EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY IN SOUTH AFRICA:
A Sociological Case Study of African Education

A Thesis

Presented in

the Department of Sociology

University of Natal

In Fulfilment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Social Science

---

by

Cleopas Kumalo

December, 1954.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My indebtedness for the theoretical framework of this study is primarily to the works of Talcott Parsons, Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, Karl Mannheim, Ferdinand Toennies, Karl Marx and Friederich Engels, Ross Finney, J.O. Hertzler and Professor Leo Kuper; as well as to the pronouncements of some of the staunchest Apartheid apologists.

I am further indebted to Professor Kuper and Mr Max Marwick for the official (and personal) interest they have shown in the development of this study. The numerous constructive criticisms which Professor Kuper (as my supervisor) has made in the course of the development of this thesis have been most invaluable.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

FOREWORD vii

P A R T I

INTRODUCTORY

Chapter

I The Institutional Approach in Sociology . 1

The Field of Sociology 2

The Institutional Approach 22

II Institutional Systems and Idea-Systems . . 29

Institutional Structure 29

Ideologies 45

Ideologies and Institutional Systems . 49

The Problem 59

P A R T II

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AS AN INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

III The Social Base of the Educational System . 67

The Social Group 67

Institutional Patterns 75

IV The Structure of the Educational System . 83

The Perceptual Aspect 84

The Conceptual Aspect 97

V The Functioning of the Educational System . 127

Chapter Page

VI The Objectives of the Educational System . 155

The Objective of Group Solidarity . . 156

The Objective of Individual Effectiveness 165

The Objective of Telic Social Change . 173

VII The Relationship of the Educational System and its Social Base 185

P A R T III

THE SOCIAL BASE OF THE AFRICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

VIII The Social Group Base 202

The Broader Base 202

The Narrower Base 204

The White Group 205

The African Group 213

IX The Principle of White-Black Stratification 224

X The Major South African Group Ideologies . 239

The Social Base 239

The Apartheid Ideology of the Whites . 244

The Integrationist Ideology of the Africans 272

Chapter Page

PART IV

IDEOLOGICAL IMPACT AND THE DILEMMA OF THE AFRICAN EDUCATOR

XI Ideological Role-Expectations 300

Apartheid Role-Expectations 300

Integrationist Role-Expectations . . 316

XII The Dilemma arising from the Objective of Group Solidarity 336

The Criterion of a Common Field of Social Participation 338

The Criterion of a Common Responsibility for the Weal and Woe of the Society 346

XIII The Dilemma arising from the Objective of Individual Effectiveness 371

XIV The Dilemma arising from the Objective of Telic Social Change 399

Promotion of Telic Social Change on the Individual Level 400

Promotion of Telic Social Change on the Group Level 417

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS 428

APPENDICES 450

BIBLIOGRAPHY 456

FOREWORD

Some preliminary remarks must be made about the problem and the organisation of this study.

The central problem of this study is that of the role of the major South African group ideologies - Apartheid and Integration - in the "definition of the situation" for the relationship of the African educational system to the South African social system, in terms of the principle of "social parallelism."

Our theme is that these ideologies furnish the personnel of this educational system with two conflicting definitions which are consistent with the compelling interests of the groups that uphold these ideologies: namely, the White group's interest in domination, and the African group's interest in self-emancipation from domination.

We conceptualise these definitions of the situation in terms of ideological role-expectations, and proceed to inquire into their implications for the orientation of one class of personnel (the African educators) to one sector of the African educational system (the end-sector), in relation to the South African social system.

We attempt/.....

We attempt to show that these implications involve, for the African educator, a series of dilemmas of orientation to the objectives of education. These dilemmas involve crucial problems of evaluation and choice by the African educator before his orientation to and pursuit of the objectives of education, in South Africa, can be determinate.

In fine, we seek to show that the role which these ideologies perform here is to make the relationship between the African educational system and the South African social system acutely problematic. Our main interest is precisely this: to highlight some of the problems implicit in the ideological definition of the situation for the functioning of the African educational system in South Africa.

Our organisation of this study is, at least in one respect, unconventional. We have deferred the full statement of "The Problem" to the end of Part I. This arrangement has been dictated to us by our interest in placing this study on a broad base of sociological theory of institutional systems and of systems of ideas - including the interrelations between the two types of systems.

Hence/.....

Hence, in Part I we attempt to show the trend of development in sociological theory with which this study is in line and to which it may make some contribution - the "voluntaristic" trend.

In Part II, we undertake an analysis of the educational system as an institutional system. We have deemed it necessary to do so in order to clear the ground for an analysis of the problems of the African educational system (as a type-case). Many concepts, tenets of educational theory and interpretations occuring in this Part are used to advantage in Part IV. Hence, this Part is not intended to be altogether general. At various points we bring the discussion down to the particular Western or South African theories, interpretations and emphases. Admittedly, this does some violence to the norm of systematic development in the treatment of a subject. However, it would appear to us that the major concepts in this Part are of comfortable generality, differences between societies being largely those of emphases on or interpretations of certain concepts or aspects of them.

In Part III, we make an outline of the South African social system, with special reference to the White and African groups, their system of

relationships/.....

relationships and their ideologies. This social system must be viewed as the social base of the African educational system; and, in one sense, as the social base of the two ideologies. Neither the educational system nor the ideologies can be "understood" without reference to it.

In Part IV, we concentrate on the analysis of our central problem as outlined above and at the end of Part I. We end with a short "Summary and Conclusion".

PART I

INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

THE INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH IN SOCIOLOGY

THE FIELD OF SOCIOLOGY

Auguste Comte earmarked "society" as the general field of sociology. In his system of sociology, however, "society" was a grandiose concept taken over from the philosophico-historical tradition of social thought from which sociology, as a science, emerged. It was synonymous with the concept of humanity - "humanity-at-large." As such, the concept of society constituted a broad deductive base from which later sociologists were to work out empirically manageable interpretations and implications. Some of these have been broad enough to constitute fields of sociological specialisation.

In his treatment of society, however, Comte[1] had an insight into two "principles" of the organisation of society. These have proved to be invaluable in later analyses of the concept and in empirical studies of various forms or types of society. The first, which

he called/.....

---

1 A. Comte, The Positive Philosophy, (1853), translated by H. Martineau, (London: John Chapman, 1892), Vol. II, p. 140 ff.

he called "the elementary principle of general society," was the principle of "distribution of employments" or "division of labours" - based on the complementarity of individual differences. The second, he called the principle of "sympathetic instincts" - based on psychic likeness, chiefly affective and moral. However, he limited the scope of relevence of the second principle to what he called "association" (such as "the family") which he sharply distinguished from "society," and, by implication, excluded from the scope of sociology as "the science of society."

These two principles have been taken up by Emile Durkheim[2] who has shown, in effect, that the dichotomy made by Comte between society and association, in terms of these principles, was an unfortunate confusion of the general category, "society," with its two particular polar types to which these two principles apply. Hence, in Durkheim's system of sociology, both the principle of "division of labours" (that is, interdependence) and the principle of "sympathetic instincts" (that is, likeness) are, in effect, principles of society and, therefore, equally

relevant/....

---

2 E. Durkheim, The Division of Labour in Society, (1893), translated by G. Simpson. (New York: The

relevant to the scope of sociology as a science of society.

Durkheim distinguished his two polar types of society on the basis of the nature of solidarity characteristic of each from the social-developmental point of view. The first, which is typical of elementary forms of collective life, is characterised by "mechanical solidarity" - based on primary likeness arising from familial or kinship bonds and commonly shared sentiments and values, (cf. Comte's "sympathetic instincts" predicated of the family, for instance). Such solidarity is characteristic of the "undifferentiated" type of society. The second type, which is characteristic of industrial forms of collective life, exhibits "organic solidarity" - arising from considerations of interdependence and complementarity of action among unlike social units, (cf. Comte's "division of labours"). Such solidarity is characteristic of the "differentiated" type of society organised primarily on the basis of individual differences into an organic functioning societary whole.

It should be pointed out that the distinction which Durkheim made between the two types of society is by no means absolute. It is relative. One of his outstanding contributions to sociology is that he drew attention to the intertwining, in

empirical/.....

empirical forms of society, of the elements of mechanical solidarity - especially common value-systems, and the elements of organic solidarity - especially difference and interdependence. Within the milieu of the mechanistic solidarity of undifferentiated or elementary forms of societary life, he saw the development of elementary forms of division of labour (for instance, as between the sexes). And behind the organic solidarity of differentiated or modern industrial society, he saw an underlying integrative system of commonly shared sentiments and values - "the non-contractual element in contract" - making for social order. So that, ultimately, the distinction between the two forms of society is one of relative primacy of the common and the complementary elements in social organisation.

It is clear from the preceding that whatever society is, it nevertheless involves the principles of likeness and interdependence. MacIver, who has contributed much to systematic sociological theory, suggests that society is "a highly interwoven series of relationships issuing from the wills and purposes

of beings/.....

of beings who recognise their likeness and interdependence...."[3] Basic to his system of sociology,[4] are the considerations that:

(a) "society involves both likeness and interdependence;"

(b) "society is a web of social relationship;"

(c) "the relationships which are central to sociology are those which involve, in addition to mutual recognition, the sense of something held or shared in common;" and

(d) basic to social relationships, are "the wills and purposes" of the interrelated human units (individuals or groups).

If we follow MacIver's interpretation of society, several important considerations emerge. It is clear that, in his interpretation, this concept has largely shed its earlier metaphysical trappings and has a decided empirical reference. It is no longer synonymous with Comte's concept of "humanity-at-large." It presupposes the presence of human units-in-aggregates, enmeshed in matrices of relationships based on mutual recognition of their likeness and interdependence.

The empirical study of human units-in-aggregates with respect to certain characteristics and their

numerical/....

---

3 R.M. MacIver, The Elements of Social Science, (London: Methuen and Company, 1952), p. 2.

4 R.M. MacIver, Society: A Textbook of Sociology, (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1947), pp. 6-8.

numerical variations and in various geographical environments is thus basic to sociology. It constitutes the demographic and ecological emphases in sociology.

In relatively permanent aggregates, the human units cannot be expected to be interrelated at random. Rather, they may be expected to be in determinable vertical or horizontal (or both) relationships to one another. Hence, social relationships may be expected to be structured along these planes. The solidarity and stability of the structured social relationships (or society) may be a function of an emphasis on the elements of "likeness" and "a sense of something held or shared in common," (cf. Durkheim's "undifferentiated" society and MacIver's "community"); or it may be a function of an emphasis on the elements of "interdependence" and complementarity of services, (cf. Durkheim's "differentiated" society and MacIver's "association"). In the first structural type of social relationships, the criteria for status-role allocation would tend to be primarily particularistic - that is, focussed on the attributes or qualities of the interrelated human units. In the second, these would tend to be

primarily/.....

primarily universalistic - that is, focussed on complementary performances or ability to perform in the web of social relationships, irrespective of the attributes of the performing units.[5] The study of social relationships (or society) in this perspective constitutes the social-structural emphasis in sociology.

However, the structured nature of social relationships does not imply that society is a static phenomenon. On the contrary, it is, within limits, dynamic. It may be viewed, as MacIver suggests, as "a changing equilibrium of social relations," and may be studied as "a changing pattern of these relations." That is, it may be viewed and studied as social process, in its many forms of being and becoming. The strongest proponents of this emphasis in sociology have been, inter alia, Von Wiese, Vierkandt, Simmel, Alfred Weber, Ward, Ross and MacIver.

MacIver's interpretation of society as "issuing from the wills and purposes" of interrelated human

units/.....

---

5 The two types of criteria referred to here and the terms denoting them are borrowed from Parsons and Shils who have treated them comprehensively. See: T. Parsons and E.A. Shils, Toward a General Theory of Social Action, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 81 - 82.

units lends a "voluntaristic"[6] and teleological character to society. This quality of society was not adequately appreciated in the earlier stages of the development of sociology. In an attempt to break away from its embryonic shell of philosophy and theological mysticism and to emerge as a "positive science," early sociology tended to taboo, from sociological relevance, the volitional and purposive elements of social action - whether as data to be analysed or as effective factors in causal or functional imputation. Under the influence of the models of the mechanical and organic sciences, sociology took a swing in the direction of environmental determinism and behaviourism of the positivistic type. Of the subjective factors, only the rational factor had any appreciable degree of recognition. This was largely due to the influence of classical economic theory on sociology, and the fact that this factor lended itself more easily to study from the objective point of view.

But the disillusionment of later sociologists with the inadequacy of mechanistic, organic and classical-economic/....

---

6 This concept is borrowed from Parsons, and is used here in the sense in which he uses it to connote the objective-subjective reality of society. Its methodological implication is that society cannot be adequately treated without reference to both points view. See: T. Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937).

classical-economic trends in sociology has made possible an insight into, and an increasing recognition of, the role of volitional and purposive factors in social action, in the emergent social relationships and, hence, in society. This constitutes a major milestone in the development of sociology. It indicates a synthetic phase in the development of this science, involving a conception of society as both an objective and a subjective order of reality which can only be adequately treated from both points of view.

Perhaps the pioneer-work in the recognition and systematic treatment of volitional and purposive factors in sociology was done by the German sociologists of the second half of the nineteenth century. This is not surprising in view of the fact that these sociologists were heirs to an intellectual heritage of social thought which included two gigantic and conflicting deterministic theoretical systems to which they had to react. These were: (a) Hegel's dialectic spiritual-emanationism and (b) Marx's dialectic historical-materialism. To Hegel,[7] human (social) action/....

---

7 G.W.F. Hegel, The Phenomenology of Mind, (1807), translated with an introduction and notes by J.B. Baille, (London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1931).

action was determined by the spirit or "geist" of persons or groups, or by the "weltgeist" of their time. Action was thus an expression or "objectification" of such "geist" or "weltgeist" which was ultimately reducible to the (metaphysical) "Absolute Mind." To Marx,[8] human (social) action was determined by the material situation of the pursuit of economic-class interests. It consisted in rational accommodation of interest-oriented action to the "given" material situation and was, thus, reducible to deterministic situational terms. These two radically deterministic theories represented a Scylla and Charybdis. On the Hegelian theoretical position, man was a puppet of the Absolute Mind; and on the Marxist position, a creature of material circumstance. The two theoretical systems left but little room for sponteneity of will and purpose in social action.[9] And the development in sociology which led to the recognition of volitional and purposive factors in social action and relationships may properly be described as a result of an intellectual revolt and quest for a way out of the impasse which Hegel and Marx created.

In the/.....

---

8 K. Marx, Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production, (1887), translated from the third German Edition by S. Moore and E. Aveling, and edited by F. Engels, (London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1949).

In the co-existence of these two theories lay an intellectual challenge to a critical examination of both positions with a view to salvaging what was valuable in them and rejecting the untenable residue. In this way social action and the theory of social action were to be emancipated from the rigour of both spiritual and materialistic determinism. This is the task to which many sociologists of the period applied themselves.[10] The net results of this re-examination have been: (a) a rejection of the deterministic terms in which Hegel and Marx stated their respective theoretical positions; (b) a critical limitation or extention of the scope of generality of some of their tenable postulates;[11] and (c) a perception of the role of volitional and

purposive/....

---

10 We may mention especially, Toennies, Burckhardt, Hans Freyer and the Webers.

11 It is now clear, for instance that Marx's "economic situation" is not the only relevant situation in social action and that, therefore, any generalisation (shorn of radical determinism) which may be made from observation of social action in this situation, must necessarily be of highly limited generality. It is also clear that Hegel's postulate about the "expression" of the "volksgeist" or ethos of a group must (shorn of radical determinism) be extended to cover the expression of individual affect and moral sentiments in social action.

purposive factors in social action which makes any radically deterministic theoretical position untenable in contemporary sociology. Ferdinand Toennies[12] and Max Weber[13] saw these two types of factors (respectively) with admirable clarity and gave them the most systematic treatment at the time. Perhaps the common denominator in their perception of these correlative subjective factors was that they were both reacting to the same deterministic theoretical system - Marx's dialectic historical-materialism.

It was in the course of his re-examination of Marx's position via the study of the structure and fundamentals of capitalist and non-capitalist social systems that Toennies came to recognise the place and role of volitional factors in social organisation. He identified two types of social structures in history - Gemeinschaft (or "community") and Gesellschaft (or "society"). Fundamental to these, he recognised two modes of will-relationships - the natural will-relationships (kurwille) and the rational will-relationships (wissenwille), respectively.

The natural/.....

---

12 F. Toennies, Fundamental Concepts of Sociology, (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, (1887)), translated and supplemented by C.P. Loomis, (New York: American Book Company, 1940).

13 M. Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, translated by T. Parsons, (London and New York: Allen and Unwin, and Scribners, 1930).

The natural will, according to Toennies, consists in the non-conscious and sentimental bonds in social relationships. It is characteristic of primary group relationships and establishes itself through such integrative sentiments as loyalty, piety and obedience to authority. What Toennies saw in natural will may be interpreted in contemporary parlance as the non-rational affective and moral value-sentiments fundamental to communal relationships. In their enduring aspects, these constitute the basis of communal stability; and in their subtly changing modes of expression, the motive forces in social change. However, he did not commit himself to the dogmatism of the Marxist type. He saw these as subjective volitional factors that are in constant interplay with the objective non-volitional factors, including those identified by Marx.

The rational will is also a subjective category. It consists in the conscious and rational bonds in social relationships. It is characteristic of secondary group relationships and establishes itself through rationally planned, legalistic and contractual relationships - such as those characteristic of urban and capitalistic organisation. In Marx's system,

the scope/.....

the scope of operation of this volitional factor was circumscribed by the situation of socio-economic organisation. But in Toennies' hands its telic and dynamic role in the voluntary manipulation of the situation of action comes to the fore. Man-in-action, in these terms, does not only accommodate himself rationally to a set of determinative conditions of his action but also actively changes these in accordance with his will and purposes. What Toennies did, in effect, was to point out a reciprocal relationship between the subjective (volitional) factors and the objective (non-volitional) factors in social action and social relationships. Hence, in the light of this insight, the organisation, stability and change of society cannot be adequately understood without reference both to "the wills" of its members and to its "material conditions."

We have suggested that the pioneer-work in the recognition and firm establishment of the purposive (or value-goal) factors within the scope of sociological relevance was that of Max Weber. Meeting Marx on his own ground of modern capitalism as a distinctive historical-economic system, Max Weber contended that the Marxist "materialistic" factors were inadequate

for the/.....

for the explanation of the genesis of this system. He put forward the thesis that this system was primarily a product of a set of subjective (volitional and purposive) factors which existed in and operated through the medium of Protestant ethical ideas current at the time; and not a product of an inescapable historical necessity. From the Marxist point of view, the genesis of modern capitalism consisted in the rational pursuit of economic interests as defined by the material situation of action and in a way which it would be rational to adopt if the actor must not act contrary to his interests.[14] An important component of the situation here is the complex system of action of the myriad other actors - which constitutes a compulsive and deterministic mechanism for individuals or groups of them within the system.

Against this deterministic point of view, Max Weber posited the thesis of (potential) freedom and teleology in social action and in the emergent social relationships. On the basis of a comparative study of religions, Max Weber observed that certain types of ideas were causally associated with certain types of attitudes towards secular (including economic) activities. He noticed that sixteenth and

seventeenth century/.....

---

14 See Appendix B.

seventeenth century Protestantism emphasised the transcendental purpose or value-goal of "salvation;" and that the Calvinist brand of Protestantism prescribed impersonal labouring in a secular "calling" as a means of "proving" to oneself that the goal of salvation is assured. In the light of Protestant teaching, the Protestants wanted to be men of salvation - this was a desirable goal, a worthwhile and compelling purpose. In the light of the Calvinist brand of Protestant teaching, the Calvinists wanted to labour in a "calling" to prove their salvation. And, according to Max Weber, the capitalistic (compulsive, acquisitive, competitive, rational and bureaucratic) character that labour in a "calling" assumed was not a result of rational accommodation to inexorable demands of the material situation but an essential part of a process of dynamic manipulation of the secular situation in the course of personal adjustment to or pursuit of a non-secular purpose. This purpose was, itself, not a function of the material situation but a function of religious or ethical ideological factors and non-material needs.[15]

It was/.....

---

15 In fact, Max Weber showed that material conditions in Protestant Western Europe were, at the time, relatively less favourable to the development of the capitalistic spirit than in the other non-Protestant societies, like India, which he used as "control"groups in his mental experiment on the role of (religious) ideas in social action.

It was a subjective and transcendental purpose.

From this work of Max Weber's two categories of purposes emerge clearly: namely, (a) the category of rational purposes - for instance, economic success in the sphere of secular activity as exemplified in capitalistic action and its emergent relationships; and (b) the category of non-rational purposes - for instance, spiritual salvation in the sphere of religious activity as prescribed in the Protestant ethic and the relationships issuing from such ethical prescriptions. The first category of purposes or value-goals is immediate; the second, ultimate. However, Max Weber's insight went further than this dichotomy. One other subjective factor (in addition to the rational and non-rational factors) which he took into account in his general theoretical system was that of tradition. In brief, its functional significance in sociological theory is to invalidate (except for heuristic purposes) the myth of the "rational man" rationally pursuing rational goals or ends. The factor of tradition introduces a third category - the category of irrationality. This includes those purposes or value-goals imposed by the tenacity of tradition and, hence, can be shown to be out of

correspondence with empirical reality. They are not a function of the empirical material situation, or else they would correspond with it and, therefore, be rational. At the same time, they are not non-rational or transendental because they have a distinctive empirical reference: but in so far as this is defective, they are irrational.

Hence, from the works of these two sociologists - Toennies and Weber - emerge two sets of non-"materialistic" factors in social action and relationships: (a) the volitional - natural will and rational will - from Toennies; and (b) the purposive - rational, irrational and non-rational purposes - from Weber. These may be regarded as subjective factors constituting a radical break with Marx's historical-materialistic determinism in the direction of a non-deterministic theory of social action. Taken in conjuction with the objective situational factors, including those analysed by Marx, they constitute the components of what Parsons has called the "voluntaristic theory of social action."[16]

The recognition/....

---

16 For a concise statement of the elements of this theory, see: T. Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937), p. 81.

The recognition of the role of "the wills and purposes" of participant social units in any given system of social relationships implies recognition of the fact that such a system may be viewed as one choice that has been purposively willed out of several possible systems of social relationships. The same may be said about the purposes which persons or groups pursue or ought to pursue, separately or collectively, within a given system of social relationships. They are a selected set of purposes out of several conceivable purposes. And, seeing that choice implies that some evaluation has taken place, it is clear that evaluation and choice are basic to social interaction and to the emergent relationships - in a word, to society.

Some of the most fruitful questions raised in contemporary sociological theory, in this connection, may be stated as follows:[17]

(a) What is the nature of evaluation and choice in social action and relationships? Is it, for instance, random (ad hoc) or systematic (non-ad hoc)?

(b) How/.....

---

17 Our indebtedness for an awareness of these problems is primarily to T. Parsons, op. cit.; T. Parsons, The Social System, (Glencoe: Ill., The Free Press, 1951); and T. Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory, Revised Edition, (Glencoe: Ill., The Free Press, 1954), p. 232.

(b) How are the effective evaluations and choices, in society, co-ordinated and ordered into a functioning system in order to make possible the existence of society? This raises the problems of Social Norms and Social Order in sociology.

(c) How is the ordered system of effective evaluations and choices maintained in a state of social effectiveness, and how are those evaluations and choices which deviate brought into line with the ordered system or prevented from disrupting it? Here the problems of Social Motivation and Social Control become crucial in sociology.

(d) How is the ordered system of effective evaluations and choices protected from the ravages of time, and how does it adapt itself to change. This raises the problems of the Mechanisms of Social Persistence and Adaptive Social Change.

It is not our task here to attempt to answer these questions. We merely want to indicate their central position in contemporary sociological theory and to indicate a particular sociological approach to them - the Institutional Approach. This approach has been fruitful in the sociological analysis of

society, considered not only as an objective order of cognitive social activities in adaptation to the social and non-social environment but also as a subjective order in which "the wills and purposes," evaluations an choices, of social beings play a significant role.

THE INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

Taking his departure from selected works of Pareto, Durkheim and Max Weber, Parsons[18] emphasises the role of evaluations and choices in social action and raises the basic problem of their nature - whether they are systematic or random. He concludes, with Durkheim and Weber, that evaluations and choices in social action are essentially systematic, though there may be some latitude for random evaluations and choices within determinable limits of social integration and stability. To indicate their systematic character, he plots out five pairs of alternative normative courses or "choice pattern variables"[19] along which evaluations

and/.....

---

18 T. Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937).

19 T. Parsons and E.A. Shils, Toward a General Theory (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 76 - 78.

and choice may run, and three types of evaluative and selective norms or "value-orientation"[20] standards in terms of which evaluations and choices may be made. He reaches this phase in the development of his theory of social action by following Durkheim's insight into the "non-contractual element in-contract" which revealed that the apparent ad hoc contract (for instance, in economic action) was in fact otherwise. He exposes many implicit normative assumptions which are accepted without being made explicit in contractual relationships.

These are pre-patterned and preferred ways of evaluating and choosing-in-action and are characteristic of each type of web of social relationships. They constitute for Parsons the Institutions - that is, the commonly shared adjustive patterns of action (cognitive, affective and moral) defining, motivating and regulating individual and group action and the emergent social relationships or society. Hence the evaluations and choices, "wills and purposes," of the interacting units in a given web of social relationships and the further relationships that issue from such evaluations and choices are made and structured or systematised in terms of the institutions.

It would/.....

---

20. Ibid. pp. 73 - 74

It would appear, therefore, that the rest of the questions raised above could be effectively approached through the concept of institutions. The problems of the ordering of the effective evaluations and choices and the emergent social relationships are problems of institutional integration. The problems of the motivation of conforming evaluations and choices are problems of institutional motivation and control. And the problems of resistance and adaptation to change in the effective evaluations and choices are also essentially problems of institutional rigidity and adaptability. While we do not suggest that the concept of institutions is the open sesame to all problems sociological, we do suggest that institutions constitute the structural-functional backbone of any on-going system of social relationships or society; and that the institutional approach is strategic in the analysis of social systems.

The place of institutions in systems of social relationships is so central that to some sociologists society or the web of social relationships may be equated with the web of institutions.

"They/.....

"They (institutions) thus represent the more steady and fixed fundamentals of society.....what is not in institutions is essentially individualistic, and not comprised in the communal life."[21] Hence to Hertzler the social and the institutional are one: the two concepts imply each other.

"In institutions, which are.....centers around which society congregates and from which its influences radiate, the ages themselves may be studied. Society, in a measure, is concentrated in them, and an interpretation of them is an interpretation of society."[22] And thus, if sociology is the science of society, it follows from this point of view, that it is, in other words, the science of institutions.

There is in contemporary sociology, a decided tendency towards this conception of the focal subject matter of sociology. This, however, is not a new development. It may be noted in explicit form as far back as Lester F. Ward who regarded sociology as the science of human achievement. "All achievements are institutions, and there is a decided gain to the mind in seeking the true

subject/.....

---

21 J. O. Hertzler, Social Institutions, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1929), p. 31.

22 J.H.W. Stuckenberg, Introduction to the Study of Sociology. (New York: Armstrong, 1898), p. 177.

subject matter of sociology to regard human institutions and human achievements as sysnonymous terms; and as constituting, in the broadest sense of both, the field of research of a great science."[23]

In contemporary sociology, Parsons has also advanced the concept of institutions not just as one approach in sociology but as the subject matter of sociology. Hence, to him, sociology, in the final analysis, is "a science of institutions.... or more specifically, of institutional structure."[24] This, he points out, should not mean a limitation of sociology "to purely static structural analysis." Dynamic problems of "structural change" and functioning would still fall within the purview of sociology. He outlines a set of five fundamental problems that would constitute the focus of sociology as "a science of institutional structures:" namely,

(a) "Structural differentiation and integration of institutional patterns,

(b) "dynamic interrelationships of institutions and culture,

(c) "motivation of institutional behaviour,

(d)/.....

---

23 L.F. Ward, Pure Sociology, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1911), p. 31.

24 T. Parsons, "The Present Position and Prospects of Systematic Theory in Sociology," in Essays in Sociological Theory, Revised Edition, (Glencoe: Ill.: The Free Press, 1954), p. 235.

(d) "motivation of deviant behaviour and the problem of social control, and

(e) "institutional change."[25]

He justifies his conception of the field of sociology and, by implication, the institutional approach as the only strictly sociological approach, as follows:

> "It is of course possible to consider sociological theory as concerned with the total theory of social systems in general. It seems, however, undesirable to do this since it would make of sociology such an extremely comprehensive discipline, including as it would have to, for instance, both the major part of psychology and all of economic theory. The most important alternative is to treat sociology as the science of institutions in the above sense or more specifically of institutional structure. This would, as here conceived, by no means limit it to purely static structural analysis but could retain a definite focus on problems of structure, including structural change. Dynamic, particularly psychological, problems would enter into sociology in terms of their specific relevance to this context."[26]

It is our view that institutions are central in society and its sociological study. But concerning Parsons' attempt to restrict the field of sociology to institutional structures, we have some reservations arising from two considerations which he raises elsewhere. Firstly, not all cultural patterns in terms of which persons or groups interact in social relationships/.....

---

25 T. Parsons, "The Position of Sociological Theory," in Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied, First Edition, (Glencoe: Ill., The Free Press, 1949), pp 10 - 12.

26 T. Parsons, "The Present Position and Prospects of Systematic Theory in Sociology," in Essays in Sociological Theory, Revised Edition, (Glencoe:

relationships are institutionalised. And to treat them merely as residual categories in sociology would be to under-estimate their role in lending a measure of flexibility to the rigidity of institutionally patterned social action. Secondly, within the scope of institutionally patterned social action, there is an appreciable area of permissiveness or institutional indifference. This area is a source of variety and complexity of social action within the same institutionalised system of social relationships. And for these reasons sociology cannot afford to ignore this relatively unstructured area.

While we do not accept Parsons' implication that the institutional approach is the only strictly sociological approach, we do maintain that this approach is very strategic in sociological problems involving structural-functional analysis; and that as the problems we propose to discuss in this study are essentially institutional problems, the institutional approach is important here.

CHAPTER II

INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEMS AND IDEA-SYSTEMS

INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE

We have referred to institutions as commonly shared adjustive patterns of social action. Like all social constellations, institutions are more than the sum-totals of the common adjustive patterns that constitute them. They are not just structured collections of patterns which social action follows. But, over and above this, they are types of functioning systems of social action systematically organised around certain distinctive group needs and ends or values. They are organised into what we shall hereafter call institutional systems. Such, for instance, is the case with political institutional systems - that is, commonly shared adjustive patterns of social action systematically organised around the group need for the allocation of power, and the group end of social order. Such also is the case with educational institutional systems - that is, commonly shared adjustive patterns of social action organised around the group need for the initiation of every new generation into the group's way of life, and the group end of the

preservation/.....

preservation and perpetuation of its social heritage. Thus institutional systems may be viewed as systematic constellations of institutions geared to social group needs and ends. They are institutions viewed as particualr systems of social action.[1]

Hertzler has pointed out perhaps more convincingly than anyone else, the confusion and divergence that exist among social scientists regarding the usage of the concept, institution. Borrowing definitions from a number of social scientists, he ultimately sets up a composite conclusion on the present usage of this concept.[2] We have selected from his composite conclusion those statements which both emphasise and document the sense in which we shall use the concept of institutional system here. As already implied, we shall consider institutional systems as: (a) "systems of (social) action," (b) oriented to "the fulfilment of socially necessary or desirable ends," (c) thus "governing certain social relationships of men or organised forms of social activities," and (d) made relatively

permanent/....

---

1 It is our view that the definitions (especially of the functional type) of the concept, "institutions," current in contemporary sociological literature are really implicitly or explicitly definitions of systems of institutions in the sense in which this concept is used here - except when institutional traits and patterns are specifically referred to.

permanent and formal "by some common will" and "overt activities."[3] In a word, institutional systems are the more or less permanent, formal and normatively structured functional systems of social action geared to group needs and ends or values. In one sense, they are the promoters and guarantors and, in another sense, the creators and modifiers of group needs and ends or values - including the social relationships that emerge in the pursuit of such ends. In brief, they are mechanisms of social stability as well as of social change.

We may now inquire into the ordered content of these structural-functional systems of action. Graham Sumner[4] has suggested that an institutional system consists of (a) a conceptual aspect and (b) a structural aspect. Similarly, Finney[5] calls these (a) the "mental capital" aspect and (b) the "objective structural" aspect, respectively. Several other social scientists have recognised these two component aspects of institutional systems. Park and Burgess have identified

(a) "the/.....

---

3 J.O. Hertzler, loc. cit.

4 G.W. Sumner, Folkways, (New York: Gunn, 1907), pp. 173 - 174, 521 ff.

5 R.L. Finney, A Sociological Philosophy of Education, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1928), p. 29 ff.

(a) "the idea" and (b) "the structure" in institutional systems. "The structure," they say, "embodies the idea and furnishes the instrumentalities through which the idea is put into action."[6] Hertzler is even more explicit: "their (institutions') essence is ideas or other concepts, interests, attitudes, traditions and other psychic uniformities that dominate our social behaviour. In a very real sense, institutions are really in our heads.... But institutions are unavoidably also societal structures, they have an objective existence in order to operate effectively and regulate the behaviour of men.[7] Bernard, however, tends to emphasise the conceptual aspect at the expense of the perceptual aspect. "The institution," he suggests, "has primarily a conceptual or abstract rather than a perceptual or concrete existence."[8] But, as Hertzler emphasises, "something in the way of structure seems to be necessary, in the sense that paper and binding are essential in a book."[9]

We may/.....

---

6 R.E. Park and E.W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 796.

7 J.O. Hertzler, op. cit., p. 35.

8 L.L. Bernard, Introduction to Social Psychology, (New York: Holt, 1926), p. 566.

9 J.O. Hertzler, loc. cit.

We may proceed to outline, in schematic form, the content of the conceptual and perceptual aspects of institutional systems.

Institutional System

	The Conceptual Aspect	The Perceptual Aspect[10]
Actor-Sector	A. Systems of Descriptive and Prescriptive Ideas referring to the Institutional Status-Role Structure: 1. Roles - actual and ideal. 2. Statuses - actual and ideal. 3. Role-Expectations - actual and ideal.	1. Status-role incumbents - individuals or associations. 2. Status-symbols - attaching to individuals or associations.
Situation-Sector	B. Systems of Descriptive and Prescriptive Ideas referring to the Institutional Situation - Internal and External: 1. Conditions - Actual and ideal. 2. Means - actual and ideal. 3. Methods - actual and ideal.	1. The social organisation and heritage of the general society. 2. Institutional social organisation. 3. Institutional non-physical equipment - selected portions of the social heritage. 4. Institutional standardised procedures and practices. 5. Institutional physical equipment.
End-Sector	C. Systems of Descriptive and Prescriptive Ideas referring to the Institutional Ends - Actual and Ideal: 1. Individual -centred ends. 2. Group-centred ends.	1. Individual needs pointing to actual and ideal ends of institutional action. 2. Group needs pointing to actual and ideal ends of institutional action.

10 See Appendix C.

We do not propose to engage in an extended discussion of the content of the perceptual aspect of the structure of an institutional system here.[11] We shall devote the rest of this chapter to a discussion of the conceptual aspect. The main reason for this bias is that systems of ideas - especially of the ideological type - are crucial to the central problem of this study.

It is clear that systems of ideas are fundamental to the structure and functioning of institutional systems. "There is a concept or set of concepts, articulate or inarticulate, at least an implied system of ideas or principles, an underlying assumption of order along some line, at the heart of every institution."[12] Where does this "line" lie? It is our view that the students of institutional systems have generally limited the role of ideas to the end-sector of such systems. Hertzler, for instance, is of the opinion that "the real essence of institutions is the system of ideas and principles behind it... a more or less conscious recognition by the group or society of the need or some notion regarding the fulfilment of function and purpose."[13]

While/.....

---

11 Pertinent references will be made to it at various points in Chapter IV.

12 J.O. Hertzler, op. cit., p. 35.

While we realise that the recognition of the relevance of systems of ideas to the end-sector is fundamental to a study of problems of institutional systems, we view idea-systems as being relevant to the actor-situation sectors as well. In general, systems of ideas are fundamental to the structure and functioning of each entire institutional system, including the "definition of the situation" for institutional action.

Hamilton, however, points out that ordinarily the structural contours and components of institutional systems are not generally perceived owing to the hoary frost of tradition, custom and age-old usage that generally accumulates on these systems of social action. "It is only as stability gives way to change," he says, "that the lines of an institution stand out in sharp relief. So long as a people is able to do as its fathers did, it manifests little curiosity about the arrangements under which it lives and works..... For such casual glimpses of the intricacies of institutions as men are permitted to see they are indebted to the stress and strain of transition." [14]

In Hamilton's/.....

---

14 W.H. Hamilton, "Institutions," in Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. VIII, pp. 87 - 88.

In Hamilton's times of "stress and strain of transition," it becomes clear that there are two types of ideas that bear on the structure and functioning of an institutional system, namely: ideas that have become an integral part of a given institutional system's conceptual content, for instance, by usage and tradition; and ideas that are not an integral part of its conceptual content but are part of the social heritage of the general social organisation of which the institutional system is part. We shall refer to the former as internal ideas; and, to the latter as external ideas, that is to say, from the point of view of the institutional system under observation at a given time.

There are three degrees in which ideas may be treated as external from the point of view of an institutional system. Firstly, ideas may be external when, from the point of view of institutional system A, they are embodied in institutional system B and / or C...Z, within the same social group, and are intentionally or unintentionally brought to bear on institutional system A. Secondly, ideas may be external to institutional system A when A belongs to one exclusive social group, and ideas embodied

in/.....

in institutional systems of another exclusive social group, within the same plural society, are intentionally (for instance, by legislation) or unintentionally (for instance, by culture diffusion) brought to bear on institutional system A. This degree of externality may be expected to be well illustrated in societies like our own. Thirdly, ideas may be external to institutional system A when A belongs to one exclusive society, and ideas embodied in the institutional systems of another exclusive society are brought to bear on it. This degree of externality may be expected to be exemplified in imperial colonies when ideas internal to the institutional systems of the colonising societies are brought to bear on the institutional systems of the native societies.

Both the internal and external types of ideas may each consist of three systems of ideas, namely: (a) the scientific or empirically verifiable and verified system of ideas; (b) the unscientific or empirically verifiable but unverified system of ideas; and (c) the non-scientific or empirically unverifiable transcendental system of ideas. Each of these three systems of ideas may have a descriptive[15] and a prescriptive reference to reality or states of

affairs/.....

---

15 This term is used here in the wider sense which includes analysis and interpretation.

affairs. In institutional systems, ideas that have a descriptive reference to reality become relevant in the cognitive understanding, by the personnel, of the institutional system's status-role structure, its situation of operation (including, conditions, means and methods), and its ends in so far as they are given factors to the personnel. Prescriptive or normative ideas become relevant in the evaluation and choice of conditions, means, methods and ends; and in the motivation and regulation of the pursuit of ends.

While institutional systems do not seem to vary considerably in their internal stock of ideas of both modes of reference, they vary considerably in their relative content of scientific, unscientific and non-scientific ideas. This may be illustrated with reference to two polar cases. Modern technological institutional systems tend to have a high content of scientific ideas in terms of which the conditions, means, immediate ends and processes are handled. At the opposite pole are the religious institutional systems. These have a high content of non-scientific ideas - dogmatic and ethical - in terms of which they describe transcendental reality and prescribe moral action.

More/.....

More or less between these two are the political institutional systems which tend to have a high content of unscientific ideas in terms of which they operate in the theoretical or policy-making and electioneering processes. The technical or routine processes of political institutional systems, however, are subject to the norm of rational efficency and hence scientific ideas become relevant here. In some sub-systems of these institutional systems, such as the judicial, where a "higher moral law" is superimposed on deliberately established law, one may sense a non-scientific element. Hence political institutional systems tend to occupy a central point between the technological and the religious.

Whence comes this varying incidence of the three systems of ideas in the content of institutional systems? We suggest two sources. Firstly, the creative genius of the personnel of each institutional system is one source. Here we have in mind the ability of the personnel to create an internal stock of: (a) scientific ideas by validating the internal trial and error activities of the institutional system; (b) unscientific ideas by

"apologising"/.....

"apologising" for the tradition-bound and vested-interest-bound activities (overt and covert) of the institutional system, when these cannot stand the test of scientific and/or moral defensibility; (c) non-scientific ideas by formulating conceptions of ideal states of the institutional system in terms of appreciative and moral norms. Secondly, the relative receptiveness of each institutional system to external ideas is another source of variation in their internal stock of idea-systems. This source is particularly relevant to the present study.

The receptiveness of any given institutional system to the impinging external ideas depends, inter alia, on two factors; (a) the type of primary norm operative in the structure and functioning of the institutional system; (b) the potency of the impinging ideas.[16]

Technological institutional systems (which are instrumental) operate primarily on the norm of rationality. For the action of a technological institutional system to be consistent with this

norm/.....

---

16 We shall take up this second condition in a later section in this chapter, with special reference to ideologies and institutional systems.

norm, empirically verified knowledge must be admitted into the conceptual content of the institutional system and be used (a) in the "definition of the situation - internal and external - and in the cognitive understanding of institutional ultimate ends, (b) in the definition and prescription of the immediate ends which are pursued or rationally ought to be pursued, and (c) in the motivation and regulation of rationally appropriate institutional action. Hence technological institutional systems tend to be relatively unreceptive to unscientific and non-scientific ideas, and these tend to be reduced to the minimum. A minimum of non-scientific nomative ideas of the philosophical order, however, would seem to be an indispensable factor in the definition and prescription of the ultimate ends; for instance, in terms, of "the greatest good of the greatest number." But such issues, as the latter, are generally raised externally to technological institutional systems and are, for them, given data."

Aesthetic institutional systems (which are expressive) operate subject to the norm of symbolic appropriateness for the expression of sentiment or affect. The relation of objective means to objective

ends/.....

ends is only significant in so far as it affords an appropriate channel for the expression of affective appreciations. Hence such institutional systems tend to be relatively less receptive to scientific and unscientific ideas because such ideas are relatively irrelevant to the primary norm. And such institutional systems are more receptive to an guided by non-scientific appreciative ideas that need no empirical proof and cannot be proved.

As indicated earlier, political institutional systems (which are integrative) occupy an interesting position. They embrace technical administrative problems and functions subject to the norm of rational efficiency. This lends them an instrumental character. And they, therefore, tend to require a stock of scientific ideas and to be relatively receptive to them at this point. But these institutional systems also embrace affective problems of the appropriate expression of a population's national sentiments of attachment and belongingness to the State, as well as moral problems of social order, justice and fair-play. These problems require to be handled chiefly with the aid of non-scientific normative ideas subject to the

affective/.....

affective and moral norms. Hence the receptiveness or, at least, sensitiveness of political institutional systems to ideas that appeal to these norms.

