed, however, that these improvements qualify as such only in relation to the earlier lot of black education. In relation to white educational provision black education was clearly severely disadvantaged. Inadequacies and gross inequalities were nakedly present.

THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY AT PRESENT

Black education is still severely disadvantaged and the inequalities between it and white education are as present as ever. Dhlomo (1982, 2) contends that statistics relating to matriculation exemption[5] are

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5. A matriculation exemption is a matriculation pass which provides access to university although by no means a guaranteed place.

the crucial ones because they are a comment on the state of black education as a whole. He notes that at the end of 1978 just less than 4 000 blacks obtained matriculation exemption passes while the figure for whites was just on 20 000 pupils. He adds that if the population ratios were to be taken into account the figures should in fact be reversed. In 1982 more than 95% of white Std 10 pupils in South Africa passed their examinations while only 50% of black pupils managed the same (Sunday Tribune, 2 January 1983). In Kwa Zulu 65% of the Std 10 candidates at government schools failed in 1983 (Natal Mercury, 20 January 1984). Failure rates of this magnitude can only stem from gross inadequacies in the education system.

A major problem which is closely related to the point made by Dhlomo (1982) and which has persisted strongly since the days of Bantu Education is that there is a very heavy concentration of pupils in the lower standards of black schools. The recent HSRC Investigation into Education (1981, 23) noted, for example, that in 1978 more than half of the black school population had not reached Std 2 while close on 80% were at primary school. The situation compared very unfavourably with white pupils, well over a third of whom were attending high school. Similarly, Nattrass (1981, 49) notes that in 1977 only 11 000 black pupils were registered in the final year of school, a figure which was the equivalent of one-fifth of the number of white children in the same standard. King (1979, 40) adds that the number of blacks in Std 10 in the same year represented only about 3,4% of the pupils who had started the school programme twelve years previously. An unacceptably high drop-out rate is obviously at work here (Behr, 1978) with the differences between the four population groups boldly advertising the inequalities which prevail (Table 5).

Table 5 Percentage of pupils who started school in 1963 and who completed twelve years of schooling

Population group	Percentage
Whites	58,40
Indians	22,30
Coloureds	4,40
Blacks	1,96

Source: HSRC Investigation, 1981, 23.

This is a most wasteful state of affairs both in terms of the money which is spent on the schooling of those who leave prematurely (because of the limited contribution many of these pupils are able to make to society and the economy the state's 'investment' is clearly a poor one) and in terms of the loss of human potential (many leave too early to derive lasting benefit from schooling (Ruperti, 1983)).

The situation should also be seen in relation to the skilled labour position in the country. It is widely held that there is a definite shortage of skilled labour in South Africa (HSRC Investigation, 1981; Rautenbach, 1982; Schlemmer, 1978; Sonn, 1982; Van Zyl, 1982) and if this is so it is clearly in the national interest that the imbalances described above should be removed as soon as possible to enable black schools to contribute meaningfully towards the alleviation of the problem.

It is interesting to note, however, that not everybody is prepared to take the claims of skills shortages at face value. Chisholm (1984) and Chisholm and Christie (1983), for example, suggest that one has to be extremely careful in considering the real nature of the skill position in South Africa. Given the historical tendency in capitalism towards the de-skilling of the work process, they argue that the great emphasis on skills is exaggerated and is aimed at the white electorate in a bid to help negotiate " ... a new 'common sense' about education" (Chisolm and Christie, 1983, 258). The aim is to win consent for the restucturing which is deemed necessary. Hence the 'noise' that one hears :

> " ... appears to be used as a rationale for bringing about changes which cannot be brought about directly since various class interests are thereby threatened."
> (Chisholm, 1984, 29).

The restructuring itself, it is argued, is aimed at securing the support of certain blacks. These are brought into skilled positions through education and training. This small group, with limited upward mobility, is co-opted into leadership positions in which people internalise (with the help of various training schemes) the capitalist value system. As a small elite, the group is then used to help control black workers thus facilitating and in part legitimizing their

continued exploitation. Private capital, Chisholm (1984) contends is as deeply committed to such planning as the state itself. However, whilst this is an interesting thesis, it is in need of some qualification since capital is unlikely to support the state's restructuring of black education by investing in skills that it can not use. Yet successful co-option - assuming that the petty-bourgeois classes will align themselves with white interests - will ultimately depend on the provision of rewards in the skilled sectors of the job market. (See Davies, 1979, 195, for a discussion of black skill levels).

Academics viewing the situation from the 'right' of the political spectrum would seem to agree that the imbalances and inadequacies in black education should be removed but argue from a completely different philosophical base. Their argument is ahistorical in that they accept the underdevelopment of the blacks without attempting to explain or take note of its causes. Thus the 'Bureau for Economic Research re Bantu Development' (1975 and 1976 for example) views blacks as constituting separate tribal entities and has implied that because of the developing nature of black communities high drop-out rates are to be expected. Arguing along similar lines (Ruperti, 1983, 314), implicitly rejecting the concept of a unitary state in South Africa, has more recently asserted that bottom heavy school structures, a characteristic of Third World situations, are caused by rapid population growth and are " ... indeed a sign of rapid social progress" in that more and more children enrol at schools annually.

Another major problem area and one which to a large degree can be regarded as a hangover from the days of Bantu Education, is that of unfavourable teacher-pupil ratios. Rogers (1971) makes the point that beyond a certain upper limit to class size the quality of education must inevitably decline. Teachers are simply unable to devote as much individual attention to their pupils as may be necessary, overcrowding occurs and pupils loose their ability to concentrate. He does not give a numerical value to the upper limit but it is widely acknowledged that it has been grossly

exceeded in black education in South Africa. According to the HSRC Investigation into Education (1981, 61) the ratio was 1:48 in 1981. While this is lower than it has been in the past it is nevertheless higher than the ratio was prior to the state take-over of missionary education (Table 2).

Auerbach (1981, 73) notes that quoted ratios do not take 'double sessions' into account where a teacher may handle one hundred pupils in a day but take 'only' fifty or so in a session. Quoted ratios, furthermore, tend to conceal actual class sizes which are often extremely large.

The problem, itself related to high drop-out and failure rates, is that too few teachers are being produced in relation to the growth of the school population. It is severely compounded by the lack of educational facilities such as classroom and administrative accommodation, teaching aids, text-books and sporting equipment. Ruperti's (1983, 318-319) reaction to this state of affairs makes interesting reading.

> "Again one is confronted by the problem of priorities. Where facilities were limited, in other words where financing was not as liberal as educational planners and administrators would have liked, available facilities had to be used efficiently and it was necessary to manage with what was absolutely essential only. Good teachers can do good work without expensive teaching aids. And even with the very best teaching aids at their disposal the work of weak teachers remains weak. A teaching aid is no more than the word indicates and not as a rule an indispensible part of all education."

This is quite an apology! Much depends on how one defines 'teaching aids'. If one includes slides, maps, reference books, projectors, laboratory equipment and hardware models for example, then there is wide agreement amongst educationalists that these are instrumental, obviously in some subjects more than others, in making for effective teaching. Clearly such facilities would have to be adequately accommodated in appropriate teaching spaces and in this sense buildings and classrooms would also qualify as 'teaching aids' as

indeed would, in a more indirect sense, electricity and running water, both of which are widely absent in black schools.

A further point which needs to be raised in responding to Ruperti (1983) is that black teachers are, by and large, very poorly qualified. Thus while weak teachers may indeed remain weak with the best teaching aids at their disposal, South Africa's black schools have weak teachers without the aids that could do so much to improve the quality of their teaching. The teachers are weak, of course, because of inadequacies in the whole system of educational provision, an important factor ignored by Ruperti (1983).

Much has been made of the question of poor teacher quality and of the inequalities which exist between black teachers and the teachers of other population groups. The HSRC Investigation into Education (1981, 24), for example, commented along the following lines :

> "If one can regard a well qualified teacher as someone in possession of at least a Standard 10 and a teacher's certificate or diploma, then the percentage of underqualified teachers is as follows : Whites (3,36), Coloureds (66,14), Asians (19,70) and Blacks (85,00)."

In 1978 2,32% of black teachers had a university degree and 15,48% had a Standard 10 qualification while 19,32% were not professionally qualified (Auerbach, 1981, 75). The most common qualification was a Standard 8 pass with a two year teaching diploma (Auerbach, 1981, 74). Such inadequacies within the teaching corp are bound to result in lesson instruction of inferior quality for the low qualifications of most of the teachers are not in keeping with the nature of work that is expected from them. Luthuli (1982, 100) develops this point along the following lines :

> "Such a state of affairs would not be tolerated in any other profession. No doctor would be allowed to practice until he is adequately prepared for his task, yet every Tom, Dick and Harry without proper and adequate training and orientation, is allowed to guide the young en route to adulthood in black schools."

He finds much cause for concern in this, pointing, in particular, to the many complex changes presently affecting black society. Under such circumstances the route to adulthood needs to be expertly guided and managed. Such expertise is dependent upon qualifications and the lack of it " ... finally results in schools becoming institutions that promote chaos." (Luthuli, 1982, 101).

If a situation of equality with whites is ever to be achieved it is clear that the backlog to be made up is enormous, the more so when the teacher numbers of the future are taken into consideration. The HSRC Investigation into Education (1981) came up with some startling statistics in this regard (Table 6).

Table 6 Number of teachers required by the year 2020 in order to achieve a 'parity' teacher-pupil ratio of 1:30

Population group	Number of teachers
Whites	24 981
Coloureds	22 708
Asians	6 964
Blacks	245 405

Source: HSRC Investigation into Education, 1981, 23-24.

To compound the inadequacies of the school system the home backgrounds of most black pupils are such that they are severely disadvantaged (in comparison with other population groups, particularly whites) before they enter it. It is widely recognized by educationalists that a child's parents, home background and pre-school life are of fundamental importance in determining how successful he will be at school and in later life (Luthuli, 1982; Thembela, 1982; Dhlomo, 1982; HSRC Investigation into Education, 1981, 27).

Thembela (1982) explains that it is in the home that the child learns early behaviour patterns, early perceptions of reality and habits of thinking. The father's instrumental role focuses on the etablishment of relations to external goals and objectives. The mother performs the important expressive functions of creating integrative relations amongst family members. In noting that this role structure is absent

in most black families he points to the relative scarcity of able bodied men in rural areas under the system of migratory labour and to the fact that many blacks in the urban areas have to contend with a very lengthy journey to work. They leave home early and return late and thus, even if they were able, do not have the time to exercise their parental functions adequately.

Developing a similar theme of deprivation Dhlomo (1982, 5) writes :

> "In the white community education is part of a broader process of preparing children for later life. A child from a relatively affluent home, with fairly well educated parents, has a great deal of social support in embarking on a career and indeed in coping with the challenge of school. A typical black pupil is drawn from a home situation which offers none of these supports. The child may have great encouragement from parents and from the community but the homework, the language skills, and most of the other aptitudes required by a school have to be obtained with the school itself."

The situation in black education is clearly one of total inadequacy. Blacks would seem to be well aware of this as has been shown by the unrest in black townships in recent years. Given the magnitude of the unrest and the implications it holds for long term stability and development, it is appropriate to briefly examine the black response to the system of educational provision.

THE RESPONSE OF BLACK PUPILS TO THE SITUATION

In contrast to the resistance of the 1970's, the 1950's and 1960's stand out as having been a period of relative tranquility. It is necessary to understand why this was so before moving on to a brief analysis of the unrest which has characterised the black response since the upheavals in Soweto and elsewhere in 1976.

Lodge (1983) argues that the most obvious cause was the systematic suppression of nationalist movements and the imprisoning, banning or exiling of important black politicians and trade unionists. The police were granted extensive powers of arrest and successfully recruited a large group of informers which effectively curbed black

resistance. He also mentions the silencing of the radical press, government action to curb black urbanisation (the main idea here being to establish an industrial labour force composed largely of migrants) and the limited degree of co-option which had developed (the administrative and political framework within the Bantustans helped to accommodate the aspirations of part of the petty bourgeoisie).

Towards the end of the 1960's, however, it was becoming clear that the government's efforts to silence blacks were not being entirely successful. In support of this Lodge (1983) points to the signs of rebellion amongst the black students of the new segregated universities which had appeared by 1968 and the growth of Black Consciousness which drew support from an emerging black petty bourgeoisie. He points also to the re-emergence of black political and industrial unrest, beginning with the Durban strikes of October 1972. Blacks were here reacting to sharp cost of living increases and excessively low wages (Hartwig and Sharp, 1984; Lodge, 1983). Significantly, they remained concerned during the economic recession of the mid 1970's because of the high rate of inflation and the job market contractions which marked the period.

Then in 1976 Soweto erupted. The initial spark was ignited by police over-reaction to a procession of secondary school students protesting against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in Mathematics and Social Studies (Lodge, 1983; SAIRR, 1978, 7). The march on June 16 involved 15 000 students (Lodge, 1983, 328) and moved through Soweto to converge on Orlando West Junior Secondary School[6]. The police used tear-gas in an attempt to disperse the crowd and the students retaliated by stoning the police who then fired into the crowd killing two people. The students retreated moving into different parts of the township. It was not long before rioting broke out and arson attacks had started to occur. Two whites were attacked and killed. In the evening police baton-charged commuters near railway stations and rioting intensified.

6. Strikes and isolated incidents of unrest had preceeded the march over a period of some months.

The rioting was quick to spread to other parts of the Witwatersrand, as well as to Natal and the Western Cape. Schools in Soweto were temporarily closed and the language issue was dropped by the government before their scheduled re-opening on 26 June. Only a few students returned, however, and when police raided a number of schools in an attempt to root out student leaders, they emptied completely and remained empty for the rest of the year (Lodge, 1983, 329).

While the major violence had subsided by 25 June unrest continued for some time. There were many stone throwing incidents and arson attacks and a number of worker 'stayaways' were organized. In Soweto itself the situation remained sufficiently tense for the educational system to be subjected to almost total disruption throughout 1977.

Apart from the major wave of highly organised resistance in 1980, the pattern of unrest since the upheavals of 1976 has been one of sporadic outbreaks of rioting, strikes and arson, one of the most significant of recent revolts being at Atteridgeville near Pretoria. Mention should also be made of the unrest, primarily in the Witwatersrand area, which accompanied the recent Coloured and Indian elections. Apart from the disruptive effects on the educational progress of students the costs have also been high in terms of human suffering. Lodge (1983, 330) notes that the Soweto uprising itself left 575 dead and 2 389 wounded.

The point to emerge from all of this is that there has been a strong and violent response on the part of black youth. But what were black students responding to? It is widely accepted that the language issue was a trigger and that in fact they were responding to inadequacies in the overall system of educational provision and to the broader socio-economic and political setting within which the educational system is embedded (Gilbert, 1982; Hartwig and Sharp, 1984; Kane-Berman, 1978; Lodge, 1983; SAIRR, 1978, 33-49). They responded with an unprecedented confidence and assertiveness. Hirson, 1979 (cited in Lodge, 1983) has argued that the industrial and political unrest of the early 1970's was a major contributing factor here but Kane-Berman (1978) has emphasized rather the influence of Black Consciousness ideology, while Brickhill and Brooks, 1980 (cited in Lodge, 1983) have stressed the role of the ANC in influencing student

leaders. Whatever the specifics of the case it is becoming increasingly clear that school-based protest draws from and feeds into the broader struggles within the political economy.

a) THE RESPONSE TO THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM ITSELF

By and large black pupils in South Africa value education greatly (Gilbert, 1982). Moreover, it would appear that, in some quarters, they are sufficiently politicized to be keenly aware of the shortcomings in the education they receive and to feel frustrated as a result (Schlemmer, 1983)[7]. They object to an educational system which has failed to meet their aspirations (Hartshorne, 1982) and to the inferiority of the education they receive as opposed to that received by whites (Stopforth, 1981). This inferiority is perceived to permeate all aspects of the educational system. 'Bantu Education' as a term[8] has come to symbolize " ... all that is unequal and inferior about the existing education policy for Africans" (Gilbert, 1982, 16). Thus the majority of blacks want Bantu Education to be replaced by an open, unitary educational system (Stopforth, 1981). Only then, they argue, would it be possible to improve the quality of teachers[9] and to address such urgent issues as the inadequacy of

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7. The results of the study undertaken in the Qadi area (see chapter 3) indicate that the pupils there are not highly politicized possibly because of the strong influence of Inkatha and the traditional rural history of the area.

8. While the Department of Bantu Education has been abolished the terminology persists in everyday language. Enslin (1984) argues that because blacks are still educated in a separate, inferior system, the terminology remains appropriate.

9. A recent study by Indicator SA (Bosschieter and Cullinan, 1983), drawing on a sample of 150 black matriculation students at schools in townships near Johannesburg found that black teachers emerged as a particular problem. Students complained about their poor qualifications and reported that many were unhelpful. Some were also thought to behave 'irregularly' (e.g. sexual harassment and drunkenness). Only 13% of the students identified their teachers as actually helping their progress at school.
It should be mentioned, however, that a study by Gilbert (1982), drawing on a selection of Std 8, 9 and 10 pupils at seventeen Kwa Zulu secondary schools, found that a generally positive attitude towards teachers prevailed.

physical facilities, overcrowding and the lack of educational resources (Gilbert, 1982). Only then could sensitive issues such as the excessive and inappropriate use of corporal punishment (Gilbert, 1982; Bosschieter and Cullinan, 1983), attempts by the authorities to keep older pupils out of schools (Bosschieter and Cullinan, 1983) and the existence of certain unpopular regulations such as enforced Saturday morning attendance at some schools, having to pay extra for certain school activities and the expulsion of certain student leaders (Bosschieter and Cullinan, 1983) be adequately and fairly resolved.

b) THE RESPONSE TO THE BROADER SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SETTING WITHIN WHICH 'BANTU EDUCATION' IS EMBEDDED

There is a long history of deepfelt dissatisfaction amongst black South Africans. Black youth has reacted not merely to particular aspects of educational policy but also to the broader apartheid system. Their dissatisfaction has centred in particular around the Pass laws and the system of influx control (SAIRR, 1978, 35-37; Schlemmer, 1983), critical housing shortages in many 'white' urban areas (Kane-Berman, 1978; SAIRR, 1978, 37-39), Bantustan citizenship laws (Hermer, 1980; Kane-Berman, 1978; SAIRR, 1978, 39-42), inadequate systems of local government (Kane-Berman, 1978; SAIRR, 1978, 47-48), poor township living conditions (Kane-Berman, 1978), high rates of unemployment and wage discrimination (Kane-Berman, 1978; Stopforth, 1981) and the persistence of mass poverty amongst blacks (SAIRR, 1978, 45-47).

It is clear therefore that the black response has been directed at a wide range of hurtful and frustrating issues. Certainly Ruperti (1976, 160) was way off the mark when he declared that :

> " ... the average black man in and outside South Africa, acting in accordance with black tradition, prefers to leave planning and decision making to the authorities, whether they are traditional tribal authorities, the education department of a modern government or the government itself."

Gilbert (1982), in his Kwa Zulu study (see footnote 9), has contributed further to an understanding of the pupils' response by drawing attention to :

a) THE PUPILS' EXPERIENCE OF ADOLESCENCE

He identified a strong idealism amongst the pupils of his study. There was a strong desire to obtain educational qualifications and a willingness to help others in various ways. Such idealism, he contends, helps to pave the way for possible discontent for high educational aspirations can easily be crushed by external factors and altruistic aspirations can become politicized to the extent that helping other people is seen in the same light as initiating social change.

b) PUPIL-PARENT RELATIONSHIPS

Gilbert (1982) found that most pupils felt that in respect of their education and their futures their parents could be of little assistance to them. They were not as well educated as their children and not as highly politicized. As a result there was a strong tendency for pupils to turn to their peers and/or to political leaders for guidance and leadership rather than to their parents. In this sense pupils were vulnerable to those views and perspectives which articulated for them a purposeful view of their society and of their futures within it.

c) THE EXTENT TO WHICH PUPILS ARE POLITICIZED

The pupils in Gilbert's study (1982) were quite highly politicized. He notes that this is hardly surprising for the restrictions and regulations of apartheid are so widespread that almost everything ends up in the political arena. It is interesting to add, in view of the pupils' idealism and the generation gap with their parents, that three organisations emerged as being particularly important in helping to articulate issues and events for them. These were Inkatha, the A N C and the South African Council of Churches. Support for these organisations was widespread.

Gilbert (1982) and Lodge (1983) contend that the authorities have made far too much of the role played by 'agitators' in black unrest. The evidence clearly points to a popular response. The

influence of particular groups and/or individuals has done nothing more than help to articulate the issues in question and to politicize an already volatile situation. Tutu (1978, 128) has described the situation in these words :

> "I am surprised that most whites can be so insensitive. Black children pass by your well appointed schools, well built, well watered, with close-shaven lawns, with splendidly laid out sports-fields etc. and then they must go to their overcrowded, thoroughly deprived schools, and you are surprised that they rebelled. Aren't you surprised that they took so long to do so?"

Lodge (1983) notes that school resistance has now come to be located within the broader black struggle in South Africa, having links with community struggles over rent, housing and transport and with organised industrial unrest. Arguing along similar lines Davies (1984) notes the involvement of black students in such political activities as consumer boycotts and the 'Free Mandela' campaign. This unification of the forces of resistance leads Lodge (1983) to suggest that a radical transformation has occurred in black political life. School unrest, supported by a student body which is becoming increasingly politicized, and the social forces present in black resistance on a broader front :

> " ... have succeeded in igniting a conflagration which no amount of repression or incorporation will succeed in extinguishing."
> (Lodge, 1983, 356).

The situation in the country is highly volatile and, given the degree to which black resistance has become more unified and organised, has the potential to explode again at the slightest instigation.

THE RESPONSE OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE SITUATION

a) THE H S R C INVESTIGATION INTO EDUCATION (1981)

In 1980 the government appointed the HSRC Investigation into

Education (also known as the de Lange Commission). Following the Wiehahn Commission on trade unions and the Riekert Commission on influx control, the task was to investigate the educational issues hinted at in these Commissions and highlighted by unrest in black schools and the manpower needs of the economy.

The Commission formulated eleven guiding principles for the provision of education in South Africa.

1. Equal opportunities for education, including equal standards in education, for every inhabitant irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex, shall be the purposeful endeavour of the state.
2. Education shall afford positive recognition of what is common as well as what is diverse in the religious and cultural way of life and the languages of the inhabitants.
3. Education shall give positive recognition to the freedom of choice of the individual, parents and organisations in society.
4. The provision of education shall be directed in an educationally responsible manner to meet the needs of the individual as well as those of society and economic development, and shall, inter alia, take into consideration the manpower needs of the country.
5. Education shall endeavour to achieve a positive relationship between the formal, non-formal and informal aspects of education in the school, society and family.
6. The provision of formal education shall be a responsibility of the state provided that the individual, parents and organized society shall have a shared responsibility, choice and voice in this matter.
7. The private sector and the state shall have a shared responsibility for the provision of non-formal education.
8. Provision shall be made for the establishment and state subsidisation of private education within the system of

providing education.

9. In the provision of education the processes of centralization and decentralization shall be reconciled organizationally and functionally.
10. The professional status of the teacher and lecturer shall be recognized.
11. Effective provision of education shall be based on continuing research.

Within this framework the Commission noted various deficiencies in the existing educational structure and made specific recommendations for improvement. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to go into these recommendations in detail. In essence, though, what the Commission was really after was an educational system which was fair, efficient, flexible and responsive to the needs of teachers, pupils and the economy. Of fundamental importance was its belief that a single education ministry would be instrumental in the achievement of the goals it set. In motivating its case the Commission commented :

> "The provision of education is a fundamental function of the state in modern society. The costs involved are very high and the effects of disparities in the provision are manifold and serious. It is judged that at the national policy level where decisions as to the national priority of education and thus the extent of the total expenditure, the structure of the system with its substructures, and the channelling of funds to priorities within the structure are made, can most effectively be handled by a single ministry which perforce will have to have an overview of the needs, the priorities, the adequacies and inadequacies, the relevance and the irrelevance of certain provisions or practices within the total system. A fragmentation of this central function cannot adequately cope with the optimilization of state expenditure in education or sufficiently guarantee that the country is getting the

> education which it needs."
> (HSRC Investigation into Education, 1981, 196).