It cannot be claimed that the personnel of political institutional systems have at their disposal all the scientific knowledge necessary for the rationally effective administrative functioning of such institutional systems; nor that, if such knowledge were available, the personnel would be in full command of it. Hence in such institutional systems there is always a considerable margin for ignorance and error - intentional or unintentional - and room for unscientific ideas. And that room is never empty. Further, non-scientific ideas are not subject to any universal and objective criteria of verification. They arise from the affective and moral sentiments or value-attitudes regarding what is desirable or desired and what ought to be desirable or disired. In brief, they are relative to persons or to social groups; and there can be no "given" unanimity on them. Hence it can be expected that any social group on behalf of whom a given set of personnel operates such an institutional system will tend to equip, support and maintain such institutional system with its

own non-scientific ideas, including its own conception of norms of appreciative and moral appropriateness.

But for the reason that they are integrative, political institutional systems cannot continue long to operate on a sectional group-basis leaving the rest of the population's national and moral sentiments unintegrated with the political institutional system. In this case, the social group which controls a given political institutional system tends to equip its personnel with fabricated "explanations" or political apologetics in order to achieve a general, if not universal, sympathy, tolerance or acceptance of the non-scientific ideas in terms of which it runs both the technical and non-technical aspects of the institutional system and defines the situation of its operation. Counter to this, those social groups whose interests, aspirations and outlook are not adequately catered for by the existing political institutional system tend to evolve, severally or collectively, their own "explanations" or political apologetics in order to achieve a general, if not universal, sympathy, tolerance or acceptance of the non-scientific ideas in terms of which they <u>feel</u> the institutional system should be run and its

situation/.....

situation of operation, including the ends, defined.

IDEOLOGIES

These political fabrications or social apologetics aspire to be scientific but fall short of the rational norm. They refer to empirical reality but do not entirely correspond to the facts. They have a tendency to be either relatively behind the facts of a rapidly changing social scene, or relatively ahead of the facts of a society that changes too slowly from the point of view of those who see ahead of the facts.[17] In a word, they are ideologies, that is to say, systems of ideas which depart from reality by distorting it under the stimulus of group inherests. They are "the more or less conscious deceptions and disguises of human interest groups, particularly political parties;"[18] and "include all those utterances the 'falsity' of which is due to intentional or unintentional, conscious, semi-conscious, or unconscious, deluding of one's self or of others, taking place on a psychological level and structurally resembling lies."[19]

Ideologies/.....

---

17 See: K. Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, translated by L. Wirth and E. Shils, (London: Rontledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd, 1952), pp. 86 - 87.

18 Ibid., p. 238.

19 Ibid., loc. cit.

Ideologies are essentially unscientific.[20] This may be in the sense that they are systems of apologetics for group interests and aspirations that can no longer be fully reconciled with the facts of a changing situation. Or, they may be unscientific in the sense that they are systems of apologetics for group interests that cannot yet be fully reconciled with the facts of the existing situation. Thus seen, ideologies have, as their point of reference, the status quo; but they may differ as to whether they are fabricated to stabilise the changing status quo so as to ensure the continued realisation of, otherwise, antequated group interests; or to transform the status quo so as to ensure the realisation of, otherwise, utopian group interests.

Ideologies/.....

---

20 However, in their departure from reality (which makes them unscientific), ideologies may incorporate some scientific as well as some non-scientific elements. The scientific elements enter when an ideology describes certain facts of the situation (which are consistent with group interests and values) accurately. But, in so far as it capitalises on such facts at the expense of other facts which would invalidate its premises, it becomes unscientific. The non-scientific elements may enter when an ideology (in its pre-occupation with group interests) makes an appeal to transcendental concepts like "the Divine Right of Kings," or "God-made differences" or inequalities in society. In so far as it thus weds the "sacred" to the "profane," it may not be said to be essentially non-scientific: but in so far as it attempts to validate its empirical premises with non-scientific "proofs," it remains short of the empirical, scientific norm of rationality and, hence, unscientific.

Ideologies of the first type may be called reactionary. These are "ideologies" in the strict sense in which Mannheim uses the concept. "There is implicit in the word 'ideology' the insight that in certain situations the collective unconscious of certain groups obscures the real condition of society both to itself and to others and thereby stabilises it."[21] The second type of ideologies may be called revolutionary. Functionally, they correspond to what Mannheim calls "counter-ideologies" - which "by their tendency to break through the limits of the existing order cause the conservative mentality to question the basis of its own dominance, and necessarily brings about among the conservatives historical-philosophical reflections concerning themselves."[22] At the same time, this type of ideologies corresponds to what Mannheim calls "utopias" - both structurally and functionally.

> "The concept of utopian thinking reflects the opposite discovery of the political struggle, namely that certain oppressed groups are intellectually so strongly interested in the destruction and transformation of a given condition of society that they unwittingly see only those elements in the situation which tend to negate it. Their thinking is incapable of correctly diagnosing an existing condition of society. They are not at all concerned with what really exists; rather in their thinking they already seek to change the situation

that/.....

---

21 K. Mannheim, op. cit., p. 36.

22 Ibid., p. 207.

that exists. Their thought is never a diagnosis of the situation; it can be used only as a guide to action. In the utopian mentality, the collective unconscious, guided by wishful representetion and the will to action, hides certain aspects of reality. It turns its back on everything which would shake its belief or paralyse its desire to change things."[23]

The essential point about these two types of ideologies is their preoccupation with the status quo: its maintenance versus its transformation. In this ideological conflict, they tend to divide it between themselves. The reactionary ideologies, on the one hand, embrace only those facts of the status quo which can be used effectively "to prove a case" for the maintenance of the status quo and, hence, subtly for the continued realisation of the interests of dominant groups under camouflage. The revolutionary ideologies, on the other hand, embrace only those facts of the status quo which can be used effectively "to prove a case" for the disguised ascendency of the interests of subordinate groups. The net result of this ideological selective approach to reality is the distortion of the total situation - in the direction of conformity with group interests.

Owing to the integrative strategy that lies in ideologies in the operation of political institutional systems, ideologies tend to be the most elaborately formulated and vocalised systems of ideas in these

institutional systems. They may be said to be as characteristic of political institutional systems as scientific ideas are characteristic of the technological, and as non-scientific ideas are characteristic of the religious institutional systems.

IDEOLOGIES AND INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEMS

The potency of the ideas that impinge on institutional systems depends primarily on the strategic power-position of the influencing group or institutional system. A single institutional system that is in such a position in modern society is the political. It commands the last and strongest sanction, force. On the whole, howver, this sanction is more of a final safeguard for the maintenance of peace, order and security in critical cases and at critical times. To a large extent, a political institutional system must depend, for its normal day-by-day functioning, on the willing conformity of the governed. This presupposes a measure of consensus in a society on fundamentals of values, legitimate interests and aspirations, and outlook. In so far as a given political institutional system in a society

represents/.....

represents these fundamentals from the point of view of one group - the dominant group - it becomes a functional necessity that the dominant group-ideology, in which they are couched, should have a general working-measure of acceptance in the society. That is, short of the use of force, its conceptions on these fundamentals - including matters of policy and social order - must be generalised and impressed on those whose social action and relationships it integrates and regulates. Gerth and Mills make this point poignantly when they characterise "the ideas of nationalism and racism as justificatory ideologies used by the ruling class, and their hireling publicists, to beat their impositions into the weaker members of the polity."[24] This ideological imposition may be carried out or achieved through propaganda or through legislation, which is a form of force.

It is our observation that in so far as the ideologies, thus imposed, are of the second and third degrees of externality,[25] the affected institutional systems exhibit a measure of

resistance/.....

---

24 H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, Ltd., 1947), p. 25.

25 Vide supra. (In the rest of this section "externality" refers only to these two degrees).

resistance - at least, initially. This resistance is particularly noticeable if the ideological impact occurs on the end-sector by way of a definition or re-definition of the ends that the personnel pursue or ought to pursue. This resistance may, however, be considerably mitigated by successful ideological deception of the social group whose institutional system is impinged upon. That is to say, unless the group can "see through" the impinging ideology and discover the polite "lie" implicit in it, there may be little or no resistance (except that which is due to the tenacity of tradition). The ability of a group to "see through" an impinging ideology would depend to a large extent on the analytical and critical perception of its legitimate leadership. In this connection, it is our view that the leadership of minority groups in various societies is becoming more and more analytically and critically incisive towards impinging majority group ideologies: and that the leadership of majority groups is also alert to the impact of minority group ideologies which threaten to undermine the status quo in which they have vested interests. So that, in these terms, such resistance may be expected on both sides. Whence comes this resistance?

Many/.....

Many possible explanations may be made in terms of such concepts as vested interests and the crust of custom and tradition internal to institutional systems. Hamilton, for instance, is of opinion that "as it crystallises into reputable usages; an institution creates in its defence vested interest, vested habit and vested ideas and claims allegiance in its own right."[26] This may help in the explanation of the resistance of an old institutional system to any new type of external ideas impinging on any sector of its structure. But the problem we are posing here is that of the resistance of any institutional system to the impact of ideologies on its end-sector.

We suggest that a more adequate explanation may be sought in the social origin and character of institutional systems and the conceptions which their personnel have with regard to the ends that they pursue or ought to pursue. By origin institutional systems are social functional organs. The conceptions which their personnel hold regarding their ends are, therefore, a social trust, issuing, like the institutional systems themselves, from "the wills and purposes" of the

social/.....

---

26 W.H. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 87.

social groups which gave them birth, which they maintain and which maintain them. The ends pursued through institutional action are social value-products of the evaluations and choices of the social groups that support them and which they support. Behind institutional systems are social groups; and between the two, yet penetrating both to the core, are the social values which give meaning and vitality to both. And it would seem that the personnel of any institutional system are under a dual moral obligation to the social groups supporting and supported by institutional systems, (a) to take institutional systems as a social trust and (b) to take, in particular, their end-sectors (which are the depository of social group values) as a "sacred" social trust. Such a trust is necessarily tied up with the social groups' conceptions of group-welfare, group-survival, group-progress, and group-destiny.

This conception of the social-group origin and character of the ends that institutional systems pursue or ought to pursue is supported by Hetherington and Muirheid in their characterisation of an institutional system. They view it as

"an objectified purpose, the embodiment in external form of an end which some group....has proposed to itself."[27] And this is truer of the end-sector of institutional systems than of any of their other sectors. Hayes also expresses the same conception when he defines an "institution" as "the idea of a set of overt activities together with a two-fold judgment lodged in the popular mind; namely, a judgment that the result which institutionalised activities attain is necessary or greatly to be desired, and that given activities are so well adapted to securing the result that they should be prized, defended, perpetuated, and, if necessary, enforced."[28]

Thus it would appear to us that it may be legitimately expected that any external system of ideas purporting to affect the end-sector of an institutional system will not be likely to receive willing acceptance by the personnel unless it bears the social stamp of approval of the social group to which the institutional system is "responsible." The problem of the impact of external

ideas/.....

---

27 H.J. Hetherington J.H. Muirheid, Social Purpose, (London and New York: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1918), p. 119.

28 E.C. Hayes, Introduction to the Study of Sociology, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1915), 405.

ideas lacking the social group-stamp of approval on the end-sector of an institutional system is likely to be more acute if the impinging ideas are, (a) of the ideological type, (b) in a stratified society, and (c) the impact occurs across social group or class boundaries. How do these three factors combine to deprive impinging ideologies of the social group-stamp of approval for admission into the end-sector of an institutional system?

We have indicated earlier that ideologies as effective social forces are essentially group possessions. Whether their inception is a result of the intuitive acuteness of a single charismatic person who sees beyond his time and senses latent values and ideas to which his contemporaries are as yet insensitive, or of the synthetic genius of a single social philosopher who is exceptionally senstitive to the manifest interests and aspirations of his group, ideologies ultimately become social group possessions. Through the Weberian process of "routinisation," they become attached to group interests, aspirations and values; and, in their maturity, they become not just apologies for this or that set of social group interests, aspirations, and values, but a whole conceptualised social

group/.....

group world-outlook.

In a society which is stratified - either on a class or social group basis - any single ideology may be expected to be a sectional group possession. It may not be expected to be coterminous with the whole society, in the sense that the interests, aspirations, values and outlook of the several strata are different or opposite.[29] Hence, it is our view that, just as the end sector of an institutional system may be, at least initially, resistant to external ideological influence because of the social group-origin and character of its value-content, ideologies in such a society where their impact occurs across social class or group boundaries tend initially to lack approval as a result of their social group or class origin and character. They are initially viewed as alien and, therefore, suspect. It is only when ("false" or "correct") "affinities" are perceived between an impinging ideology and the interests and values of the social group whose institutional system is being influenced that the "routinisation" of the ideology or "selected" elements of it takes place.

But as an external ideology impinges, initially, on an institutional system, it arises from a sectional

group/.....

---

29 See: Appendix D.

group base. Hence, in such a society, it may be expected that such ideological impact occurs with relatively greater regard for the interests, aspirations, values and outlook of the influencing group or class; and with relatively less or no regard for those of the group or class whose institutional system is being influenced. Hence, in so far as it is not deceived, the latter group may be expected to withhold its approval for the incorporation of such an ideology into the system of ideas internal to its institutional system.

In such a case, when an external ideology is brought to bear on the end-sector of an institutional system of such a group, the ideological impact is viewed as involving meddling with "the wills and purposes," evaluations and choices of the group enshrined in its conception of the ends that the personnel of the institutional system pursue or ought to pursue. As a result, there arises a tendency to meet the impinging ideology by appealing to a counter-ideology. Such an ideology becomes not only a system of social apologetics for the social group's interests but also a re-affirmation and further clarification of its opposite conception of the ends of the affected institutional system.

In/.....

In such a case, the personnel of the affected institutional system are confronted with two conflicting systems of ideologies describing its end-sector and prescribing for the personnel two conflicting orientations to this sector. In other words, the "definition of the situation" for the pursuit of institutionalised ends - including the personnel's orientation to such ends - is provided in conflicting ideological terms. Whether or not the two definitions of the situation are mutually reconcilable, this creates, for the personnel of the institutional system, crucial problems of evaluation and choice between the two definitions of the situation. If the two are reconcilable, evaluation and choice involves the adoption of one or the harmonious synthesis of the two. If they are irreconcilable, evaluation and choice involves the adoption of one and the rejection of the other. However, in view of the sectional nature of ideologies - and in the absence of ideological deception on the part of the personnel[30] the two may be expected to be irreconcilable and, hence, the choice would involve the adoption of one

and the/.....

---

30 This phrase is meant to be conditional. And must be read in that sense.

and the rejection of the other. The central problem of this study arises in such a context and is precisely of this nature.

THE PROBLEM

The broad sociological problem with which we are concerned here is that of the role of ideologies, in the "definition of the situation" for institutionalised social action, as affecting the structural-functional relationships between institutional systems and the social systems of which they are part. For our case study of this general problem, we have chosen the South African social system as our empirical situation. In this situation we have singled out (a) the African educational system, as an institutional system, and (b) the Apartheid and Integrationist ideologies of the Whites and the Africans (respectively) in their "manifest function" of defining the situation for the action of the personnel[31] of this institutional system.

We have set ourselves the special task of inquiring into the nature of the definitions of the situation offered by these two ideologies

to the/.....

---

31 The personnel will be conceptualised here in terms of "the African educator." This concept covers the African teachers - not as Classroom routineers but as educators in the broad sense of

to the African educator, and their effects on his orientation to the ultimate end-sector of the African educational system. In handling this problem, we propose to show the following:-

(a) that the definitions of the real and the ideal situations provided by the two ideologies assume the charactor of conflicting role-expectations;

(b) that the effect of such conflicting ideological role-expectations is to create, for the African educator, a series of dilemmas of orientation to the ultimate ends or objectives of education;[32]

(c) that these dilemmas involve crucial problems of evaluation and choice, for the African educator, between the two sets of role-expectations;

(d) that these problems are not only cold matters of rational calculation by professional technicians but they are also, and moreso, warm matters of affective and moral evaluation by persons who have compelling group loyalties and obligations; and

(e) that the analysis of these problems has significance.

We may take up the last point immediately seeing that an outline of it will cast necessary light on our choice of this problem.

The/.....

---

32 This effect may be described as a "latent function."

The problem of the role of ideas in social action cannot be overemphasised. The sciences of social action are increasingly recognising this. In sociology, this insight may be traced in the works of such authors as Vilfredo Pareto, Karl Mannheim, Karl Marx, Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, Morris Ginsberg, J.W. Sprott, G.D. Cole, Pitrim Sorokin, R.K. Merton, Talcott Parsons and many others. In any system of social action, such as the educational system, ideas furnish the actor with a particular "definition of the situation," a particular orientation towards his system of social action. In so far as ideas are shared in common by members of certain groups interested in or responsible for the system of social action in question, such ideas are not individual but <u>social</u> phenomena. They are in the Durkheimian sense "external" and their "definitions of the situation," rationally and/or morally "constraining" to the actor.

The South African social system has in it two gigantic ideological systems of ideas whose implications for social or group action in this society have not been (sufficiently) explored - at least systematically. These ideological systems

are/.....

are staunchly entrenched in the "wills and purposes" of two social groups - one being a socio-economic power-majority group; the other, a numerical power-majority group - standing at the opposite poles of the social system.

The recent legislative imposition of one of these ideological systems - Apartheid - on the African educational system has given the problem of the ideological definition of the situation for institutionalised social action in African education much prominence. It has also made South Africa a particularly fertile field for the investigation of the problem. Add to this the fact that this ideological imposition has been made over an educational system which has previously been permeated by a liberal tradition of educational theory. This tradition is now being eliminated and an ideological tradition substituted in its place.

In the light of these three considerations, it is our hope that an analysis of the problem we have chosen will be a significant contribution to:-

(a)/.....

(a) sociological theory of the role of ideas in social action by uncovering some of the implications of the role of ideas - especially, the ideologies - in a special situation of ideological conflict - the South African;

(b) sociological theory of institutional systems in their structural-functional relationships to their social systems by exposing some of the strains between the two, which may result from an inuerterminate definition of the situation and principles for this relation in a social system which inherently lacks consensus on basic values with regard to social organisation;

(c) sociological theory of evaluation and choice in social action by uncovering problems of this type implicit in the dilemmas confronting the African educator;

(d) educational theory by drawing attention to some of the problems that may be expected to arise when an ideological tradition is superimposed over a liberal tradition in education; and some of the reactions of the educators that may be expected in such a situation;

(e) social pratice, in South Africa, with special reference to some of the implications of the

technique/.....

technique of engineering social change - in group relations - through the manipulation of minority-group institutional systems by legislation rather than by consultation and mutual consent.

In our analysis of the problem of this study, we shall view the educational system[33] as an institutional system. This is consistent with the institutional approach adopted in this study and the social action-relationship scheme implicit in this approach. From this point of view, the educational system may be regarded as "a recognised and established embodiment... of some system of relationship,.... some method of social action;"[34] or as "a set of activities which a society adopts as its deliberately accepted method of attaining some deliberately approved end."[35]

Like all institutional systems, the educational system is distinctively social both in its origin and setting and in its function and orientation, the latter being defined in terms of some conception of the social order - actual or ideal, but often both. Hence, in terms of this approach, the educational system may be considered as (a) set on some

identifiable/.....

---

33 Here this term refers only to the formal educational system.

34 E.J. Urwick, A Philosophy of Social Purpose,

identifiable social base, (b) structured, (c) functioning, (d) oriented to some social ends, and (e) related to its social base in some determinable way.

In our immediately following characterisation of the educational system as an institutional system (in Part II) we shall devote a chapter to each of five characteristics and in that order of sequence.

PART II

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AS AN INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL BASE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

THE SOCIAL GROUP

In his discussion of social organisation and institutions, Florian Znaniecki posits "the concept of social group as a general frame of reference for an inductive study of institutions."[1] The methodological import of this suggestion is clear. For any treatment of institutional systems that goes beyond the facile theorisation of social philosophers, institutional systems cannot be treated in abstraction from the social groups in which they are rooted without loss of vital insights into their structural-functional characteristics and problems.

Hence, the clarification of our conception of a social group in this study is a basic priority. By social group we mean, here, what Parsons[2] means by a "collectivity." His conception of a collectivity is that of an aggregate of persons exhibiting a characteristic solidarity

of its/.....

---

1 F. Znaniecki, "Social Organisation and Institutions," in G. Gurvitch and W. Moore, Twentieth Century Sociology, (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945), p. 208.

2 T. Parsons, The Social System, (Glencoe: Ill., The Free Press, 1951), p. 193 ff.

of its members, arising from the institutionalisation[3] of individual and collective goals, shared goals, shared value-orientation,[4] and a general participation in "a single system of interaction with boundaries defined by incumbency in... roles;" "so that the whole aggregate tends to act in concert." This is precisely our conception of a social group.

It should, therefore, be clear that, for our purpose, a social group is not a mere arithmetical entity; it is essentially a social entity, defined in terms of some "interhuman reality"[5] on the basis of which the aggregate human units interact in roles and establish solidary relationships. In the preceding paragraph we have highlighted a few fundamental components

of this/.....

---

3 That is, the systematisation, stabilisation and generalisation of the elements of social action so that they are commonly shared within the social group or society.

4 That is, collective reactions to social group values or to situations that require the exercise of evaluation before action can be determinate, so that the members of a group may be said to share a characteristic outlook on such values and on such situations.

5 This concept is borrowed from L. von Wiese. See: L. von Wiese and H. Becker, Systematic Sociology, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1932), Chap. I.

of this "inter-human reality" which makes possible the solidarity and action-in-concert which defines social groups. These components, however, are part of the larger totality of components of the social heritage - which is the "inter-human reality" in its broadest dimensions.

MacIver[6] classifies the social heritage into civilisation and culture. The former includes the elements of the utilitarian order, subject to the criterion of efficiency and comparable in terms of superiority and inferiority. The transmission of the elements of the civilisational aspect of the social heritage is universal, requiring no particular type of people or peoples to acquire, produce or use them. Culture, on the contrary, includes the elements of the normative order, raising the ultimate unarbitrable problem of values - appreciative and moral. We have no universal measuring rod by which to assess or compare them. Their transmission is selective and only to the "like minded": we inherit only

those/.....

---

6 R.M. MacIver, Society: A Textbook of Sociology, (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1947), p. 272 ff.

those elements of it of which we are worthy: but each generation must win these elements for itself afresh and according to its own "lights." He rightly qualifies this distinction by stating that it is not absolute and that there are important inter-relations between the civilisational and cultural aspects of a social group's social heritage. An object may have, embodied in itself, something of both aspects. Civilisational elements often have cultural embellishments, while many cultural elements have utilitarian media. Further, when we view these two aspects from the dynamic point of view, we note that cultural developments are responsive to stages of technological development. For instance, the literary arts have been responsive to the development of the printing apparatus; styles in music, to the variety of modern musical instruments. On the other hand, civilisational elements, mechanical inventions, industry, power and devices "cannot escape altogether from the influences of the creeds, standards and styles of the age" in which they develop. The cultural aspect of the social heritage consists of the final evaluations and

standards/.....

standards of evaluation, other than the utilitarian standard of efficiency, in the light of which civilisational elements must be evaluated. In social-group terms, the culture contains the valuations that create group loyalties and group unities that narrow or widen the range of social groups, and that organise the means and powers of social groups to the service of the common and shared-ends.

Finney[7] also makes a classification of the social heritage which cuts across MacIver's. He distinguishes two aspects viz, the mental capital or intellectual resources of a social group, and the objective structures[8] which embody the mental capital in terms of which they are operated. The mental capital may be viewed as held in the medium of systems of ideas within and without the

objective/.....

---

7 R.F. Finney, op. cit., p. 29 ff.

8 Under this concept he includes, the Church, the State, the Family, the School, the Industries and so forth. To these he gives the name, "institutional structures." If his institutional structures are regarded not purely from the physical point of view, but as functional systems of social action-relationship, this concept of his coincides with ours of "institutional systems."

objective structures. It consists of the commonly shared symbols of communication, techniques of industry, the sciences, amusements and the fine arts, popular beliefs, prevailing ideals, folkways and mores of a social group. From this short list of examples, it is clear that Finney's concept of mental capital includes the cognitive and evaluative conceptual resources of a social group. And in so far as these resources are predicated of solidary social groups in which they are commonly shared, it is our view that their component elements cannot be viewed as being in a state of random relationship to one another and to the social group; nor can they be viewed as being in a state of extreme transiency. In other words, they tend to be patterned, relatively stabilised, and generalised in the social group. This process we have called "institutionalisation." In solidary social groups the elements of the mental capital tend to be increasingly institutionalised and, hence, emerge as what we shall call institutional patterns. Within the social heritage of a social group the institutional patterns

are held/.....

are held in and generalised through the medium of systems of ideas, and stabilised and symbolised in institutional systems.[9] Hence, for us the social heritage is a complex of a social group's institutional patterns plus its institutional systems plus its systems of ideas and a residuum of alternatives to which the social group is institutionally indifferent.

It is important for this study to draw special attention to the relationship outlined in the preceding paragraph between institutional patterns, systems of ideas, and institutional systems. The first two concepts, in this trio, imply each other. Institutional patterns are viewed as held in the medium of systems of normative ideas; and these systems of ideas are viewed as vehicles of institutional patterns: in the use of either concept, the other is implicit.

And/.....

---

9 The concepts may be illustrated with reference to a political institutional system: here the institutional patterns which are prescriptions of legitimate action of the personnel and of the institutional system as an "on-going concern" and also prescriptions of legitimate relationships between the personnel and the citizenry, and between the institutional system as a whole and other institutional systems may be largely embodied in the (written or unwritten) Constitution. These patterns may be contained in or drawn from some system of political theory or philosophy (which is their medium): and this system may consist of scientific, unscientific and non-scientific elements of systems of ideas current in a particular society.

And the first two concepts are further implied in the concept of institutional systems. The latter embody, stabilise and symbolise particular sets of institutional patterns and the situation of their operation is cognitively and normatively defined in the light of particular systems of ideas. This complex plus the residuum of alternatives constitutes the social heritage. The objectivity of institutional systems, as a result of their perceptual or "structural" aspect, makes them more noticeable than the other two components of the social heritage. Hence, Finney ultimately describes the social heritage as a complex of "institutional structures." This, however is no more than a short-hand description of this far more complex and involved "interhuman reality." The essential point here, however, is that a social group, as a social base of any particular institutional system - in this case, the educational - is a solidary aggregate of persons aggregated around a complex of other institutional systems, interacting and interrelated in terms of commonly held institutional patterns which are generalised through the medium of commonly held systems of ideas.

The concept/.....

The concept of institutional patterns occupies an important position in any thorough-going treatment of social groups, the social heritage, institutional systems and systems of ideas (especially in their normative aspects). For that reason, this concept deserves further treatment in this discussion. Also, as sharply implied in the concepts of institutional systems and systems of ideas, which are central to this study, it merits further treatment in preparation for a closer discussion, in Part IV, of the relationship between one institutional system - the educational - and one system of ideas - the ideological.

INSTITUTIONAL PATTERNS

We have indicated in a preceding paragraph that institutional patterns are commonly shared patterns of social action-relationships. Thus viewed, institutional patterns are important factors in social action and in social relationships. They motivate and regulate the social action of individuals and of groups, and they pattern their relationships. Their patterned character implies a measure of deliberateness and system about the selection, out of the shapeless mass of group

experience/.....

experience, of the elements that go to form them.

In the structural aspect of a social group, institutional patterns function in what Parsons calls the "allocative" process - in social stratification, involving the definitions and systematic ordering of roles and statuses within the social group. In other words, social groups are internally differentiated in terms of the prescriptions of institutional patterns. In such cases, individuals and sub-groups may be cognitively located (through structural analysis) at various levels and sections of levels within the social groups. And, in general, individuals and sub-groups may be evaluated as to their social importance in terms of the institutionally patterned cognitive, appreciative and/or moral standards attaching to incumbency of certain status-roles in the social group. From the relational point of view, individuals and sub-groups may either associate or dissociate themselves with the incumbents of other 'positions' or strata in the social group according to the real or imaginary social distance allowed or prescribed by the institutional

patterns/.....

patterns.

From the point of view of the functioning of a social group, institutional patterns function in what Parsons calls the "integrative" process. That is, they play the important role of ensuring orderliness, harmony or, at least, synchronousness. They ensure this by defining reciprocal role-expectations among incumbents of particular roles and positions in the social group, so that social action and social relationships may not be expected to be at random. And by prescribing and legitimising certain reciprocal role-expectations, they make possible the very existence and solidarity of the social group - and hence, action "in concert." In this sense, they constitute the co-ordinating and regulating machinery of a social group.

The allocative and integrative prescriptions of institutional patterns are not confined to the role-structure of a social group. They apply also to the legitimate goals or ends, the legitimate means for pursuing those goals, and the legitimate evaluative standards (rational, appreciative, and moral) for assessing the legitimacy of particular chains and systems of social action. Failure of the incumbents of certain roles or positions, in a social group, to pursue the institutionally prescribed ends, to employ the institutionally prescribed means or

to respect the institutionally prescribed norms regulating social action, may have a number of socially dysfunctional results. For instance, it may result in (a) the weakening of the solidarity of the social group through the frustration of the expectations of incumbents of the same or other positions in the same or in another social group; (b) the development of two or more competing systems of social action (governed by different norms); and (c) the emergence of social conflict and problems of selecting those elements of the group's social heritage that must be transmitted to posterity.

In addition to their allocative and integrative functions, institutional patterns have a motivational function. They do not only distribute status-roles, personnel and possessions, and regulate the legitimate pursuit of goals in social groups, but also provide for adequate motivation of individuals and sub-groups to conform, largely by delimiting legitimate goals and infusing them with affect.

Motivation in social action however may be without or with the invocation of evaluative standards (cognitive, appreciative and moral).

And/. .....

And in so far as social action is essentially evaluative action, motivations of this type must be provided for. Moreover, action in social groups involves the interests, susceptibilities and expectations of other members of the social group which must be reckoned with - and this calls for motivation invoking moral evaluative standards. Institutional patterns provide for this. Emile Durkheim rightly realised that the non-moral norm of rationality compelling respect for economic contracts is inadequate for the motivation of such respect. He pointed to the existence of a "non-contractual-element-in-contract." This, on analysis, turns out to be the institutional patterns whose prescriptions and patternings of relationships tend to be respected not as a matter of cold rational calculation of the consequences of non-conformity, but as an act of moral obligation.

Such motivation is guaranteed in two major ways. Firstly, through the internalisation of the institutional prescriptions: that is, their incorporation into the personality-structure to form the super-ego of the individual - the

"conscience/.....

"conscience individuelle" - so that they become an internal compelling force to conformity. Secondly, through the institutionalisation of the prescriptions to constitute the "conscience collective" which exerts "external" pressure on the action of individuals and of groups. In this way, institutional patterns constitute an "external" "constraining" order on which man is dependent not only for his occupancy of roles but also for his enjoyment of the statuses and rewards attaching to those roles. Hence, the individual is not only accorded a particular "position" within the social group, and his means, goals and regulatory norms prescribed for him, but he is also motivated not only to act but also to act in conformity with the institutional patterns of his group.

It is therefore essential for the orderly functioning of any social group that the institutional patterns, which play so important a role, should not only be highly integrated to form a functional system but that they should also be commonly shared. Closely related to this is a third requirement for an effective

system/.....

system of institutional patterns: that is, it should be symmetrical or proportionate in its emphases. We have in mind here Merton's concept of "social anomie"[10] with regard to individual as well as social group action. If the institutional patterning and emphasis are disproportionate social dysfunction must occur sooner or later.

Thus, on the institutional patterns depend the integration and solidarity of a social group. And on their symmetry depends its balanced functioning. That is, the concept of institutional patterns makes possible the analysis of a social group as a structural-functional entity. From the structural point of view, they constitute the normative or evaluative framework of a social group, in which social action takes place and stable social relationships take shape. And from the functional point of view, they constitute the "common sensorium" of a social group, co-ordinating social functioning and providing a normative frame of reference for the operation of the "conscience collective" in the censuring of deviant forms of social action. In this sense, the concept of institutional patterns makes possible the analysis of problems of motivation

and the/.....

---

10 R.K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, (Glencoe: Ill., The Free Press, 1949), pp. 125 - 149.

and the dynamics of the balance between institutional and deviant action. This further implies a necessary connection between institutional patterns and problems of social control and social change.

The concept of institutional patterns is thus the final answer to the Hobbesian problem of the basis of social order, in its structural and functional aspects. It is also the interpretation of Durkheim's conception of society as a "constraining" order that is a "reality sui generis." Hence the care with which social groups elaborate and preserve their institutional patterns in the medium of normative systems of ideas: and hence the elaborate arrangements they make for the careful and systematic transmission of institutional patterns to posterity through institutional systems - especially, the educational. It is this all-pervading relationship of the social heritage to social groups that makes it so indispensable to the understanding of social groups as solidary and functioning entities; and so indispensable to a thorough-going conception of the educational system as an institutional system.

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

In his treatment of "institutional structures," Finney suggests that the word "structure" is a metaphor that is intended to express the element of habit and custom, and, therefore, of some fixity of action involved in institution structures. To us, however, the term "structure" as used with reference to an institutional system - in this case, the educational system - has more than a temporal reference to fixity. It signifies an inherent and indispensable tendency for the component elements of an institutional system to be in a relationship of systematic orderliness and neat coherence, so that the whole institutional system may be considered as a structured system of social action.

We have indicated earlier[1] that the leading students of institutional systems have identified two broad categories of the structural components of these systems; namely, (a) the perceptual or objective category and (b) the conceptual or ideational category. This is no less true of the educational system than of other institutional systems. In accordance with the social action-relationship scheme adopted here, the structural units of these categories may be treated in terms

of the/.....

---

1 Vide Supra: Chapter II

of the actor-situation-end frame of reference.

THE PERCEPTUAL ASPECT:

The perceptual or objective category of the educational system consists of (a) the actors, (b) the situation and (c) the ends adjusted to needs. We shall treat each in turn.

(a) The Actors

The actors here comprise the personnel or functionaries who are directly responsible for the internal organisation and operation of the educational system. They are (a) the administrators, and (b) the educators.

The administrators of the educational system include a wide range. In South Africa, for instance, the administrators include the Minister of Education, the Secretary for Education, the Directors of Education, the Inspectors and the Supervisors of Schools. Such administrative personnel are systematically ordered within an institutionally patterned status-role structure with specifiable role-expectations attaching to incumbents of the various status-roles. To a

large/.....

large extent, this institutional patterning is in terms of State legislation, Provincial Ordinances, and Departmental regulations and directives. So that the relationships of the administrators among themselves and to the educational system as a whole may not be said to be at random; they are essentially structured or institutionally patterned.

The educators also include another range of personnel, though not as wide as that of the administrators. To refer to South Africa again, the educative personnel include the Principals or Governors of schools, the Principal teachers or Head teachers, and the assistant teachers. ~~They~~ Here, again, the institutional patterning of the status-role structure is in terms of State legislation, Provincial Ordinances, and Departmental regulations and directives. And hence, the outlines of the status-role structure in this case, are more or less straight-forward.

The institutional patterning of their role-expections is, however, considerably complex. This complexity arises from the fact that the

educator's/.....

educator's status-role structure is institutionally set at a marginal point where the educational system touches its social base, namely, the social group(s). To be sure, there are State institutional patterns, of the types referred to above, prescribing what expectations may be entertained, from the point of view of the State, with regard to an incumbent of the status-role of the educator.

But the social group with which the educator, by virtue of his status-role, is immediately in close touch, and which constitutes the social base of the educational system, may be expected to entertain certain socially significant expectations regarding the educator's performance in his status-role. And in so far as the educator is at the same time a member of such a group, he cannot be expected to be indifferent to the role-expectations of his group. These two sets of role-expectations may or may not harmonise: at least there is no "given" harmony between them. A further complication of role-expectations may be expected where the social group tends to be internally diversified into sub-groups with divergent value-orientations. In brief, the area of role-expectations in a study of the educational system or any other

institutional/.....

institutional system cannot be taken for granted, except theoretically for heuristic purposes. How do social groups get involved in the patterning of role-expectations attaching to the status-role of the educator in the educational system? This brings us to the second set of components of the perceptual or objective aspect of the structure of the educational system, that is, the situational elements.

(b) The Situation

The elements of the situations may be divided into three classes: (a) the conditions (b) the means (c) and the methods. We shall treat each in turn.

The conditions of the educational system may be divided into the external and the internal conditions. Of the external conditions the most important is the social group or groups amidst which the educational system is set and operates. They constitute, for the educational system, a set of environmental conditions that has no parallel in the physical systems. They are dynamic and value-oriented social realities, continually making demands, in terms of changing group values, on the institutional systems that sustain them and which

they sustain. If for no other reason than for the sake of their survival, they cannot be indifferent to the performance of personnel in institutional status-roles: and the personnel cannot, for the same reason, be indifferent to the demands of such social groups on them, made in terms of role-expectations. There is a reciprocal dynamic relationship between institutional systems and their social group-environmental conditions.

Of the internal conditions of the educational system, perhaps the most important are the schools - the physical structures and the organised social relationships that cluster in and around them. The design of the physical structures is patterned in terms of housing and health regulations; and is therefore more or less straight-forward.[2] But the organised social relationships within the physical structures are considerably complex. They involve inter-educator relationships and educator-educand relationships. We have indicated above that the inter-educator relationships are organised in terms of the

institutionally/....

---

2 However, in course of time, the physical design becomes more than a particular arrangement of bricks and mortar, but an embodiment, an expression, a symbol of values, loyalties and a characteristic social structure which modify and are modified by the changing personalities that pass in and out of the buildings from generation to generation.

institutionally patterned status-role structure, except perhaps for the incidental day-by-day problems that are not provided for in the patterning of the status-role structure. Important though such problems are for the structural stability of the school and the educational system as a whole, we cannot follow them up here. They would constitute a study of their own.

The organisation of the educator-educand relationships, as a set of internal conditions under which schools operate, constitutes another problematic area in the perceptual aspect of the structure of the educational system. It cannot be taken for granted from the relevant legislative and regulatory prescriptions which are about the minimum requirements from a working school structure. Within the limits of such minimum prescriptions applying to the whole system, the personnel of each school may organise their educator-educand relationships at any point along an Autocratic-Democratic-Laissez-faire continuum. The point at which these relationships are organised depends partly on the educators themselves - especially the educational tradition and the personality structure of the educator(s) occupying the key status-role(s) in the school structure, and partly on the relevant

values/

values of the social group(s) in which the school structure is situated and operates.[3] The essential points here are (a) that the internal organisation of the educator-educand relationships within the school structure, as a unit of the educational system, constitutes an important set of internal conditions for the operation of the school unit and of the educational system as a whole; (b) that this set of internal conditions is not a "given factor" to the educational system - it is problematic and the personnel of the educational system have to reckon with it; and (c) that in their reckoning with it, the personnel cannot afford to ignore the institutional patterns as well as the relevant values of the social groups that constitute the social base and the most important set of external conditions of the educational system.

The means with which the educational system operates may be divided into the material equipment[4] and the non-material equipment.

The non-material/.....

---

3 We shall pursue this point further in Chapter VIII.

4 This is unimportant for this study. It may be important in an economic study of the educational system.

The non-material equipment of the educational system comprises the curriculum-content in terms of which the educand is introduced to the social heritage of his social group and adapted to its life. The curriculum-content itself consists of selected portions of the social heritage which the social group considers most fundamental and thus must be transmitted to every new member of the social group. It tends to be graded, in order of complexity, into several levels or "standards," so that, in its acquisition, the educand proceeds more or less from the simple to the more and more complex. It is not easy to indicate the initial institutional patterns operative in the selection of the curriculum-content out of the whole mass of valuable group experience. It would appear that both the intellectual tradition in which the administrative personnel have been brought up and the values of the social groups concerned have the most prominent role in the selection of curriculum-content. However, contemporary educational sociologists are engaged in notable work involving the setting up of <u>rational criteria</u> for the

selection/.....

selection of curriculum content.[5] It would appear, however, that, once set up, the curriculum-content tends to develop a hoary crust of tradition, which is a sign of rigid institutionalisation, so that it remains as part of the educational system, in its own right.

The methods[6] used by the educators to transmit the curriculum content to the educands constitute another important set of components of the situation of the educational system. They consist of systems of procedures and techniques. Here, again, it is not easy to refer to any basic institutional prescriptions of methods of teaching. On looking back to the method-aspect of the history of education one observes a series of trial and error methods. However, out of such pseudo-experimentation, there has emerged a body of prodecures and techniques that have become more or less established, formalised and generalised, that is, institutionalised, in the educational system. So that they may now be said to constitute technical patterns within the institutional system.

Credit/.....

---

5 See, for instance: C.C. Peters, Foundations of Educational Sociology, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1925), Chapter IV.

6 In fact, these are an aspect of the means and may be thus considered by the reader. However, we have elected to give them a separate treatment

Credit ought to be given, in any case, to educationists and educational psychologists who have contributed immensely to the stock of methods that is now more or less institutionalised in the system and forms part of its perceptual structure.

(c) The Ends adjusted to Needs[7]

The third set of components of the perceptual or objective category of the structure of the educational system are the ends or objectives pursued in the educational system. The elements of the ends of education are, in essence, the values of the social group(s) which the educational system sustains and which sustain it. By definition, a social group is an aggregate of persons exhibiting characteristic solidarity, arising from the institutionalisation of individual and collective goals, shared goals, shared value-orientations, and a general participation in a single system of interaction with boundaries defined by incumbency of roles. These commonly-shared goals are social group values. In so far as they are commonly shared and are conducive to group solidarity they cannot be viewed as

random/.....

---

7 The structural components here are needs and ends. They may be referred to as needs pointing to ends (a phrase used in our schematic outline of the structure of an institutional

random but as systematically ordered or patterned so that they provide a definite focus of loyalties. And those of them which may best be pursued by the social group through its educational system are entrusted to it. Hence, the end components of the educational system may be referred to as a patterned social trust of value-goals whose successful pursuit satisfies some individual and group needs.

By reason of their origin from social groups, they may be divided into two types: (a) those focussed on the needs of the individual members of the social group, and (b) those focussed on the needs of the social group itself. Without attempting to revive the age-old futile sociological controversy of the individual versus the social group, we may mention that, in practice, every social group tends to strike some working balance between the two types of ends adjusted to needs, so that neither is absolutely neglected or sacrificed without adequate compensation to provide motivation for sustained effort in the direction of the other. The effort of the individual members

may be harnessed for the pursuit of group ends and the satisfaction of group needs by means of an emphasis on individual achievement and competition, for instance, in economic action organised to satisfy the economic needs of the group. In this case, the pursuit of individual self-interest becomes a means for the indirect pursuit of group ends and the satisfaction of group needs. Or, the pursuit of group-interests may be directly enjoined in terms of "service" to the social group, the community or the country and, at the same time, the individual's needs and ends be catered for by the group through a satisfactory system of rewards and status-symbols for "meritorious service." In this case, the pursuit of group ends focussed on group needs becomes, from the point of view of the individual, a means for the indirect pursuit of self-interest, such as recognition, fame, a place in the history-books or a State burial. Often the two social techniques of balancing the two types of needs and ends are used simultaneously in the same social group in the different spheres of its life.

Such/.....

Such a balanced pattern of individual-focussed and group-focussed goals is entrusted to the educational system to promote, generalise and stabilise. Any particular emphasis of the social group on these two types of goals tends to be reflected in the end-sector of the educational system; and any particular emphasis of the educational system on the two tends to be reflected in the values of the social group.[8] This is substantiated by Ogburn and Nimkoff with reference to the reflection, on the American educational system, of the particular emphasis of that society on individual-focussed goals or values.

> "In the (American) school one finds very little emphasis indeed on serving the class as a whole. The 'progressive' schools have encouraged common projects, upon which all co-operate, a confession that this is not our common traditional practice. More usual is the plan of having each child work by himself, and in his own interests. The better students do not help those that are deficient, but rather depend for their superiority on the inferiority of the others. Each child is pitted against all the others. As in the larger society, there is intense competition to make the grade, at the very least, and, if possible, to win honours."[9]

We/.....

---

8 This point will be pursued further in Chapter VII.

9 W. Ogburn and M.F. Nimkoff, Sociology, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946), p. 360.

We have attempted in the preceding paragraphs to outline the major structural components of the educational system's perceptual aspect. These components we have termed: (a) the status-role structure - consisting of patterned roles, statuses and role-expectations; (b) the situation - consisting of (i) the external conditions, chiefly the social group(s) with a social heritage, (ii) the internal conditions, chiefly the school-organisation in terms of educator-educand relationships, (iii) the means, chiefly the curriculum-content or selected fundamental portions of the social heritage, (iv) the methods, or procedures and techniques for transmitting the social heritage to posterity; and (c) the ends - consisting of a social trust of social group values, focussed (i) on the needs of the individual and (ii) on the needs of the social group itself.

The Conceptual Aspect

The conceptual aspect consists of systems of ideas whose referents are the components of the perceptual aspect of the educational system. Systems of ideas are vital structural-functional components of all institutional systems of social action. Their status as structural components

and/.....

and their role as functional components are closely intertwined and imply each other. Hence their "place" in the structure of the educational system may be indicated either in structural or in functional terms. As the educational system is here viewed as an on-going institutional concern the place of systems of ideas in it may best be indicated in a functional perceptive.

Broadly speaking, in their functional relevance to the structure of the educational system, systems of ideas furnish the actor or educator with a particular "definition of the situation," in the light of which he views or ought to view his system of institutional action and its environment.

In their prescriptive reference to the educational system, they prescribe or proscribe the normatively legitimate or illegitimate status-role structures, conditions, means, methods and norms, and they regulate the whole educational system in terms of social-group normative patterns. In brief, they provide the prescriptions or "rules of the game." And this may be in terms of actual or of ideal educational practice. The prescriptions or rules may be said to be

scientific/.....

scientific, unscientific or non-scientific if the norms on the basis of which they are made are rational, rationally-defective, non-rational (that is, appreciative or moral), respectively.

In their descriptive reference to the educational system, systems of ideas describe the status-role structures, the conditions the means and methods, and norms of educational action, as sets of cognitive data. In brief, they provide the descriptions or "rationale of the game." And again, this may be in terms of actual or of ideal educational practice. The descriptions may be said to be scientific, unscientific, or non-scientific if they demonstrably correspond to the facts, demonstrably fail to correspond to the facts, or transcend the facts of the educational system and its social base, respectively.

Earlier, we quoted, with approval, Hamilton as saying that the structural contours of institutional systems are not generally obvious except in times of "the stress and strain of transition." This is no less true of the conceptual structural contours of the educational system - especially descriptive systems of ideas. The educational system exhibits an appreciable degree

of/.....

of explicitness with regard to what ought to be done as a matter of actual practice or of ideal practice in education. But the rationale underlying such prescriptions, though always implicit in such prescriptions, is rarely given explicit statement unless the educational system or a particular sector of it is brought in to question by argument, by social change or by scientific research. But there is no doubt that systems of ideas of both modes of reference are closely involved in its structural content. It could not exist or operate without them.

In modern educational systems, the scientific system of ideas - of both modes of reference - are drawn increasingly from the sciences of psychology and sociology. Scientific ideas drawn from psychology enter the educational system from the point of view of the individual; those drawn from sociology, from the point of view of society. In their relevance to the educational system these two disciplines and the systems of scientific ideas they have developed are far from being divergent. On the contrary, they are mutually complementary. They cast two indispensable

rays/.....

rays of light on the two co-ordinates with which the educational system is most vitally concerned - that is, the individual and society.

An expansive stock of scientific literature in the fields of Psychology and Educational Psychology is now in the hands of educationists and educators, and the scientific ideas it contains are, in varying degrees, being applied within the system; so that they may be said to constitute a significant proportion of the structural-functional components of its conceptual aspect. In their descriptive mode of reference, they describe the types and psychological effects of various status-role structures, conditions (organisational), means, methods, objectives (with special reference to the pupil), and some norms of the educational system. In their prescriptive mode of reference, they prescribe, on the basis of the rational norm of efficiency, the optimum and ideal organisation and operation of the educational system, with special reference to the individual as a psychological unit. Perhaps, the elements of the educational system that have received the greatest scientific attention

of psychologists and educational psychologists, from both the descriptive and the prescriptive points of view, are: (a) the pupil, as a psychological unit; (b) the learning process, including the methods of facilitating it; (c) the personality-formation process, and (d) the curriculum, especially its gradation to suit the developmental stages of pupils at various chronological and mental ages.

Since the 1920's of this century educational sociologists have also been rapidly accumulating a steadily growing stock of scientific ideas which seek, as Payne puts it:

"to explain social forms, social groups, and social processes, i.e., the social relationships in which or through which the individual gains and organises his experiences or behaviour, in their relation to the school as a co-ordinating agency." (Educational sociologists have interested themselves) "in the principles underlying, and in research into a special set of problems of group behaviour which clusters about the school; in the way the child acquires and organises his social experiences; or in what way the group of which the child is a member patterns his attitudes and personality; in the analysis of behaviour situations, apart from the school; the analysis of efforts of the school, in the light of the influence of the outside-of-school behaviour patterns, to adjust the child to the social situation in which he lives, and in surveys for purposes of measuring the effectiveness of the school and so adjusting the child through modifications of his behaviour."10

From/.....

---

10 E.G. Payne, "The Progress of Educational Sociology," in Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XXI (1927), p. 260 - 261. (N.B. Brackets in quotation are ours).

From the labours of educational sociologists (and sociologists) along these lines, there has come a body of scientific ideas that is very slowly finding its place within the organisation and functioning of the educational system. It must be readily admitted that the greatest bulk of these scientific ideas which hold promise of large dividends to the educationist and the educator is still external to the educational system. But their reference to the perceptual components of the system may be briefly sketched - with reference to each set of perceptual components.

In their descriptive reference to the status-role structure, they provide a scientific analysis of various types of status-role structures and of the effectiveness of different ways of organising the distribution of power and the ordering of power-relations, functions, role-expectations and reward-systems within the status-role structure. And, in their normative reference, they furnish the status-role incumbents with scientific norms for the organisation and regulation of the status-role structure. It should, however, be admitted that the present normative organisation and regulation of the status-role

structure/.....

structure of many modern educational systems is still based on tradition and the crude rationality of policy-makers and law-makers rather than on scientific normative ideas that the educational sociologists have made available.

These ideas also have a partly recognised and partly unrecognised reference to the various components of the situation of the educational system. In their reference to the external conditions,[11] they describe the social base of the educational system, that is, the forms of social organisation of both an intra-group and inter-group nature, and their effects on the structure and functioning of the educational system. They also furnish scientific norms for optimum adaptive relationships between educational systems and their social bases.

In their reference to the means, chiefly the curriculum, they provide an analysis of the social heritage within which and with which the educational system operates. They furnish an analysis of the points of functional balance and imbalance in the social heritage. And, on the basis of such analysis, they furnish scientific

norms/.....

---

11 Their reference to the internal organisational conditions is covered in the preceding paragraph.

norms for the selection of those portions of the social heritage which must, in any case, be included in the curriculum. An example of this is Peter's norm of demonstrable "relative utility"[12] of elements of the social heritage for the psycho-social adjustment of the individual to his social group, assuming this to be the broad function of the educational system.

We have suggested that the sector of methods of teaching and learning is one of the sectors that have incorporated a large body of descriptive and normative scientific ideas from psychology and educational psychology. We should point out here that this has been the case in so far as methods of teaching and learning have been viewed as "child-centred" systems of procedures and techniques relative to the acquisition and organisation of the child's experiences. But this view does not exhaust the sector of methods. This sector may also be complementarily viewed as involving "group-centred" systems of formal and informal procedures and techniques whereby the child acquires and organises his social experience in the course of his interaction with

his/.....

---

12 C.C. Peters, op.cit., p. 59 ff.

his associates and with his total school environment and the community. So that, whereas educational psychologists have concentrated on the "learning process" from the individualistic point of view, educational sociologists have concentrated on what Spiller, as quoted by Ellwood,[13] has named the "inter-learning process." This is the process whereby man learns from the experience of his fellows. "The inter-learning process permits the limitless pooling and the personal or collective utilisation of the contributions of individuals, peoples and generations.... It provides a new basis for a sociology of education."

Working on the precept that educational sociology should be centred about the process of "inter-learning, Ellwood has done much to develop and advance the study of this process. However, the study of this process has received further impetus from other students of cultural sociology under the concept of "acculturation" and from students of Formal Sociology, under the concept of "interaction" or "social process." Hence, it may be said that a substantial body of scientific ideas is available, giving a wider perspective to

the educational/.....

---

13 C.A. Ellwood, "The Fundamental Research in Educational Sociology," in Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XXVIII, No.2,

the educational process and demonstrating the vital side-currents of social education that flow parallel to the formal classroom educative process promoted by means of ideas contributed by educational psychology. It cannot be claimed that anything but a negligible proportion of scientific ideas contributed by educational sociology to the educational system, with regard to the "inter-learning process," constitutes part of the conceptual components of the structure and functioning of the system at present.

Sociologists, social anthropologists and educational sociologists have spared no effort in their inquiries into the social group values underlying social organisation and as constituting the foci of the organisation of institutional systems and the goals of their operation. We have indicated briefly that, considered from the point of view of the individual pupil, the ends or objectives of education have tended more and more to be handled in the light of scientific ideas contributed by educational psychology. But these ideas also do not exhaust the end-sector of the system. It is a basic consideration in this study that the

educational system is a social institutional system, that therefore, its ends or objectives are a social trust, and that ultimately the educational system is oriented to social group values. "Education has not fulfilled its function when it has provided even the optimum opportunities for individual development; its greater task is that of looking through and beyond the individual to the development of the interrelations of person with person, and group with group, to a new synthesis in terms of human welfare."[14] We have, further pointed out in our introduction that institutional systems - including the educational system - "are most intimately bound up with the values of groups. Through the (institutional systems) play great life values; they are in turn the causes of many values and the guarantors of the values; and, finally, they are themselves the objects of valuation."[15]

Out of such scientific work there has emerged a body of descriptive and analytical ideas that hold promise (a) of enabling the personnel of the educational system to see the most crucial sector

of their/.....

---

14 F.J. Brown, Educational Sociology, (London: The Technical Press, Ltd., 1947), p. (n) (Preface).

15 J.O. Hertzler, op. cit., p. 140.

of their system of action and its social context reflected, as if it were, in a mirror; and (b) of sensitising them to the immensity of the social trust they hold on behalf of the social groups, including their "moral" responsibility or obligation to them. This must be so, as the social group values entrusted to the educational system are closely tied up with the survival, development and destiny not only of the individual pupil but also of the social group itself. They are "sacred" to the social group; and hence are closely guarded by it as if its very life depended on them; and indeed it is dependent on them.

In their normative or prescriptive reference to the end-sector of the educational system, the ideas contributed by sociology prescribe, on the basis of the norm of demonstrable "cruciality" for human and social welfare, the immediate ends or objectives of education. These immediate objectives emerge, as we shall point out at some length in a subsequent section, to be the individualisation and socialisation of the educands - in a word, personality synthesis or formation. On the basis of the criterion of

demonstrable/.....

demonstrable "cruciality" these two immediate ends rank highest, in the sense that, without their realisation, neither personal nor group life is possible. Without their realisation the concepts, "person" and "social group" are but empty vessels, with no real empirical contents or referents.

It is our view that the ultimate objectives of education, like all ultimates, are non-scientific; but that they can be approached scientifically through a process of inference from the character of the educational process and the logical direction in which its immediate objectives point.[16] And, thereafter, they may be described and analysed as objective "given data." But no a priori norms for their selection can be set up from the scientific point of view. They are enshrined in the non-scientific ultimate-valuations of social groups; and must be inductively sought there.

It may be suggested that in their descriptive reference, non-scientific ideas do not figure in the structure and functioning of the actor-situation sectors of the educational system; with the exception of religious ideas incorporated in the curriculum content. But, in their normative

reference/.....

---

16 [illegible]

reference, involving affective and moral evaluations, non-scientific ideas constitute the essence of the educational system as something more than a technological system of the adjustment of given means to given ends on the basis of the norm of rational efficiency. Within the educational system play and interplay powerful subjective forces; emotions, sentiments, attitudes, prejudices, likes, dislikes, appreciations, detestations, frustrations, aspirations, fears, loves, hatreads, aggressions and defences, resistances, submissions - in a word, a whole medley of subjective dynamic forces - on the part of the personnel, the e ucands and the social group members. Some of these froces must be develo ed extensively, others canalised, others sublimate , others eliminated, and others, perhaps, suppressed. This sets up, for the educational system, tremendous and crucial problems of evaluation and choice not just on the technical norm of what is rationally permissible but on the appreciative norm of what is beautiful and lovely or affectively fitting and proper, and on the morah norm of what is right and good or morally desirable. Here a matrix of non-scientific ideas drawn from the normative conceptual stock of aesthetic and ethico-religious institutional systems as well as

from the diffused folkways, mores and traditions of the social group become crucially relevant to the educational system.

From our discussion of the conceptual components of the educational system, up to this point, the educational system emerges (a) as having a cognitive conceptual aspect, involving descriptive and analytic systems of ideas - chiefly scientific - so that it may be suggested that this system shows a tendency towards increasing scientific rationality; (b) as having an evaluative conceptual aspect, involving the rational, appreciative, and moral norms of evaluation and choice of alternative elements or courses of action throughout the educational system. Despite the institutional patterning of the educational system, the system is by no means cut-and-dried for the persons involved in it. Only the broad outlines tend to be institutionally plotted out. Within the scope of institutional patterns, reason, evaluation and choice have an important role to play; but it is a guarded role - guarded by social groups.

Yet our treatment of the systems of scientific and non-scientific ideas as structural-functional components of the conceptual aspect of the educational

system/.....

system does not exhaust the catalogue of ideas relevant to this system. Speaking of institutional systems in general - and this is no less true of the educational system ..., Hamilton says:-

> "As it crystallises into reputable usages, an institution creates in its defence vested interest, vested habit and vested ideas and claims allegiance in its own right..... In its ideal likeness an institution usually creates its apology. As long as it remains vital, men accommodate their activities to its detailed arrangements with little bother about its inherent nature or cosmic purpose. As it begins to give way or is seriously challenged, compelling arguments for its existence are set forth. The picture-as-it-is-painted is likely to be rather a work of art than a representation of fact, a product of rationalisation than of reason; and however adventious its growth, disorderly its structure or confused its function, lines of its defence lack nothing of trimness and purpose.... As tradition leaves its impress upon fact, fact helps to make tradition. The thing that is, is the thing that always was."17

Clearly, Hamilton is pointing to the system of unscientific ideas which constitute an invariable component of the conceptual aspect of all institutional systems. In their relevance to the structure of the educational system, they serve as props for the tottering aspects of the structure; namely, those aspects that have ceased to correspond to the facts but still persist. These ideas can be shown to correspond to "vested interest" and "vested habit" rather than to facts by their very

attempt/.....

---

17 W.H. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 87.

attempt to apologise for the lack of correspondence between the tottering structural aspects of the educational system and the facts of its total situation. The same applies to their relevance to the functional aspect of the educational system. By serving as "compelling arguments" for the persistance of certain processes, procedures and techniques in the educational system, in spite of the existence of facts that dictate the contrary, they are "rather a work of art than a representation of fact." And like most works of art "they lack nothing of trimness and purpose." In fine, we may say, they furnish the educational system with an artistic insulation against criticism and change.

In educational systems unscientific ideas or rationalisations have been most compelling (a) with respect to the status-role structure, especially with reference to the retention of the old-time "general teacher" as against the modern trend of advocating the increasing introduction of the "specialist teacher;" and with reference to the primary criterion for appointment to administrative roles, namely acceptance of State policy versus efficiency-in-role performance; (b) with respect

to the/.....

to the means, especially curriculum content, for instance, the retention of Latin and the B.C. - era History as general subjects; (c) with respect to the formal examination system; and, perhaps, (d) with respect to the retention of the Matriculation examination. Apologies for and defences of these areas in the educational system have come from within as well as from without the educational system but chiefly from within; so that they can be described as internal unscientific ideas.

But the internal rationalisations of the educational system do not exhaust the unscientific ideas that bear on the educational system. There are systems of political unscientific ideas - that is, ideologies - that are increasingly impinging on modern educational systems, and whose influence cannot be ignored in a discussion of the conceptual aspect of the structure of these institutional systems. In so far as certain ideologies are held in common by members of the social groups responsible for or interested in a given educational system, they are not individual but social phenomena - "external" and "constraining" to the personnel of the educational system.

The problem/.....

The problem of the impact of ideologies on the educational system is a general one, and its development and spread has been concomittant with the rise and spread of modern nationalism. It involves the practice of employing the educational system for building up conformity with State policy. Panunzio points out that:

> "From Prussia, where this emphasis more or less originated, it spread to France, later to England and to other countries, until in totalitarian States education has completely lost the right to teach anything not approved by the State. Under Communism, Nazism and Fascism education is employed to inculcate partisan political ends. In these States, the school is frankly employed for partisan indoctrination and all other doctrines are rigidly supressed."[18]

Here, in a nutshell, Panunzio indicates not only the generality but also the fundamental implication of this impact, that is, the use of the educational system for "partisan indoctrination" in order to achieve "partisan political ends.

It is clear that this process of ideological imposition is deliberately and purposively engineered by political institutional systems. This raises two questions that are basic to an understanding of the process. Firstly, what makes it "necessary" and possible for political

institutional/.....

---

18 C. Panunzio, Major Social Institutions, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1946), p. 247.

institutional systems to engineer this process? And, secondly, why is the educational system the preferred object of this process?

With reference to the first question, we submit that this process is made necessary by an ironical combination, in political institutional systems, of a sectional character and an integrative function; and is made possible by the strategic power-position which these institutional systems occupy in modern societies.

It is a general characteristic of political systems that they do not embrace the total (political) interests and values of all the social groups within their coverage. They embrace primarily the interests and values of the majority groups; and only secondarily, the interests and values of the minority groups in so far as or in such a manner that they are compatible with those of the majority groups.[19] So that, essentially, political systems are sectional in character. But coupled with this characteristic, is the fact that they have an integrative function, that is, they have to grapple with affective problems of the cultivation and appropriate

expression/.....

---

19 The terms "majority" and "minority" are used, in this connection, in the political sense, that is, as referring to power-groups. unless

expression and consolidation of the whole population's sentiments of attachment and belongingness to the State, as well as moral problems of justice and stability of the social order.

This ironical situation has two important implications for the functioning of these institutional systems. Firstly, in so far as any given political system must succeed in achieving and maintaining social stability, the sectional interests and values which it promotes should be disguised and concealed from the rest of the population. This is done by means of an ideology which is a subtle system of rationalisations or social apologetics, intentionally or unintentionally designed or borrowed to deceive the rest of the population by persuading them that the political system promotes the interests and values of the whole society. Or, if the sectional interests and values which the political system promotes are already manifest, the ideology is used to persuade the rest of the population that, in any case, the pursuit of such sectional interests and values, is to the benefit and good of the society as a whole - hence that they are not "really" sectional.

The technique/.....

The technique here is to distort reality or the factual situation by emphasising those facts of the social situation which are consistent with the realisation of the disguised interests and values of the majority group, and thus overlooking or suppressing those facts which are inconsistent; or by deliberately and subtly distorting the latter in order to make the realisation of these interests and values appear rational, empirically possible and morally defensible. So that, in its existential reference to the social situation, an ideology is not scientific. And in its normative reference, it involves the prescription of these conditions, means goals and norms of social action that are consistent with the interests and values of the majority group and the subtle regulation of social action in that direction. The selective norm here is not scientific; and is defended by means of the unscientific empirical propositions contained in the ideology.

Secondly, the ironical situation in point calls for the generalisation of the ideology of the majority group throughout the society. The purpose of this is to ensure that the majority of the members of the society see the social

situation as ideologically described and that they adjust their action to it according to the normative prescriptions of the ideology. In other words, the purpose is to ensure unwitting conformity with the interests and values of the majority group by eliminating alternative ways of viewing the social situation and of acting in relation to it. So that, the ideological definition of the situation comes to be accepted as "true" and "right". This degree of acceptance of an ideology, however dysfunctional from many points of view, means absolute conformity and social stability which constitute the primary concern of modern political systems, and has been most closely approximated in totalitarian States.

The generalisat ion of ideological propositions and prescriptions may be carried out through the usual methods of propaganda and informal indoctrination. But, by virtue of the strategic power-position which political systems occupy in modern societies, this generalisation may be carried out through force or coercion, legislative and/or physical. In this way, the basic ideological conceptions of a majority group may be imposed on the other groups, in the same society,

through/.....

through legislation based on such conceptions. And conformity with the ideology may thus be made a legal and civic expectation and non-conformity a legal offence. Resort to this method is exemplified in totalitarian States where difference or non-conformity with the ideology of the majority group is countered by means of drastic negative legal sanctions.

We must now turn to our second question and inquire why the educational system is the preferred institutional system for ideological imposition in order to achieve conformity with state policy. We submit that this is because of the key position which the educational sytem, in its socialising, individualisng and telic functions, occupies relative to the stability of the social order and the on-going of the social process.

The educational system is the only institutional system specifically charged with the function of systematically inducting each new generation into its social milieu, both as an existing web of ordered relationships and as a changing equilibrium of these in time - that is, as the

social order/.....

social order and as the social process. In its socialisng function it may either maintain or disrupt the social order by introjection in the new generation one type of norm rather than another. And on the perspective it presents to the new generation in the course of its socialisation largely depends the character of the performance of that generation in thesocail process. In its individualising funct ion, it may either preserve or disrupt the social order by releasing from the new generation energies and potentialities which can only be or cannot yet be realised in the existing social order. It may produce personalities that will defend or disturb and re-direct the traditional flow of the social process. And in its telic function, it may preserve or disturb the stability of the social order by directing the new generation only to those goals of social progress that are consistent with the structure of the social order or by firing their minds with a criticao outlook and dynamic idealism that brooks no compromise with the existing social order.

The personnel of political systems and their supporting groups, whose interests and values the

social/.....

social order reflects, are vitally concerned about the stability of the social order and about the careful control of its change to ensure that these interests and values are not endangered by their own new generation and by that of the minority groups. While we recognise the reciprocal relationship between the educational system and the social order, we must suggest that the large extent to which the stability and change of the social order depends on the educational system explains the pre-occupation of the personnel and supporting groups of political systems with the orientation that education gives to each new generation by defining its situation of action in one way rather than in another. It would seem, therefore, that it is in the logic of the situation that the personnel and supporting groups of political systems should ensure that the definition of the situation presented by education to each new generation shall not be inimical to the primacy of their interests and values as reflected in the social order. To ensure this, the definition of the situation used in education is not left as a problematic issue with the personnel of the educational system. It is made

a "given/..... ...

a "given factor" to be seriously taken into account but not debated. This is done by imposing on the educational system an ideological definition of the situation either through a gradual process of socio-political education of the public or through ideological legislation which prescribes a particualr perspective in which the educational personnel are expected to view the social order and the social process and to interpret it to the new generation.

In the light of what we have said above, this process of ideological imposition on the educational system emerges not only as a method of preserving the existing social order and social process from disruption but also, and moreso, as a technique of dominance. And, depending on the rigidity of ideological imposition, the educational system may either prolong or terminate the dominance of a social group. This potentiality of the educational system makes the latter the object of ideological interest not only to the ruling groups (interested in prolonging their dominance) but also to minority groups (interested in terminating that dominance). And in communities where intergroup

conflict/.....

conflict is acute the educational system becomes the point of impact for two or more ideologies.

"As a consequence, in almost every (such) community the school is a bone of contention among warring groups. Moreover, actual authority no longer rests with the board of education whose members are supposed to represent the interests of the community as a whole. This body (if any) is merely the centre upon which the most varied and conflicting forces constantly play."20

In such cases, each social group attempts to make the educational system serve its own interests by imposing on it its own ideological definition of the situation. The dominant groups have the advantage of reinforcing their definitions of the situation with legal sanctions. The minority groups lack these. And in totalitarian societies this ends the conflict. In non- and semi- totalitarian societies this may also end the conflict - at least on the rational level, in the sense that rational criticism of the ideological definition of the situation after it has been transformed into law may be futile, at least for the personnel of the educational system. But on the moral level the conflict tends to go on. And as a consequence, there is a blurring of issues and perspectives, for the educators, as a result of conflicting role-expectations and divided

loyalties/.....

---

20 G.S. Counts, "Control of Education in Industrial Society," in Publications of the American Sociological

loyalties. Out of such a conflict emerge some of the most challenging problems of our times, that is, problems not of inter-horde relations involving physical conflict on the jungle level but of inter-group relations involving conflict on the institutional level. This conflict centers around the definition of the situation for institutional action, the prescription of role-expectations for the personnel and for each new generation and their institutionalisation in society.

It is with problems of this type that we are concerned here. But, before we turn to them, we must continue our description of the educational system, as an institutional system, in its functional aspect.

CHAPTER V

THE FUNCTIONING OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

From the functional point of view, the educational system may be described as "a social process directed by the community or by individuals of the community toward the realisation of socially accepted values."[1] Its nature may be understood firstly, as a selective process, second, as a controlled and systematic process, third, as a socialising process, fourth, as an individualising process and, fifth, as a social telesis-promoting process.

Its selective nature may be understood, firstly, in terms of the expansiveness of the social heritage. In our preceding discussion of the social heritage, we pointed out the magnitude and complexity of the social heritage; and, by implication, the practical impossibility of its entire incorporation into the curriculum. Its expansiveness and complexity is increased as a result of the fact that, in modern times, with modern means of communication, the social heritage of the world tends to be pooled. This is

particularly/.....

---

1 S.L. Eby, An Introduction to Western Civilisation, edited by G.A. Hedge, (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1933), p. 659.

particularly true of MacIver's "civilisational elements" and of the cognitive elements of Finney's "mental capital." Hence the curriculum must of necessity consist of "selected portions" of the social heritage. Secondly, the selective nature of the educational process is made necessary by the brevity of the impressionable period of youth, during which the educand passes through the educational process. In this case it would seem to be of the very essence of the educational system to operate with crucial selected portions of the social heritage to ensure that by the time the educand passes from the educational process he shall have been sufficiently shaped to fit the social order.

The necessity for selcection, as an essential characteristic of the educational process, raises the problem of the norms on the basis of which the elements of the social hereitage are selected. We may submit, at this point, the broad principle on which such selection may be made; namely, the "principle of social parallelism"[2] advocated by Finney. It is the most fundamental postulate that educational sociology offers both to the

educationist/.....

---

2 R.F. Finney, op. cit., p. 96.
Here, this principle refers to the general norm of compatibility of emphasis on crucial elements of the social heritage as between the social group(s)

educationist and to the educator: and violation of it may be expected to result in grave problems of social maladjustment of graduates, educational dysfunction and social disorganisation. To anticipate, we may suggest that the educational system, as a normative and selective process would/should tend to select and stress those aspects or elements of the social heritage on which the social group(s) which it subserves lays more value-capital and which are most conducive to social group welfare as conceived by the social group(s).

The detailed norms or criteria that may be used in practical procedures of curriculum-content selection, within the scope of this principle, are numerous. But they may be subsumed under three categories of norms: viz. the rational,[3] the appreciative, and the moral. Peters[4] further subsumes these three categories under the norm or criterion of demonstrable "relative utility" for the psycho-social adjustment of the educand or

of the/.....

---

3 For an extended discussion of "Rational Selections," see: J.A. Kinneman, "Society and Education," (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1932), Chapter 20.

4 C.C. Peters, op. cit., p. 59 ff.

of the graduate to his total environment. By demonstrable "relative utility," Peters means demonstrable "want-satisfying-power": that is, not just the satisfaction of material wants but the satisfaction of the sum-total of wants of the personality and of the social group, including the material, spiritual, intellectual, moral, emotional, social, etc. He suggests a number of indices of demonstrable "relative utility," such as frequency of recurrence, cruciality, many-sidedness, and personal appeal to the learner. These indices are arrived at through the technique of "job-analysis" and also through the analysis of the elements of the social heritage that are fundamental to the operation of the major institutional systems.

While selection is an essential characteristic of the educational system, from the theoretical point of view, we cannot but concede Barnes'[5] verdict that, from the point of view of educational practice, "thus far this critical and selective function of education has been primarily a dream." However, he rightly admits that, "more and more educators and reformers are suggesting that education

should/.....

---

5 H. Barnes, Social Institutions, (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947), p. 34.

should not blindly transmit the total social heritage, but should criticise and select from it, rejecting that which is obviously outworn and erroneous."

Secondly, we may operationally define the educational process as a controlled and systematic process. In line with this view, Harold Jowitt views it as a process of "the effective organisation of the child's experiences so that his tendencies and powers may develop in a manner satisfactory to himself and to the community in which he lives through the growth of socially desirable knowledge, attitudes and skills."[6] The import of this is that the educational process involves the control and systematisation of both the social heritage and the experiences that the educand has been, is or will be exposed to before, during and after the educational process. This is in order to render them perceptible to the educand in meaningful connections or relationships - as wholes of life situations and life experiences.

"The school," says Peters, "differs from out-of-school life in its systematic character. Experiences do not come to the pupil in school as haphazardly as they do out of school. They are

selected/.....

---

6 H. Jowitt, Principles of Education for African Teachers, (London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., 1945), p. 48.

selected, graded and organised. The teacher so manipulates the environment of the pupil as to bring it about that he shall get the experiences which are most useful in preparing him for future life and also that he shall get these in the order in which he can best profit by them."[7] However, to anticipate: we may point out, here, that this controlled and systematic character of the educational system constitutes an important and necessary qualification of the operation of the "principle of social parallelism," that is, the educational system may not be expected to be a perfect microcosm of the societary macrocosm.

We may point out here that however much Dr. Decroly and some members of the New Education Fellowship may advocate unqualified parellelism between the educative functioning of the educational system and that of the social system in which it operates, the creation of controlled and systematic conditions, means and procedural techniques in the educational system is inescapable. This is made inescapable by the very nature of the educational system, as an institutional system.

That is/.....

---

7 C.C. Peters, op. cit., pp. 40 - 41.

That is, it is institutionally patterned to perform more efficiently, in a systematic way, and under controlled conditions, functions that the social group can only perform less efficiently, unsystematically and under the unwieldly conditions of the general social milieu. Furthermore, the limited time factor, the economic factor of expediture involved in education, and the value placed by modern society on systematic performance in many fields of action make the controlled and systematic nature of the educational process all the more important and imperative.

Thirdly, we may characterise the educational process as a <u>socialising process.</u>

> "there are two basic facts that run throughout the whole field of the social sciences, especially sociology: (1) that each individual is born into a cultural world created by his predecessors and which has a continuity of existence seemingly independent of the endless succession of individuals who enter or leave this cultural stream; and (2) that the individual becomes indentified with this vast body of culture, finds his role in it, seeks to modify it through the continuing interaction of himself and the world of things and of people about him, and becomes not an <u>individual</u>, for he was that at birth, but a person."[8]

In essence, from views the socialising process of education as involving the transformation of the <u>individual</u> into a <u>person</u> through indentification of such individual with the social heritage of his social group. It is clear that the concept of the individual is, according to Brown (and we quote him

with approval), fundamental to an understanding of the socialising process of education. He points out that the "individual" is what the human organism "was at birth:" and, by implication, the concept "individual" is, thereafter, an abstraction. This is substantially our view here. For our purpose, in this discussion, the concept of the individual involves abstraction from the concept of personality (Brown's "person").

"Personality, is a synthesis of individuality and sociality."[9] The individual is an abstracted complex of the elements of individuality. It consits of the biological organism with its peculiar organic needs and need-dispositions, tendencies, potential powers and abilities. It is all that remains when you abstract ideally from a balanced personality (in MacIver's sense) all the elements of sociality. It is the personality stripped naked of its socially bequeathed or acquired social habiliments. For the educator, it is the unit "particualr organism" in which the organisation of personality occurs through indentification with the selected portions of the social heritage. It is the raw-material with which the educational process

operates/....

---

9 R.M. MacIver, Elements of Social Science, (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1952), p. 158.

operates. It is the unit whose "powers and tendencies," as Jowitt suggests, the educational process should "develop in a manner satisfactory to himself and to the community...." Ultimately, the individual, thus conceived, consists of those attributes by virtue of which, even after he has passed through the educational process, he is "yet more than merely a member of society, is a self, a centre of activity and response expressive of a nature that is his own"[10] - a nature that he had potentially at birth.

To the individual, thus considered, may be attributed the important social funcion of being an influential source of differentiation. That is, certain aspects of his individuality may serve as foci for status-role allocation, and hence for the internal differentiation of a society. This is particularly true of societies in which status-role allocation is effected primarily on the basis of performance criteria, taking into account the innate abilities and aptitudes of the person rather than his lineage, possessions and station in life. In this sense, the individual becomes an essential element in the organic solidarity of his group or community. This fact will have much bearing on

our/.....

---

10 R.M. MacIver, Society: A Textbook of Sociology, (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1937), p. 47.

our discussion of the central problems of this study.

It is important to note that in so far as personality is a synthetic phenomenon, it cannot be fully determined by the sociality aspect of its structure. There is every reason to expect that in any social group there will be a dispersed distribution of personality types which are faced with approximately the same specific role-expectations, that is, in so far as such role-expectations have as their foci the sociality components of persons-in-roles. So that although such persons may be of more or less the same degree of socialisation yet their respective individuality aspects remain as variables that may show out, from time to time, in the course of role-performance, to the embarrasment, or jubilation, of colleagues and role-spectators. This fact will also have much bearing on our subsequent discussion of the objectives of the educational system, and especially with regard to variation and deviance in action, and with regard to social change.

Another important upshoot of this conception of the individual in educational theory has been a recognition of the fact that the internalisation

of the/.....

of the same set of institutional patterns by the same set of educands in the same educational situation cannot be uniform. There is always the predisposing factor of individuality to be reckoned with; and forms of school organisation and methods of teaching that are cognisant of this fact have been strongly advocated lately. A related factor that adds to the variations in the ultimate personality products of the same educational system is that not all the social heritage of a social group is institutionalised. So that in the process of personality systhesis, the individuality elements of each educand are synthesised not only with the institutionalised culture patterns but also with the "free-floating" uninstitutionalised elements which may be asymmetrical with the institutionalised culture. This fact will also be of great importance in our subsequent discussion of the problems central to this study.

Our conception of the individual as the raw-material on which the educational process operates (a) with the normatively "selected portions of the social heritage," (b) under controlled and systematic conditions, (c) to produce a synthetic product (personality or "person"), constitutes a

basic step toward our understanding of the educational process as a socialising process. According to this conception, the individual is a bundle of potentialities, abilities, capacities, needs, and so forth, which may be actualised in many ways and directions. With the individual thus considered, and if left to himself, the process of the actualisation of his potentialities (a) is unguided by any socially approved and systematic cognitive or mental capital except that which is slowly and painfully acquired through wasteful trial and error, (b) is subject to unpredictable hazards which may result in the destruction of "ego's own organism," and (c) lacks that necessary normative regulation which makes possible the predictability of action and the complementarity of expectations without which social life would be impossible. In other words, the individual, thus considered, is a potential threat to social group life.

In view of these potential hazards to the individual himself and to the social group, Punanzio suggests that "the primary function of the educational system is to transmit a

knowledge/.....

knowledge of the forms and skills society regards as indispensable to its survival and improvement. That system regularises the knowledge-transmitting activity; inculcates the folkways and the mores; trains the young to fit into the established cultural scheme...."[11] Thus, education as a socialising process involves whipping the individual into line with the "established cultural scheme" of his group, "so that his tendencies and powers may develop in a manner satisfactory to himself and to the community in which he lives through the growth of socially desirable knowledge, attitudes, and skills...." In this sense, the socialising educational process tends to save the individual from possible self-extermination as a result of ignorance and error involved in action that is guided solely by organic needs and need-dispositions. Further by inculcating in the individual the selected institutional patterns of action, the educational process provides him with a normative regulatory mechanism, involving cognitive, appreciative and moral value-standards. In this way his action, in group life, is rendered not only "safe" but also more

economical/.....

---

11 C. Panunzio, op. cit., p. 242.

economical of effort and more efficient or effective.

For a socialised individual (that is, "a person"), both his situation of action and his action tends to be institutionally or socially defined in terms of institutional patterns prescribing role-expectations with respect to the status-roles of which he is an incumbent. The goals he prusues in a given status-role also tend to be institutionally defined; or if selected by the person himself, the right to exercise such selection is itself institutionally permitted and limited. The means he utilises in the pursuit of such goals are also not randomly selected. Their selection is institutionally regualted in terms of cognitive standards of rationality or technical efficiency; or appreciative standards of "symbolic appropriateness" for the expression of affect; or moral standards of rightness. And the content of these normative value-standards derives from the accumulated social group experience.

Emile Durkheim had precisely this conception of education, as indicated in his famous motto:

"Education/.....

"Education is the socialisation of the younger generation."[12] From this premise, Durkheim viewed education as the process of impressing upon the individual the theoretical knowledge and practical experience of the pressures, compulsives and sanctions that the social group has, in its power, for ensuring the conformity of the individual with the behavioural requirements of the social group. To Durkheim, "all education is a continuous effort to impose on the child ways of seeing, feeling, and acting which he could not have arrived at spontaneously."[13] In this way the institutional patterns of the group may be gradually internalised or introjected into the super-ego of the individual, so that the institutionally sanctioned action-patterns may be indentified with the self and be respected more or less spontaneously.

However, as Durkheim rightly realised, not only do many elements of a social group's heritage remain uninstitutionalised, but also many elements of its institutionalised culture may remain uninternalised in the individual. The

influence/.....

---

12 See: H.E. Barnes and H. Becker, Contemporary Social Theory, (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940), p. 811.

13 E. Durkheim, The Rules of Sociological Method, translated by S.A. Solovay and J.H. Mueller, and edited by E.G. Catlin, (Chicago: Ill., The University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 6.

influence of such uninternalised institutionalised or of uninstitutionalised elements of the social heritage, Durkheim pointed out, is not lost to the individual's action in a social group. Such elements constitute a matrix of "external" and "constraining" patterns of action which the individual can only ignore to his own social peril. In this case, education as a socialising process, functions in impressing upon the individual conformity with this matrix of "external" controls and directives of social action, at least as a necessary part of the rationality of action. The importance of this rationality is impressed by means of sanctions, both positive and negative.

The net result of the socialising process of education is, for the individual, greater effectiveness and satisfactoriness of action in future situations. This dovetails with Bagley's definition of education as "the process by means of which the individual acquires experiences that will function in rendering more effecient his future actions."[14] For the social group, it results in greater conformity of the action of constituent individuals with institutional prescriptions and,

hence/..... .

---

14 See: C.C. Peters, op. cit., p. 23.

hence, greater chances for the enrichment of its social heritage by the contributions of the individuals whose potentialities or elements of individuality have been harnessed and channelled along socially approved ways. This dovetails with Jowitt's conception of the educational process (referred to above) and is the basis of group solidarity and an important factor in telic social change.

When the individual has his powers and potentialities, needs and need-dispositions oriented to socially approved goals, and satisfied through socially approved means, and his action governed by the social group-norms we may consider him as socialised. In other words, he is a synthetic product of the educational process. He is a synthetic complex of individuality and sociality: in fine, he is a "personality" or in Brown's language, a "person." In so far as the educational process is a socialising process, it welds the individual into a solidarity of purpose and action with his social group.

Through this process the socialised individual (that is, the person or personality) loses his atomic nature, as merely one of an aggregate of

individuals/.....

individuals and becomes an integral part of his social group in the sharing of common interests, aspirations, roles, value-orientations, sentiments, knowledge, and so forth. In fine, he becomes identified with his social group and with its social heritage; so that he cannot be adequately understood without reference to his social group and its social heritage; and in so far as he lives effectively, the annals of his social group and of its social heritage cannot be adequately chronicled without reference to him. He begins to feel, think and act in ways different from those that he would adopt in isolation. Hence, if we view education from the standpoint of sociology (as we do here) it becomes "an agency for establishing a correct relationship between the individual and the social order."[15]

This conception of the educational system as a process of socialisation is, according to Roucek, the very substance of educational sociology. "Educational sociology is interested primarily in the socialisation process of youth. It traces the latter's transformation through

social/.....

---

15 J.H. Bode, Modern Educational Theories, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1937), p. 125.

social contacts and planned social influences, and the transfer of a certain cultural heritage to social personalities."[16] While this statement covers both formal and informal education, it stresses sufficiently the socialising function of the educational process.

An important idea implicit in Roucek's statement is that the process of socialisation is endless both in duration and in extent. The socialising "social contacts" last throughout the lifetime of the individual; and the "planned social influences" are not exhausted by the school. However, it is important to re-emphasise a point we have made earlier; that is, socialisation never goes on until the elements of individuality are completely displaced by those of sociality - that is, until the individual is reduced to a social automaton. Thus throughout the life of a person (or a socialised individual), some elements of individuality persist as free, and therefore, dynamic variables. It is to these dynamic individuality-variables, oriented to socially approved ends as a result of the socialising function of education, that society

must/.....

---

16 J.S. Roucek, Sociological Foundation of Education, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1942), p. 13.

must look for the generative power of all forward social movements. They have a vital social role to perform; and if the social group must escape from stagnation, these dynamic individuality-variables must be developed.

This brings us to our fourth characterisation of the educational system as an individualising process. We have pointed out that in the process of personality synthesis neither is the individuality of the educand completely subjugated and crushed under the full weight of the social heritage nor is it left unregulated to express itself in any socially "anomic" and disruptive action patterns.[17] On the contrary, according to the conception of the educational system under discussion, the individuality of the educand must be actively and

deliberately/.....

---

17 It must be pointed out, however, that the emphasis on individuality or sociality in education is relative (a) to the form of social organisation and the tradition of educational theory current in it and (b) the level of socio-economic development of a society.
Democratic societies, with a liberal tradition of educational theory, tend to emphasise the individualisation of the pupil; while totalitarian societies with an authoritarian tradition of educational theory tend to emphasise ~~the~~ socialisation.
Undifferentiated or tradition-bound societies, with a conservative tradition of educational theory, tend to emphasise the socialisation of the educand; while differentiated or industrial societies, with a progressive tradition of educational theory, tend to emphasise the indivi-

deliberately cultivated in order to counter-balance the elements of sociality in a balanced personality and an integrated society. This conception has been popularised by contemporary Western educationists and educational psycholigists under such slogans as: "the child-centred school," "the child-centred curriculum," "the child-centred community" and so forth.