The Commission addressed a particularly sensitive issue here. The proponents of apartheid ideology have long argued that the present system of multiple control is necessary for the protection and advancement of separate group identities and self-determination while many of its opponents have contended that it is the single most important cause of discrimination and inequality in educational provision.

Chisholm and Christie (1983) and Davies (1984) note that in general terms reformists hailed the Commission as a breakthrough. It is interesting to note, however, that not all reaction has been of a positive nature. Kallaway (1984), for example, has criticised the apolitical, ahistorical nature of the investigation. In support of this he points to :

- The non-recognition of the link between black pupil resistance and the collapse of Bantu Education.
- The Commissioner's apparent ignorance of the role of schooling in maintaining the dominance of ruling classes and the subordination of subordinate classes.
- The absence of any consideration of conflict between the needs of different groups and those of social control and economic efficiency.
- The absence of any mention of the Riekert and Wiehahn Reports (which dealt with manpower planning and labour control and supply).
- The failure to recognize that arguments for more relevant/ vocational forms of education are not new in South Africa.

This apolitical, ahistorical approach was not, he continues, accidental for it enabled the Commissioners :

> " ... to avoid confronting the structural constraints on change imposed by the apartheid system."
> (Kallaway, 1984, 35).

The grand design of apartheid is simply accepted without comment[10].

Chisholm and Christie (1983) have come out in sharp criticism of the emphasis the investigation places on different levels of education, including the clear cut distinction between vocational and academic education.

> "This differentiation will reproduce class differences and will continue to reproduce racial capitalism." (Chisholm and Christie, 1983, 257).

In developing their argument they contend that it is most likely that working class blacks will find themselves being channelled into vocational/career education, the costs of which will be borne largely by capital. The costs of academic education (post-basic) by contrast, will be shifted to the parents and the chances are that such education will remain dominantly white as white parents will best be able to meet the costs. They argue that in this sense the Commission is nothing more than part of the " ... modernisation of apartheid" (Chisholm and Christie, 1983, 257). There is no significant break from :

> " ... earlier practices of differentiation and class formation, though the grounds for this differentiation may be differently presented." (Chisholm and Christie, 1983, 257).

b) THE GOVERNMENT'S 'WHITE PAPER' AS ITS RESPONSE TO THE SITUATION

The government outlined its response to the HSRC Investigation in its 'White Paper on the Provision of Education in the Republic of South Africa' (23 November 1983). In broad terms the government agreed with the recommendations of the Commissioners, acknowledging the existance of inequalities and backlogs in the system of educational provision and the need to rectify the

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10. Buckland (1984, 372) argues that an important consideration here is the "technicism" of the investigation, i.e. the application of the technological mode of rationality to social and educational issues " ... to the exclusion of all other modes of knowing".

situation as quickly as possible. There were, however, a few fundamental areas in which the government made it clear that it did not agree with the recommendations. The kernel of its response was 'equal but separate' with certain basics remaining non-negotiable, namely the 'Christian' and broad 'national' character of white education[11], the maintenance of mother tongue instruction and the notion that separate schools and separate education departments should remain (Gardiner, 1984; Hartshorne, 1984). Education would remain an 'own' affair' in terms of the new constitutional dispensation (White Paper, 1983, 2).

In essence, therefore, the government has opted for the preservation, in large measure, of the status quo in education[12]. It is possible to speculate here that it is still intent upon preserving the Afrikaner's identity, perpetuating the myth of white superiority and reproducing customary social relations. Such thinking is not in the best interests of the educational needs of South Africa and its peoples for it is impossible for 'separate' to ever mean 'equal' (Bot, 1984; Hartshorne, 1984).

It is possible, however, to view the government's response in a somewhat more favourable light. If nothing else the shortcomings in the present system of educational provision have been acknowledged and a commitment to improvement and change has been forthcoming. This is certainly a far cry from the attitudes and policies of the Verwoerdian

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11. It is interesting to note that the emphasis on 'Fundamental Pedagogics' in some academic circles in South Africa serves to legitimise Christian National thinking and helps to reproduce the ruling ideology (Enslin, 1984).
Fundamental Pedagogics or the 'theory of education' emphasises the scientific method as being the only authentic method of studying education. The great stress is that educational theory must be scientific and 'value-neutral' (Enslin, 1984).

12. This attitude is also clear from the Education and Training Bill (introduced and passed in 1979) which was designed to replace the Bantu Education Act of 1953 (Roodt and Lawrence, 1984a). In fact in some ways the Bill strengthened apartheid. In support of this Davies (1984) mentions the provision for a black Teachers' Council (to run alongside the white Council) and the particular emphasis on the control of black education by the state.

era. Educators and development agents now find themselves with an opportunity to work in an environment which is somewhat more flexible and condusive to development than has been the case thus far in modern South Africa.

SOME FURTHER RAMIFICATIONS OF APARTHEID

The broad pattern of inequality, including educational inequality in South Africa, has a distinctive spatial component in that a great programme of spatial manipulation aimed at the creation of tribally based Bantustans has come into being. The intention has been to create a racially mixed economic space, wherein the movement of black labour into the modern economy is facilitated, and a racially segregated political and social space, in which the political aspirations of blacks are directed towards the Bantustans (Smith, 1977). Within this context, the aim of Bantu Education has been to prepare blacks psychologically and ideologically for the positions which the Bantustans create for them in a political and physical sense (Molteno, 1984). The idea has been to defuse black nationalism by retribalising blacks and to use Bantu Education to help fit them into separate bantu communities (Molteno, 1984).

The Bantustans have a peripheral location in the space economy and are experiencing the effects of polarisation in their relationship with the white core areas (Browett and Fair, 1974; Browett, 1976; Fair, 1982; Smith, 1977). As such :

> "The overall picture that emerges ... is one of a number of weak homelands, most of them fragmented, dependent on the white core for inter alia, employment and grants-in-aid to finance their expenditure."
> (Maasdorp, 1974, 30).

As far as education is concerned, control is transferred into the hands of authorities which depend for their budgets on fiscal handouts from Pretoria.

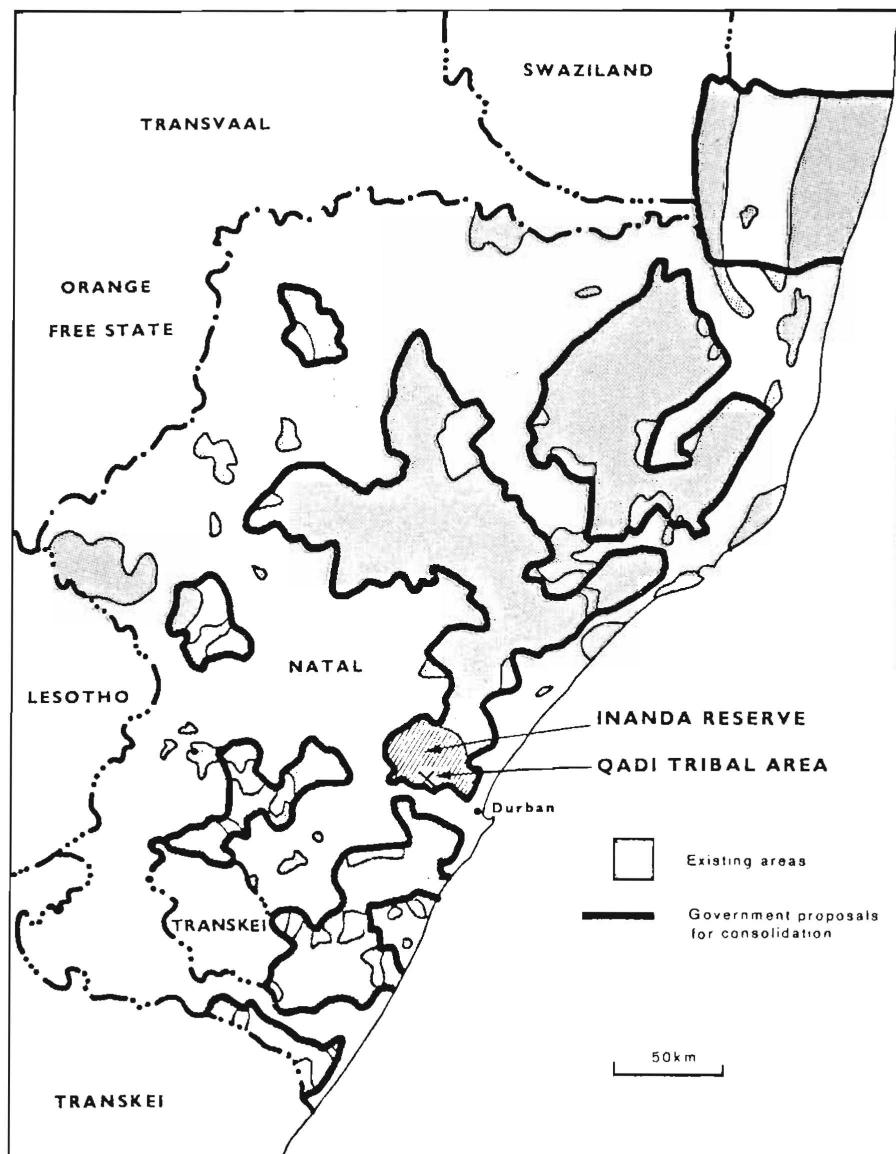
It is in this context that Kwa Zulu, the Bantustan in which the research area of this thesis is located, is to be seen.

KWA ZULU AS A BANTUSTAN

a) EMERGENCE OF THE TERRITORIAL BASE

A system of native reserves was established in Natal during the colonial era when it was considered necessary to allocate specific areas for native occupation on the grounds that freehold ownership was foreign to natives and also because it was felt that they needed to be protected from land-hungry whites (Brookes and Hurwitz, 1957). By the 1880's there were forty-two 'locations' and twenty-one mission reserves in Natal. (The Inanda Reserve in which the study area of this thesis is located (Fig 2) was proclaimed in 1847). Following the annexation of Zululand in 1897 a further twenty reserves were delimited.

Fig.2 KWA ZULU SHOWING INANDA RESERVE, THE QADI TRIBAL AREA AND THE GOVERNMENT'S CONSOLIDATION PROPOSALS



After:Buthelezi Commission 1982,Vol.I,162

The colonial reserves were entrenched in Union government legislation with the passing of the Native Land Act in 1913. With the realisation that the reserves were too small in relation to the growth of population, the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act provided for additional land.

Following the rise to power of the National Party in 1948 and the subsequent entrenchment of apartheid ideology and the preparation of legislation for its implementation, it became clear that the reserves were to serve as the basis of the Bantustan policy. The Zulu areas in Natal were systematically extended according to the provisions of the 1936 Act and by 1970 only 67 327 hectares had still to be incorporated (Best and Young, 1972, 66). In 1972, realising the need for clarification on the consolidation of Kwa Zulu, the government made known its intentions (Fig 2). Land provided for in terms of the government's proposals is still in the process of being incorporated into the Bantustan. Chief Buthelezi finds the proposals inadequate but no further moves have been made by Pretoria.

b) CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In terms of the provisions of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act 1971, Kwa Zulu took its first steps towards self-government in 1972 when a Legislative Assembly was set up and an Executive Council formed.

In 1977 Kwa Zulu was proclaimed a self-governing territory with the Legislative Assembly being granted wider powers :

> " ... including the power to amend or repeal any Provincial Ordinance, Proclamation or Act of the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa relating to Kwa Zulu, or applying to any citizen of Kwa Zulu whether he is resident within or lives outside the borders of the territory."
> (Thorrington-Smith, Rosenberg and McCrystal, 1978, 6).

Among matters such as agriculture, forestry, labour affairs, welfare services and certain health matters, taxation on citizens

and property, public works and the conservation of flora and fauna, black education is one of the most important issues over which the Legislative Assembly has the power to legislate.

c) SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATIONAL PROVISION IN KWA ZULU

It is important to note at the outset that geographically Kwa Zulu and Natal constitute one region. Within this region there is a multiplicity of control of education according to apartheid practice. Broadly, control at the school level is exercised by :

i) The Kwa Zulu Department of Education and Culture. This department is responsible for the education of blacks in Kwa Zulu.
ii) The Department of Education and Training. This department caters for blacks in Natal.
iii) The Natal Education Department, responsible for the education of whites in Natal.
iv) The Department of Internal Affairs, with separate educational divisions for Indians and 'coloureds'.
v) The Department of National Education, catering for white 'special' education, i.e. the education of pupils who, for various reasons, are educationally disabled. (Such education for other races, if provided, is the responsibility of the respective departments).

It is likely that changes within this structure might occur in the light of the new constitutional dispensation.

This situation means that different conditions apply to the different racial groups in the region with stark inequalities revealing themselves. The Buthelezi Commission (1982) identified a number of areas in which conditions differed. Among these were:

1) Differing Conditions with regards to Attendance at School

Amongst whites education is free and compulsory up to the age of sixteen years. For Indians and 'coloureds' the same is true up to the age of fifteen and twelve years respectively,

while for blacks (Kwa Zulu and Natal) there is no general system of compulsory free education.

2) Variations in the Medium of Instruction

White children are taught in their home language. Indians are taught in English and the same is true of 'coloureds' although some have the choice of Afrikaans. Blacks in Kwa Zulu receive instruction in Zulu until the end of Standard 2 and thereafter are taught in English. Blacks in Natal by contrast, change to English once they have completed Standard 4.

3) Differences in Pupil Retention

Using a starting population of 100 in Class 1 the Commission noted major differences in the number of pupils reaching Standard 10 (Table 7).

Table 7 Number of Pupils reaching Standard 10 using a base of 100 in Class 1

Education Department	Number of Pupils
Kwa Zulu	5
Education and Training	2
Natal Education Department	63
Department of Internal Affairs : Indians	33
Coloureds	18

Source: Buthelezi Commission, Vol 2, 1982, 284.

4) Differences in the Numbers of Pupils in Standard 10

In 1980 there were 8 248 blacks in Standard 10 in the Natal - Kwa Zulu region. There were 6 058 whites in Standard 10 in the Natal Education Department and 6 472 Indians (1979) and 625 'coloureds' (1979) registered with their respective departments (Buthelezi Commission, 1982, Vol 2, 288-290). The Commission noted that while white numbers are beginning to level off, black numbers are growing rapidly.

5) Variations in Pupil-Teacher Ratios

Table 8 shows that Kwa Zulu compares unfavourably with other departments in this regard.

Table 8 Pupil-Teacher Ratios in Natal-Kwa Zulu

Department	Primary Schools Ratio	High Schools Ratio
Kwa Zulu	56	40
Education & Training	47	30
Natal Education Department	19	13
Internal Affairs		
- Indians	28	22
- Coloureds	28	22

Source: Buthelezi Commission, Vol 2, 1982, 294.

These differences are a reflection of the availability of teachers with Kwa Zulu experiencing an acute shortage and the Natal Education Department a surplus in certain subjects. In support of this the Commission noted that in 1980 the Natal Education Department had 8% of the region's pupils and 19% of its teachers while Kwa Zulu had 64% of the pupils and 47% of the teachers (Buthelezi Commission, Vol 2, 1982, 284). It was calculated, furthermore, that in order to achieve a 'parity ratio' of 1:30 Kwa Zulu would need 35 117 additional teachers (to teach those presently at school and to make up for the backlog in pupil numbers) while the Natal Education Department would need 2 941 fewer teachers (Buthelezi Commission, Vol 2, 1982, 294-295).

6) Differences in the Qualifications of Teachers

Once again the Natal Education Department and the Kwa Zulu Department (and the Department of Education and Training) reflected the two extremes of the position in the region. All teachers in the Natal Education Department were recorded as having at least Standard 10 as an academic qualification of which about one-third had university degrees. In Kwa Zulu

76% of the teachers had Standard 8 or less and just 2% had degrees. The figures for the Department of Education and Training were about the same as those for Kwa Zulu(Buthelezi Commission, 1982, Vol 1, 74).

Disparities also presented themselves in the professional qualifications of teachers with 20% of blacks having no professional qualifications. The corresponding figure for the other three population groups was put by the Commission at 8% (Buthelezi Commission, Vol 1, 1982, 74). It should be noted, furthermore, that there are appreciable quality differences in the professional qualifications of blacks and whites.

7) Differences in the Number of Students at Colleges of Education

Table 9 shows the disparities which are present.

Table 9 Number of Students enrolled at Colleges of Education

Department	Number of Students	Number of Colleges
Kwa Zulu	3 161	5
Education + Training	478	1
Natal Education Department	1 385	3
Internal Affairs		
- Indians	884	1
- Coloureds	237	1

Source: Buthelezi Commission, Vol 2, 1982, 295).

The situation is clearly out of all proportion to the number of pupils in the various departments and to the number of teachers needed. It should also be noted that while black education relies almost exclusively on Colleges of Education for teacher qualifications white education, in particular, draws quite extensively on the universities.

8) Differences in per capita Expenditure on Education

In 1981 the per capita expenditure (including capital works) amounted to R73 in Kwa Zulu (908 613 pupils) while in the Natal Education Department it was R908 (113 062 pupils). The Commission noted that this disparity was particularly a reflection of differences in teacher salaries (Buthelezi Commission, Vol 1, 1982, 74) which are directly linked to qualifications but which are also caused by racial discrimination[13].

9) Differences in the Availability of Facilities and Equipment

While the supply of facilities and equipment in the Natal Education Department is highly satisfactory the position in Kwa Zulu leaves much to be desired. There is a severe shortage of buildings[14], furniture, books, stationery and teaching aids. The supply of libraries, science laboratories and sports facilities is also totally inadequate.

The Urban Foundation (1983, 3) notes that in addition to being disadvantaged in terms of the conditions discussed above, blacks in Kwa Zulu have to contend with shortcomings in their home environments.

> "All townships in Kwa Zulu are over-crowded with an average occupancy of 10 persons per four-roomed house. In rural areas children often have to travel great distances on foot and are also responsible for carrying out many time-consuming domestic chores, such as herding cattle.

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13. The Commission noted that at degree level, for example, a black teacher earns 80% of the salary of a white teacher with an equivalent qualification.
(Buthelezi Commission, Vol 2, 1982, 333).

14. In the Natal Education Department buildings are provided by the province. In Kwa Zulu "With the exception of some schools in urban areas, the community is responsible for the financing and construction of schools."
(Urban Foundation, 1983, 3).

> Furthermore, few houses in their urban or rural areas have electricity and so studying at night is very difficult."

The problems of inadequacy and inequality are thus severe in the extreme. The potential for conflict is therefore very real for the Natal-Kwa Zulu region as a whole. The Buthelezi Commission (1982, Vol 1, 75) expressed itself in this regard in the following terms :

> "The Commission recognizes that the existing inequalities in available education are a major source of discontent and therefore of potential instability in the area. It recognizes that the comparative peace in schools during recent times has been due to policies followed by Inkatha, but does not accept that if the inequalities remain, successful persuasion against revolt can be repeated. It does not accept that, although the major schooling of black South Africans will be the responsibility of the Kwa Zulu Department, the possibly serious and violent consequences from gross inequalities will or can be confined to Kwa Zulu. The interdependence and interpenetration of the two areas is far too great for this to be possible."

Kwa Zulu's problem is clearly a reflection of that pertaining to black education in South Africa as a whole. Its ability to address the issues involved is hampered by the problems of rapid population growth, a lack of skills and a severe shortage of funds.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BUTHELEZI COMMISSION

The Buthelezi Commission was formed in May 1980 to explore the possibilities of developing, within the overall South African framework, a regional constitutional dispensation which might act as an alternative to the present arrangement in the Natal-Kwa Zulu region. Commenting on its formation the Commission noted that :

> "Its establishment was a black initiative, a black statement that there might be a peaceful alternative, and a black expression of hope that a regional moderate approach might be

> found which would be acceptable, at the very least, to a part of the country as a whole."
> (Buthelezi Commission, Vol 1, 1982, 31).

Education was regarded as a particularly serious problem area. Backlogs and inequalities in educational provision had to be eliminated if an alternative regional constitutional dispensation was to have a chance of being successful. Like the de Lange Commission (1981), the Buthelezi Commission committed itself to the belief that genuine equality could never be attained within an unreformed apartheid framework and argued strongly for the establishment of a single ministry of education at least in the Natal-Kwa Zulu region.

Specific recommendations were directed to well documented problem areas such as teacher supply and quality, high drop-out rates, governmental expenditure on black education, the provision of physical facilities, certification, and the need to compensate for intellectual deprivation in the homes of pupils. Throughout, however, it was made clear that in the final analysis meaningful progress was dependent upon the rejection of the government's notion of 'equal but separate'.

The Commission has been rejected from both the 'right' and 'left' of the political spectrum. On the 'right' the government has rejected the philosophical base from which it argued its case and indeed its very credentials, arguing that the Kwa Zulu Legislative Assembly had no constitutional power to extend the scope of the Commission's enquiry beyond the boundaries of Kwa Zulu.

In presenting the case for the 'left' Southall (1983) has contended that the recommendations of the Commission constitute a 'consociational' proposal which attempts to 'refurbish' apartheid ideology into more acceptable, deracialised terms. They are seen as a strategy for co-opting non-white elites (Inkatha is regarded as stating that it is ready for co-option) within a capitalist power-sharing framework. In essence, a grand elitist coalition of the political leaders of the various population groups is proposed. Minorities are given entrenched veto rights and are, in effect, given the power to immobilise the proposed legislature. As such the black masses are offered little in the way of meaningful political alternatives. The fundamentals of the existing order, including those

in education, are left intact.

The outright rejection of the Commission is somewhat unfortunate. While it is true that the recommendations were formulated mainly by whites, the institution of the Commission was nevertheless taken on a moderate black initiative. From the government's point of view, if the ANC is establishing a firm base of support in Kwa Zulu (Gilbert, 1982) and if this base is expanding rapidly (Southall, 1983, 112), it may have lost a vital opportunity to reach a negotiated settlement with any blacks at all[15].

As far as the 'left' is concerned, it is true that the Commission can be accused of creating structures which might impede progress towards a democratic solution. In the meantime, however, the Commission, in attempting to work within the constraints of existing apartheid ideology and in seeking to deracialise the status quo, offers a set of proposals which could eliminate hurtful discrimination and improve the quality of life of black South Africans.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The pattern of educational inequality which existed before the Nationalists came to power in 1948 has been firmly entrenched and expanded by apartheid ideology. The state take-over of Bantu Education in 1953 was, if aspects of both the classical liberal interpretation and the Marxist argument are taken into account, an attempt first, to maintain the identity and 'superiority' of the Afrikaner and second, to maintain and reproduce the social relations of racial capitalism. The effect of the take-over has been that blacks have been supplied with an education system marked by discrimination and extreme inequality.

Black youth has, in recent years, responded strongly to what it has come to regard, quite validly, as the inferiority of Bantu Education and the injustices of the whole apartheid system within which it is embedded. The response has been one of open and, at times, violent

15. It is interesting to note that a study by Roodt and Lawrence (1984b) on the political attitudes of black matric pupils in the Mafikeng area also found considerable support for the ANC.

rejection. Moreover, whilst school unrest is sporadic at present it has come to be located in the broader struggle of black resistance and this gives it a firm base.

The government, apparently realising that the system of educational provision for blacks had its shortcomings, called for the HSRC Investigation into Education (1981). However, in rejecting the most fundamental of its recommendations and in dismissing the credentials of the Buthelezi Commission (1982) the government has made it clear that it intends to strive for its own brand of 'equality' within the framework of separate development. It can be argued here that all the government is doing is opting for the preservation of the status quo, albeit in a slightly modified cosmetic guise, which is incapable of providing the meaningful long-term solutions which are so necessary. A number of interim possibilities present themselves (Chapter 4) within the apartheid framework but ultimately broad structural change is called for. Apart from the strong moral case that can be made for such change it is also necessary in the interests of the genuine development of all the peoples of South Africa, and indeed of long term political stability.

In the next chapter attention is given to the way in which the structural inequality discussed above has affected access to formal school education at the micro level.