One of the basic postulates of the New Education Fellowship[18] is that education, as an individualising or "child-centred" process, in a dynamic society should make adequate provision for meeting the diverse intellectual and emotional needs of different individual educands, and should afford constant opportunities for active self-expression and self-realisation of the educand's potentialities and powers.

Harold Rugg[19] refers to the Burk movement for the reconstruction of the curriculum. According to Rugg, Burk's plea is for a change-over from a "social heritage-centred curriculum" to a "child-centred curriculum," and for the "individualisation of instruction/.....

---

18 See in particular: E.G. Malherbe (editor), Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society, (Capetown and Johannesburg, Juta and Company, Ltd., 1937).

19 H. Rugg, "The Reorganisation of the Curriculum: Administrative Attempts in America," in Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society, (edited by

of instruction." His argument as quoted by Rugg is that "there can be no misfit children. There are misfit schools, misfit texts and studies, misfit dogmas and traditions of pedants and pedantry... in fact there are all kinds and conditions of misfits... but in the nature of things there can be no misfit childredn." Accoruing to this view, if the educational system takes into consideration individual variations in talents and potentialities, the apparent misfits turn out to be merely "individual differences" which, if carefully developed and properly harnessed furnish a necessary basis of social differentiation and of the dynamic aspect of personality and of society.

John Dewey develops the same theme. He describes the educational process as a process of growth; and growth involves not just the stimulating action of environmental factors on a passive and otherwise static organism, but the interaction of "native inherent forces" (individuality elements) with the external. He insists that education, as a process of growth, must take into account "the diversity of capacities and needs" of individual pupils and recognise that the

initiative/.....

initiative for growth (of the personality and of society) comes from the needs and powers of the individual. Dewey posits this conception of the educational process as a necessary qualificatory reaction to the conception of education as a socialising process. "The first step in the interaction for growth," he says, "comes from the reaching out of the tentacles of the individual, from an effort, at first blind, to procure the materials that his potentialities demand if they are to come into action and find satisfaction."[20] It is these "tentables of the individual," his potentialities, that education, as an individualising process, must develop. Dewey, however, does not fail to emphasise that this release and development of the individual's potentialities must be for social ends, through socially approved means, and according to social standards or norms. Hence, in his view, the ultimate criterion even of an effective individualising educational process is social. But basically, the native capacities for growth and the inherent traits provide the embryo. What is lacking cannot interact with

even/.....

---

20 J. Dewey, "The Need for a Philosophy of Education," in Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society, (edited by E.G. Malherbe), pp. 23 - 24.

even the best conditions: there is no leverage, nothing with which to co-operate.

Harold Jowitt,[21] in his discussion of "the learner," emphasises the learner's central place in the whole educational system. In spite of the plasticity of his early nature, the child is not to be considered as mere clay to be moulded in the image of his social heritage and of his social group. On the contrary, he contends, the child's plasticity merely indicates the presence of a definite power of developing habits and dispositions: and it is the function of the educational process to help "this growing life to realise his potentialities and to acquire for himself habits and dispositions of the best kind." The "best kind," we may add, is prescribed for him by the social institutional norms.

In so far as the educational process is a socialising process, it reveals the educational system as an agency of social integration and social control. In so far as it is an individualising process it reveals the educational system

as an/.....

---

21 H. Jowitt, op. cit., pp. 52 - 114.

as an agency of social differentiation[22] and social change; and in so far as the educational system itself is a normatively selective, controlled and systematic process such social change as it promotes cannot be but telic.

The concept of telic social change must be distinguished from the concept of social change unqualified. The latter is a generic concept covering all social transformations, in time, irrespective of whether or not there is the factor of human intervention in the course of such social transformations. Telic social change, on the other hand, is a type of social change involving active human intervention in terms of rational and purposive planning on behalf of the social group. Hence telic social change may be considered as bearing the stamp of social group approval.

The endorsement of telic social change by the social group is in order to ensure that the social group's future developments are not left entirely to the innovatory whims of

the individuality/.....

---

22 Social differentiation is, of course, also a means of social integration (cf. Durkheim's concept of organic solidarity).

the individuality elements of the persons engineering such change. In action terms this means that in telic social change (a) the basic motivations of the social engineer arising from the free-variables of his individuality are qualified by the socially sanctioned motivations: (b) the goals and means selected by the social engineer through the foresight and insight of his individuality are tested against the cognitive and normative mental capital of his social group; and (c) the regulation of his innovatory action by norms set up through his own prophetic insight are qualified by the regualtory norms current in his social group. And all along the planned innovatory process a modus vivendi must be worked out between the elements of the individuality of the social engineer and the elements of the sociality aspect of his personality. Action sponsored by a social engineer (or a group of them) by harnessing the elements of his individuality with institutional harnesses would tend to draw the social group (or parts of it) to higher goals and higher levels of group living. The educational system exists partly as a process

that encourages purposive and systematic social change by liberating and developing the dynamic individuality-powers and potentialities of the educand along institutionally permitted or approved channels: "so that," as Jowitt says, "his powers and tendencies develop in a manner satisfactory to himself and to the community in which he lives."

All these considerations give us what we may call our sociological conception of the educational system as a functioning institutional system. We have described it as a normatively selective process of the socialisation and individualisation of the educand and the promotion of telic social change, carried out systematically under controlled conditions. As the socialisation and individualisation of the educand results in a synthetic product, personality, we may legitimately say that education is a process of personality formation.[23]

Smuts/.....

---

23 (a) The educational system as described here does not exhaust the educational process of personality formation. For an extended discussion of this process, see: R. Linton, Cultural Backgrounds of Personality, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul,Ltd., 1949), especially Chapter V.

(b) The outline of the educational system given here is not supposed to apply to the educational systems of all societies as it stands. We have merely sought to expose the important features of its functioning: but in this we recognise that each society, depending on its social organisation, developmental level and tradition of educational theory will tend to lay more or less emphasis on each of the features outlined here. The differing

Smuts also stresses this sociological conception of the educational system as a socialising, individualising and social telesis-promoting process of personality formation when he suggests as a programme of principles for the New Education:

"the building up of individual personality, the encouragement of imagination, not memory, the feeding of the young mind with interests, ideals and the joy of life, avoinding repressions, the cultivation of a love of truth, a broad outlook, and objectiveness; a thorough grounding in fundamentals, leaving details to reference books; and the principles of Holism - that in this universe we are all members one of another and that selfishness is the grand refusal and denial of life."[24]

---

23 versus an ideological tradition, as exemplified in South Africa with reference to the African Educational system. We shall pursue this problem in the last two Chapters of Part III and in Part IV.

24 J.C. Smuts, "Education for Freedom and Initiative," in Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society, (edited by E.G. Malherbe), p.5.

CHAPTER VI

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

From what has been said in the preceding Chapter, it is easy to see that the educational system is immediately oriented to the objective of personality synthesis. But we must inquire into the ultimate objectives of education. What is it expected to achieve by being thus preoccupied with the moulding and developing of human personality?

Brown gives a clue when he suggests that "education has not fulfilled its function when it has provided even the optimum opportunities for individual development; its greater task is that of looking through and beyond the individual to the development of the interrelations of person with person, and group with group, to a new synthesis in terms of human welfare."[1] It is clear from this that the ultimate objectives of education may be sought in the spheres of (a) "individual development," (b) intra-group and inter-group relationships and (c) telic social change resulting in "a new synthesis in terms of human welfare."

In line/.....

---

1 F.J. Brown, op. cit., p. (v) (Preface).

In line with Brown and with our preceding discussion of the functioning of the educational system, we suggest that in so far as education is a socialising process, it is oriented to the objective of Group Solidarity; in so far as it is an individualising process, it is oriented to the objective of Individual Effectiveness and, in so far as it is a telesis-promoting process, it is oriented to the objective of Telic Social Change. We shall discuss each in turn.

THE OBJECTIVE OF GROUP SOLIDARITY

To a social group, solidarity is a value of the highest order - an ultimate value - and the very life of a social group is dependent on its attainment. It is also a basic condition for the survival of the individual and for "individual development." In our preceding discussion of education as a socialising process, we pointed out that socialisation is ultimately a group-integrating process, which, if effectively performed by social agencies, produces group solidarity. Hence, we submit that, as a socialising process, the educational system pursues the ultimate

objective/.....

objective of Group Solidarity.

Finney suggests that the objective of education is "...the balanced participation of the individual in all the institutions of society; the institutions of society are the objectives of education."[2] Common institutional systems are the essence of group solidarity. If education aims at preparing young people for effective participation in common institutional systems, it aims at the maintenance and effective functioning of the latter and, therefore, at group solidarity which they promote.

The British Board of Education[3] suggests that the aim of education should be to develop to the full the potentialities of every child at school, "in accord always with the general good of the community of which he is a member." The "general good of the community" referred to may correctly be identified with community or group solidarity. If there is any social group undertaking which promises a "general good" for all its unit members and for the social group as a whole, it is an undertaking directed towards ensuring group solidarity. All other "social goods"

seem/.....

---

2 R.F. Finney, op.cit., p. 93.

3 British Board of Education, Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1944), p. 12.

seem to be subsidiary to this one. Without group solidarity there can be no society, no social life, no social heritage, no personality.

Cole[4] states that the outstanding purpose of our system of public education should be to prepare our children for active democratic citizenship in an age dominated by the development of new scientific techniques, which are continually threatening to outgrow our collective capacity for controlling their use. Here again the objective of group solidarity is implicit, that is, the necessity for the participation of youth in the life and functioning of (democratic) institutional systems, and in the need for maintaining a salutary balance between moral institutional patterns and the rapid technological advances. He perceives a menacing imbalance between the two aspects of our culture - threatening to distrupt modern society. And the restoration of that balance is a necessary basis of social solidarity and the harmonious functioning of the social structural parts.

It is clear from the immediately preceding discussion and references that the educational

system/....

---

4 G.D. Cole, Essays in Social Theory, (London : The MacMillan Company, Ltd., 1950), pp. 67 - 70.

system, in its socialising function, is oriented to the objective of Group Solidarity. Some idea of the meaning of the concept of Group Solidarity has already emerged from the discussion. But for the purpose of our subsequent discussion we must clarify this concept a little further.

Group Solidarity refers to the internal integration of a social group or collectivity so that each member is in a relationship of institutional attachment and loyalty to the social group. This relationship may be defined in terms of the orientation of the group members to a common matrix of institutionalised individual and collective goals, shared goals, shared value-orientations, and a general participation in "a single system of interaction with boundaries defined by incumbency in roles," so that the whole social group tends to "act in concert."

Florian Znaniecki points out that group "solidarity can be founded on uniformity as well as on differentiation; on a consciousness of psychological similarity as well as on a consciousness of dependence."[5] Along similar lines, as we have shown earlier, Emile Durkheim

distinguishes/.....

---

5 F. Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 180.

distinguishes mechanical solidarity from organic solidarity; also along more or less similar lines Ferdinand Toennies distinguishes the Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft types of solidarity; and Robert MacIver makes a parallel distinction between community and association as concrete type-cases of the two types of solidarity. Let these distinctions be as they are. Our essential point here is that whatever the empirical types of group solidarity and whatever the qualities of the group members, group solidarity essentially involves commonly shared institutional patterns in terms of which social group action and relationships are systematised, stabilised, generalised and regulated. So that the members of the social group may be said to be in a relationship of institutional attachment and loyalty to the social group.

This attachment of the members to a social group is promoted by a system of expressive symbolism which, in its application to the members, signifies common membership and belongingness, status within the social group, and, perhaps, meritorious services on behalf of the social group. Parsons distinguishes

three types/.....

three types of expressive symbols: (a) those constituting "the common styles" (such as, language, attire) shared by the members of a social group, without directly implying the solidarity of a social group, (b) those constituting the symbolism of the social group as such (for instance, flags, national buildings, emblems), affirming the solidarity of a social group; and (c) those manifesting and regulating the common moral sentiments of the members of a social group. The latter type involves the performance of symbolic actions in common, so that the sharing of common moral sentiments is itself symbolised; and thus sentiments of belongingness and solidarity are aroused and maintained.

He further points out that while the concept of group solidarity has (as implied above) cognitive aspects (such as, commonly shared language and material culture), and affective aspects (such as, commonly shared appreciations of the social group's institutional systems and their products), it is a "moral" concept. In this sense, certain actions are institutionally patterned or defined

as required in the interest of the social group itself; others, as incompatible with the welfare and integration of the social group - hence positive and negative sanctions (respectively) are set up to maintain group solidarity. As a "moral" concept, therefore, group solidarity involves a complex of solidarity-obligations or institutionalised collective-orientations and expectations which pose, as it were, "the question of confidence;" the question of loyalty and attachment; the question of "moral" respect for and conforming participation in the institutional life of the social group.

Implicit in the preceding discussion of the concept of group solidarity are some of the criteria of group solidarity. However, there are five major criteria of group solidarity, as an objective of education, that we shall make much use of later: namely, the sharing of (a) a common territoriality; (b) a common material culture (or civilisational elements); (c) a common non-material culture (including "moral" values); (d) a common web of social interaction and relationships; and (e) a common responsibility for the weal and woe of the social group. This commonly shared

responsibility may take four major forms: (i) responsibility for the establishment and maintenance of the institutional regulatory and integrative machinery of the social group, for instance, through the exercise of the franchise, (ii) responsibility for the running of the machinery, for intance, through leadership, (iii) responsibility for the defence of the social group from external invasion, for instance, through military service, and (iv) responsibility for the "moral" respect and observance of law and order. A member of a social group who is "at one" with his social group in these aspects may be said to be solidary with such a social group: and a social group that commands the attachment and loyalty of the majority of its members in these respects may be said to be solidary.

We must point out, however, that we are not committed to a sociologism. Even in a highly solidary social group there is always room for the play of individuality-elements, resulting in internal differentiation and inter-dependence within the social group. This internal differentiation on the basis of individuality is, itself, a factor in group solidarity - especially

in what/.....

in what Durkheim calls "organic solidarity." But, in any case, the institutional factor of common "moral" sentiments (issuing from and flowing back to the facts of common territoriality, social heritage, social participation and responsibility for the weal and woe of the social group) is absolutely indispensable.

One of the six groups of needs which Cole[6] says an educational system geared to this objective of Group Solidarity must meet is: "Social Morality or Sentiment of Community." If education must achieve this objective, it must equip all educands with "a sufficient basis of moral sentiment and belief to enable the largest possible proportion of them to live in harmony with the society to which they belong and to contribute actively to its development." He stresses, in effect, the importance of the pursuit and achievement of this objective of Group Solidarity by pointing out that "without this, there is no community, no power to achieve collective greatness, no concerted will to resist attack on the essential social values."

THE/.....

---

6 G.D. Cole, op. cit., pp. 67-70.

THE OBJECTIVE OF INDIVIDUAL EFFECTIVENESS[7]

Secondly, we have characterised the educational system as process of individualisation, that is, as seeking to cultivate, develop and motivate those tendencies, powers and potentialities by virtue of which a member of a solidary social group is yet more than a mere member, but is a self, a centre of activity and response expressive of a nature that is his own. We suggest that inasmuch as the socialisation of the individual is an immediate end that is, again, a means to an ultimate end of Group Solidarity, so is the individualisation of the personality an immediate end that is, again, a means to an ultimate end, namely Individual Effectiveness or effective self-realisation in roles. "The concept and ideal of self-realisation for every person is the Keynote of the new civilisation, the symbolic theme of the new social order ,"[8] which the educational system seeks to promote in modern society.

Gerth and Mills pose an interesting and fundamental/.....

---

7 In American texts the term "efficiency" is preferred. We have discarded it here because of its technological connotation. We are using the term "effectiveness" in a broader sense to cover performance, in any role, that is satisfactory and conducive to individual self-realisation and the realisation of the value-goals of the social group.

8 R.F. Finney, op. cit., p. 61.

fundamental problem in education that is relevant to the concept of individual effectiveness and relative to which we must clarify our position. "Behind all present discussions of the foundations of the educational system," they say, "the struggle of the 'specialist type of man' against the older type of 'cultivated man' is hidden at some decisive point. This fight is determined by the irresistibly expanding bureaucratisation of all public and private relations of authority and by the ever-increasing importance of expert and specialised knowledge. This fight intrudes into all ultimate cultural questions."[9] Crucial though this problem undoubtedly is for differently phrased problems of individual effectiveness or self-realisation in education, yet for our purpose individual effectiveness is not to be measured in terms of concrete types of products of the educational system, but in terms of satisfactions, to the individual personality-in-action and to the social group, accruing from performance in roles. As Finney says, this effective self-realisation must occur in the course of "active participation in the institutions of society" - either by the

"specialist/.....

---

9 H.H. Gerth abd C.W. Mills, op. cit., p. 243.

"specialist man" or by the "cultivated man" or by both, depending upon the role-expectations attaching to a particular status-role structure or a section of it. In any case, even in a bureaucracy-burdened social set-up there is room both for the "specialist man," the technician; and for the "cultivated man," the man of knowledge, the man of broad intellectual horizons, Merton's "intellectual."[10]

It is a sociological truism that the social action of unit members of a social group is not inherently or altogether altruistic in nature and motivation. To a certain extent when persons participate actively in the institutional systems of society they do so in response not only to group institutional motivation or group needs as such, but also (and basically) to motivation and to needs that are individual (that is, which are not "common" but which may be "alike" in MacIver's sense) as they are experienced by each member of society as a unit of response. And the realisation of their powers and potentialities in response to such individual motivation and the

satisfaction/.....

---

10 For an illuminating discussion of "the role of the intellectual in a public bureaucracy," see: R.K. Merton, op. cit., Chapter VI.

satisfaction of their several needs through individual or co-operative action holds a rapture and a sense of satisfaction and self-fulfilment that each member experiences only as a self, a centre of activity and response expressive of a nature that is his own. William James[11] asserts, therefore, that "to act at the prompting of all our fundamental needs, to live life to the full, to drink life's cup to its depths, to rise satisfied from the feast of life" constitutes the essence of self-realisation, or individual effectiveness as an ultimate objective of the educational system.

We must emphasise, again, firstly, that the individual we are referring to is part of a synthetic social product. We are merely abstracting the individuality aspect from a synthetic unit - personality. This implies that while the satisfaction, the self-realisation or the sense of fulfilment is experienced by the individual as a centre of activity and response, yet the motivation need not be purely individual. The means and goals may, as is often the case, be normatively prescribed by the social group. Secondly, the action involved in this case need/.....

---

11 W. James, Talk to Teachers, (London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd.,) p. 235 ff.

need not be hedonistic. Thus the sense of self-realisation and fulfilment comes to the individual as a result of the expression and use of powers and potentialities that are expressive of a nature that is his own, in a manner that is largely socially, that is, institutionally patterned.

This implies that effective self-realisation may be assessed not only through appreciative standards relative to the gratification of individuality-needs in roles, but also through cognitive standards of technological effectiveness in roles, as well as through moral standards of cultural and civic effectiveness in roles. All these are social. And in so far as there are alternative standards of individual effectiveness in particular roles, such alternatives are themselves socially permitted. So that for a balanced personality, effectiveness is always a matter of individualisation within the limits of socialisation; or, in other words, effective self-realisation within the safety limits of group solidarity. Jowitt is stressing this objective, as thus interpreted, when he states that education must aim at organising the educand's

experiences/.....

experiences so that "his powers and tendencies develop in a manner satisfactory to himself and to the community in which he lives." To have meaning and enchantiment for the personality, action, even if dedicated to altruistic societary needs and effected through socially prescribed means and regulated by social institutional norms, must, in the experience of the individual, be "satisfactory to himself."

It should be borne in mind that individual effectiveness is always relative to a given social system and to a given stock of social heritage at a given period in history. That is, a personality developed in a "primitive tribal" social system may not be expected to achieve, with ease, immediate optimum effective self-realisation in a modern industrial social system with its complex social heritage of knowledge, skills and values. Thus it becomes imperative, if the objective of individual effectiveness is to be achieved, that the development of the individuality-aspect of the personality must be carried out in the light of the social system in which the personality is participating and is expected to participate within the span of human perception. This is consistent with the principle of social parallelism.

Failure/.....

Failure on the part of the personnel of the educational system to comprehend and take into account the nature, possibilities and requirements of the social system and failure to equip the educand with the necessary elements of the social heritage for effective gratifying participation in a known social system is accompanied by social and personality tensions, conflicts, and frustrations to which we shall refer repeatedly later.

The concept of the relativity of individual effectiveness throws into high relief the role of the social, and that is, institutional factors in education. To anticipate: it does not, however, as it is interpreted in non-democratic societies, imply that educands must be regimented on an arbitrary criterion and deliberately moulded to take specific "places" within the social system where and where only they may be allowed to realise their individuality. It does imply, on the contrary, as it is interpreted in democratic societies, that the nature and requirements of the social system must be known to the educator and that the latter must apply himself to the task of equipping the educand with the requisite knowledge, skills and attitudes that will stand him in good stead in the

struggle/.....

struggle for self-realisation, that is, enable him to find his own place in the social structure wherein he may realise his individuality more effectively. At the same time, he must not be handicapped by the "special type" of education meted out to him in changing his place when it ceases to give him optimum satisfaction. This is the democratic conception of a liberal education: that is, an education that equips the educand for optimum self-realisation at any point in the social system where his abilities enable him to participate. This is not incompatible with the concept of specialisation, provided that entry into a field of specialisation is neither enforced nor based on some arbitrary standards that have no reference to the individual's abilities, capacities and potential efficiency in role-performance.

At this point we must point out that it should be clear from what has been said that these two objectives of group solidarity and individual effectiveness are not incompatible except if either is over-emphasised at the expense of the other. In asmuch as there must be a balance between sociality and individuality to ensure a balanced presonality, so must there be a balance

between/.....

between group solidarity and individual effectiveness as objectives of education to ensure a stable society. An optimum degree of group solidarity is necessary to ensure a stable arena for effective self-realisation; and an optimum degree of self-realisation, through effective participation in the institutional systems of society, is necessary to ensure group solidarity, and, as we have suggested before, to ensure the enrichment of the social heritage and group life in general.

THE OBJECTIVE OF TELIC SOCIAL CHANGE

The idea of the enrichment of the social heritage and group life in general suggests the third ultimate objective of the educational system, namely, Telic Social Change.

> "The school may be considered not only an introduction into the already dynamic society but an agency of social change. This intensifies its connection with other compartments of life.... Of course," Mannheim counsels, "the political struggle must not be brought into the school lest democratic tradition be lost in the course of transformation. But who would deny that the school should participate in that process of social education which prepares a new type of man, able to cope with the responsibilities that new techniques of social organisation, changing technology and skills put on mankind?"[12]

While/.....

---

12 K. Mannheim, Freedom, Power, Democratic Planning, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 248.

While we hava said earlier that, in its socialising function, the educational system is "the reproductive process" of society, ve must point out th t reproduction - both biological and social - is not duplication. Variations and mutations of the form and content of "the thing" that is being reproduced are recognised phenomena both in biology and in sociology. Gabriel Tarde's Laws of Imitation,[13] particularly "the law of refraction" of cultural patterns by their social media, are a case in point. These laws indicate that in the course of the "reproduction" of a cultural pattern - over geographical, time or social space - such a pattern may undergo certain important transformations; so that the "product" resembles the original patter only in part. Again through flashes of insight possible combination of existing cultural traits may occur to a person or a social group, and its execution result in a synthethis of a new variant or mutational pattern that bears little or no resemblance to the original of which the traits were constituent parts. Tarde's laws indicate the possibilities of social change as a result of social and individual factors.

It is/.....

---

13 G. Tarde, Laws of Imitation, translated by E.C. Parsons, (New York: Holt Company, 1903).

It is important to note the usual distinction made by sociologists between Natural (that is, spontaneous, self-regulating and evolutionary) changes and Telic (that is, deliberate, planned and purposive) change. The latter is rationally promoted by man, as a member of society, in order to achieve progress in the direction of group values and ideals. "Social telesis is the process whereby groups accelerate their own development through first working out careful plans and then carrying these out in an orderly way,"[14] and the resultant social change is what we call Telic Social Change. This is characteristic of human society, especially the highly evolved and complex societies commanding a large stock of knowledge, skills and techniques with which to manipulate their total environment. And "one of the ideals placed before the educational system is that of training the student in the understanding of present-day conditions and movements; fostering in him contributive attitudes; preparing him to participate in common welfare activity. Education, according to this ideal, should train a leadership which seeks service to society rather than

personal/.....

---

14 E. S. Bogardus, Sociology, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1943), p. 490.

personal glory or reward; a leadership based on ability rather than on opportunism."[15]

The initial impetus to social telesis arises (a) from the interaction of the individuality - as pect and the sociality aspect of each personality, and (b) from the interaction of personality and society. With regard to the first source of impetus, we have to recall that socialisation is never complete (except, possibly, in rigidly tradition-bound societies). That is, some individuality elements always remain as free dynamic variables urging the personality to maximum self-realisation and self-expression within the limits of social permissiveness as defined by the elements of sociality in the super-ego of the personality or by the society itself. In these terms, a person with strong individuality can resist the follies and prejudices of his social environment and be highly critical of it; not because he is alienated from it but because his personality is such that "its roots strike so deep within society that it scarcely bends before the gusts that play upon its surface." Thus, all things being equal, a personality with such individuality will seek to realise the latter not by irresponsibly disrupting

the social/.....

---

15 C. Panunzio, op. cit., p. 262.

the social order but by "first working out careful plans and then carrying these out in an orderly way" within permitted limits. This is the method of telic social change. It is when opportunities for contributing to social telesis are denied to certain members of a social group that tension arises between their individuality and sociality, (that is, between the urge for self-realisation and, for instance, the sociality element of moral respect for an d observance of law and order). Here, the personality is faced with the dilemma of foregoing self-realisation and conforming or seeking self-realisation by ceasing to conform. The first alternative constitutes a threat to personality and social group development; the second, to personality and social group integration. The essential point here is that the conflict arises within the personality, poses a problem of personality equilibrium, and challenges the "contributive attitudes" of the personality towards the resolution of the conflict and the solution of the problem. Out of such a conflict situation, for instance, a "blue-print" for a reformed educational system better adjusted to the needs of personality and social group development

and integration may issue.

The second source of impetus to social telesis, we have said, lies in the interaction of personality (or personalities) and society. In this case a society may be so organised as to accord some of its members (or groups of them) little or no scope for the full unfolding or exercise of both their individuality and their sociality as constituting personality-wholes. In other words, not only may self-realisation be denied them, but solidarity with the society, in terms of our five criteria of solidarity, may also be denied them or rendered difficult. This sets up a strain between such members (or groups of them) and their society. A mild degree of such a situation of strain always leaves room for constructive criticism and the forwarding of plans and programmes for social reform by highly gifted members (or groups of them) in a society. It is, therefore, in this sense that we suggest that the initial source of impetus to telic social change lies in the interaction between personality and the social order.

It is therefore the third objective of the educational system to equip the educand with the

necessary orientation to these two sets of potential conflict situations. "Education," says Panunzio, "should inculcate trust in reason... this means the inculcation of realistic thinking; the eliminating of fantastic notions and rationalisations; the liberation from 'isms,' labels and tags of thought; the subjecting of everything that comes within the purview of the mind to examination and testing.... (This) is our only guarantee against delusion, deception, superstition and misapprehension of ourselves and our earthly circumstances."[16] The import of Panunzio's prescriptions for an educational system geared to the objective of telic social change is that the educational system should prepare educands for reacting rationally, deliverately and purposively to problems arising in their total environment which includes the social order.[17] It is in this

way/.....

---

16 Ibid., p. 261.

17 It must be pointed out that this extremely strong emphasis which Panunzio lays on the cultivation of rational reactions to the total environment cannot be generalised for all educational systems nor for all societies. It is an emphasis that is characteristic of the most scientifically and industrially advanced societies and their educational systems. Another necessary limitation to this emphasis is that no society, in fact, allows "the subjecting of everything that comes to the purview of the mind to examination and testing." Every society removes certain beliefs and practices from critical examination and criticism. A case in point is that of religious dogma, ritual and (in a sense)

way that they will be enabled to formulate or help in the formulation of plans and programmes designed to ensure greater self-realisation of human individuality and realisation of social group goals; and greater integration of human personality (through a balanced synthesis of individuality and sociality) and integration of the social group (through fuller participation of its constituent sub-groups).

The measure of the adequacy of the preparation of the educand for this task is how far he tackles it "through first working out plans then carrying these out in an orderly way," This task, Bogardus says, involves the following steps: (a) securing data, such as facts concerning persons and groups: (b) accurately interpreting these facts in terms of personality and group needs; (c) carefully developing a set of desirable goals[18] and (d) going ahead systematically to achieve and to modify these goals in achievement. This is essentially the scientific method. And, in this sense, we may suggest that the promotion of telic social change by the educational system involves the inculcation, in the educand, of the scientific

approach/.....

---

18 This may be done either through vocalising the unvocalised aspirations, values and ideals of the social group: through prophetic insight: or

approach to his total environment.

Thus it is the task of the educational system, in inculcating the scientific frame of mind in the educand, not only to equip him with a general rational orientation to personality, inter-personal and intergroup problems but also to equip him with a knowledge of techniques of securing data and of how to interpret data; with high evaluative standards for determining desirable goals; and with a courage to pursue those goals even against the censure of ill-informed or un-informed opinion. In this way the educational system seeks not only that the educands shall be effective in social participation as members of the social group, not only that they shall be solidary with their social group, but also that they shall be in a state of preparedness to contribute rationally and purposively towards lifting up the social group (and, therefore, also themselves) to higher and yet higher levels of existence, welfare and social progress.[19]

The concept of social progress is not independent of the concept of personality development both in the sense of individual effectiveness and in the sense

of/.....

---

19 The concept of "social progress" in sociology is still largely elusive, ill-defined and subjective. However, attempts to develop objective indices of social progress have been made, inter alia, by Todd. For our purpose, social progress is the asymptotic approach of a social group to some ideal or ideals

of social effectiveness. Some older sociologists like Herbert Spencer and Benjamin Kidd considered these to be independent of each other. Thus they suggested that the welfare and progress of society could be attained apart from the welfare and progress of its members; in fact, through the sacrifice of its members to the good of society. Our view on this point should be implicit, if not explicit, in our preceding discussion of the functions and objectives of the educational system. It is that the two (that is, society and personality), though not reducible to each other, are in such a state of intimate interdependence that they are inseparable except analytically. A conception of personality apart from the complex of social relationships in which it is cradled and nurtured and in which it participates and unfolds itself, and a conception of society apart from the personalities that interact within it, are both unrealistic abstractions. No society can be real unless its constituent members are real; and no member of society can be real unless he is grounded in a real fabric of social relationships, institutional systems and social heritage. This state of close interdependance between these two suggests

that/.....

that neither can progress at the expense of the other without sonner or later undergoing retrogression as a result. A society that attempts to realise its ends by crushing its constituent personalities crushes the springboard of its own progress; just as a personality that attempts to realise its individuality irrespective of the institutional norms of its society cuts itself off from its social moorings as a social unit.[20] In both cases, the ultimate result is a measure of stagnation and retrogression.

In the case of these three objectives we may also expect differing emphases in the educational systems of various societies. In totalitarian societies, for instance, the objective of individual effectiveness may be more narrowly defined than in the other two; in tradition-bound societies, the objective of telic social change

may/.....

---

20 The latter case may be expected to occur in a situation of revolution. Here, highly critical or differently-oriented personalities would appear, first, to undergo a process of mental and moral alienation or unmooring from the status quo; second, to develop a conception of a status ideal; and, third, to destroy the status quo in order to usher in the status ideal. However, this type or method of social change should not be confused either with <u>evolutionary social change</u> or with <u>telic social change</u>. It is a type or method of social change, sui generis - <u>revolutionary social change</u>.

may be more narrowly circumscribed than the others; and in democratic societies, the objective of group solidarity may receive less direct emphasis than the other two. However, we have been concerned here with showing the end-components of the educational system, as an institutional system, form the functional point of view.

CHAPTER VII

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND ITS SOCIAL BASE

There is a necessary parallelism between the educational system and its social base. This idea has been crystallised by Kinney in terms of what he calls "the principle of social parallelism." "There is always," he says, "a striking parallelism between any given civilisation and the educational system that functions within it."[1] This principle is also implicit in Parsons' concept of "imperatives of compatibility." By this he means that, in order to achieve structural stability and functional harmony, "a social system," inter alia, "must meet certain conditions of compatibility (between structural parts and functional systems) within the same society."[2]

In educational theory, the principle of social parallelism has often been expressed in terms of the concept of "adaptation." This, for instance, is the cardinal concept in the work and philosophy of the New Education Fellowship.[3] The Fellowship's

conception/.....

---

1 R.H. Kinney, op. cit., p. 96.

2 T. Parsons, The Social System, (Glencoe: Ill., The Free Press, 1951), p. 177. (Brackets in quotation are ours).

3 See especially: E.G. Malherbe (editor), op. cit.

conception of "adaptation," it must be noted, is not a static and one-sided one, in the biological sense of the adaptation of ~~the~~ organism to its environment; it is, over and above this, dynamic and two-sided. "It is logical that education must, if it is to be a living and dynamic force, change to meet the needs of a changed world... but some of us feel that in the critical times a more courageous and farseeing attitude is needed and that education should be prepared tolead social change."[4] In this sense, the concept of "adaptation," as calling for adjustments both on the side of the educational system and on the side of society, is synonymous with the concept of parallelism. Neither the educational system nor the social system can be at variance with the other for a long and both still survive. A new "adaptation" or "parallelism" sooner or later must be achieved on a new level.

This necessary "parallelism" or "adaptation" may be illustrated with reference to several aspects of the educational system. For our purpose, we may analyse the latter into the following aspects: (1) organisation (2) content (or curriculum) (3) methods/.....

---

4 Ibid., p. 6.

methods and (4) objectives. The conception of "the school as a miniature community" or as a "social microcosm" has oftern been upheld in educational theory. This implies a necessary parallelism between the educational system in its organisational aspect and the social organisation of which it is part. In this sense, the educand's experience within the school "social microcosm" should be a thorough preparation for civic responsibilities in the communal or national "social macrocosm." Autocratic school organisation, for instance, in a Democratic social system or Democratic school organisation in a Totalitarian social system would, in terms of the principle of social parallelism, be "monstrous deformities" doomed not to survive long unless some adaptation be effected.

One example of the operation of this principle, in the relationship between school organisation and social organisation, though in an eperimental stage, is the Winnetka Experiment carried out in the United States. It represents the ideal of democratic school organisation in a democratic society. Here Professor Harold Rugg gives a glimpse of one aspect of the organisation of a school on the Winnetka Plan: "The Assembly is a sort of forum. One day

it may/.....

it may be a business meeting in which all the local school affairs are discussed and worked out by the children themselves..., a third grade child presiding over the assembly of two or three hundred of her school mates, in good parliamentary form.... Every child in the Winnetka schools has an opportunity to serve on some committee."[5]

The principle of social parallelism may also be illustrated with regard to the content of education, on the one hand, and the social structure, on the other. Finney[6] cites the three-class social system of the Middle Ages - Clergy, Knights and peasants - with its corresponding tripartite programme of training for each class. Similar examples may be drawn from Ancient Greek and Roman education. To make reference to these educational systems is not to suggest that they are defensible from many other points of view; it is merely to illustrate the adaptation of the content of education to the requirements of social structure. That is, a uniform

educational/.....

---

5 H. Rugg, "The Winnetka Experiment," in E.D. Malherbe, op. cit., p. 148.

6 R.F. Finney, op. cit., p. 99.

educational content would have been incompatible with a social system thus rigidly stratified - the parallelism between the two would be thrown out of balance and a new parallelism would have to be sought on a new level. Dr. Harold Jowitt insists that "the curriculum must surround the child with an environment of suitable activites, related to and helping him to understand the activities of his larger environment. It must take much of its material from the actual life which the children are living and lead them to a life which the children are going to live."[7] Hence it is that no school curriculum will remain satisfactory unless it gradually and steadily adjusts itself to the changing social order; and no social order can long survive unless it is adequately subserved by a curriculum that is adapted to the needs of the social order.

Victor Murray[8] claims that the essentials of the content of a well balanced curriculum are more or less universal.[9] He mentions five:

(a)/.....

---

7 H. Jowitt, op. cit., p. 161.

8 V. Murray, The School in the Bush, (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1929), p. 155.

9 However, the emphasis on these essentials would tend to vary from society to society, and with spheres of specialisation in each society.

(a) The tools a man uses: the three R's. (b) The world of values and ideals: Scripture and Moral Instruction. (c) The world of things: Nature Study. (d) The world of people: Literary Studies. (e) Creative Activities: Arts, Crafts and Manual Training. He rightly points out that "these five essentials are aspects of life, they do not correspond to any hard and fast division of subjects in the curriculum. They are just as much concerned in how we teach as in what we teach." The last sentence clinches the issue. That is, ~~while~~ these essentials of the content of education indicate broad categories of subject matter that may be included in a balanced curriculum. Yet the specific cognitive, affective and evaluative data must be primarily indigenous and particular to the society and its total environment and only secondarily exogenous and universal as the indigenous and the particular data have been mastered. This is consistent with the principle of social parallelism.

It is true as Murray says, that, for instance, "a primary aim of history teaching in Africa is to put the African into the stream of history from which he has been absent for so long."[10] But in terms of the principle of parallelism, a history

curriculum/.....

curriculum geared to this aim should initially recognise that the educand stands in a relationship to his society and to his times. This necessary connection between the educand and the society in which he lives is one of the fundamental points that history emphasises. In fact, it is a point that ought to be clear in all history teaching, however elementary, and it is the only legitimate way to study Civics. The same could be said with regard to the geography curriculum. "The child's interest in, and knowledge of, his immediate neighbourhood should form the starting point for related knowledge of and interest in the wider human family living under various conditions, but similarly engaged in winning from their environment food, shelter, clothing and other necessities."[11]

With regard to teaching methods, this principles has been advocated in various terms, such as the necessity of adapting methods of teaching to immediate situations (or resourcefulness); the necessity of making the presentation of subject matter real (or concrete); and the tapping of the educand's experiences (or proceeding from the

known/.....

---

11 Ibid., p. 173.

known to the unknown). This aspect of the application of the principle has received the greatest emphasis from the Education Fellowship in its designs of New Methods. Here the emphasis is that the educator should so set the school stage that the educator learns in more or less the same way as the human race has learned (or at least in the same way as society educates informally), that is, through "observation," "activity," "playing," "planning own work," "discussing," "projects," "self expression," "self-restraint" and so forth. "These techniques," says Ensor, "are not purely new methods of teaching; they are based on a new conception... that life and reality are after all the great teachers" from and through whom the human race itself has learned. In other words, she advocates for a parallelism between the methods of learning and teaching in school and ~~that~~ those in the special environment in which the school is set.

Thus far we have attempted to elucidate and illustrate the concept of social parallelism by making special reference to the organisational, curricular and method aspects of the educational system. We have pointed out that this principle

imposes/.....

imposes a conception of the educational system as a structural and functional microcosm of society, attempting to reproduce the human group experience in the educand. From the point of view of the educator the social group is the repository of the social heritage to be transmitted to the educand. It also prescribes the meaning and scope of the objectives of the educational system; and is the arena in which the educand must later take his position-in-role-performance. The educational system, on the other hand, "is the reproductive process of society. It reproduces the social heritage into the individual, ... it conserves the social heritage by reproducing it into the minds of each new quota of the racial progeny."[12] And the subsequent performance in, or psycho-social adaptation to, the social group that the graduand shows as a result of his education is the ultimate measure of the degree of "social parallelism" between the educational system and its social base.

We must point out, however, that this parallelism cannot be absolute, in empirical situations. It can only be relative or approximate. Finney is

well/.....

---

12 R.F. Finney, op. cit., p. 100.

well aware of this fact and attributes it to cultural lag. He points out that, on the side of the educational system, this lag may be traced to: (a) "the traditional hangovers from the old regime;" (b) "the freaks of ill-considered innovations and random lunges of irrational experiments;" (c) "the gaping ommissions or neglects," such as the omission of social studies and philosophy from our schools, especially in the pre-University curricula. The social structure, on the other hand, may be thrown out of balance or parallelism with its educational system either by too rapid social changes, especially in the economic sphere, unaccompanied by corresponding re-adjustments, to meet the progress and innovations made, in the educational system. Changes in the one must be accompanied by corresponding changes in the other. However, the sources of relative imbalance to which Finney draws attention may be said to be dysfunctional or undesirable for a working equilibruim between the social system and the educational system. We must now draw attention to three functional and necessary sources of this relative imbalance. These arise from our preceding discussion of the functional aspect of the educational system.

Firstly/.....

Firstly, unlike the wider society, the educational system tends to present group experience to the educand in a simplified, planned and systematic way; secondly, it tends to eliminate the undesirable societal influences from itself as an environment of the educand; thirdly, it may even tend to undo what the wider community has wrongly done in the development of the educand. Here, however, the educational system is in a dilemma: it has to be consistent with the principle of parallelism (that is, set itself as a miniature society) and be realistic, not artificial; but at the same time it must abstract certain functional conditions occuring in the wider community, incorporate them into its own structure and eliminate the dysfunctional ones. In this way, its controlled, selective and systematic nature adds to it an element of artificiality. The answer to this dilemma, as we have indicated, is a limitation of the principle of parallelism; an understandable and necessary limitation. We only have to note that the social system is a generalised system while the educational system is a specialised system. What the former can do only clumsily, superficially and less systematically,

it delegates/.....

it delegates to the specialised system to do neatly, thoroughly and more systematically. We have to note also that in the wider society there are many action patterns that would be dysfunctional both to the educand and to the society itself if transmitted. These must be systematically left out in the education of the new generation or, if already transmitted to the educand informally, then they must be formally eradicated.

It is, however, an open question in Educational Sociology just how far the educational system must be a miniature society. It would appear that it must reflect and impress on the educand the status quo (of the wider society at its best - that is, minus its 'evils') and the status ideal (as conceived within the status quo). We shall accept this as a socially necessary qualification of the principles of social parallelism. According to the Decroly Plan the formal educational process must parallel the informal process by which the race itself has learned. This method refers the formal educational process to the model of the status

ante/.....

ante rather than to the status quo and status ideal. It amounts to a virtual negation or rejection of modern scientific insights contributed by educational psychologists and sociologists to the educative process and the methods of promoting and facilitating it. Is there any scientific or moral justification for exposing the young heirs of a scientific civilisation to the painful, wasteful and costly blunders "by which the race itself has learned?" Is it not precisllly the function of education - as a controlled and systematic process - to save the racial progeny the price that the race has paid for its accumulated social heritage? It would seem to us that the immensity of the accumulated social heritage and the brevity of the history of the individual as compared with that of the human race forbid us from asking the racial progeny to re-tread the long and devious path that the race has trod. Hence to us the educational system must, with the limitati ns or qualifications pointed out above, parallel society both as it is and as it should be within the span of human perception. The educational system must function in, for, and like the wider society, but only in a more selective, stream-lined and systematic manner, and using only the data and methods that

society/.....

society considers most useful and most desirable for its members and for itself in the present and in the foreseeable future.