C H A P T E R 3

EDUCATION IN THE QADI TRIBAL AREA, INANDA RESERVE, KWA ZULU

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The aim of this chapter is to show how apartheid educational policy - discussed in the previous chapter - has affected accessibility to education at the micro level, in this case, the Qadi tribal area of the Inanda Reserve in Kwa Zulu.

After briefly sketching the physical and human background of the study area and outlining the objectives and methodology of the research undertaken, attention is directed towards those children of school going age who do not attend school. Emphasis is placed on the factors keeping them out of school.

The rest of the chapter is devoted to those children of school going age, clearly in the majority, who do attend school. The main concern is with the quality of education they receive and here important 'in-school' and 'in-community' factors are examined in some depth. Where appropriate, comparisons are made with white pupils attending schools in nearby areas in order to highlight the nature and extent of the inequalities which prevail.

The chapter concludes with an analysis of the educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of the pupils (blacks and whites) in order to assess the extent to which they are aware of their real opportunities for personal advancement under apartheid.

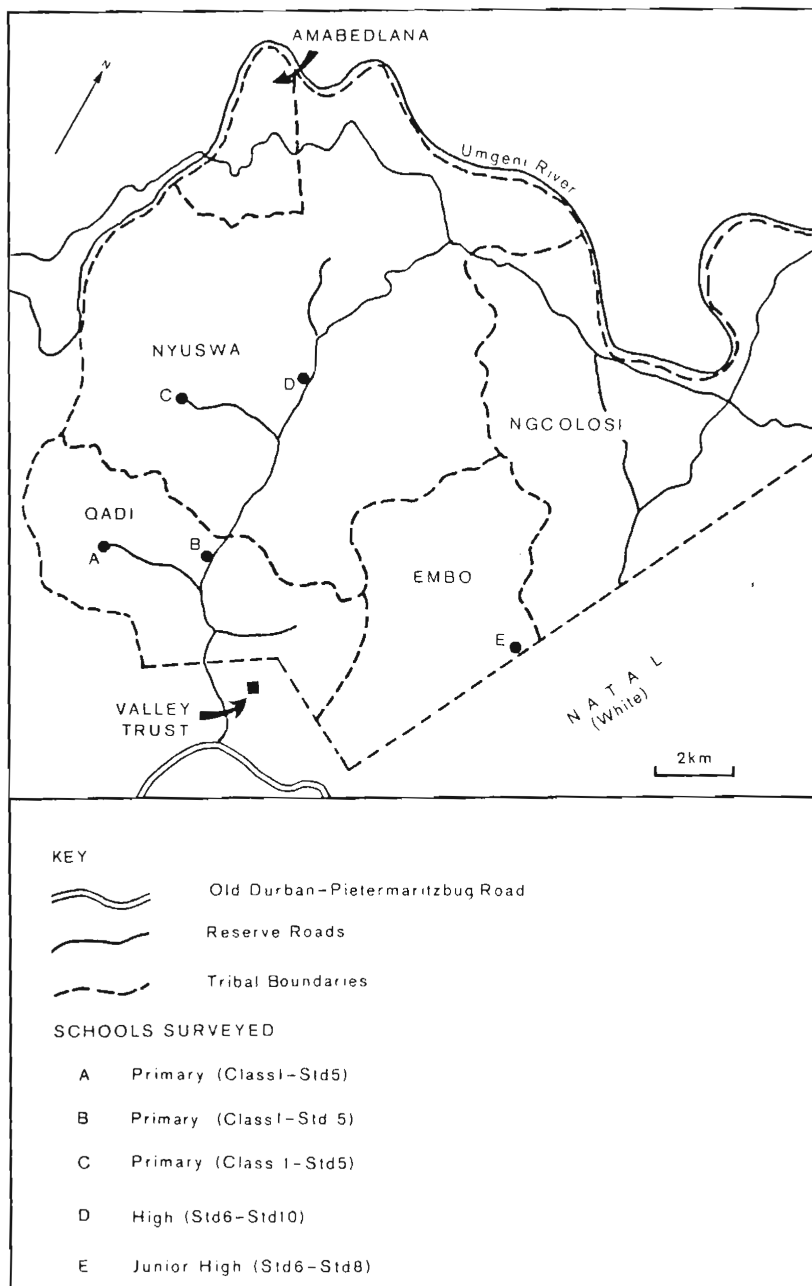
BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY AREA

LOCATION

Located some 32 Km due west of Durban (Fig 2) the Qadi tribal area is one of the tribal areas falling within the sphere of influence of the Valley Trust Socio-Medical Project (Fig 3). The area is part of the Inanda Reserve (Fig 2) which has its origin in British colonial policy and which has been incorporated into the Kwa Zulu Bantustan in terms of the policy of separate development (Fig 2).

Fig.3

SCHOOLS SURVEYED IN THE TRIBAL AREAS UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE VALLEY TRUST



After:Stott(1976,181)

PHYSICAL BACKGROUND

The area, part of the Valley of a Thousand Hills, is characterised by extremely broken and rugged terrain. Granitic basement rocks have been exposed and have weathered to yield the many steep, rounded hills for which the area is well known. On average, altitudes within the area are about 100 to 150 metres lower than those on the adjacent plateau areas settled by whites.

The granitic geology has produced poor soils which crumble easily. They are poorly drained and very susceptible to erosion. Over-cropping and over-grazing have caused severe erosion problems in the area.

The tree cover is extremely sparse except along the courses of the larger streams. The flowering aloe and the occasional euphorbia or 'rubber tree' are notable exceptions as they are of little use as firewood. The grasses are mostly those which are indicative of over-grazing and exhausted soils.

The average rainfall in the tribal areas adjacent to the Valley Trust (Fig 3) is 889mm p.a. (Stott, 1976, 15). The rainy season is from September to April with most rain falling from November to February. Storms are common and can severely aggravate the soil erosion problem. During the winter months most of the streams in the area dry up and the supply of water becomes chronically inadequate. Summer temperatures of around 30°C are not uncommon but conditions are more comfortable in winter when temperatures can drop quite appreciably during the nights.

HUMAN BACKGROUND

The Zulu inhabitants of the area are relatively new to it. The Qadi were originally part of a larger clan group - with their present neighbours, the Nyuswa - known as the Ngcobo.

The Ngcobo originally lived in Zululand near the Tugela river. The Qadi had separated from their Nyuswa kin while still in Zululand. Both groups were forced to flee from their original homes to escape rule by Shaka and Dingaan. The Nyuswa were the first to flee, entering the Valley of a Thousand Hills in 1837. They were joined

some years later by the Qadi who were granted the land they now occupy by the Nyuswa who gave them asylum (Stott, 1976). The settlement of these people was given permanence with the proclamation of the Inanda Reserve in 1847 as part of the Shepstone Native Location policy.

Today the people live in scattered homesteads each comprising anything from one or two dwellings to ten[1]. The distribution of the homesteads is very strongly influenced by the main communication artery, a gravel road known as 'Zulu Reserve Road' (Fig 4). The strong influence exerted by this road and its feeders, stronger than the influence of water, is in itself a statement about the economy of the area. While small, scattered fields still surround many of the homesteads, subsistence agriculture on a scale large enough to adequately support the people has all but collapsed. These people depend heavily on the jobs they can secure in the white dominated wage economy. Most of them work in the nearby Hammarsdale, Pinetown and New Germany areas. Their link with these employment centres is via the 'Zulu Reserve Road'. Numerous paths, negotiable by foot only, connect more distant homesteads with the road which, with its steep gradients and rough gravel surface, is often impassable after rain. Transport services along the road are inadequate and unreliable. A few buses, often poorly maintained and owned by a local resident, and growing numbers of taxi mini-buses are all the people have to rely on.

Being dependent on the white wage economy and not having adequate skills to offer, most of the people earn very low wages (see on). Taken together with the collapse of the subsistence economy this means that poverty is a widespread problem. In spite of this, though, the area is one of rapid in-migration with people arriving in growing numbers from the rural areas of Kwa Zulu, areas which are increasingly unable to support their populations. Mr A Mountain, director of the Urban Foundation in Natal, has described the movement off the land in Kwa Zulu in the following terms :

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1. There are no traditional bee-hive huts. Huts have mud walls and thatch and/or corrugated iron roofs. Square/rectangular dwellings constructed of ash blocks (and corrugated iron roofs) are growing in popularity.

> "Through over-population, impoverishment, erosion, lack of infrastructure and financial resources, and through seasonal drought, rural regions are totally incapable of sustaining their populace. This results in an increasing number of people who have to move off the land and seek economic refuge in the cities."
> (Quoted by the Editor, Natal Mercury, 28 February 1984).

As a result of the in-migration population densities in the area are increasing fast. The resultant pressure on the land has been one of the major factors responsible for the decline of subsistence agriculture. The increasing population also places undue stress on existing facilities, not least the schools of the area.

THE VALLEY TRUST SOCIO-MEDICAL PROJECT

Initiated by Dr H H Stott, the Valley Trust Socio-Medical Project is a welfare organisation formally registered and constituted in 1953. The principle aim of the project is to provide a service catering for the medical needs of the people and, in pursuance of this, to upgrade their socio-economic conditions on a broad front.

> "The need for such a service, designed not only to meet medical needs but to enlighten people, was evidenced by the ever-increasing stream of the products of ignorance from the Valley, and similar undeveloped areas, that congested costly urban hospital wards only to be discharged later, no better informed, to the same conditions from whence they came - products of faulty dietary habits, bad cooking practices, poor food production, bad child-rearing techniques, ignorance of hygiene, restrictive taboos and superstitions, mystical conceptions of disease, fatalism, social disruption, neglect and misuse of environmental resources, and not least, poverty."
> (Stott, 1976, 1).

The Project presently offers a wide range of services to the community it serves. These include nutrition education, agricultural and gardening advice, fish culture, soil and water

conservation and protective fencing programmes. A large and growing body of empirical evidence is testimony to the positive impact that it has had on the lives of the local people.

Despite this, the area is still underdeveloped and poverty persists as a widespread problem. Much remains to be done to consolidate and expand the work of the Valley Trust. However, many of the critical issues have their origin in the broader structural arena and ultimately these will have to be given attention if the people are to experience meaningful development.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The principle objective of the research was to gather information to test the following hypothesis :

> Within the Qadi community accessibility to formal school education of a standard equal to that received by whites is severely constrained by spatial but above all structural factors. As such, education is unable to play its part in the overall development of the people.

This hypothesis was formulated partly in response to the overwhelming emphasis on the spatial factor that has characterised the geographical literature to date. The emphasis has been on the identification of spatial imbalances and on the manipulation of space in an attempt to solve the 'location-allocation' problem. This approach has been exemplified in Schools Location Planning (SLP) which has two basic aims :

a) To generate efficiency in education by ensuring the better use of space, lowering costs per pupil and by optimising pupil-teacher ratios. Areas where the education system is most or least efficient are identified and the necessary rectifying strategies are put into effect (Wellings, 1983a, 89).

b) To promote equality in access opportunities by targetting for 'threshold' (the minimum population sufficient for the erection of a school taking account of capacity for pupil spaces and potential enrolment) and 'range' (the maximum home/school distance pupils would be expected to travel each day).

> Situations are identified in which the threshold population is not found within a particular catchment area as dictated by the range and if necessary parameters are manipulated to achieve optimality (Wellings, 1983a, 89-90).

Being fundamentally concerned with the manipulation of geographic space to maximise educational efficiency the approach is apolitical, believing that inequalities are amenable to spatial solutions.

Wellings (1983a) argues that as such, the approach is inadequate. Space is not independent of political appropriation as SLP implies and the state is not a neutral referee constantly working towards an improved, unbiased spatial structure. Furthermore, optimality in the spatial allocation of resources is not necessarily complementary to the objective of social equality. What is needed, he continues :

> " ... is an appreciation of the function of education as a vehicle for the propogation of development in accordance with the ideology and interests of the dominant classes." (Wellings, 1983a, 92).

Given this necessity to move into the political, social and economic arenas it was decided to include what Blaikie (1978) has termed 'structural variables' in the hypothesis. These are variables which tie in with the quality of education on offer and with the nature of the backgrounds of children whether they are at school or not.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The nature of the information required by the topic selected for investigation made it necessary to rely on the extensive use of questionnaires (Appendix 1). These were directed at :

1. The parents in the Qadi community.
2. Qadi school pupils and white pupils in nearby white areas.
3. Teachers in the schools attended by the Qadi pupils and the white pupils.
4. The principals of all the schools studied.

THE PILOT STUDY

Conducted over the period December 1982 to February 1983, the pilot study surveyed :

a) Some 10% of the homesteads of the Qadi area.
b) The principal, teachers and Standard 4 and 5 pupils of one of the primary schools in the area.

Apart from providing the writer and the two black interviewers[2] with a valuable period of practice, the study pointed to the need to couch some of the questions in more simple and less ambiguous terms and made it abundantly clear that an interpreter would need to be present during the conducting of the pupil survey to help explain questions to pupils. This was so despite the English medium in which they received instruction. Language also presented itself as a problem amongst some of the teachers.

The period was also valuable in providing the writer with an opportunity to learn more about the school situation and in helping him to secure the necessary introductions to the principals and staff of the schools apart from those included in the pilot study.

THE QUESTIONNAIRES

a) That directed at the parents of the Qadi community (community survey)

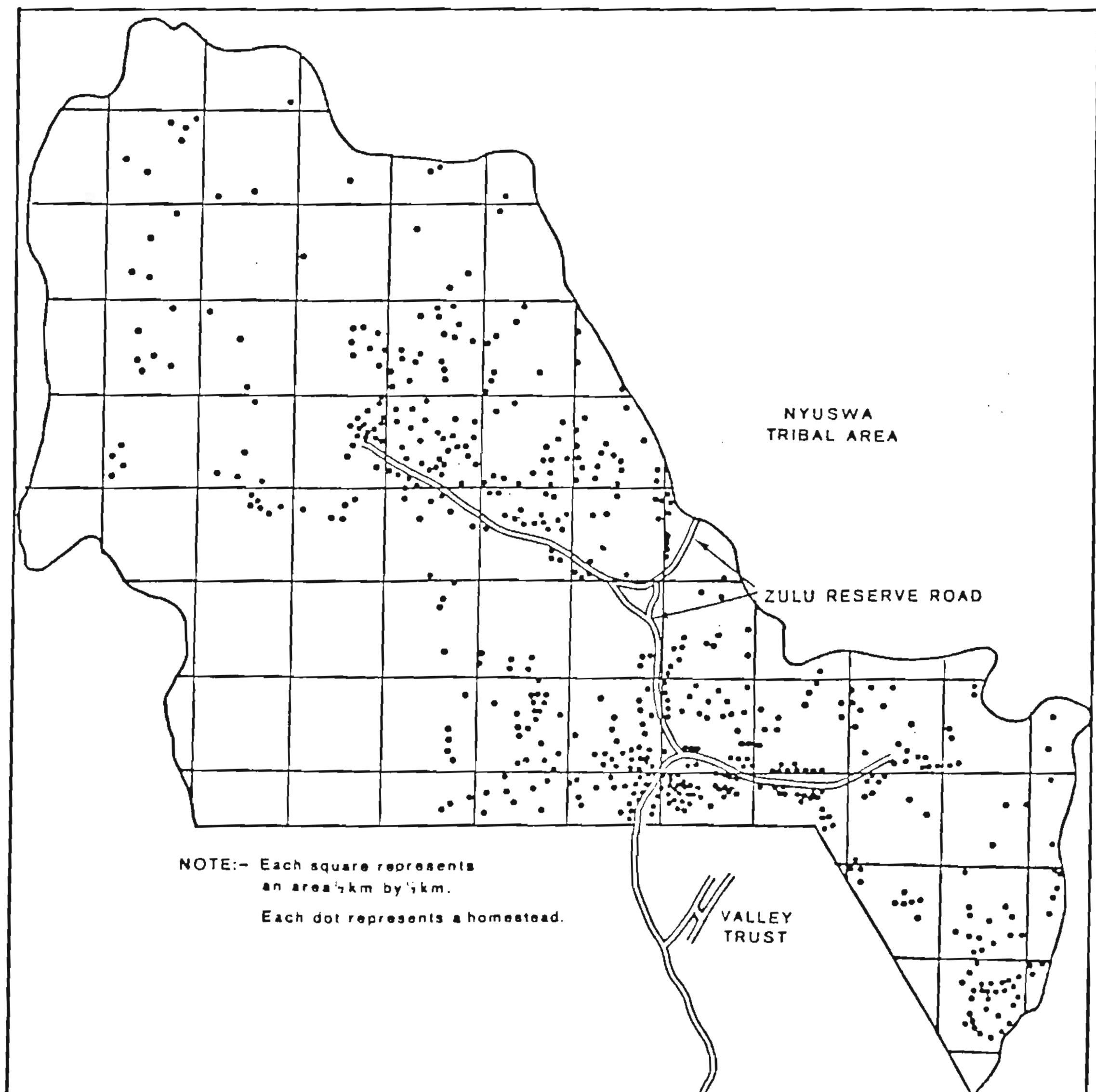
This questionnaire sought to establish whether children of school going age were attending school or not, the conditions under which they attended or did not attend, the costs of schooling and information pertaining to family income, occupations and attitudes to education.

The questionnaire was directed towards the Qadi community only and was based on a 1:2 sample. A map depicting the homesteads of the area, drawn by students of architecture at the University of Natal, was made available by the Valley Trust. A grid was drawn

2. The interviewers who both resided and taught in the research area were appointed to conduct the community survey.

over the map dividing the area into ½ Km^2 cells (Fig 4). As far as was possible interviews were conducted at every second homestead within each cell. A few difficulties were experienced in that the interviewers were turned away from some of the homesteads, mainly by menfolk who were at home over weekends. In such cases the next nearest homestead was visited to keep as close as possible to the original sampling design. In a small minority of cases two families with children were resident at one homestead and in these instances both families were interviewed. In all, 281 interviews were conducted in the area.

Fig .4 HOMESTEADS OF THE QADI TRIBAL AREA



Source :- Research and Development Project
Urban and Landscape design (1981).
(School of Architecture:University of Natal.)

b) That directed at Qadi pupils and at white pupils in nearby white areas (pupil survey)

This questionnaire called for selected information about the siblings of school pupils, the material conditions in the homes of pupils, parental occupations, the pupils' journey to school, the conditions of homework study and the educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of the pupils.

In order to keep the number of questionnaires issued to manageable numbers this survey was focused upon the senior pupils of both primary and high schools. At the primary level questionnaires were given to Standard 4 and Standard 5 pupils at the two schools in the Qadi area and to the Qadi pupils at a school in the adjacent Nyuswa area which catered for many Qadi pupils (Fig 3). They were also given to the pupils of three primary schools in nearby white areas[3].

As the Qadi area has no high schools questionnaires were given to Qadi pupils attending the two high schools in adjacent tribal areas (Fig 3). It was established from the community survey that virtually all of the Qadi pupils attending high school attended these two schools. As one of these schools was a junior high school questionnaires were issued to Qadi pupils in Standard 7 and Standard 8. The second school was a full high school and because it had too few Qadis in the senior standards questionnaires were given to all Qadis throughout the school. They were also handed to the Standard 10 pupils of a high school in a nearby white area.

The need to include a wider standard range in the black high schools than had initially been anticipated was unfortunate as it was intended to draw comparisons between black and white pupils. The comparisons were made nonetheless as it was felt that differences in standards were, to some extent, off-set by similarities in the ages of the pupils.

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3. The schools are not named in this thesis at the request of the principals concerned.

In all, questionnaires were completed by 313 black primary school pupils, 550 white primary school pupils, 120 black high school pupils and 75 white high school pupils.

c) That directed at the teaching staff (staff survey)

The aim here was to gather information about the teachers as 'professionals'. The questions called for details about their qualifications, what they were doing to upgrade their qualifications, the classes they taught, their teaching experience and job mobility, their income and their assessment of it, their job satisfaction, and their journey to school.

Questionnaires were given to all of the teachers in the schools, including the principals. They were completed by 30 black primary school teachers, 55 white primary school teachers, 23 black high school teachers and 27 white high school teachers.

d) That directed at the school principals (principals' survey)

This questionnaire required information on the highest level of education available in the schools, the numbers of pupils enrolled, the distribution of pupils by standard, the extent to which pupils were denied entry because of insufficient accommodation, the numbers of teaching and non-teaching staff, the educational facilities available and the budgetting provisions made. Questionnaires were completed by the principals of 5 black schools and 4 white schools.

COMPLETION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES BY RESPONDENTS

The questionnaires directed at the parents in the Qadi community were completed by the two black interviewers who discussed and explained (according to pre-arranged formats) the questions to the individuals concerned. This was important in obtaining accurate responses.

The writer, assisted by some of the teachers who acted as interpreters, was present when the black pupils answered the questions in the pupil survey. Each standard was dealt with separately at each of the schools except in the case of the full high school where all

the Qadi pupils answered the questions as a group. Each question was explained before the pupils responded. In the case of white pupils questionnaires were administered under the supervision of class teachers.

The writer was present to explain questions to black teachers when needed but in the case of white teachers the necessary explanations were given by the principals.

The questionnaires directed at the principals were left with them and collected after a period of a week or two.

Black and white pupils and teachers were dealt with differently because the pilot study revealed that many blacks were having difficulty in answering the questions accurately because of a language problem.

The respondents were very co-operative and high return rates were secured.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

It was decided in the very early stages of the planning of the research design to make as many general observations about the people and their situation as possible. Similarly, a decision was made to talk, on an informal basis, with as many pupils, teachers, principals and parents in the Qadi area as possible. A wide range of issues centering on the individuals themselves, the schools and the community as a whole would be explored wherever appropriate opportunities presented themselves.

To accomplish these objectives the Qadi area and the schools included in the black surveys were visited before and after the actual questionnaires were distributed. The writer was fortunate, furthermore, in that his professional duties take him to the study area on a frequent basis as Geography courses at Edgewood College of Education, particularly at the second year level, draw heavily on the rich geography it has to offer[4].

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4. See also Appendix 2.

Valuable background information and insights were also offered by officials of the Valley Trust who have, by their long association with the area, come to know it very well.

THE NATURE OF THE DATA MADE AVAILABLE BY THE STUDY

The data gathered from the study provided information on :

1. Who was at school/not at school and why.
2. Various 'in-school' factors affecting access to education and the quality of the education received by those at school. For example :
   - the quality of teaching.
   - the quality of the physical learning environment.
3. Various 'in-community' factors affecting access to education and the quality of the education received by those at school. For example :
   - the nature of parental help and encouragement.
   - the material poverty of the homes.
4. How the pupils of the Qadi area saw their lot in terms of the future. For example :
   - the educational aspirations and expectations of pupils.
   - the occupational aspirations and expectations of pupils.
5. The 'lot' of blacks as opposed to that of whites in nearby areas. It was possible to draw some striking and meaningful comparisons.

PROCESSING THE DATA

It was decided to perform the more mechanical processing manually and to this end the data were transferred from the individual questionnaire forms to 'master sheets' prior to analysis. This proved to be a most valuable exercise as many ideas and insights presented themselves as the analyses were in progress.

The more sophisticated and time-consuming procedures such as testing the significance of differences between sets of data were handled by computer.

ACCESSIBILITY TO EDUCATION IN THE RESEARCH AREA

INTRODUCTION

Since education is not compulsory in Kwa Zulu it would seem reasonable to expect that some children of school-going age in the study area would not be at school, particularly in view of the widespread poverty of the people.

The question of school-going age is a difficult one for people in the area start and finish school in far less defined terms as far as age is concerned than do whites. For this reason a school-going age had to be arbitrarily defined. A lower limit of 6 years and an upper limit of 21 years was accepted on the basis of the fact that these were the limits actually encountered in the research. A second age category, 7-17 years was also accepted on the grounds that, from a white point of view, one could reasonably expect a 6 year old or an 18 year old not to be at school. This is an important consideration for black and white education are often compared in this chapter with the latter having become a model to be copied. The category 7-17 years is not used extensively, however, as it excludes too many black children who are in fact at school.

There were 849 children in the 6-21 years age category and of these 82% were attending school. Of the 689 children in the 7-17 years age category, 89% were attending school. This chapter examines the question of accessibility to education in relation to those children who attend school and those who do not. Emphasis is placed on the former group as it is by far the larger of the two.

CHILDREN OF SCHOOL-GOING AGE NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL

1. Who are they?

   a) Age structure

      Table 1A) shows that the great majority of the children who do not attend school are older children. In many instances they are children who might well be in high schools if they did attend school.

Table 1A — Age structure of children not attending school (n = 152)

Age	Percentage of children
6 - 13 years	20
14 - 17	34
18 - 21	46

This situation should be seen in relation to the extremely high fall-out rates which characterise the schools of the area (Table 1B).

Table 1B — Drop-out rates in the study area and in Kwa Zulu as a whole

School phase		Study area		Kwa Zulu (1980)	
		Number	Drop-out Rate (%)	Number	Drop-out Rate (%)
Junior Primary					
Start	End				
Cl 1		334	100	162 900	100
	Std 1	266	80	114 771	70
Senior Primary					
Start	End				
Std 2		201	60	94 685	58
	Std 4	178	53	72 008	44
Junior High					
Start	End				
Std 5		166	50	66 401	41
	Std 7	51	15	39 221	24
Senior High					
Start	End				
Std 8		47	14	38 626	24
	Std 10	8	2	7 340	5

Source: Kwa Zulu data from Buthelezi Commission, 1982, Vol 2, 291.

b) Sex structure

Table 2 shows that there is very little difference in the sex distribution of non-school attenders. It would seem therefore that there are no factors working against one sex in particular. This is interesting in that traditionally Zulu males were singled out for preferential treatment.

Table 2 Sex structure of children not attending school

Sex	Percentage of children (6-21 years : n = 152)	Percentage of children (7-17 years : n = 77)
Male	51	51
Female	49	49

c) Previous school attendance

In the 6-21 year age group 80% of the children had attended school previously. The dominance of the lower school is particularly clear in that 74% had completed only Standard 5 or less while only 7% and 2% had completed Standards 8 and 10 respectively. The majority (66%) left school between the ages of 12 and 16 years.

The statistics change slightly for the 7-17 year age group. Here 75% of the children had attended school previously but a much greater number (88%) had completed only Standard 5 or less. Only 2% had completed Standard 8 and none had attained a Standard 10 education. Some 71% of the children had left school between the ages of 12 and 16 years.

Once again these figures should be seen in relation to the high fall-out rates prevailing in the area (Table 1B).

2. What are they doing now?

Here it was decided to use 15 years of age as a cut-off point since it might be reasonable to expect that a person aged 15 years or more who is not at school might be working or doing something else constructive with his life. There were 117 people in this category (15-21 years). Of these only one

reported undergoing a form of training while 58 (50%) recorded themselves as being unemployed[5]. This disturbingly high percentage can be accounted for by the fact that the great majority of the people in question are, with their poor educational backgrounds, equipped to do little more than swell the ranks of the unskilled, precisely the category hardest hit by unemployment in South Africa.

It is interesting to observe that the unemployment figure was lower amongst males (32%) than amongst females (59%). Only one of the females recorded herself as being a housewife. With comparatively early marriage ages amongst South African blacks one would have expected this figure to have been higher.

It is worth mentioning that none of those who were unemployed indicated involvement in any form of informal sector activity or subsistence agriculture which, as a means of survival, has all but collapsed in the area. One should be reminded here of the fact that the area, lying astride white Natal (Fig 3) and with an extremely rapidly growing population[6] has become almost entirely dependent on the white dominated South African wage economy.

Of the 58 individuals in the age category who recorded themselves as being employed (50%) there were 54 recorded incomes which were all low. The average income was R117 per month while 71% of the people earned less than R150 per month and all earned less than R250 per month (Table 3).

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5. For this and other references to unemployment it is interesting to note that Simkins (1978 and 1982) has contradicted official accounts of unemployment in South Africa. He has estimated that the actual number of unemployed people in the country is between two and three million. This estimate has a very high youth component.

6. The rapid growth is reported by the Valley Trust and is clearly evident from a comparison of aerial photographs taken at different time periods. It is caused by a high natural increase and by increasing in-migration from the rural areas of Kwa Zulu because of the location astride white South Africa. The rapid growth is important in helping to explain the collapse of the subsistence economy.

Table 3 Income of children (15-21 years) not at school and who are working (n = 54)

Monthly income	Percentage of children
R49 and less	6
50 - 99	41
100 - 149	24
150 - 199	19
200 - 249	11

Low earnings of this nature are supported by the low skill/low prestige nature of the jobs held. The CASS prestige score average[7] was only 28,4 with the labourer and domestic servant categories being particularly dominant (Table 4).

Table 4 Occupations held by children (15-21 years) not at school and who are working (n = 56)

Occupation	Percentage of children
Labourer	50
Domestic Servant	21
Gardener	11
Weaver	4
Factory Operator	4
Other	11

3. What chance have these people of improving their lot in life?

Those who are presently unemployed will no doubt find it increasingly difficult to secure employment in the future, particularly in view of the fact that what they are able to offer is completely out of tune with the present demands of the economy. The demands, particularly during recessionary periods, are for certain categories of high level technical and managerial skills and certainly not for unskilled and semi-skilled labour,

7. A rank order of occupational groups (with scores ranging from 20-82) has been formulated by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal in Durban (see also Table 35).

indeed even some forms of skilled labour (Financial Mail, 16 September 1983). Bantu Education, with its emphasis on the reproduction of unskilled labour (see earlier discussion in Chapter 2) has seen to it that it is blacks who swell the ranks of the unemployed. The situation is aggravated by the fact that the South African economy, let alone the Bantustan economies, is not growing fast enough to absorb the rapidly growing numbers of people coming on to the labour market each year.

Those who are presently employed are indeed more fortunate but even here problems present themselves. It is difficult for people in unskilled jobs to improve themselves significantly. Promotion opportunities are limited if available at all and it is therefore difficult for people to improve their incomes significantly. Job security is also problematic for people in unskilled positions since these are usually the first to be affected by redundancies.

It is worth mentioning also that should any of the individuals, whether employed or unemployed, decide to improve their educational qualifications or acquire skills and training of some kind, it will be extremely difficult for them to do so. The necessary facilities (for blacks) are in short supply in the Natal/Kwa Zulu region and there are none at all in the study area or in the white area upon which it impinges. There is a major accessibility problem here and it is in this regard that some attention is given to the valuable role that can be played by non-formal education in Chapter 4.

4. Why are these children not at school?

An analysis of the reasons given by the parents themselves provides a useful starting point (Table 5) although they may, of course, contradict the views of the children themselves.

Table 5 Reasons given by parents as to why their children were not at school

Reasons	6 - 21 years n	6 - 21 years %	7 - 17 years n	7 - 17 years %
Socio-economic reasons				
a) Parents unable to afford :				
- Books and uniforms	35	16	16	14
- School fees	33	15	17	15
- Transport costs	22	10	11	10
b) Children's wages needed at home	16	7	4	4
	106	48	48	43
Other reasons				
School disliked	36	16	21	18
School unnecessary	9	4	6	5
Pregnancy	19	9	8	7
Child too young	11	5	7	6
Illness/disability	10	5	8	7
Schools too far	10	5	7	6
Schooling complete	3	1	-	-
Impending marriage	4	2	1	1
Cattle herding	1	-	1	1
No specific reason	10	5	7	6

Note: Parents could state more than one reason.

A number of interesting observations may be drawn from the table.

1. The socio-economic circumstances of the families weigh very heavily in the decision not to send children to school. Some 48% and 43% of the responses in the 6-21 year and 7-17 year age categories respectively have an obvious socio-economic bearing, namely :
   - not being able to afford school fees,
   - the high costs of books, uniforms and transport, and
   - the need for children's wages to make a contribution to household income.

   The percentages grow quite appreciably if the responses of a less direct socio-economic bearing are also included, namely :
   - the fact that schooling is considered to be unnecessary,

- the comparatively high number of children who are ill or disabled; and of less importance,
- the need to prepare for marriage and to care for the family cattle.

2. A disturbingly high number of responses (16% and 18% of the responses in the 6-21 year and 7-17 year age categories respectively) are linked to a dissatisfaction with the schools as institutions. It was beyond the research design of this thesis to investigate the reasons for this but a number of observations made whilst the research was in progress are worth noting.

   a) The image presented by the schools

   The schools are small, over-crowded, poorly maintained and succeed only in presenting a dull, sterile image of themselves. The facilities within them are hopelessly inadequate. None had a hall, library, staff room, administrative offices (only one of the schools studied had a small principal's office) or even basic sports fields, facilities taken so for granted in white schools. Toilet facilities were primitive and there was no running water. Classrooms were often small in size and poorly ventilated, this being severely aggravated by the use of low tin or asbestos roofs without ceilings. The learning situation can be an extremely uncomfortable one under such conditions in the hot summer months and teaching simply has to come to an end during storms because of the high noise levels which result. With the absence of electricity classrooms were often dark and the normal array of audio-visual equipment found in white schools non-existent. In fact, even the most basic of teaching aids such as wall maps, charts and simple models were conspicuous by their absence. Desks, even teachers' desks in some instances, were clearly in short supply with those available being shared under extremely cramped learning and writing conditions.

   Such an image - unattractive, uninviting and hardly condusive to the development of suitable learning

environments - may well have some role to play in explaining why so many of the parents feel dissatisfied with the schools.

b) Pupil-teacher relationships

Given the conditions just described it must be stated that the teachers went about their daily tasks with a calm, patient efficiency. However, the high pupil-teacher ratios (see on) and the crowded classroom learning conditions must inevitably place a barrier in the way of individual attention and the development of meaningful teacher-pupil relationships. These are extremely important in situations where teachers find themselves having to compensate for inadequacies in the home backgrounds of their pupils.

It was also noted during informal discussions with pupils and staff that they sometimes experience strained relationships particularly in the area of discipline. The problem is compounded by the fact that the age gap between pupils and teachers is often very narrow, a particularly sensitive issue in the case of young female teachers.

Interestingly enough there were no complaints about a prefect system or about the misuse of corporal punishment, both major causes of unrest in the black schools of South Africa according to one source (Drum magazine, April, 1984).

c) The demands made by the schools

The schools make certain financial demands on parents. While the schools try to keep fees to what they consider to be reasonable limits they are compulsory nevertheless and additional financial donations are often called for. Parents have to pay for their children's stationery needs and most books have to be purchased (see on). Uniforms are required and dress regulations would seem to be fairly strictly applied. In instances where schools are not within walking distance of the family homes transport costs constitute an additional financial burden.

It may be that some parents regard such demands as being somewhat excessive in relation to their low incomes and what they consider to be the quality of the return on their money. They may simply feel that they are not getting their money's worth and some may simply see no reward in sight for their children at all. To a large extent they may be right for most blacks do not complete their education and, as such, end up in unskilled positions which they could often have secured without any education at all.

3. The high number of responses linked to premature pregnancy on the part of female pupils is also disturbing. Informal discussions with principals and teachers isolated the following major problem areas :

   a) A value system - still largely transitional between a severely weakened traditional base and an oft irresponsible western model - which is highly confused, and
   b) A lack of appropriate guidance at school and at home on family planning methods which are unacceptable to many families but which might not be if they were projected in an appropriate manner.

4. Quite a number of parents believe that it is unnecessary for their children to receive an education. Apart from the socio-economic factors that might underpin an attitude of this nature, there is, to some extent, a strong specifically cultural base to it for it was observed that some of the parents still attempted to cling to a traditional way of life where possible. It may be that they, and indeed some of the more progressive parents as well, regard the type of education on offer (a traditional western generalistic and academic emphasis) as being inappropriate for the needs of their children.

5. A number of parents felt that their children were too young for school despite the fact that they were of school going age. The principals of the three primary schools that participated in this investigation reported that it is not

uncommon to have children starting school until the age of nine or ten years. This, together with the large numbers of pupils who fail and repeat years helps to explain why many pupils are old for their classes by white standards.

The principals reported that the parents in question often found their children too useful around the home to send them to school too early. Children are used to assist their parents, particularly their mothers, in a wide range of domestic chores such as the collection of water and firewood, helping to care for younger siblings and the tending of crops grown as a side-line supportive of the wages earned in the wage economy.

The principals also reported that some parents used the idea of allowing their children to start school late as a means of delaying the associated expenditure on education.

It should be noted, however, that late starting ages are not always the result of parental attitudes or intentions. In some cases, given the high demand for school places and the limited accommodation available, pupils have to wait a year or two for a school place.

6. It is interesting to observe therefore, that the lack of school places is not given as a reason for non-attendance at school. This can possibly be explained by the fact that while most of the schools studied do turn pupils away because of an inadequate number of places (Table 6) they try to keep the numbers involved to an absolute minimum, despite the crowding which may result, because of what the principals consider to be their obligations to their communities. Furthermore, they reported linking the size of the initial intake to the accommodation available in the upper school so as not to force pupils to leave prematurely[8].

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8. The principals noted that pupils may be required to leave prematurely if they fail repeatedly. Principals use their discretion in such cases.

The principals also reported that if pupils in the initial in-take are denied entry at one school they normally manage to secure a place at another school in the area or in a nearby area. This may delay the starting age, however (see discussion above).

Table 6 School entry denials : Percentages of initial intakes denied entry at the five schools serving Qadi children

Year	A (Primary)	B (Primary)	C (Primary)	D (Junior High)	E (High)
1981	21	Nil	21	17	Nil
1982	22	Nil	11	Nil	Nil

7. A factor of major significance, given the previously mentioned emphasis on space in the geographical literature, is that the spatial component would appear to be comparatively unimportant. Very few parents indicated that their children were not at school because the schools were too far from their homes.

COMPARING THE ROLE OF SPACE WITH OTHER FACTORS

Because of the great weight accorded to socio-economic factors by the parents in the study area and the spatial bias, by contrast, of the geographical literature, it was decided to examine the spatial component in greater detail.

In Table 7 school distance figures are presented alongside five selected socio-economic indicators. Comparisons are made between three categories of family :

1. those families with no children at school (6-21 years),
2. families in which at least one child of school going age was not at school, and
3. families in which all children of school going age were at school[9].

[9]. School distance figures could not be given for the first category. With no children at school the figures could not be recorded. There were 12 families in the first category, 81 in the second and 184 in the third.

Table 7 School distance in relation to 5 selected socio-economic indicators

Category	Percentage of children (6-21 yrs) at school living within 4 Km of the schools they attend	Mean household head wage (Rand per month)	Mean household head income (Rand per month)	Household head occupation (CASS prestige score average)	Father's education (Score average - see footnote)	Mother's education (Score average - see footnote)
1	No calculation possible as school distance figures could not be recorded	162	214	37	3	4
2	87	228	224	32	5	4
3	80	243	249	36	6	6

Footnote

See Appendix 3 for Z score values

Education Code

1. - no education
2. - Class 1/2/Std 1
3. - Std 2
4. - Std 3
5. - Std 4
6. - Std 5
7. - Std 6
8. - Std 7
9. - Std 8
10. - Std 9
11. - Std 10
12. - Std 8 plus diploma
13. - Std 10 plus diploma
14. - Degree

The most significant point to emerge from the table is that more people in the second category, where the average non-attendance per family is 43%, live closer to schools than in the third category. However, a trend in which most socio-economic scores improve from categories 1 to 2 to 3 does seem to be evident despite the fact that not all of the differences between the categories are significant (Appendix 3). This would seem to confirm the statements of the parents (Table 5) and support the argument that the socio-economic background of people weighs far more heavily than the spatial factor in explaining why children are not at school.

One can strengthen this argument by drawing attention to two additional factors which have a definite, although perhaps indirect, socio-economic bearing :

a) Parental attitudes towards education

Table 8 shows the influence that parental attitudes have on school attendance. As might be expected parents in category 3 are far more favourably disposed towards education than parents in the other categories.

Table 8 School distance in relation to parental attitudes towards education

Category	Education regarded as unimportant (%)
1	58 (n = 12)
2	10 (n = 81)
3	4 (n = 184)

Z Scores (From U test)

Category 1 vs 2	Z = 4,24	Difference is significant α = 0,001
Category 1 vs 3	Z = 7,41	Difference is significant α = 0,001
Category 2 vs 3	Z = 2,21	Difference is significant α = 0,05

b) Permanent absence of fathers

A disturbingly high number of families (19%) reported the permanent absence of a father[10]. The influence of this situation on school attendance is revealed in Table 9. While the differences between the categories in the table are not statistically significant a trend would nevertheless seem to be evident. It could be tentatively suggested that the disciplinary role traditionally assigned to the father is still of some importance and has some role to play in influencing school attendance. The economic factor might also be of some importance. There is likely to be a greater need for children without fathers to leave school to seek employment. It is worth noting here that 29% of the children aged 15-21 years not at school and working were drawn from the families in which the fathers were absent.

10. The exact nature of the permanence of this absenteeism was not considered.

Table 9 Percentage of children not at school in relation to the permanent absence of fathers

Category	Mean % (6-21 yrs) not at school per family
1. All families	17 (n = 277)
2. Families with fathers	15 (n = 223)
3. Families with no fathers	25 (n = 54)

Z Scores (From U test)

Category 1 vs 2	Z = 1,49	Difference is not significant.
Category 1 vs 3	Z = 0,61	Difference is not significant.
Category 2 vs 3	Z = 1,84	Difference is not significant.

It is interesting to note, by contrast, that only 3% of the families reported the permanent absence of a mother and that in all but one of these cases children of school going age were attending school.

Given the relative insignificance of the spatial factor in the study area it follows that while spatial manipulation may help to relieve some of the existing bottlenecks in terms of access to education it does not hold the key to the root of the problem. The major issues are clearly socio-economic and therefore also political, as indeed they are, in a different context, for those who attend school as well (see on).

CHILDREN OF SCHOOL GOING AGE ATTENDING SCHOOL

As has been indicated the vast majority of children of school going age attend school and it is these to whom attention is now directed. They are at school at considerable cost to their parents and indeed, as far as many of the older children, who might be working and earning their own money, are concerned, to themselves as well. Our concern is with the factors affecting the quality of education that they have access to. Throughout, the spotlight falls on the various relevant structural issues.

1. Who are they?

a) Socio-economic background

It should be clear from the preceeding pages that children who attend school (particularly if they come from families where all children of school going age attend school) are not quite as socio-economically deprived as children who do not attend school (particularly those from families where none of the children of school going age attend). It must be stressed, however, that black children as a group experience extreme deprivation in relation to white pupils (see on).

b) Age-standard distribution

The vast majority (79%) of the pupils in the community attend primary schools, a situation which again ties in with the high fall-out rates previously mentioned[11].

Within the schools the pupils tend to be old, by white standards, for their classes. This may be shown by drawing a comparison between black and white pupils (Table 10). The reasons for this state of affairs include the late starting ages of some black pupils and the fact that quite large numbers repeat standards as a result of failure.

It should also be noted that the age-distribution in each standard is much greater amongst blacks than it is amongst whites (Table 10). This too would be related to the large numbers who repeat standards and the late starting ages of some pupils.

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11. In Kwa Zulu as a whole 83% of pupils attend primary schools. (Buthelezi Commission, 1982, Vol 2, 291).

Table 10

Age/Standard distribution of pupils at school
(Percentage of pupils in selected standards)

	Std 4		Std 5		Std 6		Std 7		Std 8		Std 9		Std 10	
Age	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black.	White	Black	White
10 years	2	19	-	-	-	N	-	N	-	N	-	N	-	-
11	13	70	-	16	-	O	-	O	-	O	-	O	-	-
12	17	10	6	68	10	T	-	T	-	T	-	T	-	-
13	26	-	18	16	10		-		-		-		-	-
14	18	-	27	-	20	S	10	S	-	S	-	S	-	-
15	11	-	21	-	10	U	33	U	6	U	-	U	-	-
16	11	-	17	-	10	R	25	R	23	R	25	R	13	7
17	1	-	7	-	30	V	14	V	23	V	25	V	38	69
18	1	-	2	-	10	E	16	E	28	E	-	E	13	21
19	1	-	2	-	-	Y	2	Y	6	Y	-	Y	-	3
20	-	-	-	-	-	E	-	E	6	E	25	E	13	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	D	-	D	6	D	25	D	25	-

c) Sex structure

The female pupil population exceeds the male by 8%. In the high schools, however, the female lead drops to 4%. Since the sex structure of the community as a whole is unknown it is difficult to draw any conclusions from this and a few tentative comments will have to suffice.

1. There is no evidence of males being singled out for preferential treatment. This should be seen in relation to the dominance of males in traditional Zulu society.

   However, if the differences between the primary and high school population are borne in mind, a qualification seems to be necessary for while the male proportion increases at high school (46% at primary school and 48% at high school) the female proportion decreases (54% to 52%). It could be therefore that males receive more favourable treatment in the longer term (see on).

2. It may be that fewer males are represented in the school population because more of them have to work at a young age to help support their families. This might be the case more so where the fathers are absent.

2. Why are these children at school?

The slightly better socio-economic position of these children, particularly those in the third category discussed above (i.e. families with all children of school going age attending school, as opposed to families in which at least one child of school going age is not at school (category 2) and families with no children of school going age at school at all (category 1)), must clearly be of some importance. However, because people in all three categories are deprived in relation to whites it is necessary to examine what they expect from the schools in some depth.

The parents themselves provide some useful insights. Some 94% of the parents with children at school (categories 2 and 3) felt that it was important for their children to receive an education and an analysis of their reasons is particularly illuminating. The reasons given are presented in Table 11. What stands out in the table is that a particularly large number of parents believe that education will provide their children with a better future, based on good jobs and an enhanced earning power. Education is clearly perceived as an escape from the poverty cycle. In other words, education is perceived to have a very high 'exchange' value and a low 'use' value.

Table 11 Reasons given by parents with children at school (categories 2 and 3) as to why education is important

Reason	Number of times stated	%
1. To enjoy a better future based on better earning and job prospects	227	86
2. To gain knowledge	11	4
3. To support parents in old age	5	2
4. To be better than parents	6	2
5. To be like parents	2	1
6. To be like others	3	1
7. To be important and helpful in the community	2	1
8. To be the teachers of tomorrow	2	1
9. To have a better outlook on life	2	1
10. To be able to read and write	4	2
	264	

Informal discussions with a number of pupils in the schools confirmed this impression. Some pupils even regarded the mere act of school attendance as a guarantee in itself of better days ahead. Success and future prosperity would somehow rub off on to them with little or no effort on their part being required. A number of teachers reported that such an attitude was a definite cause of failure in a number of cases.

It was interesting to note that such thinking about education prevailed in spite of a keen awareness on the part of the pupils that the education they were receiving compared poorly with the quality of that received by whites. It has been mentioned previously that such an awareness has caused unrest in schools in several parts of the country. There has been no unrest in the study area, however. This could be because Inkatha exerts a powerful influence in the area. It has been claimed by the Buthelezi Commission (1982) that the policies of this organisation have exerted a calming influence on the pupils under

its influence. How permanent this influence is, if it exists, remains to be seen.

It will be shown later that in its present socio-economic and political context, education can not hope to satisfy pupils' aspirations and expectations. This does not auger well for long term political and social stability both in the study area and in the country as a whole.

3. <u>What is the quality of the education that these children have access to?</u>

<u>Conditions in the schools</u>

a) <u>Physical facilities in the schools</u>

The schools themselves and the lack of facilities and teaching aids within them have already been described. The point to note here is that effective teaching, especially at the high school level where pupils are introduced to some sophisticated concepts which are often difficult to grasp under the best of circumstances, must inevitably suffer. White pupils clearly enjoy an enormous advantage in this area (Table 12). Their schools are extremely well equipped in comparison with black schools and this, coupled with the well planned, uncrowded learning spaces available, does much to enhance the quality of education on offer.

The situation in black schools is clearly related to the severe funding problems which they experience and to the oft quoted disparate amounts spent on black and white pupils.

Table 12 Availability of selected facilities in the schools[1]

Facility	Black Primary Schools			White Primary Schools			Black High Schools		White High Schools
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Library/ Resource centre	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	1
Science laboratories	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	4
Rooms with blackout	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	6
Overhead projectors	-	-	-	18	34	4	-	-	10
Slide projectors	-	-	-	2	5	2	-	-	2
Cine projectors	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	2
Tape recorders	1	1	-	6	22	4	-	-	4
Sports fields	-	-	-	2	3	1	-	-	2
Hall	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	1
Swimming pool	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-
School bus	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1

1. Enrolment at the schools

A	1 000 pupils	F	393
B	403	G	500
C	317	H	529
D	516	I	681
E	802		

b) Pupil-teacher ratios

As in black education throughout South Africa this is clearly another problem area which detracts from the quality of education the schools are able to offer. As might be expected, the contrast with the position in the white schools researched is particularly stark (Table 13).