This parallelism which we have attempted to illustrate with reference to the organisation, content, and method of the educational system holds particularly true with regard to the social structure and the objectives of education. We have pointed out, in an earlier section, that the objectives of the educational system are, in essence, social values entrenched in the social base of the system and entrusted to it for systematic pursuit on behalf of the social group. They are a social trust. And in so far as social values are "sacred" to the social group the objectives of education are a "sacred" social trust, entailing definite "moral obligations" on the part of the educators to the social group. Hence, the social group may be expected to entertain definite role-expectations with regard to the pursuit and achievement of those objectives by the educational system. These role-expectations, as we have said in an earlier section, are held in the medium of systems of ideas: and the latter refer to the educational system not only descriptively

but/.....

but also interpretatively and imperatively, in the light of the social structure. In these terms, the educational system is geared to no other objectives except those that animate the social group (or the generalised social structure) of which the educational system is a part. When this parallelism is upset, tension arises between the two and continues until a new parallelism is achieved on a new level of objectives. This tension may be expected to be particularly acute in plural societies where two or more exclusive social groups may entertain two or more divergent role-expectations with regard to the pursuit and achievement of objectives by an educational system serving one or all of the social groups.

This necessary parallelism between a (plural) social structure and the objectives of an educational system directly serving one of the social groups constituting the social structure and the emergent problems of divergent role-expectations (of the several social groups) with regard to such an educational system constitute the central theme of this study. Such divergent role-expectations tend to throw the educational system out of parallelism with its

social structural/.....

social structural base. The educational system at stake here is that serving the African social group within the plural South African social structure. In the next chapter, we present an outline of this social structure in order to show the broad social structural context from which the divergent role-expectations which are crucial in this study arise. We shall not attempt to give an exhaustive treatment of this. We shall merely outline those aspects of it which are directly relevant to our problem, and only to that degree of intensiveness that is necessary to throw light on our problem.

P A R T III

THE SOCIAL BASE OF THE AFRICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

CHAPTER VIII

THE SOCIAL GROUP BASE

THE BROADER BASE

The broader social base of the African educational system is the South African social system. This is a plural social system consisting of four interrelated social groups - the Whites, the Coloureds, the Asiatics and the Africans. These differ in numerical, racial and cultural characteristics as well as in their socio-economic positions in the general social system which they constitute. The positional set of differences suggests that these groups are stratified; and the racio-ethnic differences suggest that they are stratified as racio-ethnic groups, that is, as genetic rather than as congregate social groups.

In South Africa, it is a fact that needs no documentation that the White racio-ethinic group (though a numerical minority group) is the power-majority group dominating the entire social system. From this it follows that the three Non-White groups (though together constituting a numerical majority section of the population) are a power-minority section. This points to the existence of a definite White-Non-White bar in South Africa. Hoernle, for instance, illustrates this

bar clearly/.....

bar clearly with respect to the allocation of political power between Whites and Non-Whites.

"In short, if we look at the Union as a whole, its political structure is not a democracy: it is a racial oligarchy, which might even be described... as a 'pigmentocracy,' if it were not that the absence of pigment in the skin, rather than its presence, serves as the test of membership of the dominant group. The franchise and the composition of Parliament are so arranged as to embody the principle of the dictatorship of the White minority over the non-White majority. Politically, South Africa, is without dispute, a 'White man's country!"[1]

However, a closer examination of the Non-White section reveals that this section is itself stratified racio-ethnically. The Africans constitute the lowest stratum in the Non-White section and, therefore, in the general social system. Between the White superstratum and the African substratum the Coloureds and the Asiatics shift back and forth - the Coloureds generally occupying a higher position. This is also a well-known fact

in/.....

---

1 R.F. Hoernle, South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit, (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1945), p. 4.

in South Africa.[2] However, on the whole, the white group's attitude of domination over the Non-Whites, as a section, has a unifying effect on the Non-Whites. Hoernle saw this clearly nine years ago.

"This White attitude, if victorious, can in the end have only one result, viz., to unite the... Non-European groups in common opposition to the European groups as the common enemy: the common oppressor, notwithstanding all its protestations that it wants to be their common 'guardian.' Attempts to form a 'Non-European fron' are already being made."[3]

These arrangements have since been made extensively and with gusto, despite the White technique of divide et impera.

THE NARROWER BASE

The narrower social base of the African educational system consits of the White and the African groups which are the most interested groups in the structure and functioning of this

educational/.....

---

2 Ibid., pp. 144 - 147.

3 Ibid., pp. 146 - 147.

educational system. There are a number of significant characteristics of these groups which are important for the central problem of this study. We shall outline these with respect to each of the two groups.

THE WHITE GROUP

This is a relatively small group constituting only 20.9% of the totalpopulation. Numerically, therefore, it is completely outnumbered by the other three non-White groups which, between them, constitute 79.1% of the South African population.[4] In view of this, the South African Whites may be expected to be conscious of their numerical inferiority. And, indeed, this is the case. Their self-consciousness, in an analysis of their social action, as a group, in plural South Africa. "Of necessity they (have) had to arm and protect themselves against the evergrowing manace (of swamping), and how could it better be done than by throwing an impenetrable armour around themselves - the armour of racial purity and self-preservation?"[5]

It was/.....

---

4 These are the 1951 Census figures obtained from: M. Horrell, "The Population of the Union of South Africa," (published by the South African Institute of Race Relations, 1953), p. 1.

5 W.J.J. Olivier, "Apartheid - A Slogan or a Solution?" Race Relations, 90/53, p. 1. (Brackets are ours).

It was possible for this group to use this "armour of racial purity" because, on the whole, its members are drawn primarily from the Caucasoid racial stock. But this stock includes a wide assortment of sub-races differing significantly in many physical racial characteristics except one, colour. So that, it would be more accurate to refer to this armour as the armour of colour purity. However, the fundamental point is not so much the stuff out of which this armour is made - race or colour - as its alleged purity. And this must be tested against the history of this group in plural South Africa.

In the course of a revealing study of miscegenation in South Africa, George Findlay makes this observation about the White group under discussion:

> "Nothing is more remarkable than the trend of ugliness in South Africa to take the form of flattened, rather, bridge-less noses, thick lips, heavy jaws and chins, and innumerable other Bantu traits.... Indeed, this fact is so ordinary that we do not trouble to observe it, and, of course, comment is not supposed to be in good taste."[6]

The history of this group in South Africa has left its ravaging marks on the armour of racial

or/.....

---

6 G. Findlay, Miscegenation, (Pretoria: The "Pretoria News" and Printing Works, Ltd., 1936), p. 21.

or colour purity. From 1652 to 1660 there was neither public opinion nor legislation against sex contact between the White group and the non-White group members who were not slaves and who were Christians. The distinction for all intimate contacts was between the Christian master on the hand and Heathen and slave on the other. Against a converted heathen and a freed slave there was no barrier to sex contact with the White group.

Whereas after 1660 White public opinion gradually rigidified against miscegenation no over-all legislation was passed to prevent this between the White group and all the other non-White groups until 1949 and 1950.[7] Hence, for three centuries miscegenat ion between Whites and Non-Whites has been an essential feature of the inter-group sexual life in South Africa. And until 1950[8] there was no legislation to prevent any mixed-blood of acceptably fair colour from joining the White group. It is Findlay's conclusion[9] that there has been a considerable amount of "passing" of this fairer progeny of miscegenatory sex

contacts/.....

---

7 This refers to the passing of the ~~Prohibition of the~~ Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 and the Immorality Amendment Act of 1950, respectively.

8 This refers to the passing of the Population Registration Act of 1950.

9 G. Findlay, op. cit., p. 24.

contacts into the white group. After making "some effort to form an idea of the blood composition of the coloured people at two centres, one in the Transvaal and one in the Cape Province," he came to the observation that "in both communities the numbers of those with the smallest admixture of European blood abound. In the Cape particularly the very 'darkest' types are by far the most numerous." He proceeds to pose the following problem:

> "The fact that the coloured locations practically speaking contain nothing whiter than half-castes challenges explanation. On the black side all the fractional admixtures are there just as we would expect, but on the white side they have vanished. Either this residue has escaped into the European category or it becomes necessary to explain how it is that they have not come into existence."[10]

He dismisses the latter alternative as being "in the highest degree fanciful" to any one conversant with the facts of the South African situation. And, using the concept of "the blood composition bridge" and further confirmatory observations, he comes inevitably to the un-South-African-White conclusion that the existing Coloured population[11] is "the compulsory residue of the coloured people,

and all/.....

---

10 Ibid., p. 17.

11 This population was estimated in 1936 at 612,000. The 1936 Census figure turned out to be 769,661 and the 1951 figure (which included Cape Malays) was 1,102,323.

and all who can escape do so."[12] And "on the rate of fusion we can say that more than half of the children of the Europeans have become coloured in our brief period of contact."[13] A ravaging revelation to the "armour of racial purity" or colour purity.

The Cape Coloured Commission of Inquiry of 1938 also conceded that "there is an increasing tendency for Cape Coloureds to "pass over the line" if their appearance enables them to do so. There is ample evidence that a number of Coloured persons have already "passed over" and been absorbed in the European population."[14] Hence, behind Olivier's "armour of racial purity" stands a heterogeneous racially "impure" - "White" group.

However, the heterogeneity of this group extends to the cultural aspect as well. The major cultural cleavage in this group runs along the British - Afrikaner line of division and this division has lately been couched in terms of extreme nationalism. But the cleavage itself is as old as South Africa. It inheres in language,

in the/.....

---

12 G. Findlay, op. cit., p. 14.

13 Ibid., p. 46.

14 U.G. 30/1939, paragraph 138. See also the 13th Report of the Social and Economic Planning Council, U.G. 53/1948, paragraph 21.

in the arts, in religion and in political and world outlook - including the values enshrined in all these. Referring to the ascension to power by the Afrikaner sub-group, Whyte points out that this "has appeared to many Afrikaners, whether of the Nationalist Party or not, to be the climax to a long struggle - a struggle to win recognition of an Afrikaner "nationhood," a struggle against the self-confident pride and power of the "Englishman".... It is the emergence of a language, a people, a culture...."[15]

In the course of this struggle, language differences have been emphasised and a scramble for language supremacy set afoot until at present in South Africa a language spoken by barely one and a half million individuals in the world has won ascendancy over an almost universal language. In the arts, literature, music and so forth, an Afrikaner tradition is being jealously cultivated in sharp competition against anything that tastes British or English. And the South African Englishmen seem determined

that the/.....

---

15 Q. Whyte, "Behind the Racial Tensions in South Africa," published by the South African Institute of Race Relations, 1953, p. 8.

that the British tradition shall not perish in South Africa. This is evidenced in the English and in the Afrikaner Schools, in the English and Afrikaner radio programmes, in "nationalistic" celebrations and so forth. The cleavage in religion has crystalised around the English-speaking and the Afrikaans-speaking Churches.

However, the climax of the cleavage would seem to have occured on the political level. Here, the differences in language, arts and religious outlook seem to get clinched in Afrikaner nationalism which brooks no compromise with any un-Afrikaner aspirations of those white South Africans who are of British extraction. The victory of Afrikaner nationalism over anything British or un-Afrikaner has left the English only two alternatives; that is, either to accept the values inherent in Afrikaner nationalism and be junior political partners or reject these to their own political doom. On the political level the divergent values of these two sub-groups have become evident with respect to their conceptions of and attitudes to a number of basic

political/.....

political concepts: (a) the concept of the sovereignty of Parliament; (b) the concept of the sanctity of the Constitution: (c) the concept of the independence and functions of the Courts; (d) the concept of the Parliamentary Opposition Party; and, possibly, also the concept of Statesmanship.[16] In all these the two sub-groups are poles apart in outlook. And the political triumph of Afrikaner nationalism has become the rallying-point of Afrikaner aspirations and values in the other cultural spheres. It has become the concentration point of Afrikaner ethnocentricity and Anti-British sentiment. "While there are many Afrikaners who rationally reject the plans and policies of the (Nationalist) government, even they find emotional satisfaction and outlet in the success of those to whom they are united in blood, in tradition and in history.[17] The government is really the focal point for the emotions which date back to the days of Somerset, Benjamin D'urban, to the border forays and the

"Kaffir/.....

---

16 It must be conceded, however, that many Afrikaners within the United Party tend to have a more or less common orientation with the English-speaking section to these points.

17 Essentially a history that has been ante-anything Un-Afrikaner in South Africa.

'Kaffir Wars,' to the 'concentration camps' and to Milner."[18]

But, behind the cultural tensions between these two sub-groups, there is a substantial degree of cohesiveness based on a number of things that they, as the White group, have in common (though sometimes differentially) in contrast with the other three non-white groups; namely white colour, economic and political power and senior hierdom to Western civilisation. "As white men, they are proud of the civilisation which they represent and they view with foreboding the possibility of a lower black civilisation taking control. Racial (or Colour) prejudice is their common property; both are white."[19] And "if there was one thing on which all white South Africans were agreed, unless insane, it was white supremacy."[20]

THE AFRICAN GROUP

This is the largest group in South Africa constituting 67.5% of the total population. It completely outnumbers the other three groups

which,/.....

---

18 Q. Whyte, op. cit., p. 9.

19 Ibid., p. 12.

20 J.C. Smuts, quoted in:
L. Kuper, "The South African Native: Caste, Proletariat or Race?", Social Forces, Vol. 28, No. 2, December, 1949, p. 149.

which, between them, constitute only 32.5% of the South African population.[21] Hence, one might expect this group to be conscious of its numerical superiority and to use it to best advantage in finding for itself a place "in the sum" of plural South Africa. But, on the contrary, this is largely not the case in fact. It does not appear to be a social fact with the group; but largely a statistical fact. This is particularly striking in view of (a) the racial homogeneity of this group and (b) its socio-economic position in the whole social structure.

Racially, this group does not exhibit the heterogeneity one finds in the White group. Its members are drawn from the Negroid racial stock. And the number of dark-coloured mixed - bloods that remain in it, if any, must be very negligible in view of its unattractive socio-economic position. Hence one would expect this group to have a developed purist race-consciousness around which the statistical fact of its numerical superiority is translated into

a social/.....

---

21 See footnote 4 (supra).

a social fact and mobilised, in conjuction with the social fact of its socio-economic inferiority, into a dynamic social force. But this has not been the case to any appreciable extent. The small measure of race-consciousness that exists seems to be in the nature of a semi-conscious reaction to the White group 's corroded "armour of racial purity and self-preservation."

With the White group this consciousness is a deliberate technique to defend a "threatened" socio-economic suprerioority and to buttress up a disquieting numerical-inferiority consciousness. But with the African group it is not possible to justify the proposition that there is a parallel psychological technique either to defend a "threatened" numerical superiority (which is not threatened) or to buttress up a socio-economic inferiority consciousness (which cannot be buttressed up by this technique, in any case). Whereas there are many race/conscious Africans, this consciousness is not yet a social fact on the group-level at which we are discussing here. The relative insignificance of racial considerations among the Africans is, perhaps, evidenced, among the Zulus, for instance, by the striking infrequency,

of the use/.....

of the use, in common parlance, of the word "uhlanga" (meanig, racial stock) in comparison with the quite frequent use of the word "isizwe" (meaning, nation or nationality).

One factor (relevant to this study) which has tended to obstruct the development of a virile race-consciousness in this group is its cultural heterogeneity. In general, the African group carries a traditional culture and civilisation that differs from that of the other three groups. Some of its distinctive characteristics are: its non-literate and non-technical character; its subsistence economy; its lack of a monetary system of exchange; its lack of the institution of representative government; and its lack of a revelatory or prophetic ethico-religious system. But behind these common distinguishing characteristics lies a series of finer distinctions within the African culture and civilisation. These manifest themselves in language, attire, customs and traditional institutions. On the basis of these the African group is differentiated ethnically into a number of sub-groups or tribes, such as the Xhosas, Sothos, Tswanas, Zulus and a small number of immigrants from the Northern Territories.

These/.....

These internal tribal or ethnic differences within the African group have continued to prevent the development of solidarity within the group, especially among the un-Westernised Africans. But a growing unity is noticeable among the Westernised[22] Africans, the common denominator being a complex of (a) West-ward acculturation - including Western religious and formal educational institutions and the values inherent in them; and (b) a growing awareness of and concern about their common socio-economic plight as Africans in South Africa. The acquisition of the patterns of these two institutional systems of Western civilisation by the Westernised Africans renders them more sensitive and critical of White domination. And on the basis of their common acquired values and their common resentment of and resistance to White domination there is a growing spirit of unity and an inclusive "we-feeling," within the

group/.....

---

22 The process of Westernisation in this group is both a dividing and a unifying factor. It divides the group into the Westernised and the un-Westernised sections. But, at the same time, it unifies the group from the point of view of ethnic differences by providing a new synthetic cultural platform on which the members of various tribal groups can interact with little or no regard for tribal differences.

group, that cuts across the internal traditional cultural differences. The common factor of West-ward acculturation serves as a common spring-board from which the facts of the group's socio-economic position may be attacked. This process of West-ward acculturation has been reinforced and facilitated by the processes of economic integration and urbanisation of the Africans. These too have the fucntion of breaking down tribalism. The Apartheid policy and programme on the other hand, involve an attempt to rebuild African tribalism and cultural exclusiveness and isolation.

To these considerations, add the effect of the levelling pressure of white domination which bundles into one socio-economic position everything African, irrespective of the finer internal distinctictions that may be found within the group. This casting of the African group into one inferior socio-economic mould has a unifying effect which cuts across African traditional cultural distinctions as well as across African acquired cultural distinctions. This is essentially the most powerful unifying factor in the life of the African group in South Africa - in so far as it ultimately recognises no differences,

traditional/.....

traditional or acquired, within the social group.

It should be borne in mind that this social group which is thus being forced into an undifferentiated united whole is (a) numerically superior and (b) economically indispensible to South Africa as a source of cheap labour. Herein lies its power. But in as much as we suggested that this group is not effectively conscious of the strength that lies in its numerical superiority, Whyte suggests that "the African has not organised the economic power which he holds as a worker to any great extent."[23] In the final analysis;

> "It would appear that, for the present, the power of the African in this field is potential rather than actual but it is an economic power which, taken together with the emotional drives associated with political desires and frustrations, and given wise leadership prepared to sacrifice itself, will soon be a factor of prime importance, both economically and politically."[24]

The African group's semi-conscious awareness of its potential power which lies it its numerical superiority and economic indispensability has tended to manifest itself in a number of African nationalist-liberationist movements and organisations which have sprung up during the first half of this

century/.....

---

23 Q. Whyte, op. cit., p.1.

24 Ibid., loc. cit.,

century. Important among these have been the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (I.C.U.), the African National Congress (A.N.C.), the All African Convention (A.C.C.), and the Non-European Unity Movement (N.E.U.M.).[25] But the history of these reveals the semi-conscious floundering of a people that is half-aware of its full strength and, hence, of the effective methods and techniques of using it to full advantage. The problem has consistently been that of leadership - the pettiness and intellectual myopia of the leaders.

In his conclusion to an incisive discussion of the evolution of these movements and organisations, Tabata,[26] makes this censure on the African leaders of the/.....

---

25 To anyone conversant with these organisations, it is clear that the conception of nationalism they embody is not a prototype of Afrikaner nationalism. It is an inclusive nationalism envisaging the ultimate establishment of a South African Nation - based on equalitarian principles. With some, individual membership is open to members of any racio-ethnic group; with others an invitation to affiliate is constitutionally extended to organisations of other racio-ethnics (especially the Non-Whites) who share similar principles. However, minority-tendencies towards exclusiveness have not been absent in the history of these organisations.

26 I.B. Tabata, The Awakening of a People, (Johannesburg: The Peoples Press, 1950), p. 160.
(It should be noted, however, that in this reference Tabata's position is partisan - pro-A.A.C. and N.E.U.M., and sharply anti-A.N.C.; and exhibits the dogmatism that is characteristic of the organisations with which he sympathises. However, if his castigation of the older African leadership is extended even to his pet .....

of the fist half of this century.

"Having failed to analyse the nature of society and discern the motive power driving the various forces in it, the old leaders were not able to take their positions. They were unable to fix their bearings in the vast sea of political cross-currents and steer a straight course towards their goal. Their failure to grasp the nature of the conflicting forces in South African society, and therefore to understand the destiny of the national movement, robbed them of the possibility to embark on a serious struggle.

(Again):

"The failure of the leaders to see the struggle in its entirety has given rise to a certain parochialism. The various local leaders lived in an isolated existence each one pre-occupied with petty local reforms without relating them to the rest and losing sight of the fundamental questions. This in turn has tended to reinfornce the organisational exclusiveness, the rivalries, etc. All these, then, are some of weakness inherited from the past."

Whyte, also, dealing with the lack of adequate awareness and ability of the African group to exploit the economic power that lies within itself, comes to a similar conclusion:

"(The) Africans have not produced that leaderdhip which one would have expected after such long contact with European civilisation and the educative processes consequent upon such contact. The absence of dynamic leadership in the past is something which psychologists must explain. Today Africans are still seeking it."27

However/.....

---

26 organisations, it has an essential element of truth. It is our view that the problem in the African group is more that of the inadequacy of leadership rather than that of lack of political consciousness in the masses. The masses are ripe and require effective organisation. When this has been provided - sporadically - in the past, the masses have largely responded to the consternation of many).

27 Op. cit., p. 2.

However, whereas the problem of leadership in this group has undoubtedly been acute during the past half-century, the African group is gradually producing leaders of sufficient stature to stride over these pitfalls - both in the sphere of theory (such as theoreticians of Tabata's calibre) and in the sphere of action (such as practical leaders of Luthuli's stature).

But a series of recent legislation has been devised to cope with this emerging leadership - to muzzle it and hence, amputate its tentacles which may ultimately help it reach towards democratic freedom. It is, however, important to note that even in the absence of African leadership, there are powerful economic, social and political forces in the South African social system to keep the African group intensely focussed on the goal of an equalitarian South African society. This is not likely to be lost sight of as a result of lack of guidance by African leaders. The South African social system exerts sufficient pressures on the African to make him keep aware of the difference between what <u>is</u> and what <u>ought to be</u> - between the <u>status quo</u> and the <u>status ideal</u>. These pressures, which are increasingly gaining power,

are/.....

are sufficiently effective in motivating African group action towards the attainment of the status ideal of an equalitarian society. And in the absence of legitimate and principled leadership, (which has been muzzled with repressive legislation) this group action may, in the logic of the situation, be expected to be illegitimate and unprincipled.

In the light of the preceding sketch of the two groups which constitutes the narrower or immediate base of the African educational system, it is clear that, as a result of their polar positions in South Africa, they have two divergent and compelling interests. The White group has a compelling interest in maintaining its dominant position; the African group, a compelling interest in emancipation from the subordinate position, which it now occupies. These interests will be important in our succeeding discussion.

In the next chapter we shall inquire into the principle that underlies the relationships between these two groups - and, hence, the immediate social base of the African educational system which these two groups constitute.

CHAPTER IX

THE PRINCIPLE OF WHITE-BLACK* STRATIFICATION

From what has been said, it should be granted that the White group constitutes the upper stratum; the African group, the lower stratum. Implicit in the concept of stratification is the fact of unequal allocation of status-roles socio-economic power, facilities and rewards - in brief, unequal allocation of positions. This raises the question of the pattern according to which this allocation takes place in South Africa with respect to the Whites and the Blacks.

Parsons has distinguished two allocative patterns that may be followed in social systems; the achievement pattern (involving universalistic criteria of allocation), and the ascriptive pattern (involving particularistic criteria). By the former, he means

"the normative pattern which prescribes that an actor in a given type of situation should, in his selection and differential treatment of social objects, give priority to their specific performances (past, present, or prospective) over their given attributes (including memberships and possessions), in so far as the latter are not significant as direct conditions of the relevant performances."[1]

By the ascriptive pattern he means

"the normative pattern which prescribes that an actor should, in a given type of situation, in his

selections/.....

---

* Black here refers to Africans.

1 T. Parsons and E.A. Shils, Toward a General Theory of Social Action, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 82 - 83.

selections for differential treatment of social objects, give priority to certain attributes that they possess (including collectivity memberships and possessions) over any specific performances (past, present, or prospective) of the objects,"2

These attributes may be age, sex, race, culture, kinship-membership or other group-membership, in so far as these are not direct conditions of th. performances.

While the mode of stratification within each racio-ethnic group is primarily on the achievement pattern, thus allowing for socio-economic class mobility; the mode of stratification of these racio-ethnics within the social system is primarily on the ascriptive pattern, the primary criterion being racio-ethnic origin and affiliation. The crucial question with regard to allocation of personnel in status-role categories is "Who are you, in terms of racio-ethnic origin and affiliation?" Each individual bears this racio-ethnic group label; and by it he is either exalted to "lap the fat of the land" in the highest status-role categories or condemned to wallow in the shallows and miseries of the lowest status-role categories. To be sure, he can raise his head

a little/.....

---

2 Ibid., loc. cit.

a little to catch a glimmer of sunshine; but his ceiling is fixed by his immutable racio-ethnic origin and affiliation. Thus it is that members of each group tend to accumulate on successive levels in the Black-White system of stratification. It is only when he has taken his "place" on the ascribed level that the question of past, present and potential performances, achievement, training and so forth arises.

Implicit in this system of racio-ethnic stratification on the ascriptive pattern is a principle of fundamental importance for the relations of Blacks and Whites within the South African social system; that is, the Caste Principle. "Whenever status is determined by birth, whenever one's colour or ethnic origin or religion or 'name' automatically assigns one special prestige or privileges or special social handicaps, the principle of caste is at work."[3] The Caste Principle, MacIver and Page hold, involves a number of "caste elements" the major of five of which may be made out from the definitios of Caste offered by a number of authors[4] on the Caste and by

themselves/.....

---

3 R.M. MacIver and A.W. Page, Society: An Introductory Analysis, (London: The MacMillan Company, Ltd., 1952), p. 358.

4 For instance, C. Bougle, A. Kroeber, G. Meers and Cox.

themselves: namely, (a) hierarchical arrangement (b) endogamy and hereditary perpetuation of population segments (c) social exclusiveness (d) occupational specialisation and (e) a pre-determined standard of stratification or status allocation and fixation. This standard, according to MacIver and Page, may be racial or cultural. In addition to these five invariable caste elements there may be a number of caste elements which characterise specific empirical social systems.

The application of the caste concept to the analysis of contemporary Western societies is controversial in present-day sociological circles. Thus we must clarify our standpoint. Two mutually opposed Caste Schools exist in contemporary sociological literature. One is historically oriented; the Hindu Caste School, as represented, inter alia, by Cox, Gurye, and Hutton. The other is theoretically oriented: the American Caste School, as represented, inter alia, by MacIver and Page, Dollard, Pierson, Myrdal, Rose and Berry. The former School conservatively restricts the caste concept to a single, unique, polar and disintegrating historical case, the traditional Hindu Caste System. This,

to the/.....

to the Hindu Caste School is the standard measuring rod of caste structure, it is the final tribunal before which any social system which claims caste organisation may plead its case - in vain. Only what conforms to the Hindu type norm can legitimately be called caste; or else it is class or race.

The snag with the standpoint of this school is that no two empirical situations can ever be identical and if one such situation is posited as the norm for all others, the result is either the prolongation of the controversy or the loss of a useful concept in sociological analysis. This loss becomes more imminent should the position now held by the American Caste School be abandoned; for the Hindu type norm, Cox himself admits, is fast crumbling down under the impact of Western ideologies and institutions, especially the economic; and, with the empirical Hindu type norm gone, all else will be class, race or pseudo-caste.

On the contrary, the American Caste School views caste as a general abstract theoretical concept - of the "Ideal type," one would say - not as a concrete form of social organisation,

not/.....

not, as Cox thinks, as a whole system of social organisation so far found only in India.[5] This general ideal type concept, as MacIver and Page maintain, should in order to meet the needs of scientific inquiry, be such that it is applicable to a variety of situations. Thus this school sees in the Hindu Caste system only one empirical type; one of a variety of situations organised on the caste principle and which, to be sure, combines the invariable caste elements in a very rigid manner and thus illustrates the Caste Principle at its extreme. But this school holds that while many social systems may not be caste sytems, in terms of the Hindu type norm, yet the Caste Principle is of wide occurrence. "The Caste Principle is one that in some degree is manifested in all societies including our own,"[6] in South Africa.

This ideal caste-type concept, as formulted in MacIver and Page's Caste Principle consists of the five invariable caste elements. These constitute the sine qua non of caste as an ideal

type/.....

---

5 O.C. Cox, Caste, Class, and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1948), especially Chapter 21.

6 R.M. MacIver and A.W. Page, op. cit., p. 359.

type concept. These (and not an empirical case) must be the final theoretical norm, the tribunal before which empirical cases may lay their claims to caste-character. It can be readily granted that while two empirical situations may qualify for caste character on this norm, yet they may differ in varying degrees with regard (a) to the specific predetermined standard of stratification and (b) to many particular variable caste elements occassioned by empirical differences in historical and socio-economic conditions.

The concept of Caste adopted here may be outlined schematically as hereunder. Note the theoretical or ideal type bifurcating on the predetermined standard of stratification, into two possible empirical types - the cultural Caste Type and the Racial Caste Type. Note also the five invariable elements occurring in both types.

THE IDEAL/.....

THE IDEAL TYPE CASTE CONCEPT

(Invariable Caste Elements)

1. Hierarchy: C.Bougle, A.Kroeber, G.Meers, O.Cox.
2. Endogamy: C.Bougle, A.Kroeber, G.Meers, O.Cox.
3. Social Exclusiveness: C.Bougle, G.Meers, O.Cox, MacIver & Page.
4. Occupational Specialisation: O.Cox, C.Bougle.
5. Predetermined Standard of Stratification: G.Meers, O.Cox, MacIver and Page.

	CULTURAL STANDARD	RACIAL STANDARD.
	Cultural Caste Type e.g. Hindu Caste Type (empirical)	Racial Caste Type e.g. South African Caste Type (empirical)
Invariable Caste Elements	1. Hierarchy.	1. Hierarchy.
	2. endogamy.	2. endogamy.
	3. Social exclusiveness.	3. Social exclusiveness.
	4. occupational specialisation.	4. occupational specialisation.
	5. predetermined standard of stratification.	5. predetermined standard of stratification.
Variable Caste Elements	6. force of tradition.	6. force of power (physical, economic, political).
	7. intense contamination-ideas.	7. Absence of intense contamination-ideas.
	8. Religious reinforcement of caste.	8. Religious condemnation of caste.
	9. Self satisfaction and "rightness" of caste.	9. Dissatisfaction and "wrongness" of caste.
	10. consensus & stability.	10. Conflict and instability.

The question whether racial segments are castes or not has been forestalled by the principle as stated here. According to this principle racial segments are not <u>necessarily</u> castes, but they <u>may be</u> castes, if, in terms of the dominant group mores, they are defined as involving predetermined criteria of status-role allocation, and are hierarchically

arranged/.....

arranged (as racial segments), are endogamous, socially exclusive and occupationally specialised. When these caste elements do not attach to racial segments (as in Hawaii and Brazil) it would be incorrect to designate the latter as racial castes, and their relations as racial caste relations. On the other hand, whenever, in empirical social systems, race is socially defined (in terms of actual or imputed differences, physical or otherwise) and the racial factor is used, as it is almost invariably used, in such cases, as a predetermined standard of stratification, status distribution and fixation, then we have racial castes. Hence all active racial situations (that is, where race is socially defined) tend to be racial caste situations.

There is no dearth of evidence to the effect that the South African Black and White racio-ethnic segments are Racial Castes: that their mutual relations are Racial Caste Relations:[7] and that their system of relationships is, therefore, a Racial Caste system. The decisiveness

of the/.....

---

7 The conception of "racial caste relations we have in mind is that formulated by Dollard* in terms of his concept of "barriers:" namely, barriers to sex-contact, legitimate descent, social contact and social advancement. White-Black relations in South Africa are characterised by these barriers both on the legal and the non-legal levels.

* J. Dollard, Caste and Class in Southerntown, (New

of the racial factor[8] in the South African Black-White relations has been ably pointed out by Professor Kuper. In an incisive quest for a concept that best describes the South African "Native," he ultimately contrasts the concept of "race" and that of "proletariat." He concludes as follows:

> "Race, not propertylessness, is the primary causal component in the life chances of the Native. It is by virtue of race that he is not free to sell his labour where he will, that he is subject to criminal sanctions in the carrying out of his employer's instructions, and that his efforts to organize for improvement of his conditions of service are hampered. The scale of remuneration for unskilled work is influenced by standards of uncivilised labour, which is specifically a race criterion. The opportunity to take up both semi-skilled and skilled positions and the educational facilities which would equip the worker for skilled occupations are again limited by race factors, not by non-ownership of productive property. And, finally, the lack of productive property is itself a consequence of race criteria which determine the distribution of the available land in South Africa and rigorously control the right to acquire property."[9]

When, according to the caste principle, a society "assigns status on the basis of predetermined differences, cultural or racial," we have castes. And in so far as Professor Kuper aptly emphasises the primacy of the racial standard in White-Black relationships

in/.....

---

8 That is, "race" as socially defined by the group mores on the basis of any differences, innate or acquired, and this definition being followed by discriminatory inter-group action.

9 L. Kuper, "The South African Native: Caste, Proletariat or Race?", Social Forces, Vol. [illegible]

in South Africa, the social system which they form in a racial caste system.

We must point out that while Professor Kuper's isolation of the factor of "race" as the "primary causal component" enables us to describe these racio-ethnic segments as racial castes and their system of relationships as a racial caste system, Professor Kuper is led by it to describe our "White-Black" population segments as races not castes, and the structure of their relationships, implicity, as a racial structure not a racial caste structure. This difference must be accounted for. It lies chiefly in his sympathies with the Hindu Caste School as against our sympathy with the American Caste School. "There is little doubt," he says, "... that even for the 'caste school,' of race relations, the Indian system is the ultimate norm-selected analytical elements derived from it provide what may be termed seconday norm elements. It seems to me logical therefore to test caste against the ultimate norm the empirical Hindu system and on the assumption... that group inequality in the caste system rests in consensus, to apply this as a means of ~~or~~ determining whether the conflict between racially divided groups has been resolved into caste

relations/.....

relations."

One characteristic of the Hindu Cultural caste system on the basis of which the Hindu Caste School has persistently sought to restrict the caste concept to the Hindu case is that of Consensus, reinforced by a religious ideology and resulting in a high degree of social solidarity. Group inequalities in the Hindu caste system, Cox says, are a social virtue appreciated and accepted by the whole hierarchy of castes: the system as a whole is "beyond questioning," it is "right," just" and "sacred." In Hindu society, he says, there is no such phenomenon as "the social" as distinct from "the religious."[10] And as the South African (White-Black) and the American (White-Negro) social systems lack this characteristic they are not caste systems, so they say. In the light of what we have said above, the verdict of the Hindu Caste School cannot be upheld. These social systems are all variations on the theme of the caste principle which have developed under different historical and socio-economic conditions: through their core runs the common caste principle and the five

inviariable/.....

---

10 O.C. Cox, op. cit., pp. 21 - 46.

inviariable "caste elements" of the ideal caste type.

The South African racial caste system, like the American, by its very nature, lacks consensus as formulated by Cox who says "the castes as a whole are 'socially satisfied.'"[11] That is, White-Black group inequality in South Africa is not a social virtue appreciated by the whole hierarchy of racial castes; racial caste relationships are not only not right but also not sacred; racial caste rivalry always brings the system itself into question; and finally the racial caste system is not self-regulating, that is to say, it is policed. Professor Kuper brings in a weight of evidence to indicate this lack of consensus in these respects within the South African situation, with special reference to White-Black relationships. He explains the maintenance of these relationships in terms of economic interdependence and social and political force.

> "The form of this economic interdependence and the framework of differential rights and obligations within which it operates are secured in the final analysis by force. Moreover this force is not in the nature of extra-legal violence: it is the day-to-day enforcement of discriminatory laws and regulations."[12]

Racial/.....

---

11 Ibid., p. 14.

12 L. Kuper, op. cit., p. 151.

Racial caste systems have this inherent instability; because by their very nature, as racial not cultural caste systems, they have no necessary legitimate claim to common institutionalised cultural reinforcements and sanctions necessary for their stabilisation - except sectional ones occuring in the dominant racial caste which carries out the "definition of the situation" as a racial or racial caste situation. (If there is anything common among the members of the European racial caste it is the idea that this caste must dominate the social structure). But in so far as such elements of the group-mores are sectional, they cannot adequately uphold and stabilise a racial caste system against incessant bombardment from the lower racial caste strata. This inherent instability merely distinguishes this type of caste system from the cultural caste type: it does not preclude the claims of racial situations to caste-character. The South African White-Black social system, despite that it is controversial and unstable, is a caste system, a racial caste system.

However, this discussion of the South African social system (especially its White-Black relational

aspect/.....

aspect) as the social base of the African educational system cannot be complete without a discussion of the major South African group ideologies, that is, the White group's Apartheid ideology and the African group's Integrationist ideology. There are two points at which these ideologies become highly relevant to this study. Firstly, they are relevant to the problem of social stability-instability referred to in this chapter; and, secondly, they are relevant to the problem of "social parallelism" between the African educational system and its (broader and narrower) social base. The first problem will be taken up in the next chapter by way of an outline of these ideologies as stabilising and unstabilising forces in the social system. The second problem will be taken up in Part IV.

CHAPTER X

THE MAJOR SOUTH AFRICAN GROUP IDEOLOGIES

THE SOCIAL BASE

The Apartheid and Integrationist ideologies must be seen against the background of the South African social system - especially the positions therein of the groups which expound them. It is one of the most significant postulates of the Sociology of knowledge that ideologies have their social base in their respective social systems, and can only be "understood" through a process of "ideological analysis"[1] which refers them to their social base. This implies that ideologies, in general, are a function of the social system as a broad social environment; and are in particular, a function of a social group's social position - that is, the totality of its statuses and roles in the social system. A group's social position engenders certain characteristic interests, fears, values and outlook. And appropriate ideologies are fabricated or borrowed to camouflage these; and to make social action oriented to them appear rational, altruistic and empirically

possible/.....

---

1 K. Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1952), Chapter V.

possible. With reference to a social group's social position, an ideology may either play the role of consolidating it and the general social system, through rationalisations and social apologetics or it may take the form of representing a collective mental and moral revolt against the group's social position and the general social system.

The respective compelling interests of the White and the African groups that may be traced to these groups' social positions are: White dominance and emancipation from White dominance: their respective compelling fears, "swamping" and perpectual enslavement: their respective values, inequality and equality: and their respective outlooks, racial separation and racial integration. These lie behind the two groups' conflicting ideologies.

However, these ideologies are not simply one-way effects of a racial-caste social system which we have described as inherently unstable. They are also dynamic factors in the intensification of that instability. This is so for several reasons. Firstly, for each group the racial caste system is a "given factor," a broad social environmental

framework/.....

framework to which it must adjust itself, inter alia, ideologically. That is, in the absence of a "consensus universel" each racial caste must work out its own system of ideas defining its own orientation to the social system, in general, and to its own position, in particular. There is no "given" harmony or compatibility between such ideological orientations. And in so far as the social positions are hierarchical such ideologies are bound to be in a state of conflict, thus intensifying the instability of the social system.

Secondly, the South African groups are joint-heirs (differing only in age) to a social heritage which includes the Democratic Creed. The values of this Creed point to a status ideal which is incompatible with the status quo, as outlined in the preceding chapter. This creates a logical and moral "strain for consistency" which, inter alia, calls for ideological formulations designed to relieve the strain on the part of each racial caste. Professor Kuper has taken up this aspect of the instability of the South African social system. In his penetrating analysis of "the background to the passive resistance" movement[2] he struck/.....

---

2 This movement was an unmistakable symptom of the instability of the social system. It was a dramatic expression of a collective mental and moral revolt of the Non-Whites against the discriminatory institutional prescriptions of the society.

he struck the bed-rock of "democratic values." Here lies the problem of consensus on the scope of relevance of democratic values in South Africa.

> "They are deeply rooted in the political thought and practive of White South Africa for regulating their own relationships. Yet the realisation of these values throughout the society would be subversive of the existing social structure, since the effect would be to liberate the Non-Whites from domination."[3]

But as a result of three centuries of acculturation, democratic values have become just as "deeply rooted in the political thought" of of Non-White South Africa.

> "It is among the Non-Whites, the borrowers of this culture pattern that we find the staunchest and most uncompromising upholders of democratic values."[4]

Whereas White South Africa seeks to limit the scope of relevance of these values to the White in-group, the Non-Whites seek the generalisation of these values throughout the social structure. The Whites' effort is a necessary condition for the perpetuation of White dominance; and the Non-Whites' effort is a necessary condition for their emancipation from White domination. In the conscience collective of each section such an

effort/.....

---

3 L. Kuper, "The Background to Passive Resistance (South Africa 1952)," Race Relations Journal, Vol-XX, No.3, 1953, p. 18.

4 Ibid., loc. cit.

effort is closely bound up with considerations of group-survival. On the part of the Whites these considerations are often phrased, positively, in terms of the concept of group identity and, negatively, in terms of the concept of "swamping." And, on the part of the Non-Whites the considerations of group survival are often phrased, positively, in terms of equality and, negatively, in terms of enslavement.

The ultimate antithesis here is between democracy and oligarchy: and the conflict is ultimately focussed on the democratic value of <u>equality</u> and the oligarchic value of <u>inequality</u> - with special reference to the problem of the distribution of political and economic <u>power</u> between groups that are already power-groups.[5] The White group holds political power and the capital and land aspects of economic power: the Non-White group holds numerical power and the labour aspect of economic power. And each group seeks to throw the weight of its power on to the side of the equality - inequality balance in which it is interested. It is against this

general/.....

---

5 We have indicated earlier, however, that with the Non-White groups, especially the African group, this power, is largely potential - hence, this group may be more accurately referred to as a <u>potential power-group</u>.

general back-ground that we shall now outline the ideologies of the Whites and the African groups in South Africa.

THE APARTHEID IDEOLOGY OF THE WHITES

The Apartheid ideology is only a contemporary variant of a series of ideological constructs that the Whites have had to divise from time to time in the history of South Africa. The entire series has had one persistent source. That is, the incompatibility of democratic values (to which the Whites are senior heirs) with the South African racial-caste system (which the Whites have created and seek to maintain without admitting apostacy to democratic values). This situation immediately creates a "strain for consistency" on the part of the Whites: and this strain is intensified on three levels. Firstly, on the group level - that is, by the thinking and moral sensibility of the White group, including its awareness of the incompatibility between its professed creed and its practice in South Africa. Secondly, on the inter-group level that is, between the White and Non-White groups. The latter are consistently

bringing/.....

bringing the contradiction between the democratic creed and oligarchic practice to the consciousness of the Whites. And thirdly, this strain for consistency is intensified on the international level, that is, betwwen South Africa and World opinion. The perennial impeachment of White South Africa before the United Nations for her apostacy to the democratic creed and ideals in favour of expediency is a case in point. The organised and almost unanimous voice of the other Nations of the world against White South Africa cannot but have the effect of intensifying this strain for consistency. Thus, this group is faced with the choice between being democratic and, therefore, non-dominant, on the one hand; or continuing to be dominant, (by force and fraud) and, therefore, being un-democratic. It is subject to pressure on all three levels to choose the first horn of the dilemma; and, at the same time, it is subject to the pull of its own self-interest in dominace to cling to the second horn of the dilemma as long as it can.