Table 13 Pupil-teacher ratios in the schools (including principals)

Black Primary Schools			White Primary Schools			Black High Schools		White High Schools
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1:56	1:58	1:53	1:25	1:24	1:21	1:45	1:35	1:17

Informal discussions with black teachers and principals highlighted a number of problems directly related to the high ratios.

i) The teachers reported that it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, for them to provide much in the way of individual attention, something which is often badly needed because of the educationally deprived backgrounds of so many of the homes of pupils (Table 29).

ii) Large class groups placed a severe strain on the teachers in terms of their day to day administration tasks, their execution of discipline and their ability to cope adequately with marking and assessment.

iii) Large classes often inhibited the development of healthy pupil-teacher relationships which are recognized as being essential to effective, meaningful pupil learning and teacher satisfaction.

iv) The principals reported coming in for a particular kind of strain of their own. In all the schools included in the survey they were attempting to teach a full class time-table in addition to their many administrative duties. It should be remembered that none of them had any secretaries, cleaners or assistants of any kind, a far cry from the situation in white schools (Table 14). As a result of such considerable work pressure, the principals' efforts are spread far too thinly over too broad a spectrum of activities. Their schools

inevitably suffer, not least the classes they attempt to teach. A lack of telephones, type-writers and office space serves only to compound the problems they have to endure.

Table 14 Non-teaching staff at the schools

Staff	Black Primary Schools			White Primary Schools			Black High Schools		White High Schools
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Secretaries	-	-	-	3	4	2	-	-	4
Cleaners/ Grounds staff	-	-	-	8	12	6	-	-	14

c) The teaching staff

While it has already been noted that the teachers perform remarkably well in the conditions which they have to endure, it is necessary to examine some relevant aspects of their 'professionalism' as well as the quality of what they are offering their pupils if a full and meaningful assessment of the quality of education is to be made.

i) The teacher in the community

As in the case of the white community teaching in the black community is not a particularly high paying profession although in comparison with the black teachers interviewed whites were particularly well paid (Table 15). It must be borne in mind, however, that apart from the fact that white teachers earn more because they are white they are also better off because they are better qualified (although their opportunities for qualification advancement are, of course, far superior to those of black teachers).

Table 15 Contrast between the salaries of black and white teachers (gross monthly)

Salary	Primary teachers (%)		High school teachers (%)	
	Blacks (n = 30)	Whites (n = 54)	Blacks (n = 21)	Whites (n = 21)
R149 and less	7	-	19	-
150 - 199	27	-	5	-
200 - 249	17	-	10	-
250 - 299	10	-	-	-
300 - 349	30	-	29	-
350 - 399	3	-	10	-
400 - 449	-	-	5	-
450 - 499	-	-	5	-
500 - 549	-	-	19	-
550 - 599	3	2	-	-
600 - 649	3	-	-	5
650 - 699	-	7	-	10
700 - 749	-	19	-	-
750 - 799	-	2	-	-
800 - 849	-	9	-	14
850 - 899	-	4	-	-
900 - 949	-	4	-	10
950 - 999	-	15	-	10
1 000 +	-	39	-	52

Chi square values (Computed from raw scores)

High school teachers 42,00 d f = 22 (using original categories)
Difference is significant (α = 0,01)

Primary school teachers 81,82 d f = 22 (using original categories)
Difference is significant (α = 0,01)

In the white community teachers do not enjoy a high status and it is widely acknowledged that their poor earning power is largely responsible for this. On the the other hand, black teachers would seem to enjoy a high status in spite of their low salaries. This could be because the teacher is seen as a kind of 'agent' who

is able, via the services he offers, to lift people out of their poverty.

Yet because of numerous shortcomings in their own education and training (see on), shortcomings embedded in the inadequate state of black education as a whole, they are unable to deliver the goods expected of them. It should be noted that apart from anything else this could well come to have an adverse effect on their self-image which in turn could detract from their performance in the classroom.

ii) <u>The qualifications of the teachers</u>

As is the case amongst black teachers in South Africa as a whole, the teachers interviewed were very poorly qualified both academically and professionally. In the primary schools only 3% of the teachers had a Std 10 certificate and there were no holders of degrees. In the white schools, by contrast, all the teachers had a Std 10 certificate with 7% holding a degree or higher degree (Table 16). The black teachers in the high schools were better qualified than their primary school colleagues but even so only 4% had an academic grounding extending beyond Std 10. In the case of the white high school teachers by contrast, 59% had a training extending to the degree and/or higher degree levels (Table 16).

Table 16 Academic qualifications of black and white teachers

Qualifications	Primary teachers (%)		High school teachers (%)	
	Blacks (n = 30)	Whites (n = 55)	Blacks (n = 23)	Whites (n = 27)
Higher degree	-	2	-	22
Degree	-	5	4	37
Std 10	3	93	91	41
Std 8	90	-	4	-
Std 6	7	-	-	-

Chi square values (Computed from raw scores)

High school teachers 17,28 d f = 4
Difference is significant (α = 0,01)

Primary school teachers 80,71 d f = 4
Difference is significant (α = 0,01)

Such poor academic qualifications amongst black teachers severely limits the depth of understanding and insight which they are able to take with them to their classrooms. It is possible to argue, furthermore, that the situation is particularly problematic in the senior high school phase, for while teachers at this level are better qualified than teachers in primary schools, many nonetheless find themselves having to teach at levels which they themselves have not exceeded.

An analysis of the professional qualifications of the teachers presents a similar picture. More than half of the black primary school teachers had no professional training at all. Not only were all the white teachers professionally qualified but they were qualified at considerably higher levels (Table 17). As in the case of academic qualifications, black high school teachers were better qualified professionally than their primary school counterparts, but once again the white track record was far more impressive.

Table 17 Professional qualifications of black and white teachers

Qualifications	Primary teachers (%)		High school teachers (%)	
	Blacks (n = 30)	Whites (n = 55)	Blacks (n = 23)	Whites (n = 27)
Post graduate diploma	-	4	-	52
4 year diploma	-	45	-	30
3 year diploma	-	40	9	15
2 year diploma	47	11	74	-
1 year diploma	-	-	-	4
Nil	53	-	17	-

Chi square values (Computed from raw scores)

High school teachers 66,61 d f = 5
Difference is significant (α = 0,01)

Primary school teachers 44,63 d f = 5
Difference is significant (α = 0,01)

The lack of an adequate professional base amongst many of the black teachers is particularly problematic in that apart from adversely affecting their professional status, especially important when drawing comparisons with whites, it means that they lack the necessary pedagogical background considered so necessary by educationists for good classroom teaching performance.

iii) Further study on the part of the teachers

The black teachers would appear to be acutely aware of the shortcomings in their qualifications. They realise furthermore, that qualification improvements open the doors to higher salary levels.
It is not surprising, therefore, to find that many of them were engaged in further study at the time of the research. In the case of primary school teachers, all were involved, 87% of them having a Std 10 certificate as their objective, 7% Std 8 and 7% a two year diploma.

Far fewer whites were involved in further study (18%) with 80% of those studying working towards a four year diploma or a degree. Clearly the average white primary school teacher experiences less of a need to study further as in most cases his qualifications meet existing requirements. Discussions with white teachers also revealed that many do not feel that the salary recognition accredited to higher qualifications is worth the effort.

Fewer black teachers in the high schools were engaged in further study (35%) and this could be a reflection of their higher existing qualifications. The objectives of those studying were also pitched at a higher level than primary school teachers in that 29% were aiming at a four year diploma and 57% at a degree/higher degree. As in the case of the primary schools, fewer white high school teachers were involved (19%) than blacks. It was interesting to note, furthermore, that the figures for white primary and high school teachers were virtually the same. All of the white high school teachers who were studying were working towards a degree/higher degree.

There were some interesting differences between the pattern just described and that revealed by an analysis of the future study intentions of teachers. With the notable exception of black primary school teachers, far more teachers, black and white, intended to study at some time in the future. The number of whites who intended to get involved, however, was still less than was the case amongst blacks and while white aspirations were still ahead at the primary level (e.g. 67% of the whites aspired to a degree whilst no blacks shared this goal; 65% of their number now aspired to a one year diploma) the differential narrowed appreciably at the high school level (e.g. 86% of the blacks and all of the whites had a degree/higher degree in mind).

It is encouraging to see so many black teachers in the area intent upon improving their qualifications and the roles of the Valley Trust and Edgewood College of Education are particularly admirable in the assistance which they render[12]. A number of problems do present themselves, however, and these are discussed in Chapter 4.

iv) The teaching experience of the teachers

Classroom experience is recognized within the teaching profession as being a vital back-up to formal qualifications. It is well known that experience has produced some excellent teachers out of people whose qualifications are not particularly impressive. For this reason it was decided to consider the experience of the teachers in the study area.

White teachers emerged with a more impressive track record than blacks although the differences between the two groups were not very appreciable at the primary school level. At the high school level, however, the picture was rather different. Just over half of the black teachers had been teaching for one year or less and only 9% for more than 10 years. Corresponding figures for white teachers were 15% and 37% (Table 18).

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12. Working in association with each other these two institutions operate a programme (on a voluntary basis) of part-time courses designed to help the black teachers of the area achieve their objectives. The courses offered are geared to Std 10 examinations in most of the school subjects. The success of the programme is difficult to assess accurately because many of the participants fail to report back formally on their success or otherwise in the examinations. However, the indications are that overall failure rates amongst those engaged in extra study are high.
(See also discussion in Chapter 4).

Table 18 Teaching experience of black and white teachers

Experience	Primary schools (%)		High schools (%)	
	Blacks (n = 30)	Whites (n = 55)	Blacks (n = 23)	Whites (n = 27)
0 - 1 year	7	11	52	15
2 - 4	23	15	26	30
5 - 7	23	15	9	7
8 - 10	10	13	4	11
11 - 13	13	9	9	11
14 - 16	-	4	-	4
More than 16	23	35	-	22

Chi square values (Computed from raw scores)

High school teachers 12,24 d f = 6

Difference is not significant

Primary school teachers 4,41 d f = 6

Difference is not significant

Black primary school teachers as a group clearly have a greater experience back-up to offset their inadequate qualifications (to some extent) than their high school colleagues whose qualifications, although better than those of primary teachers, are often inadequate for the level of teaching they have to engage in. It is possible to contend, on these grounds, that the black high schools emerge as more of a problem area than the primary schools, grossly inadequate as the situation in the latter may be.

v) Income, income assessment and job satisfaction

The degree to which a teacher is motivated in his teaching has a definite effect on his performance and could, to some extent, help to offset inadequacies in his qualifications and experience. Human motivation, however, is difficult to measure. For the purpose of this study it was decided to examine the incomes of the teachers and their assessments of those incomes, for it can be argued that one's earning power and how one feels

about it exerts an influence on one's motivation level. In addition the degree to which teachers felt satisfied in their jobs was included in recognition of the fact that teaching can be rewarding and a source of motivation in itself quite independent of the financial rewards it yields.

The low salaries of black teachers and the disparity between their earnings and those of white teachers is clear from Table 15. Large numbers of the blacks were, as might be expected, dissatisfied with their salaries as indeed were many whites, despite their superior position (Table 19).

Table 19 Teachers' assessment of income

Assessment	Primary schools (%)		High schools (%)	
	Blacks (n = 30)	Whites (n = 55)	Blacks (n = 21)	Whites (n = 27)
Very good	3	2	-	-
Good	3	20	5	7
Adequate	20	47	5	37
Less than adequate	13	24	38	56
Very poor	60	7	52	-

Chi square values (Computed from raw scores)

High school teachers 20,40 d f = 4
Difference is significant (α = 0,01)

Primary school teachers 29,73 d f = 4
Difference is significant (α = 0,01)

In spite of this and their complaints about such 'in-school' factors as overcrowding and the lack of facilities, most of the black teachers recorded a positive job satisfaction assessment. A slightly higher number of whites did the same (Table 20).

Table 20 Teachers' assessment of job satisfaction

Assessment	Primary schools (%)		High schools (%)	
	Blacks (n = 30)	Whites (n = 54)	Blacks (n = 23)	Whites (n = 26)
Very good	20	39	17	23
Good	73	54	57	73
Poor	3	7	17	4
Very poor	3	-	9	-

Chi square values (Computed from raw scores)

High school teachers 5,16 d f = 3
Difference is not significant

Primary school teachers 5,70 d f = 3
Difference is not significant

This is clearly one of the few positive aspects about education in the area although it is difficult to see how it can do much to favourably influence the quality of education given the circumstances under which the teachers have to labour.

It should also be noted that black high school teachers reacted less favourably in both the income and job satisfaction assessments. Once again the black high schools emerge as more of a problem area than the primary schools.

vi) The journey to school

Yet another area in which inequality between black and white teachers emerges is that of the teachers' journey to school.

While marginally more blacks lived within 10 km of their schools than whites (73% as opposed to 70%) more blacks also lived more than 20 km from the schools (25% as against 11%). As a group black high school teachers travelled the furthest (Table 21).

Table 21 Teachers' journey to school : distance

Distance	Primary schools (%)		High schools (%)	
	Blacks (n = 30)	Whites (n = 55)	Blacks (n = 22)	Whites (n = 27)
2 km and less	40	18	50	11
3 - 6	37	42	5	19
7 - 10	7	9	5	41
11 - 20	-	22	5	15
More than 20	17	9	36	15

Chi square values (Computed from raw scores)

High school teachers 20,64 d f = 8 (using original categories)
Difference is significant ($\alpha = 0,01$)

Primary school teachers 15,16 d f = 8 (using original categories)
Difference is not significant

The real issue however, is not the length of the school journey but rather the degree of comfort in which it is undertaken. While the great majority of blacks either walked to work or travelled by bus, most whites travelled by car (Table 22).

Table 22 Teachers' journey to school : mode of travel
(All teachers : number of times stated)

Mode	Blacks (n = 52)			Whites (n = 82)		
	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Always	Usually	Sometimes
Walk	18	3	2	3	-	2
Cycle	1	-	-	-	-	-
Car	2	-	3	74	3	1
Bus	25	2	3	-	-	-
Motor cycle	-	-	-	1	1	1

Blacks, furthermore, travelled for longer time periods, particularly those working in high schools (Table 23).

Table 23 Teachers' journey to school : duration

Duration	Primary schools (%)		High schools (%)	
	Blacks (n = 30)	Whites (n = 55)	Blacks (n = 23)	Whites (n = 27)
Less than 15 minutes	40	75	39	59
15 - 29	30	24	17	41
More than 30 minutes	30	2	43	-

Chi square values (Computed from raw scores)

High school teachers 19,27 d f = 6 (using original categories)
Difference is significant ($\alpha = 0{,}01$)

Primary school teachers 26,24 d f = 6 (using original categories)
Difference is significant ($\alpha = 0{,}01$)

The journey to school is clearly more of an effort for the black teacher. For most, the conditions of travel can hardly do much to alleviate the stress caused by other conditions of service. A two or three kilometre walk in the characteristically hot and dirty conditions of the area, an exercise made far worse by the deeply dissected nature of the terrain, can be extremely taxing. People travelling by bus do not have an easy time of it either. The buses serving the area are old, uncomfortable and poorly maintained and they are invariably forced to negotiate roads in an extremely poor state of repair, particularly during the rainy season.

d) Extra-curricula activities

It is widely recognized that extra-curricula activities in schools do much to enrich a child's all round experience of the world stage he is being prepared for. They are particularly important in cases where children come from deprived home backgrounds in that they help the schools to provide the different kinds of 'compensation' deemed necessary.

It is disturbing, therefore, that in the black schools that participated in this survey extra-curricula programmes were totally inadequate. Some sporting activities were conducted (mainly football and netball) but not on the regular, highly organised basis found in the white schools. This is not surprising given the almost total absence of the necessary facilities. Cultural activities, with the notable exception of choral singing, seem to suffer an even worse fate. This is most unfortunate as many aspects of Zulu culture are threatened in the area just as many facets of western culture seem to be misrepresented. So much needs to be done in the schools to help children come to a better understanding of both cultures and they are certainly the poorer for the absence of a well organised extra-curricula cultural programme.

e) Teaching methods and assessment

A further major shortcoming in the quality of education being offered in the area is the very poor use of teaching methods. Virtually without exception classroom activities are teacher centred drawing entirely on 'chalk and talk' and making much of rote learning. Excursions and fieldwork activities, widely recognized by educationists as being essential in good teaching, particularly in subjects such as geography, history and science, hardly ever occur. The great emphasis is on the acquisition of knowledge, much of it quite irrelevant to the needs and interests of the pupils, with skills acquisition, conceptual development and attitude formation being of peripheral importance.

As might be expected such teaching practice inevitably filters through to the important area of assessment with tests and examinations requiring above all that the pupils have a sound memory. Apart from offering a totally inadequate reflection of the real capabilities of pupils such an approach to assessment may contribute to the high failure rates at the Std 10 level where the examination is a far more

challenging and demanding exercise[13].

Such an undesirable state of affairs in the schools is clearly once again a function of inadequate funding. However, it is reasonable to suggest that a lack of expertise and awareness on the part of many of the teachers also contributes to the problem. This is a pointer to gross inadequacies in their training and an obvious reflection of the fact that many of them have had no professional training at all.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS ON CONDITIONS IN THE SCHOOLS

The quality of the school education available to the people in the study area is clearly totally inadequate. It is an indictment of the whole system in South Africa that it can produce and tolerate such stark inequalities as have been described here. Evidence of deliberate discriminatory practice is abundant and there is no reason to suggest that the position in black schools elsewhere in the country is any different. In fact a number of the teachers reported that the situation in the deeper rural areas of Kwa Zulu was far worse than in the study area.

Yet the average white South African seems to be completely unaware of the gravity of the situation. The writer's experience has been that people become far more racially tolerant as a result of exposure to the situation as it really is in this area and its schools[14]. For this reason it is argued in Chapter 4 that part of the solution to the problems the people of the area have to contend with lies in what can

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13. The Std 10 examination is theoretically tied to white standards but it is widely recognized amongst educationists that papers written by whites are of a higher standard, despite the standardisation efforts of the Joint Matriculation Board. There is, nevertheless, a significant gap between the standards set by the black Std 10 examination and those of the internal assessment procedures of the schools in the area.

14. See Appendix 2.

be done formally and non-formally to increase the awareness levels of whites.

THE QUALITY OF THE PUPILS' HOME BACKGROUNDS

The socio-economic and intellectual quality of pupils' home backgrounds has a definite bearing on how well they do at school. This being the case, attention is now directed to the various relevant aspects at work.

1. Physical aspects of the home background

The great majority of the homes of pupils are very small, certainly in comparison with the homes of white pupils. The homes have fewer rooms than white homes (Table 24) and from impressions gained whilst conducting the research, the rooms are also much smaller. Furthermore, some of the rooms such as kitchens and lounges (where these exist) are multi-functional.

Table 24 Number of rooms in the homes of children attending school

Number	Primary schools (%)		High schools (%)	
	Blacks (n = 313)	Whites (n = 547)	Blacks (n = 120)	Whites (n = 74)
5 and less	52	3	47	11
6	18	7	21	1
7	10	10	10	9
8	9	14	13	8
9	5	16	4	12
10	2	12	3	10
More than 10	4	38	2	38

Z and U scores

High school pupils

$U = 0$

Difference is significant
($\alpha = 0{,}002$)

Primary school pupils

$Z = 7{,}67$

Difference is significant
($\alpha = 0{,}001$)

When seen not so much in relation to the size of the immediate family (Table 25) but, more particularly, to the large numbers of people residing in the homes (Table 26), largely as a result of the operation of the extended family system, a picture of extremely crowded living conditions emerges. Such conditions make quiet, private homework study substantially more difficult for blacks than for whites[15].

Table 25 Children attending school : family size

School category	Average family size
Black primary	6 (n = 313)
White primary	3 (n = 550)
Black high	5 (n = 120)
White high	3 (n = 75)

Z and U scores

High school pupils	Primary school pupils
U = 0	Z = 7,62
Difference is significant (α = 0,002)	Difference is significant (α = 0,001)

15. Some 40% of all the black pupils reported that they studied in private (cf 58% of white pupils).
The figure for black pupils is rather higher than might have been expected in the circumstances, while it seems reasonable, given the larger accommodation facilities of whites, to suggest that more whites could study in private if they so chose.

Table 26 Number of people staying in the homes of pupils

Number of people	Primary schools (%)		High schools (%)	
	Blacks (n = 313)	Whites (n = 548)	Blacks (n = 117)	Whites (n = 75)
5 and less	15	71	25	76
6	14	19	14	16
7	13	5	11	8
8	19	1	9	-
9	12	2	16	-
10	13	1	15	-
More than 10	13	1	11	-

Z and U scores

High school pupils	Primary school pupils
U = 0	Z = 7,67
Difference is significant (α = 0,002)	Difference is significant (α = 0,001)

A number of further relevant factors which emerged during informal discussions with some of the black pupils should be noted :

a) Many of the pupils mentioned that they did not have sufficient time for studying at home because of the numerous chores they were given by their parents upon their return from school.

b) Evening study is made difficult by the lack of electricity and thus effective lighting. Gas, the most effective alternative, is considered too expensive by many parents.

c) Home study is hampered by the lack of suitable furniture such as tables and desks as indeed by the absence of suitable forms of reading material for reference purposes.

2. Socio-economic aspects of the home background

a) Parental attitudes, assistance and influences

It has already been noted that the vast majority of parents with children at school feel that it is important for their

off-spring to receive an education. This in itself is a favourable state of affairs and must clearly exercise a positive influence on the children. However, further investigation of the situation revealed a number of problem areas.

i) Comparatively few pupils can rely on their parents assisting them with their homework (27% as opposed to 78% among white children). This is clearly more a reflection of the parents' lack of ability to offer assistance because of inadequacies in their own educational attainment than of a lack of interest (see below).

ii) That the parents are in some way interested in their children's school work is reflected in the fact that 92% of them reported that they encouraged their children with their school work. What is far more important, however, is the nature of the encouragement offered (Table 27).

Table 27 Black childrens' school work : nature of parental encouragement

Nature of encouragement	Percentage of parents (n = 241)
1. Provision of a material reward for success at school	36
2. Provision of material school needs	38
3. Verbal encouragement	17
4. Granting time for homework	4
5. Providing reading matter and encouraging reading at home	4
6. Actively helping children	1
7. Enforcing school attendance	1

Attention needs to be drawn to several important factors here :

- There is a strong materialistic bias in the form of encouragement offered. The desirability of this is

often open to question. Certainly sound, balanced, meaningful encouragement has to go much further.

- A number of the parents reported that they encouraged their children verbally but did not elaborate. It must be stressed that the type of verbal encouragement offered can be of particular importance. The continual issuing of threats (which some children did mention as a factor in their backgrounds) and the placing of undue stress on children for example, could not be considered desirable.
- Some of the forms of encouragement listed in the table would not be regarded as such or certainly would not be regarded as being of special importance if western criteria were used. For example, providing for the material school needs of children, granting time for the completion of homework tasks and enforcing school attendance.
- Only a small number of parents appear to regard the active helping of their children as a form of encouragement in its own right. (The pupil survey (see ai) on page 128 suggests that more children receive help than is reflected in the data on parental encouragement).

iii) The view of many of the parents that education has little intrinsic value of its own, not an entirely healthy view, is bound to colour the views of their children.

Two further aspects of direct parental influence should also be mentioned.

1. Male/female preferences regarding the receipt of education

Parents of children of both sexes at school did not show a particularly strong male/female preference with respect to their education (Table 28). Where a preference was specified, however, it was more dominantly male than female biased.

Table 28 Black childrens' education : male/female preferences on the part of parents

Preference	Percentage of parents (n = 217)
None	83
Male	14
Female	3

2. The school starting age

The fact that some parents do not allow their children to start school until comparatively late in life, as has been discussed previously, tends not to work in the best interests of the children concerned. Apart from making them old for their classes which can also have adverse effects on other children, their time of entry into a state of financial independence is also unnecessarily delayed.

Aspects of less direct parental influence

These aspects were not formally researched and the comments made are based on impressions gained whilst working in the area and on informal discussions with teachers, principals and some of the pupils and parents themselves.

1. Alcohol abuse

This would appear to be a problem affecting a considerable number of families. The main offenders are the fathers and

young adult males.

2. Violence in the home

This too came across as a problem in some cases. Crowded living conditions and the abuse of alcohol were mentioned as being the most significant aggravating factors.

3. Broken homes

Reports in this regard are supported by the high degree of absenteeism amongst fathers (19%) already discussed.

The issue of concern is that such conditions must surely detract from the quality of the home background of children and clearly compound the problems and inadequacies discussed elsewhere in this thesis.

b) Other socio-economic aspects of the home background

An examination of selected additional aspects of the pupils' home background contributes towards a further understanding of the parental attitudes and influences and, furthermore, provides new insights into the structural factors affecting the quality of education.

1. Parents' education

While mention has already been made of the poor quality of parents' education, a clear indication of gross inadequacies in the system of 'native'/'Bantu' education in the past, Table 29 provides further insights into the nature of the situation. The dominance of the lower educational standards is abundantly clear with the fathers as a group being marginally better educated than the mothers.

Such a situation must clearly exert some influence on the quality of the intellectual environment of the homes of the pupils.

Table 29 Educational levels attained by parents with children at school

Level attained	Fathers (%) (n = 215)	Mothers (%) (n = 257)
Nil	11	16
Class 1/2/Std 1	12	8
Std 2/3	10	18
Std 4/5	23	22
Std 6/7	24	19
Std 8	10	10
Std 9	2	1
Std 10	5	5
Diploma	1	1
Degree	1	-

2. Parents' occupations

Table 30 shows that most parents are engaged in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. The category of labourer is particularly dominant amongst the fathers while the largest category amongst the mothers (excluding those who are housewives) is that of domestic servant.

Table 30 Occupations of parents with children at school

Occupation	Household head (%) (n = 259)	Fathers (%) (n = 209)	Mothers (%) (n = 254)
Labourer	48	52	13
Housewife	-	-	46
Domestic servant	7	-	18
Driver	9	11	-
Nurse	3	-	7
Factory supervisor	4	5	-
Factory operator	4	5	-
Teacher	4	3	4
Seamstress	-	-	3
Bricklayer	2	2	-
Nurse aid	-	-	2
Shop assistant	-	-	2
Other	18	22	6

Unskilled and semi-skilled occupations offer little if any meaningful promotional opportunity. They are routine based, offer no challenge to their incumbents and confer little status[16].

The degree of unemployment in the area presents itself as an additional problem. For example, 14% of the fathers of Std 4 and Std 5 pupils at the two schools actually in the Qadi area were unemployed at the time the research was undertaken[17]. It should be stressed here that unemployment was far more severe amongst young people who had left school (see on).

An interpretation of this situation has to take account of the following issues :

a) Inadequacies in the education received by the parents. Discrimination against blacks has forced most of them into unskilled positions.

b) While the South African economy is short of certain categories of skilled labour, there is a large surplus of unskilled and semi-skilled labour which results in an increased prospect of unemployment for people in the lower job categories.

c) Discriminatory practices have constituted barriers to black occupational advancement. While such practices are no longer formalised in law they still exist in a number of areas of the wage economy. Even where this is not so the damage has long been done for people who may now regard it as being too inconvenient or financially impossible to undertake the extensive training and/or studying necessary to improve their occupational status.

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16. The CASS prestige score averages for the parents were :

Household head	-	35,06
Fathers	-	33,47
Mothers	-	33,12 (including housewives)

The survey conducted in the white schools revealed a situation in which parents held jobs of much higher status and prestige: the average score for the fathers was 67,81 and that for the mothers was 46,97.

17. See Appendix 4.

3. Family income

It is hardly surprising, in view of what has been said above, to find a predominance of low wages and incomes amongst the families of the area (Table 31). Perhaps the most important indicator in the table is that of total family income[18] for it is likely that the costs of educating children[19] would be measured against this rather than the individual incomes of family members.

When it is realised that 66% of the families received an income of less than R400 per month, it is clear that the area suffers from a considerable degree of poverty.

Table 31 Incomes of parents with children at school

Income per month	Total family income (%) (n = 264)	Household head income (%) (n = 261)	Fathers income (%) (n = 211)	Mothers income (%) (n = 138)
Less than R100	3	7	4	30
100 - 199	16	26	24	41
200 - 299	24	42	45	20
300 - 399	23	19	21	7
400 - 499	18	3	4	1
500 - 599	8	1	-	1
600 - 699	3	1	1	1
700+	5	1	1	-

18. Total family income incorporates all contributions to the family, including those of children working on a temporary or permanent basis.

19. See Appendix 5.

4. Absence of fathers

Mention has already been made of the high degree of absenteeism amongst the fathers of children who attend school in the area. Particular note should be taken of the undue stress which is placed on the mothers. They have to assume the disciplinary and supportive roles traditionally assigned to fathers, a responsibility made extremely difficult if, at the same time, they have to work in order to support their families. It should be remembered here that the mothers as a group have lower incomes than the fathers (Table 31) and this would serve only to further compound the problems they and their families have to contend with.

Such aspects of the pupils' home background are bound to filter through to the children in a number of ways. Particular note should be taken of :

a) The age at which children start school and the extent to which many are withdrawn prematurely.

b) The nature of parental encouragement and the extent to which parents are able and/or willing to actively help their children with their studies.

c) The number and nature of outings which parents undertake with their children.

d) The provision of adequate and appropriate reading matter and other stimulus material in the home.

e) The extent to which parents are able and/or willing to adequately provide for their children's school needs particularly in respect of books, stationery and uniforms.

f) The view of the world which the parents come to adopt and pass on to their children.

It is important to note, however, that the socio-economic background of the pupils does not only have a strong bearing on them as pupils but also on their schools. This arises from the fact that because government funding is so inadequate[20] the schools' dependence on school fees and additional donations by parents is very considerable. This is a far cry from the position in white schools although things are now beginning to change here with the state starting to require a greater financial contribution from parents.

It goes without saying that the amounts of money that can be raised from a poor black community are far from adequate to enable the schools to offer an acceptable standard of education and the pupils suffer as a result. They are entrapped in a situation from which there is no escape until:

- the schools, as institutions, are upgraded;
- the quality of the teaching staff is improved;
- the socio-economic deprivation which they experience at home is alleviated.

Only structural change at the macro level will make it possible for such a transformation to be realised.

ARE THE PUPILS AWARE OF THEIR ENTRAPPED SITUATION?

While this is a difficult question to answer fully, an analysis of the pupils' educational and occupational aspirations and expectations provides valuable insights into how they feel about their situation and their chances of attaining their goals. The analysis that follows is based on a technique developed by Wellings (1982) in a similar study in Kenya.

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20. The Kwa Zulu government, heavily dependent for its funds from Pretoria, pays teachers' salaries, provides basic furniture and some (far from adequate according to all the school principals contacted) books and stationery. School buildings are financed on a rand for rand basis and this places a considerable financial stress on a poor community.

1. Educational aspirations and expectations

Table 32A shows that aspiration levels are high. In fact there is no significant difference between their aspirations and those of whites at both the primary and high school levels[21]. It is interesting to note that over 80% of all the pupils studied (primary and high) aspired to a tertiary education and that this aspiration was more strongly felt, at the high school level, by blacks (94%) than by whites (91%).

Table 32A Educational aspirations of the pupils surveyed

Aspiration	Primary schools (%)		High schools (%)	
	Blacks (n = 313)	Whites (n = 518)	Blacks (n = 120)	Whites (n = 68)
University	69	69	70	62
College/Technikon	5	18	24	29
Std 10	24	13	5	9
Std 8/9	1	1	1	-
Less than Std 8	-	-	-	-

See Appendix 6 for all Z and U scores.

The picture is rather different as far as expectation levels are concerned. Here there were significant differences between blacks and whites. White expectations were far higher than was the case amongst blacks at both the primary and high school levels (Table 32B).

21. See Appendix 6 for all Z and U score values and tabulation of differences.

Table 32B Educational expectations of the pupils surveyed

Expectation	Primary schools (%)		High schools (%)	
	Blacks (n = 307)	Whites (n = 526)	Blacks (n = 119)	Whites (n = 69)
University	8	49	3	46
College/Techikon	3	20	24	41
Std 10	36	30	62	13
Std 8/9	46	2	11	-
Less than Std 8	7	-	1	-

See Appendix 6 for all Z and U scores.

Amongst both blacks and whites (primary and high school) expectations were lower than aspirations with the differences being most marked amongst blacks.

White aspirations and expectations remained virtually the same between the primary and high school levels. For example, while 87% of the primary pupils aspired to a tertiary education, 69% expected to attain such an education. Amongst high school pupils, the corresponding figures were 91% and 87%.

Amongst blacks aspirations and expectations increased between the primary and high school levels. For example, 74% of the primary pupils aspired to a tertiary education and 11% expected the same. The corresponding figures for pupils at high school were 94% and 27%.

Given the problems that black pupils have to contend with in their homes and at the schools they attend it is clear that their aspirations are pitched at unrealistically high levels, this being particularly true of high school pupils. At the expectation level, however, black pupils (primary and high school) become more realistic and appear to show some awareness of their entrapped situation.

While the differences between white aspirations and expectations are significant the disparity between them is not as marked as amongst blacks, particularly at the high school level. This

would seem to suggest that they in turn are aware of their superior lot in life. They know that they have a chance of realising their aspirations and it would appear that this awareness increases higher up in the school.

The significant differences between black primary and high school pupils are worthy of note, particularly the fact that apart from the significant disparity between the aspirations and expectations of all pupils, both the aspirations and expectations are significantly higher at the high school level. Such a situation could well be related to high school pupils' perceptions of themselves as an elite (which they are if the shape of the educational pyramid is considered) which appears not to be the case amongst whites. The harsh reality, however, is that for many the higher aspirations and expectations held are destined to come to nought for failure and drop-out rates are extremely high in black schools[22]. It is worth noting at this juncture that 62% of the black high school pupils in the study area (Stds 6-10) expected to attain a Std 10 education while all of those in Std 10 expected to pass and 88% expected to attain a tertiary education.

This raises a further question. While black pupils appear to be more realistic in their expectations than their aspirations, are they being realistic enough, particularly at high school? The information presented thus far would seem to demand a negative answer and this is confirmed by comparing pupil expectation levels with :

- the educational track records of the sibling or siblings (not at school) in each family who has/have made the most progress at school;
- the extent to which all siblings (not at school) were studying or training at the time the research was undertaken to improve their educational qualifications.

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22. See the figures quoted in Chapter 2 and in Table 1B.

Most of the pupils (blacks and whites) expected to attain a standard of education in excess of that attained by the sibling/s with the highest level of education in the family. This is more noticeable at the high school level and is particularly strongly reflected amongst white high school pupils (Tables 33 A & B). Pupil expectation scores amongst primary school pupils exceeded sibling scores in 71% of cases amongst blacks and 65% amongst whites. In the case of high school pupils expectation scores exceeded sibling scores in 79% of cases amongst blacks and 89% amongst whites.

Table 33A Pupils' expectation levels compared with the sibling/s (not at school) in each family who has/have made the most progress at school

Sibling achievement	Pupils' Expectation	Black Primary % (n = 194)	Black High % (n = 85)	White Primary % (n = 99)	White High % (n = 37)
3	4	1	8	12	35
2	3	14	29	9	3
1	3	20	18	-	-
2	4	1	8	3	-
1	4	1	7	-	-
3	3	3	18	33	11
2	2	15	4	-	-
1	2	27	6	-	-
2	5	2	1	4	8
1	5	4	1	-	-
3	5	2	-	37	43
2	1	1	-	-	-
1	1	8	-	-	-
3	2	3	-	1	-

Coding key

5 - University education

4 - College/Technikon education

3 - Std 10

2 - Stds 8/9

1 - Less than Std 8

Table 33B Pupils' expectation levels compared with the sibling/s (not at school) in each family who has/have made the most progress at school

1. Sibling score and pupil score are the same

Primary school pupils (%)		High school pupils (%)	
Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites
26	33	21	11

2. Pupil score exceeds sibling score

	Primary school pupils (%)		High school pupils (%)	
	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites
By 1 point	42	21	46	38
By 2 points	23	40	24	43
By 3 points	2	4	8	8
By 4 points	4	-	1	-
Total	71	65	79	89

3. Pupil score is less than sibling score

	Primary school pupils (%)		High school pupils (%)	
	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites
By 1 point	4	1	-	-
Total	4	1	-	-

It is important to realise, however, that the sibling scores are school scores only and it is therefore necessary to examine the situation in relation to any further study being undertaken. Only 2% of all the siblings of black pupils (not at school) were studying to upgrade their education at the time the research was undertaken (1% at the tertiary level). By contrast, 20% of all the siblings of white pupils (not at school) were engaged in further study, all at the tertiary level, quite apart from those who may have attained higher qualifications in the past.

The point to emerge from this is that most of the black sibling school scores are likely to remain unchanged. The very strong pattern of pupil expectations exceeding sibling attainments is likely to persist. With far more white sibling scores being upgraded the extent to which pupil expectations exceed sibling attainments is likely to narrow appreciably.

On the track record of sibling performances therefore whites are far more likely to realise their expectations than blacks who emerge, once again, as being insufficiently realistic in their assessment of their life's chances.

2. Occupational aspirations and expectations

Pupils were asked to state three occupational aspirations and expectations in order of their preference. The score averages of their choices are given in Table 34.

Table 34 — Score averages of pupil occupational aspirations and expectations

Choice	Black primary		Black high		White primary		White high	
	Aspirations	Expectations	Aspirations	Expectations	Aspirations	Expectations	Aspirations	Expectations
1	68,53	48,94	69,40	54,05	73,30	71,38	80,00	79,08
2	70,27	50,64	68,63	59,13	69,35	68,35	75,68	74,94
3	68,02	47,24	66,47	55,32	68,82	69,12	77,25	75,81
Composite score	68,94	48,94	68,17	56,17	70,49	69,62	77,64	76,61

See Appendix 7 for all Z and U scores

As in the case of education, black aspirations were high. There was no significant difference between high school and primary pupils, the same being true amongst whites. Black scores were virtually the same as white scores at the primary level but were a little lower in the case of high school pupils.

The expectation scores of all pupils (blacks and whites) were lower than their aspiration scores except in the case of white primary pupils where aspiration and expectation scores were virtually the same. Black expectation scores were significantly lower than white expectation scores (high school and primary) and

were higher amongst high school pupils than primary pupils, the same being untrue of white scores[23].

The expectation score averages of blacks were confined to the lower levels of the CASS occupational grouping, particularly the scores of primary pupils (Table 35). White scores, by contrast, especially those of high school pupils, were associated with the higher levels.

Table 35 Rank order of CASS occupational groups (Code 1 - 20 in descending order of prestige)

Rank and coding order	CASS occupational group	CASS prestige scale
1	Independent and high professional, and equivalent status	82
2	High managerial, executive and administrative in large organisations, and equivalent status	81
3	Salaried professional and equivalent status	80
4	Semi-professional and equivalent status	73
5	Lower executive and administrative and equivalent status	73
6	Production managers, technical executives, works foremen, executive inspectors and equivalent status	72
7	Representatives, agents, salesmen and equivalent status	71
8	Owners and executives in small commerce and services and equivalent status	68
9	Owners and executives in small technical, and equivalent status	67
10	Senior clerical and equivalent status	66
11	Less senior clerical and equivalent status	65
12	Working proprietor in small commerce and services, and equivalent status	64
13	Farmers (excepting very large and industrialised operators)	58
14	Manual foreman and highcraft and status equivalent	58
15	Skilled artisan/craft in manufacturing and "other"	56
16	Skilled artisan/craft in construction	52
17	Routine non-manual and equivalent status	52
18	Semi-skilled manual and equivalent status	48
19	Unskilled manual and equivalent status	26
20	Menial routine and labour activities	20

23. See Appendix 7 for all Z and U scores and tabulation of differences.

When seen in relation to the CASS grouping, black scores would seem to be fairly realistic. However, it could be contended that the pupils are still being a little too optimistic for their scores tend to cluster around occupations which are subject to high rates of unemployment. Certainly if the track-records of their siblings are anything to go by the future does not auger well for many of the pupils[24].

It should also be noted that the occupational desires of the black pupils reflect a complete dependence on the white dominated wage economy. No pupils expressed a desire to become involved in the traditional sector. This being the case, note should be taken of the following constraints :

1. The people have no meaningful say in the political structure within which the wage economy is embedded. This situation may begin to change in future as black trade unionism becomes more organised.
2. The people have a very restricted choice as to where they can live in relation to their places of employment. Most of the workers are employed in the Pinetown, New Germany and Hammarsdale areas and for poor people without access to private transport, the commuting distances[25] and related costs involved are very considerable. Yet, largely because of the Group Areas Act, although also because of accommodation shortages in residential areas closer to places of employment, most of the workers have little option but to reside where they do[26].
3. As has been mentioned previously a number of barriers to black occupational advancement in the wage economy still exist. They are rooted in discriminatory legislation and in the prejudiced attitudes of employers and members of the public.

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24. 25% of the siblings of primary pupils (not at school and aged 15 years and more) and 19% of the siblings of high school pupils were unemployed at the time of the research.

25. Virtually all of the workers commute on a daily basis.

26. Personal communication : Mr S Gaza, long standing resident of the Qadi tribal area and Vice-Principal of one of the primary schools surveyed; November, 1983.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Access to education, the quality of that education and its effectiveness are controlled by 'in-community' and 'in-school' factors. In the light of this survey important 'in-community' factors include :

a) The extent to which parents are educated.
b) Whether parents are employed or unemployed.
c) The nature of the occupations held by those who are employed.
d) The size of family income, particularly in relation to the costs of schooling.
e) Parental attitudes towards education and the nature of parental encouragement.
f) The extent to which homes are overcrowded.
g) The absence or presence of fathers in the homes.
h) The abuse of alcohol and the existence of violence in homes.
i) Premature pregnancy.

Important 'in-school' factors[27] include :

a) The critical shortage of teachers.
b) The poor quality of the existing teaching corp.
c) Poorly used teaching methods and techniques of assessment.
d) The lack of extra-curricula activities.
e) Overcrowding and the lack of individual attention.
f) A desperate shortage of such basic facilities as halls, libraries, laboratories and sports fields.
g) The lack of educational resources such as charts, maps, slides and books.
h) Poorly ventilated, poorly lit, noisy classrooms.
i) The absence of running water and electricity.

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27. The picture of inadequacy that has emerged here is confirmed by a brief investigation (undertaken after the research for this thesis) by Moulder and Moulder (1984).

Both groups of factors are instrumental in determining whether children attend school or not and in dictating the quality and effectiveness of education (vastly inferior to that received by whites) received by those who do attend. Both groups are in turn affected by broader constraints within the political economy.

The spatial component, significantly, has been shown to be relatively unimportant. It follows that meaningful structural change at the macro level is required to help the pupils of the area out of the entrapped situation in which they find themselves. Spatial manipulation may help to relieve some of the existing bottlenecks in terms of access, but it clearly does not hold the key to the problem.

The analysis of the educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of the pupils of the Qadi area suggests that at present they are not sufficiently aware of the reality of their situation nor perhaps sufficiently politicised to reject the system out of hand. The situation is therefore such that any violence which may erupt is likely to be outside the school situation rather than inside it. However, this is likely to change as the pupils become more politicized as inevitably they must, given the social problems of the area and the pattern of events which has unfolded in other parts of the country.

C H A P T E R 4

CONCLUSIONS AND SOLUTIONS

CHAPTER SUMMARY

While it is clear that apartheid structures will ultimately have to be removed entirely in the interests of authentic and equitable educational development in South Africa, this chapter, accepting that the Nationalists are likely to be in power for some time to come, considers a number of interim solutions to the problems of black education within the existing apartheid framework.

Attention is given to :

a) Some of the possibilities which arise out of the HSRC Investigation (1981) and the Buthelezi Investigation (1982).
b) Ways in which the shortage of black teachers and the poor quality of the existing teaching corp may be tackled.
c) The extent to which problems may be alleviated by the adoption of programmes of non-formal education.
d) A possible alternative to state monopoly in education.
e) The need to increase the level of awareness amongst white South Africans.
f) Ways in which private capital may render assistance.

It is recognized that these solutions are reformist in nature and that they may develop structures that will impede real change. It is felt, nevertheless, that they can do much to alleviate hardship in the interim.

It is appropriate to be reminded at the outset that the response of black youth to the system of educational provision has not been directed only at the education system itself but also, and perhaps more particularly, at the broader socio-political framework within which the education system is embedded (Gilbert, 1982; Kane-Berman, 1978; SAIRR, 1978). Blacks have been calling, in fact, for a new political, social and economic order in South Africa. Only such change at the macro level can produce what they perceive to be the appropriate solutions. Their message is clear. A new education can be truly effective only if it is linked with fundamental structural change. This conviction also has the support of a number of academics (Evans, 1981, quoted by Schoeman, 1984; Hunter, 1978; Thembela, 1982; Webster D, 1982; Webster E, 1982).

Thembela (1982, 148) makes the point with penetrating simplicity when he writes :

> " ... I need a way of dramatising what I want to say ...
> a) Fish can only swim in water. If you remove fish from that context they will die. If you pollute water, fish will be seriously affected.
> b) Birds can only fly in the air. Polluted air is dangerous to bird life.
> c) Worms thrive in the soil.
>
> In all these cases if the conditions ... are not condusive to the desired life activities these creatures will suffer accordingly. My thesis is: human beings can only be educated properly within the context of a favourable socio-political environment."

In accepting this thesis one has to ask what can be done in the South African context. It is clear that the present political arrangement will not permit an education based on genuine equality of opportunity and which satisfies the aspirations and expectations of its users as well as the needs of society and the economy. It is equally clear, given the power base that the Nationalists have established for themselves and the divisions within the forces of resistance, that the status quo in South Africa is unlikely to crumble within the foreseeable future. The question which arises therefore is, 'Does one

work within the existing structural framework or not'? It is the writer's contention that it is possible to do so. Provided that one is prepared to hold many of one's ideals in abeyance there is much that can and needs to be done to improve peoples' situations within the existing framework. The argument from the left of the political spectrum that such a position would involve nothing more than a 'papering over the cracks', a 'propping up' of an undesirable system or even be regarded as the erection and/or maintenance of structures that will ultimately have to be removed is acknowledged. However, if by working within the existing framework, one can help a black teacher to matriculate or provide nutrition education or improve the supply of textbooks, or provide literacy courses, if one can do these things now, thousands stand to gain something that they might otherwise never have acquired. It should also be remembered that such efforts need not be entirely divorced from the broader structural framework. Helping to make people literate for example, can be important in their broader politization and thus in preparing them to perhaps start initiating political and social change at the macro level. The work of Paulo Freire (1973), quoted by Giroux (1983), is interesting in this regard[1]. The introduction of a liberal component into programmes of non-formal/ career education could well have a similar effect and thus help to offset, to some extent, the fears that scholars such as

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1. Freire argues that traditional literacy programmes are mechanical, alienating and repressive in that they ignore culture and help to:

   " ... reinforce the dominant ideology's view of people as being inferior and responsible for their own location in the class structure."
   (Giroux, 1983, 226).

   They deny the people the ability to respond to their oppressed state.

   Central to Freire's approach, by contrast, is the notion of 'conscientization'. Culture and power are built into literacy programmes. These are :

   " ... grounded in the cultural milieu that informs the context of the learners' everyday lives."
   (Giroux, 1983, 228).

   People are taught to respond to their oppression. They come to understand the political and social issues that affect them and regard themselves as :

   " ... agents who can engage in the task of social and political reconstruction."
   (Giroux, 1983, 228).

Chisholm and Christie (1983) have about the possible effect of such programmes within the present apartheid framework (see on).