The ideological constructs of this group, therefore, have developed in this context as rationalisations of or social apologies for the status quo

to render/.....

to render it not incompatible with democratic values. They have been attempts to bridge the gulf between the democratic creed and un-democratic practice in South Africa. And the aim has been to relieve the strain on all three levels. Before we deal with Apartheid, as such, it is necessary to outline briefly a few of the earlier White ideologies.[6]

Firstly, Professor Kuper mentions the "Fundamentalist" ideology. This rested on the assumption of a fundamental and permanent racial or biological inferiority of the Non-Whites. This ideology drew its justification of the racial-caste structure from the Old Testament texts, with the net-effect of excluding the Non-Europeans altogether from the scope of democratic values. "Since democratic values had no relevance for the Non-White sub-stratum of humanity, this ideology was logically consistent."[7] It resolved the strain by declaring it as non-existent. But this ideology and its resolution of the strain could not stand in defiance of (a) objective scientific facts on the biological evolution of

man/.....

---

6 An extended and systematic treatment of these is given by Professor Kuper: and our indebtedness in this case is to him. See: L. Kuper, op. cit., pp. 19 - 23.

7 Ibid., p. 20.

man pointing to the contrary, (b) equalitarian texts of the New-Testament postulating the essential equality and brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God, and (c) the virtual inclusion, therefore, of the Non-Whites into the scope of relevance of democratic values. Hence, the strain was existent once more and called for resolution: the gulf between creed and practice was gaping once more and needed bridging.

Another bridge was found in the "Trusteeship" ideology. Whereas the fundamentalist ideology rested on the assumption of the racial inferiority of the Non-Whites, the Trusteeship ideology rested on the assumption of the cultural inferiority of the Non-Whites. It was therefore the moral duty of the Whites, by virtue of their assumed cultural superiority, to dominate the social structure, until the Non-Whites were sufficiently developed culturally to be able to stand as equals and partners in the maintenance and advancement of a common cultural heritage. "The liberal ideology of trusteeship... effects a reconcilation of White dominance and democratic values by a projection of the equalitarian idea

into/.....

into the infinite future."[8] This ideology too could not stand against scientific and other facts of the changing South African situation.

> "The commonplace assertion that Natives will require centuries of contact with Western Civilisation before attaining intellectual parity with Europeans is scientifically untenable and furthermore disproved by successful careers of a number of individuals. Another common argument that Native inferiority is proved by the failure of the Bantu to emerge from savagery by their own unaided efforts would have applied with equal force to the Western people of 2,000 years ago and must therefore also be dismissed as spurious."[9]

Hence, the Trusteeship ideology was disqualified, as a bridge by the facts of the situation - especially the fact of the increasing acculturation of the Non-Whites in the Western direction. This undermined its basic assumption of the cultural inferiority of the Non-Whites. The ward grew too fast and another rationalisation had to be sought for denying him the full status of adulthood.

Before we take up the next ideology - Apartheid - we must pause to make a few observations about the preceding. Running through the ideologies referred to above is one recurrent note - expediency. They show no trace of foresight and dynamic

idealism/.....

---

8 Ibid., p. 19.

9 W.W.M. Eiselen, "The Meaning of Apartheid," Race Relations, 90/53, p. 3.

idealism involving a conception of the social order in which the "strain for consistency" would not only be relieved but abolished. Perhaps this is a level of ideological fabrication that is reached as a result of the experience of a group with a persistent and rapidly complicating problem. At this level a group seeks not only to alleviate the present strain but rather to strike at its roots in such a manner that it does not arise altogether. And this calls for an element of idealism involving a conception of the social order in terms of which the social system which is plagued with such a strain is to be re-organised.

It is our view that the Apartheid ideology has reached this level of ideological evolution in South Africa.[10] In so far as the Apartheid ideology also deals with the immediate problem of the gaping gulf between creed and practice in South Africa it may be said to include an element of expediency. But, in so far as it involves a conception of the social order in the light of which the South African society must be re-organised

in order/.....

---

10 We shall indicate in a later section in this chapter that the African group's Integrationist ideology is also on this level but for different reasons.

in order not only to relieve but also, and moreso, to abolish the disquieting "strain for the consistency" on the part of the White group, it may be said to include an element of idealism. It is important to note here that from this dualism of expediency and idealism in Aprtheid issues forth a parallel dualism with which we shall be more concerned here - that is, the dualism of ideological practice and ideological theory, respectively. The idealism and theory of the Apartheid ideology lacks nothing of neatness and trimness. In this aspect Apartheid stands as an admirable work of intellectual craftsmanship. But the expediency and practice of this ideology gives the lie to its theoretical idealistic formulation.

In theory, the Apartheid ideology rests on three logically consistent concepts: (a) group differences - racial, cultural, aspirational and numerical; (b) group self determination - economic, political and cultural; (c) group separation - territorial and/or socio-economic. We must point out at the outset that, using these three concepts, this ideology seeks to bridge the gap between creed and practice in South Africa, not through a

generalisation/.....

generalisation of democratic values in an integrated society but through the idea of their realisation by each group within itself - as a different, self-sufficient and separate community. It seeks to atomise the social structure and then to democratise each atomic unit social-group - but not the whole.

"Apartheid rests on an absolute timeless sacred difference."[11] The preservation and perpetuation of the "God-made" differences - the racial - is considered as something of a "sacred" duty of the White group, if not of every South African group. These differences must not be merged and obliterated in an integrated equalitarian society. The groups must move apart in order not to undo what God has done. The "man-made" cultural differences too must be preserved and perpetuated - each group developing "along its own lines." There should be no aping of one group by another. That obliterates the cultural landmarks, uproots cultural distinctions and opens cultural floodgates. The process of assimilation in an integrated society is detrimental to the preservation of these differences. With

regard/.....

---

11 L. Kuper, op. cit., p. 21.

regard to aspirations, the groups are viewed as nationalities with different and irreconcilable aspirations. Every group, it is acknowledged has an indisputable right to pursue and realise its aspirations - but "apart" from the other groups, or, at least, apart from the White group or nationality. With reference to the numerical differences[12] especially between the Whites and the Africans (the ratio being 4 to 1) Olivier says:

> "With this set-up, it is understandable that White South Africa views with scepticism suggestions concerning their racial policies put forward by countries where the problem does not exist.... No European community in Southern Africa would be willing to commit suicide by following a policy which would lead to their political, economic and social subservience with eventual and ultimate virtual extinction, either by force or by assimilation."[13]

With regard to the concept of self-determination, Olivier succinctly crystallises the crux of the problem which Apartheid seeks to resolve in the

form/.....

---

12 The role of numerical differences between White and African in South Africa is very crucial. In these differences lies an explanation of why the African group is the main target of the Apartheid ideology. The other two groups, by themselves, are numerically insignificant and provoke less fear of "swamping."

13 N.J.J. Olivier, op. cit., pp. 3 - 4.

form of a dilemma:

"(a) The European population has the unalterable and indomitable determination (i) to preserve its identity and continued existence as a separate, distinctive entity; and (ii) to retain and exercise its right of political self-determination at all costs.

"(b) The Bantu population must be afforded the right of national self-expression in respect of politics, economics, etc: in other words, it is impossible indefinitely to follow a policy by which the Bantu or at least the educated and civilised section of it - would be denied political rights and economic opportunities."[14]

He finds "the only possible solution of these two apparently irreconcible principles" in Apartheid which "aims at the gradual and systematic disentanglement of the two groups, making it possible for each group to exercise political rights and enjoy economic opprtunities within their own territory."[15]

The concept of group separation constitutes the idealistic element in and the crux of the Apartheid ideology. However, whereas on the concepts of group differences and group self-determination the protagonists of the ideology speak with one voice, yet on this concept they speak with the tongues of Babel. This may be expected because in its departure from the reality of the South African

situation/.....

---

14 Ibid., p. 4.

15 Ibid., loc. cit.

situation[16] it carries with it far-reaching practical implications for the idea of group self-determination and for the envisaged social order in which that will be possible.

The South African Burea of Racial Affairs' conception of Apartheid, in this respect, is that of:

> "...the territorial separation of European and Bantu, and the provision of areas which must serve as national and political homes for the different Bantu communities and as permanent residential areas for the Bantu population or the major portion of it."[17]

The idea of territorial group separation is the pinnacl e of White ideological idealism. It is a liberal pinnacle reached via the facile route of the theoretician without due appreciation of the practical obstacles involved in its realisation. Hence in practical politics this idealism has often been betrayed by the White group. The leader of this group and the Prime Minister of South Africa (Dr. Malan) has, in Parliament, repeatedly disclaimed this idealistic element:

> "The principle of Apartheid... is that we have two separate spheres, not necessarily with an absolute/.....

---

16 We have in mind here the reality of group economic interdependence and integration, and the reality of the acculturation of all the groups in the Western direction. All this stands in sharp conflict with the ideal of group separation and self-determination or self-sufficiency. The South African groups stand together, facing ~~the~~ West.

17 South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, "Inte-

absolute territorial dividing line, not separate territorial areas."[18]

On another occasion he explained that:

"...total territorial separation was impracticable under present conditions in South Africa, where our whole economic structure is to a large extent based on Native labour.... One must found one's policy on what is possible of achievement."[19]

An unmistakable element of expediency in Apartheid!

Eislen, one of the foremost idealistic protagonists of the Apartheid ideology, has criticised this expedient version of the ideology "because it obeys the dictates of the moment, because it has on occasions lent itself to serve as handmaiden of industrial enterprise in securing quick returns. Its main defect is that it has never yet produced a genuine long-range programme."[20] What Eislen means by a "genuine long-range programme" is presumably what Hoernle (whom Eislen quotes with approval) means by "a long range programme for liberals,"[21] aimed at what he calls "total separation"... that is, "literally a sundering

or dissociation/.....

---

18 House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 2nd September, 1948, Col. 1486.

19 House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 12th April, 1950, Cols 4141 - 4142.

20 W.W.M. Eislen, op. cit., p. 7.

21 R.F. Hoernle, op. cit., p. 157.

or dissociation (of groups) so complete as to destroy the very possibility of effective domination."[22] It is presumably in this sense also that Professor Kuper suggests that "in theory... Apartheid incorporates some elements of a liberal creed - the recognition of differences, not as a basis for subordination, but as the foundation of varying potentialities for development and self-expression."[23]

Before taking up this ideology in its reference to the African educational system, we must taper down this general outline of the ideology by raising three relevant questions. Firstly, why does this ideology fall, in practice, from the level of idealism to that of expediency? Secondly, what is the significance of this ideology on the level of expediency? Thirdly, what is its significance on the level of idealism?

With reference to the first question, it is our view that, in practice, the ideology - in the flight of its idealism - crashes on the rocks of the realities of the South African situation. Most prominent among these are: land, industry and White dominance. On these three the liberal

idealism/.....

---

22 Ibid., p. 168.

23 L. Kuper, op. cit., p. 21.

idealism of Apartheid is shattered to pieces.

The White group owns by far the greater proportion of the land in South Africa. This has been largely won over from the Africans by force and fraud. There is nothing to indicate that the White group is in a state of mind wherein it can release more land for African ocupation even if to impliment an ideological policy that it considers inextricably tied up with the indispensable conditions of its own survival, self-determination and identity. At the same time idealistic Apartheid without an adequate and equitable re-distribution of land can be no practical solution to South Africa's inter-group problems.

The industrial structure of this country rests squarely on two corner-stones: "the White man's brain and the Black man's brawn" - and these form an integrated sub-structure.

"The recent expansion of secondary industries in South Africa has led to a yet closer integration of Native and European in the same economic system."[24]

In their state of dispossession of land, the Africans are obliged to seek work in White primary and secondary industries. And in their command of

all the/.....

---

24 W.W.M. Eislen, op. cit., p. 4.

all the economic resources of the country the Whites are obliged to seek (and even compel) African labour. The two are interdependent. Idealistic Apartheid seeks to dissolve this interdependence in favour of group independence and self-sufficiency. To the White group which has enjoyed "white-collar" economic status for three centuries in this country, this idea entails heavy sacrifices of the "cake" of privilege and prestige for the "black-bread" of toil and a lowered standard of living. For the Africans who have lived on "the black-bread of starvation" for more than half a century under the new economic facilities and power and its attendent rewards, a gain that the Whites cannot be expected to allow the Africans ungrudgingly. And idealistic Apartheid can be no <u>practical</u> solution without the acceptance by the Whites group of this implicit new balance of economic power. The third impediment in idealistic Apartheid is the idea of White dominance entrenched in the White group mentality. In idealistic Apartheid this idea has often been couched in liberal terms of the self-determination of the White and Non-White groups.

With/.....

With respect to the self-determination of the Non-Whites groups, the Prime Minister has spoken in these terms:

"We want to have Apartheid between European and Non-European in so far as the legislative bodies of the country are concerned, not that we want to deny the Non-Europeans any say or deprive them of their rights. But instead of their sitting with us in the same legislative assemby we want to build up for them their own self-governing institutions in their own territory."[25]

We have already drawn attention to Olivier's submission, with respect to the Whites, that "the European population has the unalterable and indomitable determination (i) to preserve its identity and continued existence as a separate, distinctive entity, and (ii) to retain and exercise its right of political self-determination at all costs." What is the meaning of this idea of White and Non-White group self-determination which Apartheid postulates?

Professor Kuper, in a critical examination of this idea in Apartheid, comes to this conlusion:

"What/.....

---

25 House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 2nd September, 1948, col. 1481.

"What is involved in Apartheid is not self-determination of nations, but the self-determination of the White group. And again, because of the inter-dependence of the groups, the corrolary to the self-determination of the Whites is the other-determination of the Non-Whites."[26]

This idea of White dominance which Professor Kuper points to behind the apparently utopian idea of group self-determination has been blatantly admitted by the Prime Minister. Speaking in the House of Assembly, the Prime Minister (Dr. Malan) said:

"We will give them more and more self-governing powers in their own areas gradually and slowly as they achieve the ability for such powers and get the sense of responsibility they need. (But) in their own areas they will always have to stand under the guardianship and domination of the White man in South Africa."[27]

Nothing could be clearer! Behind all the beautiful and apparently altruistic reasoning on "God-made" and "man-made" group differences, on group self-determination and self-sufficiency, on group separation - socio-economic or territorial - stands "the unalterable and indomitable determination" of the White group to dominate the Non-White groups.

"We Nationalists believe that we must maintain White supremacy for all time. A policy of partnership must lead to Black domination.... We

want/.....

---

26 L. Kuper, op. cit., pp. 22 - 23.

27 House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 16th May, 1951, Col. 6820.

want the Bantu back in the reserves where they come into their own and where they will be given self-government - under White trusteeship. We cannot have independant Bantu States to threaten White South Africa."[28]

This is the meaning of the Apartheid ideology when stripped naked of its idealism. When faced with the three realities of land distribution, economic integration and the White superiority complex, Apartheid is necessarily forced to dispense with the ideal of group-self-sufficiency and self-determination in apartness. It comes to mean unequivocally just one compelling fact: "white dominance at all costs." However, it is clear from the last statement cited above that the White group is determined to see group separation through to the extent to which it is compatible with and conducive to White dominance or to the extent to which it does not "threaten White South Africa" but ministers to their compelling interest in dominance. In other words, this group seeks to impliment the policy of group separation in so far as it is expedient to do so. Here we are faced with the Apartheid ideology on the level of sheer expediency.

We/.....

---

28 Statement by the former Director of the State Information Office, quoted in: L. Kuper, op. cit., p. 23.

We must now take up our second question, namely, what is the significance of the Apartheid ideology on the level of expediency? Our answer to this ~~to this~~ question has obviously been anticipated in the immediately preceding comments. On this level the Apartheid ideology emerges as a technique of White domination.

> "From the point of view of the perpetuation of White domination, the reduction of the Non-Whites into a number of mutually exclusive units is a functional necessity...."[29]

Whereas on the idealistic level Apartheid would seem to mean and even call for the dissolution of the unstable South African racial caste structure, yet on the level of expediency it emerges as an unmistakable policy or technique of divide et impera. It is a technique for breaking down the emergent Non-White unity which threatens to make White domination impossible and exposes the White group to the danger of being "swamped." It is a subtle technique to avert this danger, presumably, in time. For this reason consciousness of differences in race and culture must be whipped up among the other three racio-ethnic groups. And, seeing/.....

---

29 Ibid., loc. cit.

seeing that the African group is a far superior numerical majority-group, it must receive special attention. The tribal institutions - such as Chieftainship - must be re-enforced[30] (but always within limits of caution); language differences among the African tribal groups must be accentuated and promoted[31] and liberalising influences - such as Missionary-sponsored Churches and educational institutions for Africans must be discouraged - all in the interests of White dominati on. This then is the significance of the apartheid ideology on the level of expediency: a technique of White domination. But this technique, unless accompanied by force, cannot be effective without some persuasion and a minimum degree of consent of the dominated Africans.

This brings us to our third question: namely, What is the significance of the Apartheid ideology on the idealistic level? It is our view that on this level Apartheid is significant as a deceptive technique of persuasion. It is also our view that this technique in South Africa is two-edged. It

operates/.....

---

30 See the Bantu Authorities' Act.

31 See the Bantu Education Act.

operates on the dominating Whites and on the dominated Non-Whites. In the thinking of both groups, it seeks to reconcile democratic values with the group-inequality that it promotes on the level of expediency - but in different ways.

For the White group, as Professor Kuper aptly points out,

> "Apartheid provides the moral justification for counteraction against an emergent Non-White Unity."[32]

This Non-White unity, as we shall indicate in the next section, is a technique of struggle against White domination which is undemocratic and aims at the generalisation of democratic values in South Africa. Its counteraction by the Apartheid ideology on the level of expediency may be legitimately evaluated not only as undemocratic in technique but also undemocratic in its end aspect. This grand denial of the universality of democratic values on the level of expediency by a group that has not ceased to believe in them on the idealistic level sets up a strain for consistancy in this group's thinking and moral consciousness. This strain must be relieved.

In other/.....

---

32 L. Kuper, op. cit., p. 23.

In other words, this group must persuade itself to a point of conviction (even if it is a basically a false conviction) that:

(a) Its motivation is altruistic:-

"In practice the Native finds his freedom of movement and action severely curtailed,... in his efforts to rise to a higher level he finds his progress in the economic, the social and the political fields barred by the White man, who claims permanent superiority by virtue of this colour."[33]

(b) Its method is rationaly and morally defensible:-

"The policy aiming at separation is the only sane, unbiassed and honest policy. It is sane because it recognises the natural and not man-made differences existing between European and Native, it is unbiassed because it advocates civilisation in general and not the type of civilisation which happens to be one's own and it is honest because it is constructive and encourages the Natives to seek development in a field where the European will naturally drop out as competitor."[34]

(c) Its utopian goal is rationally and morally desirable:-

"Just over a hundred years ago the Voortrekkers decided on a tremendous venture, they gave up home and hearth and economic security in order to achieve independence. The time has come for another momentous decision; the sands are fast running out; another Great Trek must begin, away from caste-society, which is our undoing, and towards areas of liberty." "The ultimate goal should be seen clearly namely the separation of White and Native into separate self-sufficient socio-economic units, a process which must be spread over many years."[35]

How re-assuring! This, in our view, is

The/.....

---

33 W.W.M. Eislen, op. cit., p. 4.

34 Ibid., p. 11.

35 Ibid., p. 8.

the function of Apartheid on the idealistic level with regard to the White group, to a group that may be expected to be aware of the fact that in its practice it is playing truant to its democratic heritage.[36] It should be gratifying to think, on the idealistic level, that, after all, in its truancy (a) it is altruistically motivated (b) the course of its truancy is morally justifiable, is "the only sane, unbiassed and honest" course and (c) its utopian goal is noble and desirable - "areas of liberty" (a value-goal that sounds genuinely democratic). Perhaps, on the idealistic level, such ideological rationalisations do bridge the gulf, relieve the "strain" and sear the "conscience collective" of the Whites to the grand sacrifice of democratic values on the alter of expediency. However, our point is that idealistic Apartheid performs this function - that is, the deceptive self-persuasion of the Whites that Apartheid is well motivated, well pursued and well-meant. And if the gulf between democratic values and undemocratic practice happens to gape too disconcertingly at

any point/.....

---

36 See Appendix E.

any point, it is immediately patched up with the further re-assurance that the pursuit and achievement of the ultimate utopian goal is "a process which must be spread over many years." But, on the level of expediency, this ideologically effective patch-statement has a special proviso that is always missing on the idealistic level. That is, in order not to jeopardise White domination.

We must now turn to the significance of this ideology, on the idealistic level, for the Non-Whites. Its operation, in this group, as a deceptive technique of persuasion is, of necessity, different. Whereas, with the White group, the strategy is to appeal to "altruisitc" motives and to make this group believe that it is thus motivated; with the Non-White group, the strategic approach is to appeal to the motive of "self-interest" and to make this group believe that its interests will be promoted by its acceptance of the ideology and programme. The central idea is to persuade this group into a false belief that Apartheid is a liberatory ideology by focussing its attention on the ideological utopia of "the areas of liberty," whose margin, of course, fades for ever and ever in the light of the reality of "White supremacy for all time."

The technique here is an interesting one. (a) It involves a pretence of sympathy with this

group in its plight in a caste-ridden society:-

"Our present system of domination tempered with trusteeship has proved irksome to the Native community and is becoming more irritating."[37]

(b) It involves an infusion of a sense of despondency in this group about the prospect of bettering its position in an integrated South African society:-

"It should be clearly understood that... the Government is not prepared to grant the Bantu political equality within the European community."[38]

To say, "within the European community" is but an elliptical way of saying where European and Non-European live in an integrated society. Perhaps Hoernle has made this interpretation clearer: "So long as Whites and Non-Whites are united in the same socio-political structure, the former will not be keen to surrender their dominance.... It should be clear that there is no escape from White domination by way of parallelism or assimilation, but only by way of total separation."[39] Eislen has also contributed to this step of the technique of deceptive persuasion.

"Gradually/.....

---

37 W.W. M. Eislen, op. cit., p. 4.

38 Prime Minister (Dr. Malan), in a letter to the African National Congress dated the 29th January, 1952.

39 R.F. Hoernle, op. cit., p. 9.

"Gradually it will dawn upon the Natives in general that the task of raising 8 million Natives to a higher standard of living will never be undertaken with enthusiasm in a caste-ridden society and that it would in any case be an onerous task for the two million Whites to accomplish."[40]

(c) It involves a glorification of the ideological utopia before a group that has been made despondent by ideological suggestions of the type exemplified in (a) and (b) above:

"It (the Government) is only too willing to encourage Bantu initiative, Bantu services and Bantu administration within the Bantu community, and there to allow the Bantu full scope for all his potentialities."[41]

(d) a form of subtle flattery, presumably, calculated to induce ultimate acceptance of the illusory utopia.

"The Bantu too have pride of race and tradition and as soon as they see that within areas of their own they are offered more..., that trades and occupations and positions of trust and authority which in the European towns were the monopoly of the White master, are open to them, they will not fail to respond."[42]

The manifest persuasive function of Apartheid on this level is evident in the biassed contrast it places before the Non-Whites between integration - which can only offer them frustration (in view of the "unalterable and indomitable determination" of the Whites/.....

---

40 W.W.M. Eislen, op. cit., p. 9.

41 Prime Minister (Dr. Malan) in the letter cited above: (See foot-note 38).

42 W.W.M. Eislen, op. cit., p. 10.

the Whites to dominate in an integrated South Africa) and separation - which can offer them "full scope for all (their) potentialities" in their own "areas of liberty." The deceptive nature of this persuasion is evident in the fact (admitted on the level of expediency but not on this level of idealism) that even "in their own areas they will always have to stand under the guardianship and the domination of the White man in South Africa;" and that, as Professor Kuper points out, "from the point of view of White domination, the reduction of the Non-Whites into a number of mutually exclusive ~~units~~ units is a functional necessity... for counteraction against an emergent Non-White unity." These grim facts are suppressed on the idealistic level and the mirage of "areas of liberty" is held before the non-whites.

However, the quality of the Non-White leadership has, in recent years, improved considerably and is continuing to do so. The emergent Non-White leadership consists, largely, of highly educated persons who show a deepening understanding of the social, political, economic and ideological trends in the life of South Africa; and, with this understanding, appreciable analytical and critical

ability/.....

ability in their orientation to these trends. And they are not likely to be hood-winked by the subtly and ingenuously constructed ideological scabbard which sheaths the sword of White domination. Indeed, as Professor Kuper points out:

> "With the development of political understanding among Africans, the rationalisations offered to them are clothed in slightly more sophisticated terms. But the process is cumulative: the increasingly subtle deceptions progressively evoke increasingly subtle analysis, and the politically orientated Non-White of today shows a highly acute critical ability. Yet political statements have not kept pace with this development; there is little flesh to camouflage the real intent."[43]

Furthermore, the Non-Whites' masses, as a result of three-centuries' experience with the Whites, have come to realise the difference between the ideological "cake" of a utopia of "areas of liberty" and the "black-bread" of the reality of White domination more clearly then ever before. Tabata traces this awakening of the people chiefly to their disillusionment with the ideological promises which camouflaged a series of segregatory legislation[44] from 1913 (chiefly the Land Act) up to 1936 (chiefly the Representation of Natives' Act). The latter, in particular, he suggests, "precipitated the people into taking a leap in the growth of political consciousness....

It/.....

---

43 L. Kuper, op. cit., p. 26.

44 Designed to secure for the Whites incontestable

It itself (was) the outcome of knowledge acquired in the hard school of daily experience."[45]

Finally, the Non-White group subscribes to an opposite ideology, namely, the Integrationist or Democratic Ideology. This stands in sharp contrast to the Apartheid ideology, so that it is not only impossible for each group either to reconcile them or to hold them simultaneously but also difficult to transfer loyalty from one to the other. So that the Non-White group, by virtue of its ideological commitment, stands in sharp opposition to Apartheid on both levels.

THE INTEGRATIONIST IDEOLOGY OF THE AFRICANS.

If the Apartheid ideology amounts to a virtual intellectual and moral rejection of democratic values on the inter-group level, the Integrationist ideology is fundamentally an actual intellectual and moral assertion or re-affirmation of democratic values on this level. It envisages their generalisation throughout the social system. If the Apartheid ideology envisages an atomised social system under minority-rule, the Integrationist ideology envisages an

integrated/.....

---

45 I.B. Tabata, op. cit., p. 45.

integrated social system under majority-rule. In brief the two ideologies stand in sharp opposition to each other.

However, the two ideologies would seem to spring from the same source: namely, the incompatibility of democratic values (to which the Africans have become foster-heirs) with the South African social system in which the Africans are forced into an inferior position on the criterion of race or colour. This situation immediately creates in the Africans a demand for consistency: and this consistency is demanded not on the level of White expediency but on the level of democratic values. This demand is clearly evaluative. It involves evaluation by the African group of the two levels on which the resolution of the contradiction between democratic values and the social system ~~should~~ may be achieved. Theoretically, the resolution may be achieved on the level of expediency, through a rejection by both groups of the relevance of democratic values in the inter-group situation: or it may be achieved on the level of democratic values, through the rejection by both groups of the status quo and their mutual

consent/.....

consent to generalise these values in the inter-group situation in South Africa. The African group's choice of the level of values, in this case, warrants an explanation. This may be made both in utilitarian and in moral or idealistic terms.

In utilitarian terms, we may suggest that the choice of this level by the African group is consistent with the pursuit and achievement of this group's interest in self-emancipation from its subordinate position. To demand consistency on the level of expediency would be clearly against this interest. It would mean courting and accepting perpetual subordination. In moral or idealistic terms, it may be suggested that it is conceivable that this group is committed to democratic values as to a system of values considered as right, just and desirable for inter-human and inter-group relations, irrespective of the specific individuals or groups so inter-related. It is our view that these two modes of motivation are relevant to this group's choice. In other words, its demand for consistency on the level of democratic values is explainable in "voluntaristic" terms - as a joint function of the group's objective situation in the

South/.....

South African social system, including its logically consistent interest in self-emancipation, and of its subjective evaluations and idealism. The two modes of motivation are, in our view, inseparably inter-related in this case and may, in one sense, be said to stand in a relationship of reciprocal re-inforcement with respect to the African group's ideological orientatition to the South African social system. This group's objective situation may be said to re-inforce moral commitment to democratic values as to a set of ultimate inalienable value-ends; and moral commitment to these may be said to re-inforce the group's radical reaction to the objective situation (as means to the achievement of these ends). Out of this situation of dual reciprocal motivation - utilitarian and moral - emerges the African Integrationist ideology. It is, therefore, our view that this ideology combines both utilitarian and moral or idealistic considerations.

In the light of this brief analysis, it is possible to identify in this ideology the two elements which we identified in our analysis of the Apartheid ideology: namely, expediency and idealism. In so far as this ideology deals with the immediate problem of the self-emancipation

of the/.....

of the African group from the thraldom od subordination in a racial-caste social system, it may be said to include an element of expediency. But in so far as it involves an appreciation of democratic values, from a humanistic point of view, and a conception of an ideal social order in which no other person or group may be arbitrarily forced into a subordinate position, it may be said to include an element of idealism. It is important to note here that out of this dualism of expediency and idealism issues forth a dual function of this ideology. On the one hand, it is a weapon of struggle for self-emancipation; and on the other hand, it is an assertion of a system of values which are fundamental to a rationally/morally appraised status ideal. However, one does not find here the contradiction in terms between the two elements which we observed was charactersitic of the Apartheid ideology. In that ideology, ideological pronouncements on the level of expediency meant one thing and those on the idealistic level, another. It was only possible to resolve the verbal contradiction by interpreting pronouncements on the second level as a camouflage of the first level deliberately designed t deceive. But in this ideology, pronouncements on the level of expediency, in terms of struggle for self-emancipation, seem to be mutually consistent with

pronouncements on the idealistic level, in terms of the ultimate democratisation of the whole of South African society.[46] The two are complementary and logically sequential.

We do not propose to develop an independent outline of this ideology; but to pit it against the Apartheid ideology. We have elected to follow this course for two reasons. Firstly, in one sense, the Integrationist ideology may be described as an intellectual and moral reaction to the Apartheid ideology and programe of social

organisation/.....

---

46 It is conceivable that this group's demand for the democratisation of the whole society and its idealisation of such a social order may not be uncoloured by considerations of self-interest in African domination in a democratic South Africa. The possibility of African domination is "given" in the numerical superiority of the members of this group. And in so far as "consciousness of kind" - colour kind - may persist in a democratic society, the possibility of eventual African domination may be expected to be a high probability. If it can be established that the African group is effectively aware of this given possibility and that they are interested in its probability, it may be suggested that on the idealistic level, the Integrationist ideology is a rationalisation of this group's self-interest in domination. But, as we said earlier, it is our impression that to the African group, the fact of its numerical superiority is largely an arithmetical fact; and, on the whole, the African leadership is either silent on this point or vehemently disclaims interest in African domination. However, the some-time slogan of the African Youth League, "Africa for Africans" is very suggestive in this connection. It is conceivable that this interest may be entertained by some leaders: and that reticence on it or denial of it is only/.....

organisation. In this case, it seems logical to us to develop our outline of this ideology by inquiring into the counter-answers which it advances on points or issues in which Apartheid is most vitally interested. Secondly, in this study, we are not interested in these ideologies for their own sake but in view of their mutual conflict and the implications of that conflict for the problem of relative social parallelism between the African educational system and the South African social system. In order to highlight that conflict, it seems to us necessary to refer to the points on which we have outlined the Apartheid ideological position. We have suggested that the Apartheid ideology stands on three logically consistent concepts: (a) group differences - racial, cultural and aspirational; (b) group self-determination - economic, political and cultural; and (c) group-separation - territorial and/or socio-economic. What is the position of the Integrationist ideology with respect to each of these concepts?

We have/.....

---

46 is only part of good tactics. In the absence of positive empirical data on this point, we must leave it as an open question: and satisfy ourselves - with the mere statement of the possibility of ~~the~~ African domination as "given" in the arithmetical fact of the numerical superiority of this group now and, presumably, in the idealised democratic South Africa.

We have already referred to Professor Kuper's analysis of the Apartheid ideology as resting on the conception of "an absolute timeless sacred difference" between the South African groups. The Apartheid position is that these differences are not "man-made" but "god-made." Hence they must be preserved and perpetuated. They must also be used as criteria for social stratification lest man should undo what God had decreed. From the Integretionist point of view, however, these differences are not timeless. Their existence in South Africa represents part of an early phase in a situation of contact among groups drawn from several continents. Whereas Apartheid postulates that they are "God-made" and ineradicable, the Integrationist ideology holds that their persistence in South Africa has been "man-made;" and that they are eradicable, without human degredation, as evidenced in such other situations of group contact as the Hawaiian and the Brazilian. Their persistence is a result of deliberate action on the part of the White group. Whence this preoccupation of the Whites with the preservation of group differences? From the point of view of the Integrationist ideology this is traceable to

the White/.....

the White group's interest in perpetual domination. Hence the Apartheid emphasis on these differences and its plea for their preservation in terms of Divine Decrees are seen as part of a rationalisation-technique of White domination.

In view of this, the Integrationist ideology emphasises the transiency of the cultural differences between the South African groups. It envisages an uninhibited process of culture assimilation leading to the evolution of a common culture to which all South Africans shall be free to contribute and which shall become the common heritage of all. This is seen as a fundamental prerequisite to the establishment of harmonious relationships between people destined to share a common soil - to eliminate group differences and to allow for the emergence of integrative factors and common characteristics.

While recognising the immediate fact of racial (or colour) differences as biologically "given," the Integrationist ideology emphasises its irrelevance as a criterion of social stratification, in the sense that per se it has no direct bearing on ability and performance in roles.

It is/.....

It is recognised as an immediate biological fact. It should not be used in social relationships between persons or groups to predetermine their places, chances and fate in the social system. And its persistence must not be an institutionalised group-value - jealously guarded by South Africans as if their very life depended on it. The Apartheid exponents are determined that this biological fact shall always be a social fact and that it shall continue to be used as a norm for the allocation of status-roles in South Africa: but the Integrationist exponents are just as determined that this fact shall remain (if it does) as a mere biological fact and that universalistic norms shall be substituted for it in the allocation of roles and statuses in South Africa. Out of this ideological conflict on the choice of allocative norms in South African society spring crucial problems of relative social parallelism between African institutional sytems and the South African social sytem.[47]

As in the case of the Apartheid ideology, the aspirational differences between the Whites

and/.....

---

47 In Part IV we shall state some of these problems with reference to the relationship between the African educational system and the South African social system.

and the Africans are, from the Integrationist point of view, recognised as irreconcilable. The White group's aspiration to dominate the social system is viewed as an unholdy sacrifice of democratic values on the alter of expediency. And the African group's aspiration to emancipate itself from the position it has been forced to occupy as a result of this sacrifice is viewed as part of an effort to salvage these values from the slough into which White expediency has cast them. This is evident, for instance, in the "Ten-Point Programme" of the Non-European Unity Movement. This involves an assertive statement of democratic principles and a "clarion call" to all oppressed peoples and all lovers of democracy in South Africa to rally around the Movement in a collective effort to re-instate these principles in South Africa. There can be no compromise, no collaboration with the rest - the traitors to democracy. Its attitude, as an inclusive exponent-organisation of the Integrationist ideology, may be summed up in the dictum: "He that is not with us is against us."

However, this radically uncompromising attitude has not always been characteristic of the Integrationist

ideology/.....

ideology as expoused by all African or Non-European organisations. For a long time, for instance, the African National Congress has believed that the aspirations of the two groups could be reconciled - in process of time. It has had an evolutionary orientation to the point of group aspirational differences. By pleading for one democratic concession after the other, it has believed that democratic values may gradually be generalised in the social system: and that in this way the White group would gradually adapt itself to an evolving democratic South African society. The possibility of reconciliation was seen in the African group's willingness to concede time and in the expected White group's willingness to concede democratic values.

The African group has conceded the time factor but this concession has been answered with a rapidly growing reluctance on the part of the Whites to concede even a token or assurance of democratic good-will - to say nothing of full democratic status to the Non-Whites. The disillusionment of the African National congress with the hope of a reconciliation along these

lines/.....

lines has been evidenced, during the Defiance Campaign, in its decision to shorten the time-span, for the voluntary generalisation of democratic values by the Whites, to the life-time of its present members - "during our life-time," they said. This was met by the White group with three legislative measures which have virtually decapitated the organisation. It is our view that, with the "passing" of ~~the~~ these measures, there passed away from the Integrationist ideology any sanguine hope for a reconciliation of the aspirations of the two groups and for an evolutionary development of South Africa from a racial-caste society into a democratic society. It is in this sense that we suggest that, from the point of view of the Integrationist ideology, the aspirational differences are viewed as irreconcilable. South Africa either must remain a White-dominated racial-caste society (in which only the aspirations of the minority are realised); or it must dramatically become a democratic society (in which the aspirations of the majority of South Africans shall be realised). And both groups are possessed of "an unalterable and indomitable determination" that their respective aspirations

shall/.....

shall prevail. Out of this ideological impasse emerge important problems for the structural functional relationships between the African educational system and the South African social situation as defined by these ideologies.

The second concept on which the Apartheid ideology rests is that of group self-determination. We have stated that Apartheid asserts the right of self-determination by racio-ethnic groups in South Africa as something of an inalienable right. But, on close examination, this assertion emerged to be, in fact, an assertion of the White group's right to self-determination and to other-determination of the life and life-circumstances of the Non-White groups. In other words, there is, in a general statement of this concept, an unmistakable element of deliberate deception of the Non-White groups (and, to a certain extent, of the less discriminating members of the White group itself). Against this concept, the Integrationist ideology pits the concept of group interdependence on an equalitarian basis.

This ideological counter-move may be explained in several ways. Firstly, it may be explained as a

reaction/.....

reaction to the deception implicit in the Apartheid concept of group self-determination of which the Integrationist intellectuals and theoreticians are quite aware.

This awareness is not only a result of academic ideological analysis but also, and more so, a result of observation of the empirical situation. In terms of the Apartheid ideology and programme, the idea of group self determination, as opposed to group interdependence and integration, has meant, for instance, a denial to this group of the right to reside permanently in urban centres of civilisation and its relegation to the notoriously overcrowded and eroded "Native Reserves" whose barrenness must detrmine whether or not there shall be a healty and virile African community in South Africa. In political terms, it has meant the denial to the African group of the right to participate in the National governmental institutional systems and its appeasement with relatively inferior institutional systems like the Native Representative Council, the Bhungas, the Advisory Boards and such inconsequential political participation as the election of White "Native Representatives" into a White Parliament.

Inthe/.....

In the sphere of education, the idea of African self-determination has meant dictatorial control of African education by the best hated State Department - the Department of Native Affairs[48] - with a provision for the establishment of puppet Bantu School Boards and Committees whose membership is carefully loaded in favour of the White State. This State Department will determine who will teach, what he will teach, how he will teach and whom he will teach. These are some of the implications of the Apartheid concept of group self-determination. And, as a reaction to these, the Integrationist ideology postulates the concept of interdependence on an equal basis. This is to ensure that the life-chances of any group in South Africa shall not be thus dependent on the mercy of one (small) group; but that the welfare of South Africa shall be a common concern of all South Africans.

Secondly, the substitution of the concept of interdependence for self-determination may be explained as a reaction to the objective situation

of economic/.....

---

48 Often dubbed by Africans as the "Department of Native Afflictions."

of economic interdependence or integration in South Africa. However, the type of group interdependence in this situation is on a vertical plane involving the mastery of one racio-ethnic group over the others. It is on the lines of Master-Servant group interdependence - the membership of these groups being predetermined by the accident of birth. This is a radical departure from democratic principles and values. Hence, the Integrationist ideology prescribes the plane for this interdependence as the equalitarian. Master-and-Servant relationships are an essential feature of division of labour in modern industrial society. But the Integrationist ideology demands that the point at which any one enters into such relationships should not be predetermined through the particularistic criterion of racio-ethnic origin and affiliation. Hence, the type of group interdependence envisaged in this ideology is, ultimately, not racio-ethnic group interdependence. It is interdependence of <u>individuals</u> and congregate groups of <u>individuals</u> sharing common or like interests that transcend given biological distinctions.

And, thirdly, this may be explained as a

logically/.....

logically necessary substitution of a principle of social organisation that is consistent with the African's conception of the status ideal for that which is not. Petty exclusiveness and independence of the racist type and the imposing of one racial group over another is a direct negation of democratic equality and freedom. But social inclusiveness and interdependence of the humanistic type and the equalisation of opportunities for access to the resources of life and the enjoyment of the fruits of life is the corner-stone of democratic social organisation. In this sense, the counteraction of the Apartheid concept of group self-determination with that of group interdependence on a common level is both a logical and a functional necessity for the realisation of the democratic status ideal. Add to this that in a plural society like ours - with the unit-groups so juxtaposed - no single group can determine its life and conditions without necessarily affecting the life and life-conditions of the others. In such a case, it would appear just and necessary for all the groups to determine their common or shared life and life-conditions in concert and on the basis of equality.

The/.....

The third concept that is fundamental to Apartheid is that of group-separation - territorial and socio-economic. We shall outline the position of the Integrationist ideology with respect to each of the two aspects. With respect to territorial group-separation, we have pointed out that, as a result of practical difficulties in its implimentation, this idea becomes an idealistic or utopian element in Apartheid which is generally rejected on the level of expediency. The Integrationist ideology stands in sharp opposition to this idea. There are several considerations involved here. There is the consideration of an equitable opportioning of land. Given the White group's inflexible attitude to the land question, there is no reason to expect that if the Africans accepted the idea of territorial group-separation, the land would be distributed equitably. The moral problem of equity, in this case, is complicated by two objective facts: (a) the numerical proportions of the groups and (b) the technological levels of the groups. In the case of the former, the African group is numerically far superior to the Whites: and equity, here, would require the allocation

of the/.....

of the greater proportion of land to the African group. In the case of the latter, the White group is far superior in its technological ability to use the land productively: and equity, here, would require the allocation of the greater proportion of land to the Whites. In other words, it is impossible in this situation to set up an equitable criterion for the implementation of the idea of territorial group-separation. And seeing that, in any case, the Whites are in control, its implementation may be expected to be baiased in their favour, and, hence, unequitable.

However, from the point of view of the Integrationist ideology, there is more to the question of territorial group-separation than these practical considerations. There is the question of principle - democratic principle - and the implicit democratic value-attitudes towards racio-ethnic categorisation. The relevant democratic principle here is that no person or group of persons may be denied the right to the acquisition and utilisation of material and non-material means and facilities of subsistence by virtue of racio-ethnic identity. We have

pointed out that, from the Integrationist point of view, racio-ethnic categories are incidental and inconsequential to problems of allocation of possessions. They are particularistic and, hence, incompatible with the universalistic categories inherent in democratic categorisation of persons or groups under conditions of personal liberty and equality of opportunities. Against the particularistic criteria implicit in the Apartheid racio-ethnic categories, the Integrationist ideology posits the universalistic criteria of capacity to acquire and use possessions under democratic conditions. And in so far as the Whites are uncompromisingly reluctant to allow for the institutionalisation of these criteria and their accompanying conditions, the idea of territorial group-separation, in Apartheid terms, is categorically rejected.