It is possible, furthermore, to argue the case for fundamental change, to criticize, to point to weaknesses, to play a 'watch-dog' role. This will not, in the present South African context, bring one to one's ideal position but someone's hardship may just be alleviated, someone's chances improved, even if ever so slightly. It is possible to argue in this regard that while 'liberal' opposition groups in South Africa are not necessarily liberating in the long term they have nevertheless achieved much in this way.

What then, more specifically, can be done within the existing structural framework to improve the educational lot of blacks?

1. Some possibilities arising out of the HSRC Investigation into Education (1981)

The argument that the HSRC Investigation does not seek to abolish apartheid within the educational system but rather to modernise and streamline it (Chisholm and Christie, 1983; NUSAS, 1982; Kallaway, 1984) is acknowledged. It is felt, nevertheless, that some good could emerge from its recommendations. The following selective discussion is intended to substantiate this view rather than to offer a comprehensive account of the recommendations.

One of the key recommendations, apart from that relating to the establishment of a single education ministry, was that there should be a reordering of priorities in the allocation of general government expenditure. Education should receive a greater share of the national budget and, furthermore, the disparity between the white share and the black share per capita should be removed. The government has accepted this and if it acts upon the recommendation considerable improvements are possible. Admittedly, genuine equality of opportunity is unlikely within the so-called 'separate but equal' framework which the government is adhering to and certainly the best interests of education will not be served (Bot, 1984; Hartshorne, 1984). It is also true that genuine equality is unlikely in terms of the Commission's own thinking on educational expenditure. It suggests, for

example, that local communities should assume a greater financial responsibility. In failing to address itself to broader structural issues it loses sight of the fact that wealthy white communities will be in a far better position to help finance their children's education than poorer black communities. The point is, though, that if the recommendation means nothing else other than that black education comes to receive more money than hitherto, then, in the context of South Africa's historical and legislative framework, much will have been achieved. Meaningful improvements might be possible in such obvious priority areas as teacher training, classroom accommodation, teaching aids and physical facilities.

A related suggestion was that wherever possible scarce resources (such as libraries, laboratories, sports fields and teachers with scarce subject qualifications) should be shared between schools so as to maximise their use. Sharing between schools and the community in which they are situated was also put forward as a possibility. There is much to commend this idea particularly in view of the fact that redressing the enormous expenditure back-logs that have built up over the years is not going to be accomplished overnight. The point is, however, that there has to be something to share in the first place. The schools studied in the Qadi area, for example, reported that they did not engage in any form of sharing simply because there was, in the schools and the community, nothing to share. One is forced to return to the position that more money needs to be spent on black education as a whole. People can only share things which they have. Of course white schools have much to offer black schools but such sharing is unlikely within the existing legislative framework.

The Commission expressed much concern over the very weak holding power of black schools and made it quite clear that everything possible should be done to ensure that black pupils stay at school for longer time periods. It places, for example, considerable emphasis on pre-basic education, recommending deliberate state intervention in the form of a 'bridging period' of one or two years duration. The aim is to bridge the gap

between what the home and the community are able to provide for the child intellectually and what the school demands. Much could be achieved from this given the nature of environmental deprivation affecting black children (see Chapter 3).

Similarly the Commission addressed itself to the need to restructure basic and post-basic education. It suggested that after the pre-basic phase a child should enter basic education, a phase of six years duration. The aim here is to confer basic literacy and numeracy as well as " ... some understanding of life" (HSRC Investigation, 1981, 108) upon the child. It should also bring children:

> " ... closer to the possibility of becoming trainees in work situations and/or continuing their education on a part-time basis by means of non-formal education."
> (HSRC Investigation, 1981, 109).

The basic phase should be followed by a period of post-basic education directed at the differentiated needs of pupils. More particularly the Commission had in mind :

> "The differentiated abilities, interests and choices of the learners on the one hand and the differentiated needs and objectives of society on the other."
> (HSRC Investigation, 1981,101).

The Commission suggested that only six years at school (the basic phase) should be compulsory, but that nine years of education should be compulsory. In other words, after basic education the remaining three years of compulsory education can be spent either at school or out of school in non-formal career/vocational education. Potentially there is much here that could reduce drop-out/failure rates particularly in view of the recommended flexible relationships between the formal and non-formal sectors, a relationship encouraging, if necessary or desirable, freedom of movement between the two at different stages of a child's educational career.

Of course it is indeed likely that it will be mainly blacks who are channelled into vocational/career education and the

contention of Chisholm and Christie (1983) that this will reproduce existing class differences and racial capitalism is clearly valid. However, this risk should be weighed against the following considerations :

a) Blacks may come to win increased economic power, provided that their skills can be translated into jobs, via worker linked education (King, 1979). Despite capital's tendency to deskill labour it is feasible that more blacks would be able to secure employment in the wage economy. While many may indeed be in inferior positions they will have at least secured a place on the factory floor. From this base they, particularly those with skills which are difficult to replace, can both earn money and begin to work for the establishment of a more just socio-economic order via trade union activity[2], for example.

b) At present most blacks receive a totally inadequate education. The new emphasis on the role that can be played by non-formal education holds out some hope for improvement (King, 1979). Much depends, of course, on whether blacks will be prepared to accept the non-formal alternative.

c) Career/vocational education could prove to be important in preparing some blacks to eventually operate business enterprises of their own (King, 1979).

d) Possibilities for extending opportunities in black academic training should not be overlooked. King (1979) mentions, by way of example, the possibility of extending the UNISA model to provide a second chance facility to people wishing to engage in various levels of non-university academic education.

e) The introduction of a liberal component into programmes of non-formal career/vocational education heralds the possibility of producing independent, questioning, critical

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2. Admittedly much depends on the freedom of trade unions to act in various ways.

thinkers[3]. This could be instrumental in helping workers in their struggle for an improved societal framework.

2. Some possibilities arising out of the Buthelezi Commission (1982)

Many of the key recommendations here overlap with those made by the HSRC Investigation (1981) but in offering a more comprehensive subject coverage than the HSRC Investigation a number of additional issues are raised. Again no attempt is made to offer a comprehensive coverage of the Commission's recommendations and attention is directed to those relating to the teaching profession as it is felt that many of these could be particularly useful.

Recognizing that there is an acute shortage of black teachers in Kwa Zulu the Commission recommended that the number of teachers being trained be increased significantly as soon as possible. It argued for the urgent construction of additional Colleges of Education and the rational, efficient use of existing colleges. Some of the Commission's thoughts are particularly interesting and would not be difficult to put into effect. For example, it suggests that existing black college intakes be doubled and that a 'sandwich' structure be introduced. Students would enrol in January and in July and then engage in a six month period of intensive academic work which would be followed by six months of teaching practice. Such an arrangement which would involve a four year course could well operate within the existing structural framework and should not involve very major changes in the pattern of resource allocation.

The Commission also suggested that teacher numbers could be significantly increased at little or no extra cost if existing training facilities were used more rationally and efficiently by being opened to all races. The present writer would support this idea. For example, Edgewood College of Education presently has a white student enrolment of six hundred and a staff of eighty. It

3. Personal communication: Professor A L Le Roux, Rector, Edgewood College of Education, Pinetown, June, 1984.

is feasible that student numbers could be increased to at least one thousand without there having to be major staffing and accommodation/facility adjustments[4]. However, at present the number is held down to six hundred by the operation of a quota system which seeks to 'match' the number of teachers produced by the College with the white teaching needs of Natal. A similar quota system is operative at the other white colleges in the province except for the College of Education for Further Training in Pietermaritzburg which is a correspondence college catering for white teachers (and recently for a number of 'coloured' teachers) wishing to upgrade their qualifications.

The government has so far refused to open Colleges of Education to all races despite various 'relaxations' at university level and the fact that opening them to all would not change the fundamental apartheid framework. This is definitely an area in which those working for change within the apartheid framework could make a meaningful contribution towards the alleviation of the problem of teacher supply amongst blacks.

Two further recommendations of the Commission are also noteworthy. In the first instance, there is the suggestion that there should be an increase in the value and number of bursaries/loans available to black teacher trainees. This would be of considerable financial advantage to many people. Secondly, the Commission recommended that teacher salaries should be considerably improved. The salaries of all teachers of all races should be equalised on the basis of merit while the salaries of underqualified people should be raised to realistic levels. This would have the effect of attracting more desperately needed teachers to the profession and of encouraging practicing teachers to remain within it.

The Commission also gave considerable attention to the quality of teaching in the Natal-Kwa Zulu region and once again many, if not all of its recommendations, could be put into effect within the existing structural framework. By way of example, mention is

4. Ibid.

made of :

1. The provision of short, intensive upgrading courses (professional and academic) at <u>all</u> tertiary institutions during evenings and vacations.
2. The encouragement of inter-school visits and the implementation of teacher exchange programmes.
3. The increased professional association between teachers of all races.
4. The establishment of a professional council for all teachers.
5. Giving attention, within training courses, to the teacher as a community leader.
6. The raising of teacher salaries so as to encourage students of higher calibre to enter training institutions.
7. The opening of training institutions to all races so as to expose more blacks to the same quality of training as that enjoyed by whites.
8. The movement towards a uniform policy of teacher training including uniform entrance requirements.
9. The progressive improvement of teacher-pupil ratios on the grounds that teachers would be more effective with smaller classes and that their morale would also be boosted. A related suggestion was that facilities such as laboratories and libraries should be provided to help teachers in their classroom activities.
10. The construction of strategically placed teacher centres and reference lending libraries which would be accessible to as many teachers as possible.

Quite clearly, if these recommendations were ever to be put into effect considerable amounts of additional money would have to be injected into black education. The Commission recognized this and, like the HSRC Investigation (1981), made much of the urgent need to equalize expenditure between the black and white educational sectors. It should be remembered that the government has publically committed itself to the removal of existing financial backlogs.

3. Some further comments on the teaching profession

a) The acute shortage of black teachers has been highlighted by the HSRC and Buthelezi Investigations and this study and some possibilities for coming to terms with the situation have been presented above. Attention is here given to a further possibility, that of using white teachers in black senior primary and secondary schools (they could not be used in junior primary schools because of language difficulties). The following points in favour of this idea are worthy of consideration :

1. There would appear to be a surplus of white teachers in some fields. Over a number of years the Natal Education Department, for example, has made a considerable number of women on its temporary staff redundant.
2. Many white qualified married women teachers are not teaching at present and remain at home as housewives.
3. Certainly in the case of Edgewood College of Education in Pinetown far more whites apply to train as teachers than can be accepted in terms of the quota system. In 1983, for example, 476 students applied for admission and only 157 were accepted[5].

The point is that an enormous reservoir of human resources is not being tapped here. Large numbers of presently qualified white women could be recruited into black schools. Kwa Zulu, for example, has indicated that whites would be welcome in its schools and many of these are within a comparatively short distance of white population centres. A major problem, however, would seem to be that of white women travelling into black residential areas alone. In view of the recent unrest in black schools and townships, many are afraid to undertake such journeys. The problem is not insurmountable, however.

In addition, large numbers of additional whites could be

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5. Personal communication: Mr G Nichols, Student Adviser, Edgewood College of Education, Pinetown, June 1984.

trained at provincial Colleges of Education such as Edgewood. It should be noted here that the present quota system does allow selectivity in terms of student intakes. A significantly increased intake at Edgewood could well result in a lowering of standards[6]. However, this need not become a major problem if the situation is carefully monitored. It is possible to argue, furthermore, that a re-gearing of teaching (which does not necessarily constitute a lowering of standards) is in fact necessary given the Third World character of the South African situation.

Such additional whites could also be recruited into Kwa Zulu's schools although existing funding arrangements would have to be modified somewhat. At present provincial funds are voted for white education only (HSRC Investigation, 1983). It might be possible, however, to arrange for loans/bursaries which would have been negotiated with the Natal Education Department, to be taken over by the Kwa Zulu government. Upon qualifying whites in receipt of such monies would move into Kwa Zulu schools. At present, however, Kwa Zulu is not keen to grant loans to whites, preferring to channel its available finances to blacks[7]. This need not be a cul-de-sac situation, however, for there is a possibility that private capital could be persuaded to make available the money needed for white student loans[8].

The further possibility of obtaining additional whites by importing selected teachers from First World countries such as the United Kingdom where so many teachers are currently unemployed, should not be forgotten.

There are potential problems, however. Using white teachers in the manner described above may well serve to 'block' black

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6. Ibid.

7. Personal communication: Le Roux, op. cit.

8. Ibid.

teachers in the long term. This might not be a problem, however, if the arrangements were seen as an interim measure only and whites were to be employed on a contract basis, for example. Furthermore, placing well qualified whites in positions alongside poorly qualified blacks may serve to highlight the inferiority of the blacks' position. Thembela (1982) warns that this could be damaging to the dignity and self-esteem of blacks and help to engender a 'dependency complex' from which it would be extremely difficult to emerge. It is contended, however, that this need not imply a dead end situation. Much depends on the personality and attitudes of the white teachers involved and if problems do present themselves it might be possible to introduce some kind of 'screening device'. Nichols[9] has suggested, for example, that loans granted to students in training be made contingent upon them teaching in black schools. Attitudes of students and the likelihood of them fitting into the black school environment could be effectively monitored by tutors during practice teaching periods.

b) The desperate need to upgrade the qualifications of the existing black teaching corp has also been highlighted by the HSRC (1981) and Buthelezi (1982) Investigations and this study.

At Edgewood College of Education, for example, facilities are used on an informal basis for the upgrading of teachers from the black areas adjacent to the Valley Trust. Teachers preparing for Std 10 examinations attend lectures given voluntarily by members of the College staff from 3 pm to 5 pm on two afternoons per week.

It is possible that the scale of such programmes could be extended and formalised with universities, technikons and colleges of education becoming involved or even taking the initiative as Edgewood has done on a limited basis. Black

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9. Personal communication: Nichols, op. cit.

students would not be admitted according to the permit or quota regulations but would attend late afternoon, separate classes (HSRC Investigation, 1983; Le Roux[10], 1984). In the long term, however, if existing facilities are to be shared and utilized to best advantage, official sanction and financial support would be necessary.

Niven (1982) outlines a framework for improving the classroom performance of teachers which also draws, to a large extent, on the assistance which could be rendered by tertiary institutions. He does not dispute the value of programmes designed to raise academic competence but questions whether such efforts really promote the effectiveness of teachers' classroom performance. He argues that a satisfactory level of personal education is in fact highly desirable but suggests that institutions of tertiary education should concentrate their efforts on improving the actual classroom performance of underqualified teachers. Their emphasis should be on the running of short, intensive, limited objective in-service courses specifically designed to improve teaching methodology.

Recognizing that there is an acute shortage of human resources to conduct such courses he suggests that use be made of the staff of presently under-utilized white colleges of education to train and prepare white surplus teachers (mainly primary school teachers) to engage in the task of running short term residential in-service courses (lasting a week or so) for under-qualified black teachers. Such courses should be supported by printed didactic material extending over a term (say) designed to help teachers in the classroom situation. Such a period of classroom input should be followed by follow-up intensive residential courses. Each training course should have limited, specific objectives and upon completing courses teachers should receive certificates of competency. A form of salary recognition should be

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10. Personal communication: op. cit.

incorporated into the planning and implementation of such courses.

Niven (1982) suggests, furthermore, that such a programme of teacher upgrading should be supplemented by one year full time courses which would be available to selected black candidates. The courses could be offered at in-service training centres, would embrace both subject content and methodology and would lead to the awarding of Diplomas in Further Education which could be conferred by either universities or colleges of education.

Niven (1982) concludes that programmes of this nature will benefit appreciably from increased interaction between teachers of all population groups and dialogue between teachers' societies. This will help to develop the professional self-confidence of the teacher. He also notes that because of the present system of multiple control in education with different departments being responsible for different groups, universities would be the ideal institutions (at least to begin with) to initiate, co-ordinate and supervise such programmes. It is interesting to note here that an upgrading programme along the lines described here has recently been launched by the University of Natal Hermann Ohlthaver Trust. The programme, under the directorship of Professor Niven :

> " ... is to be conducted as a carefully monitored research project and if it is successful, it will demonstrate ways and means of using staff within the region (Natal-Kwa Zulu) on a co-operative, co-ordinated basis without having to await major constitutional or structural changes in the education system."
> (HSRC Investigation, 1983, 8).

This approach towards teacher upgrading is somewhat unorthodox, certainly in the context of western education but given the vast number of under-qualified teachers in South Africa (Niven, (1982, 6,) puts the number at 88 000 out of

a total of 143 000), the enormity of the upgrading task that lies ahead, the need for practicing teachers to favourably influence, by their example in the classroom, the recruitment of new teachers (HSRC Investigation, 1983), and the existing surplus of white teachers and teacher educators, it is indeed one which could make a significant contribution towards improving the present position of black education.

It should be pointed out, however, that at present several tertiary institutions in the Natal-Kwa Zulu region are involved in teacher upgrading programmes of different kinds. These need to be co-ordinated and carefully controlled to ensure that the region as a whole profits in the best possible manner (HSRC Investigation, 1983). A regional co-ordinating committee on teacher education and upgrading representing all interested parties is urgently needed. Such a committee will become increasingly necessary as the teacher upgrading effort grows in magnitude as indeed it must if the problems of teacher numbers and quality are to be effectively tackled.

4. The role of non-formal education

Efforts to upgrade teachers along the lines just suggested belong to the realm of non-formal education. Given the role that this form of education can play in teacher education and the emphasis placed on it by the HSRC (1981) and Buthelezi (1982) Commissions it is appropriate to examine it in greater detail.

Non-formal education is a form of education planned and organised to occur outside the formal system (Lee, 1982). Programmes of non-formal education are conducted over the short term, have limited and specific objectives and are non-credential based, learner centred, environment based, community related, practical and run on a part-time basis (Russell, 1982). They respond to immediate needs and address themselves to the social issues excluded from the formal system - for example, the illiterate, the poor and the unemployed (Russell, 1982). As such they are particularly well suited to Third World countries where Schoeman

(1984) has noted the main task in education is one of 'catching up'. In these countries :

> " ... there is little time to build up an adequate supporting system of the formal kind. Literacy, numeracy, and essential basic skills need to be brought to the multitudes who have never seen the inside of a classroom. Since many of these probably never will, there is little choice but to by-pass the classroom altogether and to impart useful practical knowledge that they can apply at once to their jobs."
> (Schoeman, 1984, 49).

Hartshorne (1978), in speaking of the situation in South Africa, in particular, has noted that non-formal education is essential for those for whom formal education has not been accessible and for those whom it has failed to hold. The immediate purpose of non-formal education in South Africa is 'operation second chance' so as :

> " ... to release new human potential and skills both into the economy and into community life."
> (Hartshorne, 1978, 151).

Hartshorne (1978) goes on to identify four basic areas in which development could be positively accelerated by programmes of non-formal education :

a) <u>The home and the family</u>
Examples of the type of non-formal education programmes here include family planning, child rearing, nutrition, budgeting, consumer education and home improvements.

b) <u>The community</u>
Possibilities here include the training of people to help other people, committee procedures, coping with urban living and the understanding of relevant political, social and economic issues.

c) <u>The school</u>
The aim of non-formal education here would be to finish the unfinished business of the school. Useful programmes would

include literacy and numeracy courses and instruction on how to study. While non-formal education is essentially non-credential orientated the provision of specific school qualifications (such as Std 8 or Std 10) outside the formal school situation is also included in this category of non-formal education.

d) <u>The work situation</u>
Here non-formal education would aim at providing people with very specific job related skills such as driving, typing, brick laying or spray painting.

Mention has been made in Chapter 3 of the Valley Trust Socio Medical Project which operates in the Qadi tribal area. The services offered by the Trust (e.g.nutrition education, agricultural and gardening advice, fish culture, soil and water conservation and fencing programmes) centre primarily on the home, family and community and are good examples of non-formal programmes at work. It might be mentioned that the Trust has recently become involved in programmes to improve the quality of teaching in the area.

A few cautionary remarks are necessary, however. Ideally non-formal education should not be regarded as a complete alternative to formal education but rather as a supplement to it (Schoeman, 1984). Given the pressure on formal systems, however, it seems likely that non-formal education will be increasingly called into service as an alternative and not a supplementary form of education (Schoeman, 1984).

It should also be noted that if non-formal education is to make a meaningful impact, a fairly high degree of infrastructural sophistication will be necessary. Programmes of non-formal education and the relationship between them and formal education (as suggested by the HSRC Investigation, 1981) will have to be carefully controlled and co-ordinated (Schoeman, 1984). If there is neglect here then institutions such as universities, churches, voluntary organisations and private capital which need to be included (Hartshorne, 1978) in non-formal programmes could find themselves clumsily duplicating their efforts.

The very real possibility exists, furthermore, that blacks, who will be the prime targets of non-formal education (because unlike academic education it will be subsidised by capital and therefore affordable) will come to regard it as a second best opportunity certainly as far as specific job/career training is concerned. One needs to be reminded again of the argument that blacks will end up as a controlled, exploited working class (Chisholm and Christie, 1983) and of the counter-considerations to this position mentioned earlier.

5. An alternative to government monopoly in education

Marais (1984), drawing his ideas from Milton Friedman (1962), suggests that in free enterprise economies there is no reason why the state should exercise the monopoly in education that it does. He argues for an alternative paradigm, based on free market principles and state finance (as opposed to a state monopoly), as being better able to achieve equality and efficiency in education in South Africa.

He proposes a two tier free market educational system.

a) Education vouchers for primary and junior secondary education

Marais (1984) suggests that the state would provide all pupils of basic school age with education vouchers of standard value, i.e. a document issued free which could be exchanged for approved educational services over a given time period. Parents would be free to choose the schools they wish their children to attend and schools would be free to run their own financial affairs and would be administered as independent business organisations.

Schools would be eager to attract pupils and competition between them would develop. This would promote internal efficiency. Marais argues, furthermore, that a variety of schools would develop to cater for the full range of consumer needs. He also believes that greater equality of opportunity would emerge as pupils would be able to attend the schools of

their choice. They would not be 'zoned' into weak schools in deprived areas. Even if they were to attend such schools competition would presumably mean that they became far better institutions than they are under the present system. He also mentions the possibility of compensatory vouchers being issued to pupils from homes where income is below a certain predetermined level. These might even allow such pupils to attend private schools which would also operate according to the voucher system.

Each school would be free to determine its own policy on the admission of different racial groups and it is here that the weakness of the proposal lies. Pupils would not in fact be free to attend the schools of their choice as he suggests. It is quite feasible that many white schools would opt to remain white. Most blacks would be compelled to attend black schools and while it is true that these schools would probably operate more efficiently under the proposed system, it should also be remembered that white schools would as well. It is likely in fact that the gap between black and white schools would remain. It should also be remembered that whites would be better able to supplement their vouchers financially than blacks.

Nevertheless it is quite possible that substantially more blacks would come to receive a superior education to what they receive at present. It is also feasible that the system, if introduced, could pave the way for an eventual compulsory opening of all schools to all races.

b) <u>Education loans for senior secondary and higher education</u>

Marais (1984) argues that to ensure that no one is deprived of access to senior secondary and higher education, government loans could be offered to people who need financial help. These would be repaid by their recipients over an extended time period once they had started working - say twenty-five years. Such a scheme would, he contends,

have the additional advantage of forcing students to make rational economic decisions as to whether to purchase further education and this could help tackle the problem of the educated unemployed.

Once again, this arrangement could well offer more blacks an improved educational opportunity but at the same time a number of problems are present.

a) Full equality of opportunity would not exist if institutions of further education remained segregated.

b) Students going on to further education would be advantaged/disadvantaged according to the quality of schooling they received at primary and junior secondary school in terms of the voucher system.

c) People who might have enjoyed educational advantage in terms of the voucher and/or loan system, may well be better able to repay the loans. Furthermore, advantaged students may be predisposed by their advantage, to purchase an expensive further education and this could help to maintain the status quo in the country. Marais (1984, 45-46) insists, however, that :

> " ... there is no reason to fear that a potential educand from a low income home would be discouraged at the prospect of ... a long-term debt and would not enter institutions of higher learning. Evidence from Sweden, Canada and the United States seems to indicate that the introduction of student loans has no adverse effect on the student population from working class homes and could indeed increase the size of this group. The same might indeed apply to this country."

It can be concluded that Marais' paradigm would indeed constitute an improvement on the present educational framework, although, as has been indicated, it is not without its problems. The real issue, of course, is

whether the state in South Africa would be prepared to relinquish its monopolistic grip on education. Quite apart from the fact that South Africa is not a free enterprise society it has been shown earlier that the Nationalist government uses its control to maintain the identity of the Afrikaner, to perpetuate the myth of white supremacy and to preserve capitalist social relations. It should be pointed out, however, that the government might, in time, be willing to relinquish some control on financial grounds. Marais' alternative paradigm involves a redistribution of spending money rather than an increase. The loans proposal at the senior secondary and higher education phases would mean that the government would be repaid for its investment in the form of an 'education tax' and this would help it with its voucher commitments at the primary and junior secondary phases.

6. Increasing the awareness of whites

It is quite obvious that many white South Africans are blissfully unaware of the stark realities of the apartheid society in which they live and of the effects of its laws on the daily lives of blacks. To a large extent this is a consequence of apartheid itself as whites have little need to look beyond the immediate environs in which they conduct their lives. Indeed many, profiting from the status quo, have no desire to do so.

Thembela (1982) argues that an educative process which increases the awareness levels of whites could make an important contribution towards the evolution of a normal society in South Africa. The positive effects on attitudes and motives that increased awareness of the lot of blacks has had on some of the writer's geography students, mentioned earlier, should also be borne in mind here.

It is Thembela's (1982) contention that much can be achieved in white schools. White teachers should do more to inform themselves, their pupils and the public at large of the apartheid

policy and its consequences. The writer's experience has been that at present very little is done in this area amongst teachers. They tend, possibly feeling threatened by the authorities, to shy away from discussing anything which may run counter to official ideology with their pupils and even 'political' sections of syllabi are often covered without a full, balanced presentation of the real issues involved. Of course, some aspects of the ruling ideology have reached deep down into the context of textbooks (du Preez, 1984; Maree, 1984) and syllabi and while some teachers consciously support this, others are unaware of it and teach material in an uncritical, non-questioning frame of mind. It is important to realise, however, that the full blame is not entirely the teachers'. Schools are, by their very nature, conservative institutions and in South Africa they serve a conservative (white) society. It is important, however, that they should assume more of a leadership role in the area of attitudes and motives. This does not necessarily mean indoctrination. The teacher's task is to present reality in such a way as to encourage questioning, critical, mature responses from his pupils.

Much also needs to be done by the church in South Africa and here some of the thoughts of the contributors to the inter-disciplinary study programme of the Missiological Institute at the Lutheran Theological College at Mapumulo (1978) are worthy of consideration. They argued that Christians should make a special effort to be fully informed about the realities of the society in which they live. The church should invite experts to present unbiased facts and figures about poverty, discrimination and inequality. In this it is important that :

> "Selective reporting and propaganda by the mass media must be counteracted effectively to bring out the true picture."
> (Missiological Institute, 1979, 376).

They contended that such awareness should be supplemented by the church encouraging its members to personally experience the real life situations of the under-privileged. Social barriers need to

be crossed if increased awareness is to have any meaning and if Christians are to become aware of their own positions in society. Christians should then realise that they have a responsibility which transcends their own security and prosperity. Based on their awareness of and exposure to reality it is their duty to acquire and disseminate knowledge of structural alternatives. They should be factual in this, allowing people to judge for themselves after making them :

> " ... aware of the dangers of interest-directed bias."
> (Missiological Institute, 1979, 377).

It should not be implied from this that the church is doing nothing at present. Indeed some churches and church organisations have taken a strong lead. However, others appear to have adopted the attitude that their congregations are not ready for such a 'social' and 'political' gospel (quite unlike the mainline Afrikaans churches which have come out strongly in support of apartheid ideology). It is time these churches decided to lead rather than wait for their congregations.

The school and the church have been highlighted here as they are both extremely important institutions which exert powerful influences over the lives of considerable numbers of people. It is important, however, that they should be assisted, in their awareness drives, by other organisations and institutions initiating and/or expanding awareness programmes of their own. Possibilities here include the service organisations, the opposition press, the opposition political parties and private capital.

7. Assistance from private capital

While it may be true that the involvement of businessmen and industrialists in attempts to improve the socio-economic conditions of blacks can be regarded as an attempt to maintain a pro-capitalist status quo and to make private capital look respectable, there is, according to the philosophical stance which has been adopted in this chapter, much that can be done in

this area. It is also possible that such involvement could help to pave the way for the establishment of a more just capitalist society in South Africa.

Possible areas of involvement here include :

a) The adoption and expansion of projects such as those which have been undertaken by the Urban Foundation. Much has been achieved by this organisation in terms of education and housing projects, for example, and it is interesting to note that it has recently been instrumental in the provision of a new junior primary wing at one of the schools in the study area of this thesis.

b) The making of tax deductable donations to educational institutions by private business and industrial organisations. The writer is aware that Edgewood College of Education, for example, has enjoyed considerable success in acquiring additional money in this way and there is no reason to believe that black educational institutions should not be equally successful, particularly as white businessmen and industrialists become more aware of the inadequacies prevailing in black education.

c) Action on the part of employers to help their employees acquire houses of their own. Such assistance, which might take the form of subsidised loans, and the resultant security of tenure (a widely discussed issue in black townships) could do much to improve the quality of the home backgrounds of black pupils.

d) Action by employers to assist with the transport costs of :

   i) their employees to and from their places of work (it might also be possible for employers to actually provide the physical means of transport, e.g.the use of mini-buses),
   ii) the children of their employees to and from their schools,
   iii) teachers travelling to centres at which upgrading courses are offered.

Such assistance would place more disposable income in the hands of employees and thus contribute towards improving the socio-economic status of their homes. Many blacks have to pay dearly for transport to and from work in particular. The location of their residential areas on the fringes of white towns and cities, a further consequence of apartheid planning, is a major aggravating factor here.

e) Action by employers to improve the quality of life of blacks by doing everything possible to generate job opportunities in an attempt to cope with the pressing unemployment problem. This would involve :

i) the removal of racial barriers to advancement,

ii) the payment of equal salaries and wages for equal work,

iii) the provision of training facilities and non-formal education to promote individual advancement,

iv) the employment of labour intensive production techniques wherever they are economically feasible,

v) the rendering of assistance to the informal sector wherever possible. This could take the form of allowing certain members of the sector to attend selected formal sector training programmes, for example.

This really boils down to the rational use of labour which should in turn promote employment generating economic growth. This is a most vital area as it is necessary that reform in education should be matched by reform at the work place if the schools' products are to be absorbed in a fair and non-discriminatory manner. It should be mentioned here that educational reform might come to be helpful in the politicization of blacks and thus in assisting them to participate in trade union (and community organisation) activities which could in turn motivate the case for equality on the shop floor. Naturally, much depends on the broader structural framework which could quite quickly curtail the activities of trade unions, for example.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The suggestions offered here will not, in the final analysis, solve the problems of black education. Rather, they are offered as possibilities for improvement in response to :

a) the need to be realistic and accept that racial capitalism is unlikely to crumble within the foreseeable future, and

b) the need to do whatever is possible to help blacks now within the existing structural framework.

It is clear that much can, in fact, be achieved. It should be remembered, furthermore, that many of the reformist strategies put forward could help blacks to initiate, plan and co-ordinate change at the macro level. It needs to be stressed, however, that :

a) this would be a long term process and that it is quite possible that blacks would not be prepared to accept this,

b) reformism gives respectability to the status quo and develops structures that may ultimately impede real change.

It would, of course, be naive to think that all that is necessary is the removal of apartheid structures. The problems in black education are highly complex and many are shared by other Third World countries where governments of widely differing political philosophies have been unable to address them adequately. It is abundantly clear, however, that apartheid has proved and is proving to be the major barrier in the way of a genuinely fair deal for all.

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRES

COMMUNITY SURVEY

Please complete this questionnaire as respondents answer the questions put to them.

---

1. School-going status of children in the home

Complete Table 1 below.

TABLE 1

Children (Total number)	Age	Sex	Attend school	Do not attend school
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				

2. Children of the home attending school

Complete Table 2 if applicable.

TABLE 2

Children (Number)	Age	Sex	School Attended	Reasons for attending this particular school	The journey to school (one way)			
					Distance from home to school (approx. kms.)	Mode of travel (most often)	Duration of journey (approx. mins.)	Cost of travelling to school (per month)
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								

3. Children of the home not attending school.

Complete Table 3 if applicable.

TABLE 3 A.

Children not at school (number)	Age	Sex	Reasons for not attending school					
			Can not afford the books and uniforms	Can not afford the fees	Can not afford the costs of transport	School too far from home	Children's wages needed at home	Other: please specify
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								

3. Children of the home not attending school.

Complete Table 3 B if applicable.

TABLE 3 B.

Children not at school (number)	Previous school attended				What does the child do now ?
	Did attend	Did not attend	If attended		
			Standard passed on leaving	Age on leaving	
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

4. Costs of schooling (per term).

Complete Table 4 if applicable.

TABLE 4.

Children (number)	Fees	Books	Uniforms	Other Specify	Total	For office use only
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
				Total		

5. Family Income. Complete Table 5.

Cash income from children (employment)							Main cash income sources (per month)				
Children (number)	Type of employment	Location of employment	Is the employment			cash income per month	Household head		Other Wages	Non-wage income (Specify amount and sources)	Total Income
			permanent?	temporary?	casual?		Wages if working on a daily basis	Remittances if a migrant worker in a white area			
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											
6											
					TOTAL						

6. Parental attitudes towards education.

1. Occupation of Household Head [ ]

2. Occupation of mother (if not household head) [ ]

3. Standard of education passed by :
   - father [ ]
   - mother [ ]

4. Do the parents think that it is important for their child/ren to receive an education ?

Yes	No

If yes, what are their reasons ?

____

____

____

If no, what are their reasons ?

____

____

____

5. Which educational level would the parents like their child/ren to reach i.e. if the child/ren had enough ability and if the parents had sufficient money ? [ ]

6. If the parents were to take account of all their personal/family circumstances, which educational level would they expect their child/ren to reach ? [ ]

For Questions 5 and 6. Probe age/sex preferences the parents may have.

____

____

____

____

7. Do the parents encourage their child/ren with its/their schoolwork ?

Yes	No

If yes, what form does the encouragement take ?

____

____

____

PUPIL SURVEY

SCHOOL: ______________________________

STANDARD: ______________________________

Please complete this questionnaire according to the verbal instructions given.

---

1. Age

9 yrs	10 yrs	11 yrs	12 yrs	13 yrs	14 yrs

15 yrs	16 yrs	17 yrs	18 yrs	19 yrs	20 yrs +

2. Sex

Male	Female

3. Please complete the tables below (if applicable).

Brothers at school

Brothers (Number)	Age	Standard
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		

Sisters at school

Sisters (Number)	Age	Standard
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		

4. Please complete the tables below (if applicable).

Brothers not at school

Brothers (Number)	Age	Standard reached before leaving school (if applicable)	What is he doing now? Write: unemployed, working, army, studying for a school qualification, studying at a tertiary institution, training, still too young to be at school
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			

Sisters not at school

Sisters (Number)	Age	Standard reached before leaving school (if applicable)	What is she doing now? Write: unemployed, working, housewife, studying for a school qualification, studying at a tertiary institution, training, still too young to be at school
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			

5. How many people stay at your home?

2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	> 10

6. What is the occupation of your father/guardian, if applicable?

What is the occupation of your mother, if applicable?

7. How many rooms, including bathrooms and toilets, are there in your home?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	> 10

8. Do you have a private swimming pool at home?

Yes	No

9. How many cars does your family own?

N.A.	1	2	3	> 3

10. Does your family own a television set?

Yes	No

11. If you do have television at home, how many sets are there and are they black and white or colour?

Number of sets	Black and white	Colour
1		
2		
3		
4		

12. <u>Your journey to school.</u>

(i) Distance (one way)

<1 km	1-2 km	3-4 km	5-6 km	7-8 km

9-10 km	11-12 km	13-14 km	15 km +

12. (ii) Mode of Travel

	always	usually	sometimes
walk			
bicycle			
motor-cycle			
car			
bus			
train			

(iii) Duration (one way)

< 5 mins	5-9 mins	10-14 mins	15-19 mins

20-24 mins	25-29 mins	30 mins +

13. Homework.

(i) How long do you usually spend on homework per day ?

< 30 mins	30-60 mins	60-90 mins	> 90 mins

(ii) Where do you study ?

Own bedroom	
Shared bedroom	
Elsewhere in the house in private	
Elsewhere in the house, not necessarily in private	

(iii) Do your parents help you with your homework ?

Yes	No

If yes, how frequently ?

Always	Usually	Sometimes

14. Which educational level would you like to reach; i.e. if you had enough ability and sufficient money ?

15. Taking account of all your personal/family circumstances, which educational level do you expect to reach ?

16. What occupation would you like to have when you have finished studying; i.e. if you had enough ability and sufficient money ?
List 3 occupations in order of your preference.

1	
2	
3	

17. Taking account of all your personal/family circumstances, what occupation do you expect to have when you have finished studying ?
List 3 occupations in order of your preference.

1	
2	
3	

Thank you for your co-operation.

STAFF SURVEY

SCHOOL: ____________________

Please complete this questionnaire according to the verbal instructions given.

---

1. Sex

M	F

2. Age

20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 +

3. Marital Status

Married	Single

4. Children

Yes	No

If yes, number

1	2	3	4	5	6	>6

5. Qualifications

(i) Academic

Std. 6	Std. 8	Std. 10	Degree	Higher Degree

(ii) Professional

1 year Diploma	2 year Diploma	3 year Diploma	4 year Diploma	Post Grad. Diploma

6. Further Study

(i) Are you studying for further qualifications at present?

Yes	No

Objectives, if yes.

Std. 8	Std. 10	1 year Diploma	2 year Diploma	3 year Diploma

4 year Diploma	Post Grad. Diploma	Degree	Higher Degree

(ii) Do you intend studying for further qualifications in the near future?

Yes	No

Objectives, if yes.

Std. 8	Std. 10	1 year Diploma	2 year Diploma	3 year Diploma	4 year Diploma

Post Grad. Diploma	Degree	Higher Degree

7. Class/Classes taught

(i) At present

Class/Classes taught (Mark with an X)	Number of pupils	Smallest number of pupils this year	Greatest number of pupils this year
Class 1			
2			
Std. 1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			

Please use the space below to explain your particular situtaion if it can not be accommodated in the above table.

___

___

___

___

___

___

___

(ii) At other times this year (if applicable).

Class/Classes taught (Mark with an X)	Smallest number of pupils	Greatest number of pupils
Class 1		
2		
Std. 1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		

Please use the space below to explain your particular situation if it can not be accommodated in the above table.

____

____

____

____

____

8. Teaching experience

0 - 1 yr.	2 - 4 yrs.	5 - 7 yrs.	8 - 10 yrs.	11 - 13 yrs.	14 - 16 yrs.

> 16 yrs.

9. Job mobility

(i) Number of schools taught at.

1	2	3	4	5	6	>6

(ii) Length of stay at present school.

<1yr	2-4yrs	5-7yrs	8-10yrs	>10yrs

10. Job satisfaction

very good	good	poor	very poor

11. Personal income

(i) Gross monthly salary ____________

(ii) Net monthly salary ____________

(iii) Pension scheme ____________ Yes / No

Your monthly contribution, if yes ____________

(iv) Medical aid ____________ Yes / No

Your monthly contribution, if yes ____________

(v) Net household income (monthly) ____________

12. Personal income assessment (Salary)

very good	good	adequate	less than adequate	very poor

13. Journey to school

(i) Distance (one way)

<1km	1-2km	3-4km	5-6km	7-8km	9-10km

11-15km	16-20km	>20km

(ii) Mode of Travel

	Always	Usually	Sometimes
Walk			
Bicycle			
Motorbike			
Car			
Bus			
Train			

13. (iii) Duration (one way)

< 5mins	5-9mins	10-14mins	15-19mins	20-24mins

25-29mins	30+mins

(iv) Cost per month (both ways)

N.A.	R1-4	R5-9	R10-14	R15-19	R20-24	R25-29

R30-34	R35-39	R40-49	R50-59	R60+

Thank you for your co-operation.

SCHOOL SURVEY

SCHOOL: ______________________________

Please complete this questionnaire by placing an X in the appropriate squares, answering the questions and completing the tables.

---

1. What is the highest level of education available at the school at present?

Std. 1	Std. 2	Std. 3	Std. 4	Std. 5	Std. 6	Std. 7	Std. 8	Std. 9	Std. 10

2. What is the number of pupils enrolled at the school at present?

3. How are the pupils distributed by standard at present?
   Please complete the table below.

Standard	Number of pupils	Age of youngest pupil (years and months)	Age of oldest pupil (years and months)	Average age of pupils (years and months)	Number of pupils in each standard which, in your opinion, the school is designed to accommodate
Class 1					
Class 2					
Std. 1					
Std. 2					
Std. 3					
Std. 4					
Std. 5					
Std. 6					
Std. 7					
Std. 8					
Std. 9					
Std. 10					

4. In many Third World situations pupils are often denied entry to schools because of an inadequate number of school places. South Africa is no exception.
Does such a situation affect your school?

Yes	No

<u>If yes</u>
Is your school affected

Regularly/ Severely?	Occasionally/ Not very severely?

How many pupils were affected in

1980?	
1981?	
1982?	

5. Are any pupils forced to leave your school prematurely because of an inadequate number of higher places?

Yes	No

<u>If yes</u>
At what standard does the inadequate number of places become problematic? [ ]

How many pupils were forced to leave in

1980?	
1981?	
1982?	

6. How many teachers are on the school staff? [ ]

7. What is the number of non-teaching staff at the school?

Secretaries/Typists	
Technical Assistants	
Cleaners	
Gardeners	

8. What facilities and items of equipment are available at the school? Please complete the table below.

Item/facility	Number	Assessment (write very good, good, poor, very poor)	For Office Use Only
Library/Resource centre			
Science laboratories			
Rooms with blackout facilities			
Overhead projectors			
Slide projectors			
Cine projectors			
Tape recorders			
Sports fields			
School hall			
Swimming pool			
School bus			
Indoor gymnasium			

9. Are facilities such as science laboratories shared with other schools in the area?

Yes	No

If yes

With which school(s) are the facilities shared?

____

How far are these schools from yours?

____

If no

Please state the reasons.

____

____

____

10. Does the school operate on a 'double session' basis? | Yes | No |

If yes

Please state the reasons.

____

____

____

Are the same teachers involved in both sessions? | Yes | No |

If the same teachers are not used please explain what arrangements are made.

____

____

____

11. Please complete the following table on the recurrent school budget and the developmental/improvements school budget.

Budget	Size of the budget (per year)	Sources of the budget e.g. govt., parents	If more than one source, proportion contributed by each	Brief indication of how the money is most often spent
Recurrent				
Developmental/ Improvements				

Thank you for your co-operation.

APPENDIX 2

The writer's second year geography students at Edgewood College of Education are taught a course which is directed at the socio-economic problems the people have to contend with. A three day field trip to the area in which students are shown the situation first hand, an opportunity many regard as being quite unique in the South African context, forms an integral part of the course. On the field trip, as in the course as a whole, much attention is given to sharpening the awareness of the students and time and again there has been evidence of greater racial tolerance as a result. In fact, a group of the 1983 and 1984 students have gone further in committing themselves to a course of action to help some of the pupils and teachers of the area.

Appendix 3 School distance in relation to 5 selected socio-economic indicators : Z Scores (from U test)

Indicator	Category 1 vs 2	Category 1 vs 3	Category 2 vs 3	Is the difference significant?	α =
Household head wage	Z = 2,28			Yes	0,05
		Z = 2,53		Yes	0,05
			Z = 0,99	No	
Household head income	Z = 1,99			Yes	0,05
		Z = 2,34		Yes	0,05
			Z = 1,35	No	
Household head occupation	Z = 1,04			No	
		Z = 0,49		No	
			Z = 1,20	No	
Father's education	Z = 1,21			No	
		Z = 2,47		Yes	0,05
			Z = 3,24	Yes	0,001
Mother's education	Z = 0,49			No	
		Z = 1,56		No	
			Z = 4,49	Yes	0,001

APPENDIX 4

The unemployment figure of 14% quoted in the text is somewhat lower than might have been expected. The principals of the two schools in question gave unemployment estimates (of fathers of pupils in their schools) of around 20%. It is interesting to note, for the purposes of comparison, that a recent study by J Prinsloo, cited in the *Sunday Tribune*, 22 April 1984, found that 26% of the labour pool in Durban's African township areas was unemployed.

APPENDIX 5 COSTS OF EDUCATING CHILDREN

The principals of the schools studied were asked to give approximate estimates of the costs of educating a child at their schools. Based on these estimates the following figures (per year) are presented :

Senior primary pupils

Books and stationery	R 30-40
Uniforms	60-70
Fees	7-10
	R97-120

High school pupils

Books and stationery	R60-80
Uniforms	80-90
Fees	28-35
	R168-205

The above figures exclude the transport costs of those who are unable to walk to school, public examination fees at the Std 8 (R16) and Std 10 (R20) levels, and additional 'donation fees' (an amount of around R5 - 10 p a) which may be requested by the principals from time to time.

Note The actual fees levied by the black schools studied were as follows (Rands p.a.)

Primary schools			High schools	
A	B	C	D	E
10	8	7	28	35

Appendix 6 Educational aspirations and expectations

	Pupil groups	U/Z Score	Is the difference significant?	Comments
Aspirations	Black primary vs white primary	Z 1,65	No	Blacks and whites same
Aspirations	Black high vs white high	U 42,5	No	Blacks and whites same
Aspirations	Black primary vs black high	Z 1,98	Yes (α = 0,05)	High school pupils higher
Aspirations	White primary vs white high	Z 0,02	No	Primary and high school pupils same
Expectations	Black primary vs white primary	Z 7,32	Yes (α = 0,001)	White pupils higher
Expectations	Black high vs white high	U 2	Yes (α = 0,002)	White pupils higher
Expectations	Black primary vs black high	Z 3,33	Yes (α = 0,001)	High school pupils higher
Expectations	White primary vs white high	Z 0,49	No	Primary and high school pupils same
Aspirations vs Expectations	Black primary aspirations vs black primary expectations	Z 6,70	Yes (α = 0,001)	Aspirations higher
Aspirations vs Expectations	White primary aspirations vs white primary expectations	Z 4,35	Yes (α = 0,001)	Aspirations higher
Aspirations vs Expectations	Black high aspirations vs black high expectations	U 0	Yes (α = 0,002)	Aspirations higher
Aspirations vs Expectations	White high aspirations vs white high expectations	U 20	Yes (α = 0,05)	Aspirations higher

Note

Five educational categories were used in the calculation of the Z and U scores and points were awarded on the following basis :

University education - 5
College/technical education - 4
Standard 10 - 3
Standard 8/9 - 2
Less than Standard 8 - 1

	Pupil groups	U/Z Score	Is the difference significant?	Comments
Aspirations	Black primary vs white primary	Z 1,33	No	Blacks and whites same
	Black high vs white high	U 13	Yes (α = 0,02)	Whites higher
	Black primary vs black high	Z 1,27	No	Primary and high school pupils same
	White primary vs white high	Z 1,35	No	Primary and high school pupils same
Expectations	Black primary vs white primary	Z 7,66	Yes (α = 0,001)	Whites higher
	Black high vs white high	U 1	Yes (α = 0,002)	Whites higher
	Black primary vs black high	Z 3,5	Yes (α = 0,001)	High school pupils higher
	White primary vs white high	Z 1,16	No	Primary and high school pupils same
Aspirations vs Expectations	Black primary aspirations vs black primary expectations	Z 6,77	Yes (α = 0,001)	Aspirations higher
	White primary aspirations vs white primary expectations	Z 1,49	No	Aspirations and expectations same
	Black high aspirations vs black high expectations	U 4	Yes (α = 0,002)	Aspirations higher
	White high aspirations vs white high expectations	U 25	Yes (α = 0,10)	Aspirations higher

Note

The Z and U score values are based on composite scores of the three occupational preferences (aspirations and expectations)