Another reason for this rejection arises as a result of the critical examination of the motives of the Whites when they advocate territorial group-separation. In so far as it is practicable or practiced, territorial group-separation appears as a technique of White domination - the technique of <u>divide et impera</u>. It involves relative

isolation/.....

isolation of the African group so that they may be better and more easily dominated, in the sense that the unity of this group with the other Non-White groups would make White domination difficult or impossible. In so far as it is impracticable it is a form of ideological deception to lure the Africans into a belief that ultimately they will be granted their own independent territory where they will "come into their own." Hence, the motives that underly this idea are, from the Integrationist point of view, those of deliberate deception and divie and rule. The acceptance of this idea by the African group would, therefore, clearly be contrary to its compelling interest in self-emancipation and would, from this point of view, be an unwarranted sacrifice of democratic values.

The second aspect of group-separation advocated in Apartheid - especially on the level of expediency - involves the separation of the South African groups into "separate spheres" - socio-economic - "not separate territorial areas." In the logic of the Apartheid ideology, these "spheres" may legitimately be expected to be hierarchically arranged and the criteria for the distribution

of persons/.....

of persons in them, particularistic along the lines of racio-ethnic origin and affiliation. The Integrationist ideology is not averse to the differentiation of South African society into a number of socio-economic spheres. But it rejects the Apartheid particularistic criteria. It demands the adoption of universalistic criteria so that no person shall be condemned into a lower sphere or exalted to a higher sphere by the sheer accident of birth and colour, but by ability, performance and achievement. In so far as this aspect of the idea of group-separation carries with it any special connotation - apart from that of social differentiation and allocation of status-roles by means of universalistic criteria, - it is also categorically rejected in the Integrationist ideology. It becomes a deceptive-technique for guaranteeing White socio-economic superiority.

It is clear from the preceding that, in its anti-thetical reference to the status quo, the Integrationist ideology meets the Apartheid element of expediency, motivated by the White group's self-interest in domi-nation, with an opposing element of expediency, motivated by the African group's interest in self-emancipation. It is also clear that, in a

similar/.....

similar reference to the status ideal, the Integrationist ideology meets the Apartheid element of deceptive idealism, motivated by the White group's desire to maintain the status quo, with an opposing element of democratic idealism, motivated by the African group's desire to transform the status quo.

There are two phases of the process of transformation of the undemocratic status quo into the democratic status ideal envisaged here. The first invoves the self-emancipation of the African group from subordination. It is an essential idea in the Integrationist ideology at present that the emancipation of the African group cannot be expected to come in a platter; it cannot be expected to come about as a result of a voluntary "change of heart" on the part of the Whites. It is something that has to be achieved as a result of African group self-effort, primarily. If the African group must engage in a joint-effort with the members or organisations of the other Non-Whites groups - whether by ad-hoc collaboration, as the African National Congress believes or by federation as the Unity Movement believes - it is generally held that this step must be takenas a result of a feeling

of strength/.....

of strength rather than of weakness on the part of the African group. The implicit fear here is apparantly that of escaping from subordination under one Master-group only to be subordinated under a new Master-group.[49] Hence the primary emphasis, on this level, is on self-reliance rather than on other-reliance.

The second phase involves the democratisation of the whole society, through various methods of communication and propaganda. But the achievement of this phase is seen as dependent on a seizure of power by an (African) democratic majority which will guarantee and entrench democratic principles and rights for every South African - irrespective of race, colour and creed. This, from the point of view of the Integrationist ideology, is seen as constituting the ideal and ultimate mission of the African numerical majority in South Africa. It is not relevant here to discuss the programme,

means/.....

---

49 This is a generalised fear which has an existential basis in the fact of the relatively superior socio-economic position of the Indians (in Natal) and the Coloureds (chiefly in the Cape). The primary consideration is that the other two groups are fighting in the struggle from a slightly higher level and that their willingness to collaborate with the Africans may be primarily motivated by self-interest rather than common-interest of the liberation of the Non-Whites as a whole.

means and methods of the African group for the realisation of the ideal of a democratic South Africa. All we have been concerned with here has been to show the ideological orientation of the African group to the South African social system - actual and ideal - with special reference to a few crucial points on which the Apartheid exponents are most explicit and vociferous. The ideological conflict we have tried to expose here would seem to leave very little hope for an evolutionary settlement of issues between Whites and Blacks in South Africa.

The two ideologies constitute an important component of the social base of the African educational system. At the same time, they provide a "definition of the situation" for the institutionalised action of the personnel of this sytem. They also function as "imperatives of compativility" - whipping the educational system into a relationship of relative social parallelism with its actual and/or ideal social base as ideologically defined.

The definitions of the situation provided by these ideologies are divergent and impinge on the African educator in the form of two conflicting ideological role-expectations. This brings us to

two/.....

two questions that we seek to treat in Part IV. Firstly, What are the respective role-expectations of the Apartheid and the Integrationist ideologies for the African educational system? (b) What is the effect, on the African educator, of the impact of the two sets of ideological role-expectations on the African educational system? We shall take up the first question in Chapter XI; and the second question, in Chapters XII, XIII and XIV.

P A R T IV

IDEOLOGICAL IMPACT AND THE DILEMMA OF THE AFRICAN EDUCATOR

CHAPTER XI

IDEOLOGICAL ROLE-EXPECTATIONS

APARTHEID ROLE-EXPECTATIONS

The role-expectations inherent in this ideology, with regard to the African educational system, have recently been made explicit in two[1] major pronouncements of the White group through its accredited and elected representatives: (a) the Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949 - 1951; and (b) the Statement on Bantu Education Policy for the Immediate Future, made by the Minister of Native Affairs in the Senate, June, 1954. We shall refer to each of these in turn in order to indicate the mutually consistent ideological role-expectations explicit and implicit in them.

The first major indicator of the role-expectations that this ideology prescribes for the African educational system lies in the first and most important term of reference of the Commission on Native Education:

> "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 aptitude, and their needs under everchanging social conditions are taken into consideration."[2]

This/.....

---

1 The Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953 may be considered as the third. But as it merely consists of legal prescriptions for the reorganisation of the African educational system in line with the Apartheid role-expectations, we need not consider it here.

2. Report of the Commission on Native Education, (Pretoria:

This term of reference rests on the assumption that the Africans are "an independent race" - with "distinctive characteristics," which include racial and historico-cultural qualities, group aptitudes and needs. On this assumption (into the soundness of which the Commission was not called upon to inquire), the African educational system is expected to be different from and independent of the educational systems of the other three groups. And, as we have indicated in the last chapter the concept of "difference" in Apartheid is tantamount to the concept of inequality; and that of "independence," tantamount to subordination "always under the guardianship and domination of the White man in South Africa". Hence, the African educational system is, ultimately, expected to perpetuate group inequality (which must be to the advantage of the White group) and to guarantee the timeless "guardianship and domination of the White man" over the African group. The commission was charged with the necessary function of formulating the principles and aims of an African educational system that meets these expectations - in other words, an "educ ation for Natives."

In/.....

In accordance with their task, the Commission proceeded to review the African educational system in the light of these expectations. They made, inter alia, two points of critism which are of special relevance here: namely, "the vagueness of objectives," and "the uncertainty as to the future development of Bantu culture."

With regard to the point of the vagueness of objectives, they point out that the African educational system has functioned, in the past, with relative disregard "as to the rightful place of the Bantu in South Africa."[3] In other words, the African educational system has, heretofore, not been functioning to prepare the African for a predetermined "place" in South Africa. It has not been designed to serve the African group "as an independent race" - with "distinctive characteristics." It has not been different from and independent of the educational systems of the other three groups. It has not been oriented to the objective of promoting group inequality and perpetuating or guaranteeing the timeless "guardianship and domination of the White man in South Africa." It has not appreciated these clear

ideological/.....

---

3 Report: U.G. No. 53/1951, par. 563.

ideological objectives and, therefore, it has been vague in objective. In other words, it has been modelled, not on the South African ideological tradition but on a universalistic liberal tradition transplanted from democratic societies. In South Africa, however, African education is not expected to train the Africans according to their potentialities but "in accordance to their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live."[4]

The above criticism may be expressed in terms of the culture-contact process. That is, heretofore, the African educational system has been oriented - intentionally or otherwise - to the promotion of culture assimilation between White and African rather than the promotion of culture separation and differentiation - each group developing culturally along its "own lines." This brings us to the second point of criticism mentioned above.

The Commission is of the view that the African educational system has operated on an "uncertainty as to the value of Bantu culture;"... "reference to the syllabi of the primary schools (for instance) shows that the development of

Bantu/.....

---

4 House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), No. 10/1953, Col. 3585.

Bantu culture as a whole is not held up as an ideal."[5] Instead of promoting the separate cultural development of the Africans "as an independent" ethnic group, it has "favoured the adjustment of Bantu culture to European economic and political ideals."[6] This, the Commission feels, has resulted in a yearly production from such an educational system of

> "that group of people who break away too rapidly from the views and habits of their own people and sometimes act against their own people. Such a stray minority is readily formed where two cultures are in close contact. The individual lives in the midst of his own community; but is not of the community; he is an outcast among his own people and is of no significance in the other culture."[7]

Whatever the merits or demerits of this criticism may be, the point we are making is that it is a negative formulation of the expectation that the African educational system should reduce, if not eliminate, the situation in which the cultures of the two groups are in close contact, by focussing each new African generation on its own culture rather than on assimilating that of the Whites - so that the African child may "become a worthy member of the Bantu race instead of having

to be/.....

---

5 Op. cit., par. 567.

6 Op. cit,, par. 564.

7 Op. cit., par. 743.

to be a synthetic Westerner."[8] The ultimate idea is to eliminate the "stray minority" of African synthetic Westerners by making its development, at least through the formal educational process, impossible. Why must it be eliminated? Olivier gives the clue:

> "It is... undeniable that it is this educated minority group that is the most vociferous and the most clamorous, and who feels the restrictions placed by European overlordship as unbearable and unjustifiable."[9]

In other words, this is the critical and articulate group. It is the leadership. It is the spearhead of the African group in its Westward march and in its crusade for the salvaging of democratic values from the slough into which White racism and nationalism have cast them.

> "The majority of the educated Natives are all for integration."[10]

If the march of the African group towards the West, towards democratic values, towards integration, must be halted this "stray minority" which is a threat to White domination must be eliminated; and the march of the African group

redirected/.....

---

8 House of Assembly Debates (Hansard) No. 10/1953, Col. 3613.

9 N.J.J. Olivier, op. cit., p. 3.

10 W.W.M. Eislen, op. cit., p. 9.

redirected, systematically through formal education, along non-Western lines. If the African group's Westward march is not halted or re-directed there is no guarantee that this group will not reach a cultural par with the White group - on Western standards. In the absence of scientific evidence regarding inherent inferiority of potential in the African group, there is every reason to expect (and for the Whites, to fear) that cultural equality, on the Western pedestal, is an imminent possibility in an unregulated and uncontrolled situation "where two cultures are in close contact."

Hence, in the case of this criticism also, we may suggest, that there is an implicit expectation that the African educational system should promote cultural <u>difference</u> and, hence, inequality between the two groups. This is implicit in the criticism of the educational system for orienting the Africans to a "highly developed and progressive Western civilisation" (which must be the exclusive preserve of the White group), and in the plea for the idealisation of a tribal and disintegrating "Bantu culture." There is also an implicit expectation that the African educational system should guarantee the timeless "guardianship and

domination/.....

domination of the White man in South Africa." This is implicit in the criticism of the educational system for cultivating "synthetic Westerners" in the African group - in view of the role they play with regard to the security of the White group in its dominant position. The continued production of this type of African, through the formal educational system, is incompatible with the idea of timeless White domination.

> "Their (Natives') education should not clash with Government policy; ... if the Native in South Africa today in any kind of School in existence is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake."[11]

We must now turn to the positively-formulated expectations with regard to the role of African education in South Africa. These may be observed in the Commission's recommendations of the "aims of education for Natives as an independent race." The Commission has stated two aims - one social, the other individual - as follows:-

> (a) "From the point of view of the whole society the aim of Bantu education is the development of a modern progressive culture, with social institutions which will be in harmony with one another and with the evolving conditions of life to be met in South Africa, and with the schools which must serve as effective agents in this process of development.

(b)/.....

---

11 House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), No. 10/1953, Col. 3586.

(b) "From the point of view of the individual the aims of Bantu education are the development of character and intellect, and the equipping of the child for his future work and surroundings."[12]

The first aim is designed to ensure that the educational system promotes institutional integration; and that the educational system itself meets the requirements of such integration by standing in a harmonious relationship with the other institutional systems. In the six paragraphs preceding the statement of these aims, the Commission takes pains to show that the African educational system has moved ahead of the other African institutional systems, such as the family, thus creating a crucial problem of institutional integration within this group.

"Consequently," the Commission states, "the modern school, unless Bantu social institutions can evolve to bridge the gap between themselves and the schools, must tend to develop persons who are compelled to reject either the school or those ideas which are basic to their own social institutions."[13]

The concept of harmonious structural-functional relationships between institutional systems in a society, which underlies the Commission's statement of the social aim of "Bantu education," is a

sociologically/.....

---

12 Report: U.G. No. 53/1951, par. 765.

13 Op. cit., par. 762.

sociologically tenable one. In fact, we have emphasised it in the preceding chapters in terms of relative social parallelism. But, in its application to the relationship of the institutional systems of a group - like the African group - which is caught in a rapid process of social, economic and political evolution (or more acurately, revolution), a crucial normative problem arises; namely, the level of cultural evolution at which that institutional harmony, parallelism or integration must take place.[14] The general social situation of culture contact in which the African group is placed also accentuates this problem. Taking the two situations of cultural revolution and culture contact together, we may formulate the problem as follows: Must institutional integration in the African group be achieved on the lower and narrower level of cultural exclusiveness and distinctiveness, or must it be achieved on the higher and broader level of cultural synthesis/.....

---

14 This problem becomes particularly acute when planned social change is envisaged (as it is by the White group with respect to the African group). The choice of a lower or higher level may have an incalculable effect on the direction and rate of development of the affected group thereafter.

synthesis and assimilation?[15]

The Commission, virtually, recommends the integration of African institutions on the lower and narrower level at which the other African institutions have remained in their lag, rather than on the higher and broader level to which the existing African educational system has largely attained. Hence, in the practical pursuit of its suggested aims of "Bantu education," it stresses that:-

> "... it is essential to consider the language of the pupils, their home conditions, their social and mental environment, their cultural traits and their future positions and work in South Africa."[16]

All these factors are peculiar to the members of this group especially those who have not been able to keep pace with the westward and upward changing conditions of the life of the group in South Africa. This section of the African group is largely localised in the Reserves. The pace of the development of the African group, as a whole, must, as it were, be adjusted to the pace of the Africans in the Reserves.

"The/.....

---

15 The value-judgment contained in this formulation of the problem is based on the assumption (in our view valid) of the superiority of a synthetic and hybrid culture over an isolated and "pure" culture - unenriched through cross-culture fertilisation.

16 Report: U.G. No. 53/1951, par. 765.

"The march of events and the staggering power and glitter of Western culture have tended to make the educated Bantu despise their culture."[17]

"It follows that the reserves, being areas in which Bantu culture functions most completely, have a special task to perform in the furtherance of the development of Bantu culture and schools."[18]

Note the antithesis posed by the Commission, in this statement, between cosmopolitan "western culture" and the culture of the Reserves - "Bantu culture." Note also the insistance on basing the "modern progressive (Bantu) culture," which "Bantu education" must have as its first and only social aim, on the level of African cultural evolution prevailing in the Reserves.

In other words institutional integration must take place on the model of "Bantu Culture" represented in the Reserves; and these, therefore, "have a special task to perform in the furtherance of the development of Bantu culture and schools." This integration must take place in a situation of relative isolation from cosmopolitan and metropolitan areas, the centres of "western culture" which are characterised by cross-cultural fertilisation, synthesis and assimilation. Hence, the

"modern/,.....

---

17 Op. cit., par. 763.

18 Op. cit., par. 768.

"modern progressive culture" that the Bantu educational system must have as its first aim may logically be expected to bear an unmistakable brand of the relative inferiority of an exclusive and isolated culture. In this instance, the African educational system - now styled "Bantu education" - is designed, and therefore expected, to foster and promote this exclusiveness and isolation of the African group as an ethnic group. It is expected to cut the group off from the stream of "western culture" which it has been joining gradually for the last three centuries; and to canalise the process of its cultural development along the distinctively and exclusively "Bantu" cultural furrow.

This is consistent with and part of the Apartheid programme which, as we have indicated earlier, aims at dividing and isolating the racio-ethnic groups in order to guarantee the unrivalled timeless "guardianship and domination of the White man in South Africa." And, in view of this, we may legitimately submit that the African educational system is expected to guarantee this "unalterable and indomitable determination" of the White group by isolating the African group and

forcing/.....

forcing it to achieve institutional integration on a level that is several centuries below the cultural level of the general South African society - especially that of the White group. The Comission's choice of this level is to ensure the cultural superiority of the Whites by eliminating competition, by the African group, on common cultural ground. Hence, the African group must be made to start from different cultural ground; and to make assurance doubly sure that, henceforth, White supremacy shall not be challenged on common cultural ground, the African's cultural ground must not only be qualitatively different but also socio-spatially non-comparable.

This interpretation of the implicit ideological role-expectations, with regard to African education, in terms of the elimation of the African group from competive and co-operative participation on the basis of a common socio-cultural heritage in the general South African society, is strongly supported by a number of pronouncements made by the Minister of Native Affairs in his statement of "Bantu Education Policy for the Immediate Future" delivered in the Senate on the 7th June, 1954.[19] We shall

quote/.....

---

19 This has been published in booklet form under that title, by the Department of Native Affairs, Pretoria, 1954.

quote him copiously, firstly, in his critique of the existing African educational system in which "there was no co-ordination between the education given in the schools and the broad national policy,"[20] and hence, the ideological expectations implicit in that policy were not met; and, secondly, in his exposition on "Bantu education" which is ideologically "planned" to meet these expectations. In the light of what has been said in the previous pages, the ideological role-expectations in both sets of quotations will be unmistakable.

Criticising the African educational system for "ignoring the segregation or Apartheid policy" by not educating the Native for an exclusive and isolated "Bantu community" but for an inclusive and integrated South African community, the Minister says:

> "By (thus) blindly producing pupils trained on a European model, the vain hope was created among Natives that they could occupy posts within the European community, despite the country's policy of 'Apartheid.' This is what is meant by the creation of unhealthy 'white collar ideals' and the causation of widespread frustration among the so-called educated Natives."[21]

"This is the class which has learnt to believe that/.....

---

20 Op. cit., p. 5.

21 Op. cit., p. 7.

that it is above its own people and feels that its spiritual, economic and political home is among the civilised community of South Africa, i.e. Europeans (sic), and feels frustrated because its wishes have not been realised."[22]

After thus criticising the existing African educational system for jeopardising White supremacy by producing "the so-called educated Natives" who have seen the "sun" of a broader and higher civilisation and sought for themselves and their fellowmen "a place in the sun" of that civilisation, he proceeds to outline the implications of and the expectations implicit in the "Bantu education" system.

"My department's policy is that education should stand with both feet in the reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society (not South African society). There Bantu education must be able to give itself complete expression (under White domination), and there it will be called upon to perform its real service (of eliminating the African from the common socio-cultural stream). 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 (culturally marooned) community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed. Until now, he has been subject to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled (sic) him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze/.....

---

22 Op. cit., p. 17. (Brackets are ours).

graze. This attitude is not only uneconomic because money is spent for an education which has no specific (ideological) aim but it is also dishonest to continue it.... It is abundantly clear that (ideologically) unplanned education creates many problems, disrupting the community life of the Bantu and endangering the community life of the European."[23]

In fine, the ideological expectation here is that education shall preclude the possibility of the integration of the African group into the general South African society - with its sinister implications for White domination.

"For that reason (ideologically) planned "Bantu education" must be substituted for (ideologically) unplanned "African education." In the Native territories where the services of educated Bantu are very much needed, Bantu education can complete its full cycle (in isolation); the child being taken from the community into the school, developed to its fullest extent in accordance with his aptitudes and ability, (sic) and thereafter being returned to the community to serve and enrich it"[24] - a closed cycle of life.

INTEGRATIONIST ROLE-EXPECTATIONS

As in the case of our development of an outline of the Integrationist ideology, we have elected to develop an outline of the role-expectations of this ideology not independently but with reference to those ideas or assumptions that underly the Apartheid

role-expectations/.....

---

23 Op. cit., pp. 23 - 24. (Brackets are ours).

24 Op. cit., p. 24. (Brackets are ours).

role-expectations - and for the same reasons. The position of the Integrationist ideology, with respect to each of the Apartheid assumptions, must be understood in terms of (a) the democratic value-basis of this ideology; (b) the compelling interest of the holders of this ideology in self-emancipation; and (c) the status ideal or goal of a democratic South Africa cherished by the African group.

The first assumption underlying the Apartheid role-expectations is that the African group is "an independent race." We noticed that this is fundamental to the role-expectations of this ideology. From this assumption it followed that the African educational system was expected to be different from and independent of the general educational system in South Africa. We indicated, however, that, in Apartheid terms, difference meant inequality; and independence, subordination to White domination. In our outline of the Integrationist ideology, we pointed out that this ideology rejects the assumption that the African group is an independent group. Instead it posits, in the light of the objective

situation/.....

situation, that this group stands in a relationship of relative interdependence with the other South African groups; and it also posits in the light of its democratic idealism, that this group must ultimately stand in a relationship of absolute interdependence on the basis of equality with the other groups. It dismisses the concept of "race" as a biological concept of no legitimate social-functional relevance or consequence.

Hence, from the point of view of the Integrationist ideology the African educational system cannot be expected to serve the African group as "an independent race." This expectation cannot be entertained (a) because of the Apartheid meaning of "independence" which equates this term with subordination; (b) because it is contrary to the African group's interest in self-emancipation; and (c) because it precludes the realisation of the goal of a democratic South Africa. It would mean accepting a different type of education: and this, in Apartheid terms, means an unequal or inferior education - an "education for Natives!"[25]

Positively/.....

---

25 The phrase "for Natives" invariably suggests an unmistakable stereotype in South Africa. When one talks about something set aside "for Natives" in South Africa, a South African immediately has a mental picture of it. If one talks about land set aside "for Natives," no South African will think of a commanding spot in a city but of a barren/.....

Positively, in terms of the Integrationist ideology, the African educational system is expected to serve the African group as a group which is involved and ought to ~~the~~ *be* increasingly involved in relationships of interdependence with the other South African groups on an equal basis. It is expected to be similar to that of the general society or else if different, it would necessarily be inferior. It is expected to be an agency in the group's struggle for self-emancipation by placing each new African generation on an equal cultural level with the rest of South Africa and, hence, to make possible its interaction and interdependence with the other groups on a basis of equality. Ultimately, it is expected to prepare a group that is a numerical majority for life in a democratic South Africa. This majority, in the final analysis, must be the bearers of democratic values - liberty, equality and fraternity - and the apostles for the democratisation of the whole society. In other words, the African educational system is expected to be an agency in

the/.....

---

25 barren stretch of land in the Reserves or in the remote outskirts of a City; if one talks of a Housing Scheme "for Natives," no South African will think of large 8-room houses with all modern facilities but of 2 or 3 room houses meeting only the barest minimum of housing requirements; or when one talks about political institutions "for Natives," no South African will think of autonomous legislative, administrative and judicial institutions, but of the Bhungas, the N.R.C., the Advisory Boards and so forth. This phrase is meaningful in S.Africa.

the transformation of the status quo in the direction of a democratic status ideal. This is clearly contrary to the corresponding Apartheid role-expectation that this educational system should be an agency for the consolidation and perfection of the undemocratic status quo.

The second assumption in the Apartheid role-expectations is that, heretofore, the African educational system has been characterised by a "vagueness of objectives," We have pointed out that, from the Apartheid point of view, this means that in the past this educational system has functioned with relative disregard of "the rightful place of the Bantu in South Africa." It did not keep them mentally and morally accommodated to subordination under White domination. Hence, the "Bantu education" system has had to be devised with the clear objective of subordinating this group to "White domination for all time:" and it is expected by the Whites to pursue this objective. From the Integrationist point of view, this expectation cannot be entertained. It is contrary to the African group's interest in self-emancipation, its commitment to democratic values and its

ideal/.....

ideal of a democratic social order. Positively, the Integrationist position with regard to this assumption is that the point about the objectives prescribed by the Apartheid ideology for "Bantu education" is not that they are clear but that they are ideological. In so far as they are prescribed in terms of an ideology that stands in sharp conflict with the Integrationist, they are rejected. Hence, the expectation here is that the African educational system shall operate with no a priori conception of "the rightful place of Bantu in South Africa." It must aim at giving a liberal education to the African educand. On the level of individuality, this means the fullest development of the innate powers and potentialities of the educand and his equipment with knowledge, skills and techniques that will enable him to find his own place or level in the South African social structure. On the level of sociality, such liberal education means the inculcation in the African educand of universalistic or democratic values and norms and the cultivation, ultimately, of wider and inclusive loyalties and sense of responsibility - which will

enable/.....

enable him to participate effectively in common duties of citizenship in the ideal democratic South Africa. In terms of the culture-process, the African educational system is expected to promote culture-assimilation on common lines; not culture isolationism on "own lines."

The third assumption underlying the Apartheid role-expectations is that, in the past, African education has been characterised by an "uncertainty as to the value of Bantu culture" and, hence, an "uncertainty as to the future development of Bantu culture." What is meant here, as we have shown, is that in the past African education has not promoted cultural exclusiveness and isolationism in the African group. Rather, it has "favoured the adjustment of Bantu culture to European economic and political ideals" - thus producing a marginal group of African "synthetic Westerners." It has promoted culture synthesis and assimilation of which the African "synthetic Westerners" are disquieting evidence to the Whites. We have pointed out that the Apartheid role-expectation here is that this process will be halted through the "Bantu education" system. From the Integrationist point of view, the African educational system is

not/.....

not expected to stop this process: it is not expected to be an agency of cultural exclusiveness and isolationism. Rather, it is expected to promote "the adjustment of Bantu culture to (the) economic and political ideals" not only of the White group in South Africa but also of the wider collectivity which the South African groups together constitute. It is expected to be an agency of culture sysnthesis. And from this point of view, the marginal group of African "synthetic Westerners" is not viewed with alarm and disquietude. It is a group that must inevitably emerge in the process of culture synthesis involving the social movement of a group from one cultural level to another. It is a group that constitutes the spearhead of the African group in its Westward march: and must be increased until no African is left on the level of isolationism. It is envisaged that, ultimately, South Africa must evolve a common culture - viewed with pride and shared in a fraternal spirit by all South Africans, irrespective of colour, race or creed. No value is placed in "the future development of Bantu culture," in exclusive terms: for, in so far as it is exclusive,

it must/.....

it must, of necessity, remain inferior to that of any of the other South African groups as these are, in fact, synthetic or hybrid in themselves. It is not difficult to see that the Integrationist role-expectation here is consistent with (a) the universalism of democratic values, (b) the African group's interest in self-emancipation, and (c) the African group's ideal of a common democratic South Africa where petty ethnocentricism and exclusiveness would be submerged in an inclusive and common cultural heritage.

The fourth idea involved in the Apartheid role-expectations is that African education should promote institutional integration. We have pointed out that this is a sociologically tenable proposition. We have indicated, however, that, seeing that the African group is caught in a process of social transformation, there are two levels at which such integration may be achieved: namely, the exclusive and the synthetic. On the exclusive level, institutional integration would mean the mutual integration of African institutional systems and their integration with their African social base. This would involve calling off the vanguard of African "synthetic

Westerners/.....

Westerners" to go back and stay permanently with the rearguard of isolated tribal Africans, in common contentment with their lot in their "rightful place." It would mean institutional integration on the socio-cultural level of the Reserves. On the synthetic level, institutional integration would mean the integrative adjustment of African institutional systems not only among themselves but also with those of the general society and on the common social base of the South African social system. This would involve calling up the rearguard of isolated tribal Africans to join the vanguard of African "synthetic Westerners" and take their place together in a common South African society. We have pointed out that, in view of the White group's interest in maintaining their dominant position the Apartheid ideology prescribes that institutional integration, in the African community, must take place on the level of exclusiveness and that the African educational system must serve as an agency of African institutional integration on this level. However, this role-expectation cannot be entertained from the point of view of the Integrationist ideology. In Integrationist terms, institutional integration must be achieved

on the/.....

on the synthetic level and the African educational system is expected to serve as an agency for the achievement of this. In other words, the African educational system is expected to serve as a social lever for the upliftment of the African group from one level of socio-cultural development - the exclusive - to another level - the synthetic. In terms of the African group's interest, it is expected to be an agency of self-emancipation from socio-cultural isolationism which for long has been conducive to the exploitation and subordination of the group by the Whites. In terms of the ideal of a democratic South Africa, it is expected to place the African on a level of social and cultural equality with the rest of South Africa; and, hence to make possible common socio-cultural participation between the African and the other South African groups.

The fifth idea involved in the Apartheid role-expectations is that the African educational system must function in consistency with State policy. This idea is, perhaps, more fundamental to the Apartheid role-expectations that any of the other four discussed above. It gives meaning to the whole preoccupation of the White group and

its/.....

its Apartheid exponents with the African educational system. The most comprehensive criticism levelled by the Whites against this educational system in the past is that it was "(ideologicall) unplanned." In other words, it was liberally planned: and liberal planning is, from the Apartheid point of view as good as (or as bad as) no planning. Hence, machinery has been set up for the ideological planning and regulation of African education in a manner that is consistent with State policy. And henceforth this educational system is expected to meet the functional requirement of consistency with State policy. In other words, it is expected to promote the accommodative adaptation of the African group to the "place" allocated to it in terms of State policy. However, in so far as South African State policy is unequivocally against the self-emancipation of the Africans and against the democratisation of intergroup relationships, this role-expectation is categorically rejected by the Integrationist ideology. On the contrary, the African educational system is expected not to be consistent with State policy, in this respect. It is expected to undermine it and render it untenable and inapplicable by continuing to

operate/.....

operate on the liberal tradition. In fine, the African educational system is expected to promote the dynamic adaptation of the African group to the South African social system with a view to transforming it into a democratic society.

In the next three chapters, we must turn to the second question we posed at the end of chapter IX; namely, what is the effect, on the orientation of the African educator to his task, of the impact of the Apartheid and the Integrationist ideological role-expectations on the African educational system - especially its end-sector?

It must be recalled that, in terms of the principle of relative social parallelism, the three objectives of education, namely, Group Solidarity, Individual Effectiveness and Telic Social change, must be pursued parallel to the social base both as the status quo and as including an ideally and telically conceived status ideal.

With regard to the objective of Group Solidarity, this means that the attitudes and sentiments, the values and morals, the knowledge

and skills/.....

and skills inculcated in each emerging generation that is being socialised must be backed by a consensus of sufficient generality to bring about the solidarity of the social system as it is, as it is becoming and as it is desired to be. At the same time, the social system must afford to all alike, a common field of social participation on all levels of the major role-categories.

With regard to the objective of Individual Effectiveness, this means that the personalities formed through the individualising educational process must be such as can participate effectively - that is, satisfactorily to themselves - in the various roles for which they are inherently talented without undue repressions.

And, with regard to the objective of Telic Social Change, the principle of relative social parallelism means that the conception of the status ideal with which the educational system operates must be such as is commonly shared. It also means that the means for attaining the status ideal must be commonly approved in the light of the "wills and purposes" of the members of the society, or, at least, must not be too much at variance with

the norms/.....

the norms for the selection and application of means that are commonly upheld in the existing social system. In other words, both the means and the ideal ends must be such as command sufficient positive group sanctions not to be radically disruptive to the status quo.

It is our view that in so far as society is a dynamic order it is "conscious" of itself as it is (as revealed in its existing form of social organisation), as it is becoming (as revealed in the trend and direction of its manifest group process), and as it ~~out~~ ought to be (as revealed in the idealistic aspect of its ideological formulations). In other words, the status quo contains within itself the status ideal in germ.[26] And, in terms of the principle of relative social parallelism, the educational objectives must be articulated with the status quo and, therefore by implication, with the status ideal. But, as we have pointed out, in

South/.....

---

26 In racial caste societies, and from the point of view of the dominant or upper caste, the status ideal is not "in germ" but is considered as already largely developed in the status quo - the two tend to emerge together inseparably on the level of the status quo. But for the lower racial castes, the status ideal exists only "in germ" in the status quo. It is an ideal goal that must be striven for and is only approached asymptotically - hence the instability and dynamism of such societies.

South Africa there is a general lack of consensus concerning the status quo, a general inherent indeterminacy of the intergroup process, and a general inherent ideological conflict over the conception of the status ideal.

For the Whites the germ of the status ideal has largely grown to maturity and is manifest in the existing social order; while for the Africans the status ideal is still in germ within the existing social structure and awaits development and maturation. This implies, firstly, a difference of view between the two groups concerning the status quo (the Whites accept it in toto and seek to streamline and maintain it; the Africans accept it in part and seek to modify it). Secondly, this implies a difference of view between the two groups concerning the inter-group process (for the Whites it is a process of consolidating the status quo; for the Africans it is a process of achieving a modification of it in the direction of the status ideal). And, thirdly, this implies a difference of view between the two groups concerning the status ideal (for the Whites it is, as we have said, already realised in the status quo and is inseparable from it; for the Africans, it is partly

realised/.....

realised in the existing order and partly to be realised in the near future). From this total situation stem the conflicting demands or role-expectations with regard to the African educational system in its orientation to the objectives of Group Solidarity, Individual Effectiveness and Telic Social Change.

Hence, in answer to the question we have posed for the next chapter, we shall contend that the pursuit of these objectives by the African educator within the South African social structural base does not allow of their determinate articulation with the social structure - in its actual and ideal aspects. As a result, the African educator is faced with a series of dilemmas of orientation to these objectives; and choice between the two horns of each dilemma is made difficult by the lack of consensus and stability, the indeterminacy and the conflict that pervade the social system - especially on the ideological level. And this situation is further aggravated by the unequal power-positions and consciousness of power of the two groups; and by powerful rational and moral, imperatives and repellents on each horn of each dilemma.

The two/.....

The two ideological definitions of the situation, and hence of the role-expectations, for the African educational system, confront the African educator with two sets of role-expectations which he cannot afford to ignore both rationally and morally. As a civil servant, under the Bantu Education Section of the Native Affairs Department, he cannot afford to ignore the role-expectations defined for the "Bantu education" system in the Apartheid ideology. This definition is on the legal institutional level and commands his rational and moral respect. It is obligatory and constraining to the African educator while he occupies the role of educator in the Bantu educational system. And, as an African, he also cannot afford to ignore the role-expectations defined for the African education system in the Integrationist ideology. Although, as a result of the lower political power status of his group, the Integrationist role-expectations lack the formal institutional backing and sanctions, yet they carry with them the "wills and purposes" of the group of which he is not a congregate but a genetic member, "imbued with values,

interests/.....

interests and behaviour patterns learned at the knee of a Bantu mother,"[27] who herself is a member of a group that believes in and values democratic (integrationist) values. To the values and interests of his group he stands in relationship of moral (non-rational) obligation. As living in an African community, he is under rational obligation not to sabotage the African crusade for the realisation of the Integrationist status ideal - in view of the ruthlessness, of (African) public opinion and sencure. Add to this his personal rational appreciation and desire for an integrated common South African society.

"The majority of the educated Natives is all for integration;"[28]

and in particular:

"The teachers, by means of resolutions taken by their associations, have expressed themselves strongly against the findings and recommendations of the Education Commission and also against the Bantu Education Act, and they have declared themselves in favour of equal education for all..."[29]

While mentally and morally revolting against the Apartheid role-expectation and mentally and

morally/.....

---

27 Report: U.G. No. 53/1951, par. 773.

28 W.W. M. Eiselen, op. cit., p. 9.

29 Minister of Native Affairs, op. cit., p. 19.

morally subscribing to the Integrationist ideology, the African educator is expected by the Native Affairs Department to perform his role in the light of the Apartheid role-expectations.

CHAPTER XII

THE DILEMMA ARISING FROM THE OBJECTIVE OF GROUP SOLIDARITY

The dilemma arising in the African educator's orientation to the objective of group solidarity centres around the definition of the scope of group solidarity in which the African educator should be interested. It should be made clear that the African educator is under no delusion as to the necessity of the solidarity of the African group as a unit of the South African social structure. His problem is: Must he, in terms of the Apartheid ideological role-expectations, consider the solidarity of his social group as the sole and ultimate objective of his educational efforts; or must he, in terms of the Integrationist ideological role-expectations, consider it as an immediate end, leading to the ultimate objective of the solidarity of the South African society, in the sense that for a society to be real and solidary its constituent units must be real and solidary?

We may discuss this general dilemma with reference to the five criteria of group solidarity suggested in chapter IV; namely, (a) a common territory, (b) a common material culture, (c) a

common/.....

common non-material culture, (d) a common field of social participation, and (e) a common responsibility for the weal and woe of the society. But here we elect to consider the first three largely as conditions and means for the last two; and to treat the latter in some detail, for the purpose of indicating the specific dilemmas confronting the African educator in his pursuit of this objective. Suffice it here to say that, as regards these three criteria, the African educator is, in this case, under obligation (a) arising from his perception of the objective reality of the South African system of social stratification and (b) arising from his perception of the Apartheid ideological role-expectations, to prepare the African educand for sharing a common territory, material and non-material culture with his own group only - in a separate society or community. But the African educator is also under obligation arising from (a) his perception of the degree and benefits to his group of the Westernisation he has achieved, and (b) the Integrationist ideological role-expectations, to prepare the educand for life in a common society - involving a commonly shared territory and culture. Thus the orientation of

the African educator to this objective - defined in terms of these three criteria - is indeterminate and his attitude not unambivalent.

THE CRITERION OF A COMMON FIELD OF SOCIAL INTERACTION[1]

The Apartheid ideological role-expectation here is that the African educator shall apply himself to the task of socialising the African educand for social interaction in a separate community - the African community only. In the course of the Debate on the Bantu Education Act, the Minister of Native Affairs expressed this role-expectation unequivocally as follows:

> "Today we have come to the cross-roads as far as South Africa is concerned. We have arrived at the historic day when we sincerely hope that education will be directed along another course, a new course where the fundamental idea will be that functionally the Native must fulfil a role in the community different to that of the European, and in the second place that the Native has a different cultural background from the White man, and in the third place that the Native must fit into his own type of community, a different type of community to that of the European. Therefore the fundamental idea in Bantu education must be that he should be taught to develop along his own lines in all social and economic aspects. That is the course we wish to follow, so that he can form his own character and become a worthy member of the Bantu race instead of having to be a synthetic Westerner."[2]

The/.....

---

1 Social interaction here must be assumed to take place on the basis of territory, and material and non-material culture as conditions and/or means.

2 House of Assembly Debates (Hansard) No. 10/1953, col. 3613.

The Integrationist role-expectation, on the other hand, is that the African educator shall socialise the African educand for social participation in a common community - the South African community and on a basis of equality and liberty. And other ideological role-expectations contrary to this are, from this point of view, an outright abrogation of the democratic principles which constitute its basic premise.

In addition to the rational obligation that the African educator, as a Civil servant, has to the Apartheid role-expectation there is another rational consideration that has the function of impelling him to this horn of the dilemma. This arises from his perception of the reality of the racial caste structure and its racial caste relations in South Africa. We have pointed out that South African society is structured on the racial caste principle and that no free social interaction between Black and White is allowed (except to a limited extent in ecological complexes like the market). In this context, this means that for the African, solidarity cannot be with reference to the South African collectivity but to the African group.

Hoernle rightly points out that, in South Africa, free social interaction and attendent courtesies can only be enjoyed by the African within his own group.

"The Native has no right to politeness in the sense in which one White expects from another White the sort of politeness which acknowledges, if not absolute 'equality,' at least common membership of the dominant group. Natives are outside that group; they are social inferiors whatever the Native's personal acculturation may be."[3]

He continues to stress that there is a concerted effort on the part of the Whites to maintain social distance. This is not maintained only in instrumental situations (involving, for instance, master-servant relationships) but also in expressive situations where social interaction might lead to a "we-feeling" and a sense of "belongingness" or at least be symbolic of equality, and thus weld the two groups into a solidary whole. This principle of social distance extends ad absurdum. That is, it extends to segregation in prisons and even after death - in the setting aside of separate cemeteries for each racial group or separate sections of the same cemetery, even where there are no religious differences to compel such an arrangement.

The reality/.....

---

3 R.F. Hoernle, op. cit., p. 29.

The reality of this situation is further impressed on the mind of the African educator by a number of attendent factors. Firstly, the position of the African group at the bottom of the racial-caste hierarchy is not often unaccompanied by the attitude of accommodation - particularly on the level of the individual. Measuring himself against the average White (who belongs to a majority-power group possessed of an "unalterable and indomitable determination" to dominate), the average African can hardly be unaware of his (imposed) weakness and tends to accommodate himself to a set of conditions that are, as it were, for him, "given." Secondly, the formal and informal social mechanisms devised by the White group to enforce social distance are not without their effect on the African educator's cognition of the social situation of his action in the educational system. Here, he is confronted with a series of anti-Black-White relations legislation, regulations, and bye-laws; and with a complex of anti-African White attitudes ranging all the way from the condescending sociability of the elite to the downright vulgarity of the bus-conductor and the female shop-assistant.

And/.....

And, thirdly, the White ideology itself has the function not only of rationalising the social distance principle, but also of mobilising White opinion and sentiment to its unrelenting maintenance.

Hence, with all these considerations impressed on the African educator, it would appear that, in order to save the educand from internal and external conflicts and frustrations, in South Africa, and from the mounting intergroup tensions and conflicts, he would only be rational and realistic if he adopted this alternative of confining his efforts to the preparation of the educand for free social interaction and integration with his own group only and worked towards the narrower goal of African group solidarity.

But it is our contention that these rational considerations are not sufficient to resolve the dilemma of the orientation of the African educator created by the two sets of ideological role-expectations. While the factors or imperatives discussed above would seem to impel the African educator towards accommodative acceptance of the Apartheid difinition of the situation and role-expectations, there are, within the South African

social/.....

social system, other imperatives, perhaps just as potent, impelling him towards the Integrationist horn of the dilemma.

The first of these is the reality of the trend of the acculturation of the African in the Western style - a trend that has been developing for three centuries. The African educator is aware of the fact that (a) the result of culture contacts between Whites and Blacks in South Africa has been and still continues in the direction of cultural homogeniety - primarily on the Western norm; (b) this trend is beneficial to South Africa in that it reduces the number of differences among racio-ethnic groups destined to share a common soil; and (c) effective social interaction (inter-personal and inter-group) is an important factor in group solidarity. His awareness of these facts forces upon his mental palate a picture of a great South Africa, consisting of a number of racial groups freely and effectively interacting within a common territory and on the basis of a material and non-material culture that is gradually but surely becoming the common heritage of all South Africans - to the ultimate end of building up a greater and stabler and more solidary South

Africa than the present. And this challenges the African educator to work for the realisation of the role-expectations defined in the Integrationist ideology rather than those defined in Apartheid.

The picture of a great South Africa referred to above has been crystallised in the Integrationist ideology itself. In this sense this ideology may be considered as a second imperative impelling the African educator to adopt the alternative of pursuing the goal of the solidarity of the South African community as a whole. We have said that, according to this ideology, the African educator is expected to contribute to the achievement of African group solidarity not as an ultimate aim of socialisation in education but as a step towards the realisation of a stabler and more solidary South African society.[4] In so far as the African educator is solidary with his group - in the sense of sharing

their/.....

---

4 We pointed out in our outline of the Integrationist ideology that the hope for a spontaneous change of heart in the Whites and, hence, a voluntary democratisation of the society has been abandoned by the African group. It is therefore held by this group that only through African unity (and, perhaps, including the lovers of democracy from the other groups) can a democratic reorganisation of the society be compelled and achieved. A united African-group front must form the spearhead of a crusade for the generalisation and entrenchment of democratic principles in South Africa.

their integrationist values and ideals - he finds himself under moral obligation (as a leader) to co-operate with his group towards the realisation of its ideal of social organisation. That the building up of a number of smaller solidarities in a society is not necessarily incompatible with the solidarity of the wider society is but a sociological commonplace.

The problem is that of establishing sound and consensus-commanding principles of mutual relations, of the allocation of power and possessions and of integration. The African group finds these principles in the democratic creed. And the African educator is under moral obligation to his group and to South Africa to dedicate himself to the establishment and generalisation of these principles through the agency of the African educational system.

Thirdly, the objective co-existence of a definition of the situation in terms of the principle of vertical social distance and a definition of the same situation in terms of the democratic principle of equality within the same society creates a feeling in the African educator that "there is something rotten in the State of

Denmark"/.....

Denmark." This sets up a mental and moral challenge for every South African who is in a responsible position and has the interests not only of his own group but also of the South African society at heart. For the African educator, to accept the definition of the situation in terms of the principle of social distance would be a defeatist surrender of a higher and greater responsibility and of an ideal calculated to create a stabler and greater South Africa. It would be an unholy sacrifice of an ideal on the altar of expediency.

THE CRITERION OF A COMMON RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WEAL AND WOE OF THE SOCIETY

The assumption and sharing of a common responsibility for the weal and woe of a society, as we have said earlier, is another index of solidarity, perhaps the most important. This common responsibility is the very essence of citizenship in the broadest sense. In chapter VI we have distinguished four important aspects of this responsibility; namely, (a) voting (that is, responsibility for setting up the regulatory machinery involving the expression of

sentiments of "belongingness"), (b) leadership (that is, responsibility for running the regulatory machinery involving integrative functions); (c) defence (that is, protection of the society against physical and ideological aggression), and (d) respect and observance of law and order (that is, not merely as a matter of rational expediency but as a matter of "morality").

In this aspect of group solidarity, the African educator is, once more, confronted with a dilemma arising from the two conflicting ideological role-expectations. The Apartheid role-expectation here is that the African educator shall prepare the African educand for sharing a common responsibility for the weal and woe of his own group only and apart.

> "It should be understood clearly that the Government will under no circumstances entertain the idea of giving administrative or executive or legislative power over Europeans, or within an European community, to Bantu men and women or to other smaller non-European groups."[5]

In other words, within a common South African society there is no opportunity for the African to share a common responsibility with the Whites for the/.....

---

5 Prime Minister (Dr. Malan), in a letter to the African National Congress, dated the 29th January, 1952.

for the weal and woe of South Africa - especially with respect to the setting up and running of a common regulatory machinery. Hence, there is an implied futility in the African educator's possible attempts at socialising the African educand for solidarity with the South African collectivity in this respect. However,

> "It (Government) is only too willing to encourage Bantu initiative, Bantu services, and Bantu administration within the Bantu community, and there to allow the Bantu full scope for all his potentialities."[6]

This implies the reasonableness of an African educator who will apply himself to the task of preparing his educands for assuming integrative responsibilities only "within the Bantu community." And the African educational system is being re-organised into "Bantu education" in order to meet precisely this expectation that African educands shall be prepared for sharing a common responsibility apart and for the weal and woe of the Bantu community only.

The integrationist role-expectation here is diametrically opposite. It is that the African educand shall be prepared for sharing

a common/.....

---

6 Ibid.

a common responsibility not only for his own group but also for the integrated South African whole. In terms of the four aspects of this criterion of group solidarity, the African educator is expected to prepare the educand for sharing in common with the rest of South Africa; (a) the responsibility for setting up the regulatory machincery on all levels - the Central, the Provincial and the Local; (b) the responsibility for running the regulatory machinery on all levels - the legislative, the executive, the judicial and the administrative; (c) the responsibility for the defence of South Africa from physical and ideological aggression by all the enemies of democracy whether they be without or within South Africa - in low or in high places; (d) the responsibility for respect, obervance and maintenance of democratic law and order.

Here again the African educator is confronted with the same general dilemma in his orientation to the objective of group solidarity. His problem is whether he must aim only at achieving African group solidarity by preparing the educand for assuming and sharing common civic responsibilities within his own group or whether he must look beyond

this/.....

this to achieving South African group solidarity by preparing the educand for assuming and sharing common civic responsibilities within the South African collectivity as well. It is our view that choice between these two alternative orientations is not an easy task for the African educator. There are powerful imperatives in both directions creating for him a real dilemma.

With regard to the imperatives towards the Apartheid role-expectations, we submit that, firstly, the objective South African situation operates on the African educator as an imperative towards rational accommodation to the situation as something "given" both for himself and for the educand. We shall desribe each of the relevant aspects of the situation briefly and show how they impel the African educator towards the Apartheid horn of the dilemma.

In the setting up of the Central regulatory machinery, the Africans' share of responsibility is negligible (that is, the election of three White "Native Representatives" into the House of Assembly and four White Senators), and, even then, not on a common basis with the wider collectivity. And in the setting up of the Provincial and

Municipal/.....

Municipal regulatory machinery he has no responsibility whatsoever. And in view of the "unalterable and indomitable determination" of the Whites not to grant political power or means to such power (the vote) to Non-Whites, it would appear rational, in the situation, for the African educator to accommodate his educational outlook and efforts to the Apartheid idea of "self-governing "Bantu institutions" in the utopian "areas of liberty." That is, implicit in the rigidity and reality of the situation there is what we may call a logical adaptive imperative towards accommodation. This implies that the African educator is impelled by the rigidity of the situation to accept the impossibility of the African educand's future participation in the setting up of the common South African regulatory machinery as "given;" and then to accept, as logically inescapable, the ideal of preparing the African educand for responsible participation in setting up regulatory institutions in his own group only.

The position is similar in the case of responsibility for running the regulatory machinery - that is, leadership roles on the legislative,

executive/.....

executive and judicial levels within the South African collectivity. And the Whites have no intention to open incumbency to these roles to Africans, seeing that this would be a violation of the principle of White supremacy. While the position in the case of police leadership roles is slightly better, Hoernle rightly points out that:

> "The Native community can never look upon the police force as its servants, seeing that it is the White group alone which has created and maintains the force."[7]

Recall that in practice the African police deals almost exclusively with the African group. So that, the Africans have either little or no leadership responsibility, in this respect, to the wider collectivity. The moral self-alienation of the African from the police regulatory-machinery set up in the wider collectivity and the segregation that is already in force in the operation of this machinery are, in our view, important pre-disposing factors to the African educator in his orientation to the objective of group solidarity in this respect. That is, the alternative of preparing the African educand for solidarity with his own group only, in this respect, is not a far cry. It is

in the/.....

---

7 R.F. Hoernle, op. cit., p. 7.

in the logic of the situation.

The case of defence leadership responsibility in and to the South African community is just as hopeless for the African group. Hoernle sums up the position succinctly:-

> "The Defence Force, officers as well as the rank and file, is wholly manned by Whites; and Whites alone... are liable for military service. There are no Native askaries in the Union; indeed, it is one of the corner-stones of South African Native policy that Natives should be neither armed with nor trained to the use of European weapons of warfare."[8]

Thus the African has no responsibility in the defence of South Africa by arms. However, the anomaly here is that the Apartheid ideology makes no provision for the African's defence of his own group by arms even in the "areas of liverty" either. And the Bantu educational system is <u>not</u> expected to prepare the educand for any armed defence responsibilities even in his own "community." This is a sphere of civic responsibility that is completely closed to the African group - in the interests of White "domination for all time." This leadership role, therefore, is irrelevant to the African educator; he cannot even sponsor cadet training in African education.

We may/.....

---

8 <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 5.

We may now turn to the aspect of commonly shared responsibility for respect and observance of law and order. Here we have in mind not so much the rational avoidance of breach of law (that is, as an act of expediency) as respect for law as an attitude or act of moral obligation. It is our contention that, in so far as group solidarity is defined in terms of responsibility for the observance and respect of law, the responsibility placed on the African is far out of proportion in comparison with the responsibility placed on him in the other spheres of civic responsibility mentioned above. In addition to the general laws applying to all South Africans, there is a large matrix of discriminatory legislation which he is called upon to respect and observe. These are so objectionable to the African that they can neither be cathected and introjected by the African nor can they be institutionalised within the African group. They are anathema. In so far as they define roles and statuses within the wider society, they do so to the disadvantage of the African. In so far as the African shares no responsibility in their formulation and promulgation (but only in their

enforcement/.....

enforcement), they fail to command the moral respect of the African; they are bitterly opposed and sometimes openly defied. In this sense, their observance by the African can only be mechanical (that is, as a matter of rationality and expediency) and enforced (through a strict police system); but it cannot be moral.

Further, the manner in which such laws are enforced is such as to lessen the chances for the development of moral obligation in the African for their respect and observance. Hoernle's description of the attitude of the African group to the Police Force in this case is illuminating:

> "The discriminatory legislation, ... with the enforcement of which the Police is obliged to harass the Native population, inevitably colours the feelings of the Natives with hostility, fear ans suspicion, ... just because of the nature of the policeman's duties in relation to them, and because of his bearing towards them, they (Natives) feel the policeman to be an organ of White domination."[9]

The evocation of such attitudes towards law and the machinery for its enforcement leaves very little room for the introjection within the African and institutionalisation within the African community of discriminatory legal precepts. That is,

it prevents/.....

---

9 Ibid., p. 7.

it prevents the development, in the African, of a common moral responsibility for respect and observance of such law. And in so far as respect and observance of law is an index of group solidarity, we may safely conclude that the African group is forced by the exigencies of the South African set-up into a position where it cannot be solidary with the South African collectivity.

Crime and offence statistics in South Africa indicate this lack of solidarity of the African group with the wider collectivity in this respect. The White layman often concludes that the African community is irresponsible and inherently lacks a sense of moral responsibility for respect and observance of law. This is obviously incorrect. Instead, there is an inherent contradiction in the South African society. That is, the African is forced and expected to be as non-responsible as possible (regarding all the other civic responsibilities referred to above) but at the same time he is forced and expected to be fully responsible for the moral respect and observance of law. The former expectation gives him no scope for self-identification, integration and solidarity with the wider society

and/.....

and, therefore, prevents the development of moral obligation towards those institutions of the wider society which are, in their effect on him, objectionable. And in his reaction to a situation which spells non-responsibility for him he is labelled as inherently irresponsible. For the reasons given above, the African makes but a poor show, in this case, as his performance can only be mechanical and enforced in a manner that is, itself, objectionable. As a result of his exclusion from many civic responsibilities in the wider society, he tends to be morally alienated from its civic machinery; and in so far as this moral alienation is a factor in the orientation of the African educator to the objective of group solidarity, it has the effect of impelling him towards the Apartheid horn of the dilemma.

In the light of the Apartheid definition of the situation and role-expectation, it becomes an alternative worth considering by the African educator whether, after all, he should not make a clear break with the wider collectivity and apply himself to preparing the educand for assuming responsible integrative roles and statuses only within his own community rather than

in the/.....

in the wider community. In other words, there is a logical adaptive imperative here driving him to this alternative orientation to his task. Although this alternative, in the logic of the existing situation (that is, the grim determinaion of the upper stratum not to allow the African to share in the common major civic responsibilities in the wider collectivity), would appear rationally worth-adopting, a number of factors make it objectionable. These have the further function of acting as imperatives, on the African educator, in the direction of the Integrationist horn of the dilemma; and the two functions must be borned in mind as we proceed.

Firstly, this alternative is objectionable because of the scope of African civic self-determination and self-government that the White group, in terms of the Apartheid ideology, is prepared to allow the African group - even in their own "areas of liberty." The White group has said, through its spokesman and Prime Minister (Dr. Malan), that it will not have "independent Black states to threaten White South Africa." And the fact that the White superstratum is determined to dominate

the South/.....

the South African social structure means that the idea of separate and absolute African civic self-determination and attendent responsibilities is an impossibility. It must always be a matter of restricted African civic responsibility and solidarity under White domination. And in South Africa where there is a great amount of free-floating fear and ignorance about the African, suspicion of his motives and illusions of the "Black threat to White Civilisation," the policy of White domination leaves the narrowest possible scope for African civic self-determination even within his own community. And even the "concessions" to African self-determination contained in some of the recent legislation[10] are subject to the criterion of compatibility with the principle of White domination. This scope is so narrow that it cannot satisfy even the barest minimum of the African group's civic aspirations. Hence, no African educator would easily commit himself to the objective of preparing the educand only for civic responsibilities within so narrow a scope without feeling that he was

doing/.....

---

10 Vide: the Bantu Authorities Act and the Bantu Education Act.

doing his people and his country a disservice. Rather, in view of this, the tendency is for him to align himself with his group in its struggle to achieve civic recognition and civic responsibility within a common South African society. In this sense, he is challenged and persuaded within himself to meet, in his educational efforts, the role-expectations, defined for him in the Integrationist ideology rather than those defined in Apartheid.

Secondly, as already implied in the preceding paragraph, African group solidarity as an end in itself is incompatible with the African's conception of the status ideal. Thus, even if the scope of African group solidarity were not as narrowly circumscribed as we have described it, the idea of the objective of African group solidarity as an end in itself would still be objectionable. With regard to civic responsibilities, the African group holds that these must be distributed and limited primarily on universalitic criteria irrespective of racio-ethnic origin and affiliation or any such predetermined and arbitrary criteria. The institutional systems - instrumental, integrative and expressive - must continue; but the allocative and integrative

norms/.....

norms and criteria must be primarily universalistic. The idea of African group solidarity, as an end in itself, is born of the very classificatory, allocative and integrative criteria of which the African seeks to purge South African society. The African educator shares with his group this vision of an equalitarian South Africa; and he cannot, therefore, easily commit himself to the Apartheid horn of the dilemma without feeling that he is being inconsistent with the conception of the status ideal upheld by his group. The moral likelihood is for him to cast his lot with his group and work within the educational system towards the realisation of this ideal.

Thirdly, the African educator's awareness of his group's vision of this status ideal is reinforced by his awareness of the inconsistency that prevails within the European group as regards the distributions of civic responsibilities and the implication of that inconsistency. The concept, for instance, of universal human suffrage for all civilised persons - subject only to age and minimum literacy limitations - is one of the cornerstones of citizenship in the South African upper stratum. But practice disregards the presence

of educated/.....

of educated and civilised persons within the African group. The latter demand consistency in this case. Acceptance of the status quo by the Africans would imply acceptance of the implication that even the best educated adult Africans are not civilised and, therefore, are not eligible for participation in this aspect of the civil life of "civilised" South Africa. It would imply admission of cultural inferiority. Such a consideration, therefore, would tend to repel the African educator from the Apartheid horn of the dilemma and impel him towards the Integrationist horn - if for no other reason, than to prove a case.

This brings us to the fourth factor that makes the Apartheid alternative objectionable: namely, that the educated African has, as a result of his formal and informal acculturation in the Western style, ceased to think in the narrower terms of tribal isolationism and has learned to think in terms of the wider issues.

The implicit assumption in the Apartheid role-expectations is that the African's civic aspirations are or ought to be local and communal in the narrower sense. But there is,

as we have indicated, a rising tide of African nationalism. This tide has spilt over into the wider issues of South African nationalism and into the even wider issues of world internationalism. That is, in terms of his national sentiments made articulate in his ideology, he has come to identify himself and his group with the wider South African collectivity and with the still wider universal human family. And if he must strive for group solidarity, it must ultimately be the solidarity of the wider collectivity within the borders of South Africa and even beyond the borders. Like all patriots he would love to serve his country in all the major roles of civic responsibility. Nothing short of this will satisy him. And any African educator who applied himself solely to contributing towards African group solidarity as an end (an end that cannot be absolute) would be viewed as a traitor not only to African society and its ideals but also to South Africa as she should be. Thus, the African educator, is by virtue of his moral "belongingness" to the African group impelled to meet the role-expectations of the Integrationist ideology, in this case also, rather than those of

Apartheid.

In the few preceding paragraphs we have attempted to indicate that the African educator, in his dilemma of the Apartheid and Integrationist role-expectations with respect to preparing the educand for civic responsibilities, is impelled by logical adaptive imperatives towards self-accommodation to the Apartheid role-expectations. We have also indicated that while he is thus impelled towards this alternative, he is at the same time repelled from it by a number of considerations. On close observation, these appear to spring from the fact of his "belongingness" to the African group, which fact makes his sympathies with the African group's aspirations and ideals and the fulfilment of the relevant role-expectations of this group an inescapable moral obligation. Hence, he is partly <u>rationally</u> impelled towards the Apartheid alternative and partly <u>morally</u> repelled from it; and, by the nature of the situation, impelled towards the Integrationist horn of the dilemma.

We should emphasise that the African educator is not simply negatively impelled to the Integrationist horn of the dilemma as a result of

his/.....

his repulsion from the Apartheid alternative. He is, positively and irresistibly drawn and morally bound to this alternative by bonds of will - primarily by "natural will" - in so far as his group is involved in a series of organic relationships with other groups, and in so far as he is expected, by virtue of his education, to help in the rational re-organisation of those relationships in a manner that is consistent with his group's ideals. Hence, his adoption of the Integrationist alternative would mean, to him, not renunciation of the aspirations and ideals that he voluntarily shares with his group, but their retention, not passive accommodation to an objectionable status quo, but an active attempt to modify some of its aspects to allow for the full emergence of the status ideal. It would give promise of the ultimate realisation of the ideal of South African group solidarity; and would be compatible with the rising concern, among educated Africans, with the wider issues of the South African and the World "Communities." And the African educator would dedicate himself to the task of preparing the educand for sharing, on an equal basis, the integrative and expressive roles and statuses in South Africa,

and feel/.....

and feel that he was doing meritorious service, both to his African group and to the South African collectivity by contributing, ultimately, to the solidarity of the latter. And the African's Integrationist ideology challenges him to choose this alternative.

But this horn of the dilemma is not un-beset with difficulties also. On the whole the considerations that tend to impel the African educator towards the first alternative also tend to repel him from the Integrationist alternative. We have summed these considerations under the concept of logical adaptive imperatives - which arise from the logic of the situation, that is, the realisation by the African educator of the nature of the status quo and the rigid measures taken by the Whites to maintain it "at all costs." However, there are a number of other specific factors which tend to repel the African educator from the Integrationist alternative and impel him towards logical adaptive accommodation to the status quo as defined in Apartheid terms. These arise from the consideration by the African educator of the implications, chiefly for the African educand, of a preparation for common participation while the status quo/.....

quo remains caste-ridden. In view of this, choice of this alternative entails three problematic results.

Firstly, it sets up a strain for consistency in the thought process of the African educator and a strain for being realistic in his teaching process. "How can I logically continue to prepare the educand for solidarity with the wider collectivity when I know quite well that this end cannot be realised before South Africa bathes in blood? Should I not wait till then? How can I realistically teach towards this end if South Africa offers the African educand no model of and no opportunity for practice in the statesmanlike and patriotic shouldering of the major civic responsibilities for the welfare of the South African collectivity as a whole?" These are crucial and disquieting questions for the African educator in his morally inescapable orientation towards the Integrationist role-expectations.

Secondly, this alternative involves the exposure of the educand to the pangs of dissatisfaction and frustration when he comes to realise the apparent futility of and conflict

involved/.....

involved in his attempts to identify himself with the issues and responsibilites of the wider South African community. In the Debate on the Bantu Education Act, the Minister of Native Affairs points this out clearly:

> "If the Native in South Africa today in any kind of School in existence is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake."[11]

South African society is a well-set stage for the production of pangs and frustrations, tensions and conflicts in an African educand who has been oriented towards life in South Africa in terms of the Integrationist ideology and role-expections. He either has to resign his ideal for South Africa and live at peace with his mind, and lead a <u>non-responsible</u> life which may easily degenerate into an <u>irresponsible</u> life or he may remain true and loyal to his ideal for South Africa and live at war not only with his mind but also with the dominant racial caste. A pair of horrifying alternatives! And the African educator is called upon, by the very nature of his task, to decide on which line he will start/....

---

11 House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), No. 10/1953, Col 3586.

will start and orient the educand. There are powerful imperatives on both sides: the logic of the situation defined by the Apartheid ideology and impressed on the African educator by the grim reality of the racial caste structure, on the one hand; and the moral challenge of the situation defined by the Integrationist ideology and reinforced by a belief in democratic values, on the other.

Thirdly, this alternative involves the development, in the educand, of a critical attitude towards the status quo and, thus, the ultimate creation of a dynamic group of Africans within the social structure. This element is what the Minister of Native Affairs has called "the dissatisfied products of the wrong educational system (who) come into conflict with the European community."[12] From our knowledge of the rigidity of the racial caste barriers and the instability of racial caste structures, we can easily realise that, left to itself, this element would be disruptive to the social structure at many points.

It is the duty of the African educator, dictated by the/.....

---

12 House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), No. 10/1953, Col. 3590.

by the very nature of education as an institutional system of socialisation and social control, to guide this potentially disruptive element along channels that are socially useful and socially good in the present as well as in the foreseable future of South Africa. But South Africa has no sonsensus on these vital issues of social utility and social morality. Admittedly, for the African educator, as an African, the picture of what is socially useful and good for South Africa is explicitly formulated in the Integrationist ideology. But we maintain that his picture of the present as well as of "the shape of things to come" in South Africa is blurred by the clash of the two ideologies. South Africa has no commonly shared picture of herself within the span of human perception. She lives in the controversial present and has no consensus regarding the morrow. But the African educator is called upon, by the very nature of his task, to give the African educand an orientation to the blurred present and to the foreboding future.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DILEMMA ARISING FROM THE OBJECTIVE OF INDIVIDUAL EFFECTIVENESS

The dilemma arising in the African educator's orientation to the objective of individual effectiveness centres around the scope and degree of the development of the African educand's individuality elements - powers, potentialities and aptitudes - in which the African educator should be interested.

Although the Commission has, theoretically, stated that:-

> "From the viewpoint of the individual, the aims of Bantu education are the development of character and intellect, and the equipping of the child for his future work and surroundings,"[1]

the Minister of Native Affairs has suggested that, in practice, the relevant role-expectation here is:-

> "To provide the Bantu with an education not concentrated on the interests of the individual."[2]

He castigates the Missions for their concentration on the interests of the individual. He contrasts sharply the education given in these "schools and the broad national policy" of White domination,

and/.....

---

1 Report: U.G. No. 53/1951, par. 765.

2 Minister of Native Affairs, "Bantu Education Policy for the Immediate Future," (Pretoria: Information Service of the Department of Native Affairs, 1954), p. 5.

and unequivocally rejects such education because it was "unsympathetic to the country's policy."[3] And, in moving the Second Reading of the Bantu Education Act in the House of Assembly, he expressed the Apartheid role-expectation with regard to the objective of individual effectiveness as follows:

> "Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live,... if my Department controls Native Education, it will know for which type of higher profession the Native can be trained, whether he will make a living with this knowledge, instead of choosing his own path in a direction where he cannot find a sphere of activity, thus turning him into a frustrated and dissatisfied being."[4]

In other words the Apartheid ideological role-expectation here is that the <u>individual</u> shall be subordinated and accommodated to the <u>social</u> structure. That is, only those elements of individuality of the African educand which the White-dominated racial caste structure can accommodate shall be developed - and in a direction that is predetermined by the organisation of the status quo. The social structure is, from this point of view, fixed, rigid and pre-ordained. Its rigidity, as the Minister recognises, has

the effect/.....

---

3 <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 7.

4 House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), No. 10/1953, Col. 3585.

the effect of turning an African whose individuality has been developed under a liberal tradition of education "into a frustrated and dissatisfied being" in the sense that it limits his "opportunities in life." This raises the problem; should the individuality of the African be restricted in its development to the "opportunities" afforded by the South African caste structure or should the social structure be readjusted so that it can accommodate the powers, potentialities and aspirations of the diverse individuals that constitute it.

Whereas, as we have noted, the Apartheid ideological role-expectation is that the individuality of the educand shall be adjusted to the social structure, the Integrationist ideological role-expectation is that the individuality of the educand shall be developed fully in the liberal tradition and that, the social structure should constantly adjust itself to accommodate diverse talents and contributions of all its members to the enrichment of its life and institutional systems. From this point of view, the African educational system is expected to aim at:

"the developement of the intellectual, moral, physical and aesthetic capacities of the individual,

the release/.....

the release of the creative forces within him..... with a view to the accomplishment of his purpose as a human being, his utilisation and enjoyment of the material and cultural achievements of the human race, and his responsible participation in society."[5]

The emphasis here is on "the capacities of the individual," (not on State Policy and the caste structure it seeks to maintain). The individual is viewed "as a human being" (not as a member of a group that must be dominated "for all time"). He is viewed as an heir to the "material and cultural achievements of the human race" (not as an heir only to "Bantu culture"). And he is expected to contribute of his individuality through "responsible participation in society" (not in a society set apart from the rest of"the human race").

While this point of view upholds,

"the primacy of an education designed to develop the whole personality of the individual (it) recognises that education must inevitably take socio-economic considerations into account; which considerations, however, should never be paramount."[6]

From these two conflicting points of view issues forth a dilemma for the African educator: Must he, in terms of the Apartheid ideological role-expectations, restrict the development of the

individuality/.....

---

5 Record of Proceeding of the National Conference on the Report of the Native Education Commission, Race Relations, 1952, p. 2.

6 Ibid., p. 3.

individuality of the African educand to the pre-ordained socio-economic pigeon-holes in the racial-caste social structure; or must he, in terms of the Integrationist ideological role-expectations, develop the "capacities of the individual" (African educand) "with a view to the accomplishment of his purpose as a human being?" Here again we shall attempt to show that the African educator is partly impelled to and partly repelled from each horn of the dilemma by a series of considerations arising from (a) the logic of the social situation, (b) reactions to the ideological situation, (c) traditions of educational theory and (d) ethics.

It is our view that the rigidity of the South African social structure and the clearly delimited socio-economic pigeon-holes (in terms of colour-bar legislation) have the subtle function of conditioning the African and the African educator to a reaction of fatalistic accommodation to the status quo. That is, the social situation as thus described tends to impress itself on the African educator as "given." Add to this the fact that the institutional patterns that regulate his action as a Civil servant are

an/.....

an integral part of the total situation of his action. In part, they are the conditions of his incumbency of the role of African educator. This has become increasingly clear with the present reorganisation (disorganisation?) of his system of action and the further steps envisaged in the new system for the near future. Hence from the rational point of view it would appear to be in the logic of the given social situation for the African educator to accommodate himself to the given situation and apply himself to the task of preparing the African educand (for whom the present and future situation of self-realisation and self-fulfilment is just as apparently given) for the realisation of his individuality in his predetermined "place" in the social structure.

In addition to this rational adaptive imperative towards accommodative orientation to the given status quo, there are a number of other imperatives which have the function of persuading the African educator towards the Apartheid horn of the dilemma.

Firstly, the utopian terms in which Apartheid - on the idealistic level - is phrased have the function of persuading the more credulous and undiscriminating African educators to believe

that the individualisation of the African educand according to the role-expectations of this ideology is in fact calculated to prepare him for self-realisation in "areas of liberty." That is, to prepare him for self-realisation in his own "sphere" will have the beneficial result of "full realisation of his potentialities" where there is no White competition. The persuasive power of this imperative lies in the fact that on this level, Apartheid has the function of obscuring or camouflaging its full implications on the lower level - that of expediency. On the idealistic level, for instance, such facts as these are obscured: (a) that the isolation of the African educand from the general society into a predetermined place means, in fact, his isolation from the broader heritage of the human race of which the Whites in South Africa are the chief purveyors; and (b) that Apartheid means the limitation of his scope for self-realisation to his in-group and not its expansion to wider and ever-widening "areas of liberty." In other words there is, in the ideological situation, an imperative of deception which has the function of enticing the African educator

to accept/.....

to accept the relevant Apartheid role-expectation without fully appreciating its practical and long-term implications for the African educand's as well as for the African group's self realisation.

Secondly, it is one of the exiomatic tenets of educational theory that education, to be effective, cannot afford to be in abstraction. It must be related to the social situation - its needs and possibilities. This is in line with the principle of relative social parallelism. And Apartheid tends to exploit this tenet to the utmost. That is, it appeals to the African educator in terms of a fundamental principle which he apparently cannot dispute. There is here what we may call an imperative towards logical consistency between educational theory and educational practice. Hence, if the African educator, would be logically consistent, it would appear imperative for him not to develop the individuality of the educand liberally but with all the restraints, repressions and inhibitions which the social situation demands. In strict Apartheid terms, it would appear logical and worthy of acceptance that in the pursuit of the objective of individual effectiveness:

"Education must train and teach people in accordance/.....

accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live."[7]

White this emphasis in educational theory may be expected to have the effect of impelling the less critical African educator towards an acceptance of the Apartheid horn of the dilemma, it is our view that the more critical educator may be expected to reject its ideologically-imposed rigour and absolutism in favour of an interpretation of the tenet in point in relative terms. Whereas in its socialising function, education is primarily focussed on the group - including the perpetuation of its social heritage, in its individualising function, it is primarily focussed on the individual personality - especially the development of its individuality for full self-realisation in roles. This concept of relative primacy of the individual personality,[8] in the individualising aspect of education, over group-welfare considerations imposes a moral necessity that if the individualisation of the educand must be articulated with the social situation, the latter must be sufficiently flexible not unduly to stunt the development of the

educand's/.....

---

7 Vide supra: Foot-note 4.

8 This is an accepted concept in liberal educational theory and is also entrenched in Western ethics.

educand's individuality and not to thwart or frustrate his post-school attempts at self-realisation. And hence, there is an implied moral necessity that if the social situation is too inflexible, then articulation of the individualisation of the educand there-with is an "immorality act" of violence against the educand's inalienable rights to full individuality-development and subsequent self-realisation "as a human being" - not as a cog in an ideologically contrived social machine.

The more critical-minded African educator may be expected to perceive this far-reaching qualification to the tenet of realism in education introduced by the primacy of the individuality-orientation of education in its individualising function. From this point of view, the individual educand is viewed as an end in himself; and the full blossoming of his inmate powers and potentialities, an intrinsic value. This, being far from being antithetical to group or sodal welfare (except in the ossified aspects of group life), is, as we indicated in an earlier chapter, the basis of division of labour and organic solidarity of the group and the springboard of its progress.

Thirdly/.....

Thirdly, there is a moral imperative involved in the African educator's orientation to the Apartheid role-expectations with regard to the scope of individual effectiveness in which he should be interested. We have pointed out, in another context here, that in so far as the African educator is a Civil servant his incumbency of the role of educator imposes on him moral obligation not only to the institutional patterns governing his action but also to the role-expectations that he is officially expected to meet. It may only be the morally degenerate educator who does not at one time or the other make the decision of either retaining his role or of resigning from it; and, having decided to retain it, feel morally obligated to act up to the expectations entertained by his employers with regard to his orientation to the end-sector of his system of action. And, assuming that, on the whole, the African educator is morally alive, we may expect him to be under pressure from his own moral consciousness to act in the light of the institutionally given definition of his situation (in terms of legislation, regulations and ordinances) and to conform with the role-

expectations/.....

expectations involved in his system of action. A number of factors re-inforce this imperative. Firstly, there is the factor of the explicitness of the definition of the situation and role-expectations inherent in the legislative prescriptions (especially, at present, the Bantu Education Act and so forth) so that the educator hardly has any delusions about what is morally expected of him while he retains his role; secondly, there is the factor of the inspectorial service which, from time to time, brings the role-expectations home to him and checks on moral lapses; and, thirdly, the system of rewards - especially in the form of promotions to higher status-roles for the faithful is an important factor. It should be admitted, however, that the latter factor may not only re-inforce a sense of moral obligation in the African educator but it may also be mixed up with considerations of self-interest - in terms of self-advancement and "rises." In any case, this does not eliminate its ultimate function as a re-inforcing imperative towards Apartheid role-expectations with respect to the scope of individual effectiveness to be pursued by the

African/.....

African educational system.

However, without nullifying the involvement of this moral imperative in the orientation of the African educator, we must point out that it does not follow that the majority of the operating African educators act in this institutional system on the basis of an assumption of the ethical defensibility of the Apartheid role-expectations. The limitation of alternative employment opportunities in many other spheres in the South African racial caste structure accounts for the presence in the African educational system of many educators who, in terms of their own system of ethical values, feel so strongly against the Apartheid role-expectations that if there was an equal economic alternative, they would have long renounced these role-expectations and resigned their roles.[9] Perhaps two major considerations that still keep them in their roles are (a) to earn a living and (b) to serve the country, at least in some role.

Strong though the imperatives towards the Apartheid alternative are, it is our contention that

this/.....

---

9 Some empirical data supporting this point has been collected by us - from the leadership of the Natal African Teachers' Union at both the Branch and Central Executive levels - and is under preparation for publication as a separate paper.

this alternative invdves a nu ber of objectionable implications for the African educator and for the African group. It implies the renunciation of aspiration and ambition by both the educand and African community; and the reduction of life for the African to mere adaptation to a set of social conditions viewed as given. It implies the inhibition, to a large extent, of the personality needs for self-realisation and outstanding achievement; and the restriction of the emergence and flowering of the African's potentialities and talents to a small sphere predetermined for him on the criterion of racio-ethnic origin and affiliation that is, the particularistic racial "caste principle."

We have suggested earlier that the rigidity of the South African social structure has the effect of fostering accommodative reactions on the part of the African educator - in terms of the logic of the situation. But it is equally true that the same social situation has the effect of fostering mental and moral revolutionary reactions in the African educator. This apparently paradoxical combination of reacti ns by members of a minority to their social situation is not infrequent in multi-racial social situations.[10] The latter

reaction/.....

---

10 See, for instance, J. Dollard, Class and Caste in Southern Town, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937).

reaction arises as a result of the perception by the members of a minority group of the illogic of the situation. This is made possible through a contrast of the confessed values and confirmed practice. And the discrepancy between the two sets up a mental and moral challenge which, in this sense, reveals accommodative reactions as acts of mental and moral cowardice, and dishonesty which ought to be rejected. Hence, from this point of view, accommodative acceptance of the given social organisation, including predetermined pigeon-holes for the personality development and self-realisation of the educand and the given ideological definition of the situation, would appear to the African educator as mentally and morally cowardly and dishonest; and, thus, objectionable. It would appear as an unholy sacrifice of values - democratic values - on the altar of undemocratic practice.

In the light of the ideological situation, the acceptance of this alternative by the African educator implies acceptance of the status quo as identical with the status ideal and as, therefore, requiring only passive accommodation on the part of the African and the African educator.

But/.....

But there are more general reasons why this is an objectionable aternative not only to the African group but also for the South African collectivity. The relegation of the African, for instance, to realise himself in the unskilled and semi-skilled occupational pigeon-holes and the acceptance by the educator of the objective of preparing the educand for self-realisation only in these categories is both uneconomical and unethical.

For the South African collectivity, this alternative means much waste of man-power and potential, a waste that cannot be justified on economic grounds. This is what Clay[11] has to say in this respect:

" A development of Native capacity is sometimes regarded with fear.... These fears are, indeed, based on a fallacy that there is a limited amount of work to be done, and that if the Native does it the White man cannot do it.... There is no more social danger in cheap labour that in cheap capital, cheap power, or cheap land. All alike, by increasing the output of the community, increase the opportunities of economic welfare; all alike, by increasing the power to purchase of those that supply them, increase the demand for labour in the community fortunate enough to possess them. The relation of advanced and backward labour is more complementary than competitive."

At the same time a summary condemnation of a

section/.....

---

11 H. Clay, Report on Industrial Relations in Southern Rhodesia, C.S.R., 3, 1930, quoted in: S.R. Frankel, Capital Investment in Africa, (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), p. 106.

whole section - the numerically major section - of a population to eke out a miserable living from the less attractive occupations cannot be justified on any ethical grounds. It is inconsistent with the ethical standards of justice, equity and fair-play which are part of human civilisation which the Whites call "White civilisation" and seek to protect against no threat.

The Africans admire the standards and values of human civilisation and seek to have them diffused and applied throughout the social structure so that in the end they may cease to be the sole preserve of one community and become the social heritage of all South Africans. And on these grounds the African educator would find it difficult to work towards passively adapting the educand to a "place" which is delineated in such a way as to be indefensible on these ethical grounds.

With respect to the Integrationist alternative of a liberal development of the potentialities of the educand "as a human being," not arbitrarily limited by the imposition of particularistic criteria inherent in the social structure, we must point out that the considerations, mentioned above, which tend to repel the African educator from

the first/.....

the first horn of the dilemma, tend to impel him towards this horn. To recapitulate, these are: (a) the perception of the illogic of the situation which emerges when the co-existence of democratic values and undemocratic practice in South Africa are contrasted; (b) the perception of the full long-term implications of the Apartheid ideological role-expectations when they are stripped naked of their idealistic camouflage of "full development of personality" in the utopian "areas of liberty;" (c) the recognition of the primacy of the individual personality in the individualising aspect of education as a sound principle in educational theory - as sound as is the principle of the primacy of the social group is the socialising aspect of education; and (d) the fact of the disposition towards utilitarian attachment to and moral detachment of the majority of the African educators ~~to~~ from the Apartheid role-expectations.

However, as in the case of his being impelled to the Integrationist horn of the dilemma of the group-solidarity objective, the African educator is not altogether negatively impelled towards this horn of the dilemma in the case of the objective

of individual/.....

of individual effectiveness. That is, he is not merely forced to this horn of the dilemma as a result of his mental and moral revolt against the other horn of the dilemma. There are, in addition, positive and voluntaristic imperatives involved. In brief, he wants to adopt this horn of the dilemma of orientation to the objective of individual effectiveness. And his wanting to adopt this alternative orientation is inseparably bound up with the fact of the "wills and purposes" of the group of which he is a genetic member. His group wants him to adopt this alternative; and in so far as he is bound to the african group by bonds of genetic and moral "belongingness" this orientation has become introjected in him; it is part of his system of values as an individual person; and in his prefessional capacity it has been further re-inforced by the liberal or democratic tradition of educational theory in which he has been trained as an educator.[12]

We have suggested that this voluntaristic orientation of the African educator is bound up with the "wills and purposes" of the African

group/.....

---

12 This point is also supported by the empirical data referred to in footnote 9 (of this chapter).

group - that is, with the voluntaristic orientation of the African group itself. This is, a "social fact" in the strict Durkheimian sense. Rejecting the idea of individuality development "according to opportunities in life," the African group wants the development of individuality according to potentialities in life. This, we contend, is a social fact sui generis... "external" and "constraining" to the African educator. We may call it the imperative of the voluntaristic orientation of the African group.

This imperative is brought to bear on the African educator through the platform and through the press and through day-by-day intellectual interaction with the non-educator articulate members of his group. In their professional meetings and conferences, African educators often invite non-educator guest speakers - who are usually in close touch with African group sentiment and opinion and who spare no pains in pointing out the direction of orientation to which the "wills and purposes" of the African group point. In public (including protest) meetings this direction is consistently pointed out. The Bantu

press/.....

press, from time to time, points out the general direction of "the struggle" in unequivocal terms: and, although there is a difference of opinion regarding the means or methods as between various African organisations, there is optimum unanimity on the goal of the full self-realisation not only of the African group but also of the African individual. And day-by-day contacts and conversations with "the man in the street" as well as with the African leadership in other spheres of life tend to keep the African educator in the stream of the "wills and purposes" of his group. And our point is that he is inevitably swept on by it towards the democratic goal (including its implications for his orientation to the objective of individual effectiveness) not only because he wants to but also because the group wants him to be, and thus he has to be thus swept on. He does not resist this imperative partly because he will not and partly because he cannot.[13]

However, while being consistent with the "wills and purposes" of the African group and of the African educator - including their conception of the development of individuality, subject primarily to innate capacity - this alternative has an

unrealistic/.....

---

13 At least, without "heaping on himself coals of fire" in the form of negative group sanctions attendent on an individual's defiance of the "wills and purposes" of his group.

unrealistic aspect that is frought with frustrations and tensions for the educand when he leaves school. Soon he must discover the discrepancy between the fixed status quo and the scope of self-realisation allocated to him on the criterion of racio-ethnic origin, on the one hand, and the status ideal to which his education, including the development of his individuality, has been oriented, on the other.

In this case, the difficulty of the African educator's self commitment to this horn of the dilemma is clear. It is the difficulty of calmly continuing to raise in the African youth hopes and expectations of self-realisation in status-roles for which they are naturally and educationally equipped; hopes and expectations of recognition and rewards commensurate with their innate aptitudes and educationally acquired skills - all of which are to be sooner or later shattered on the hard rock of the South African racial caste structure. It is the difficulty of continuing to develop the potentialities of the educand by equipping him with knowledge, skills and techniques that will never find scope for application except on the lower rungs of the occupational ladder however innately apt and technically competent and skilled the

graduand/.....

graduand may be.

Another difficulty involved is that the accumulation of embittered and frustrated individuals within the African group is a potential (sometimes) actual source of internal social disorganisation. Unable to diagnose their sorry plight and with the engineers of the frustrating racial caste beeing socially distant, these victims of the dilemma of the African educator turn round and prey on their own group - torturing it with compensatory anti-social action. And no African educator would easily commit himself to an alternative that involves the very antithesis of the spirit and purpose of education; that is, the cultivation of the educand's powers and potentialities so that they may be expressible in a manner that is satisfactory to himself and to the group or community in which he lives. Facile self commitment by the African educator to this alternative would seem to defeat both the socialising and individualising functions of education.

This situation also has a bearing on group relations. That is, the deviant behaviour of graduands resultant upon the failure of the African educator to help them achieve individual

effectiveness/.....

effectiveness - by predisposing them to frustration - is only observed by the other groups but is also sometimes directed against them. This tends to reinforce White sentiment against the African group - especially its educated members. And consequently the already rigid racial-caste barriers are further strengthened. That, in turn means more frustration for more Africans: more anti-social action; more anti-African sentiment. A closed vicious circle is set up and goes on and on. In the House of Assembly, the Minister pointed out this difficulty as follows:

> "Race Relations cannot improve if the wrong type of education is given to Natives. They cannot improve if the result of Native education is the creation of frustrated peope who, as a result of the education they received, have expectations in life which circumstances in South Africa do not allow to be fulfilled immediately, when it creates people who are trained for professions not open to them, when there are people who have received a form of cultural training which strengthens their desire for White-collar occupations to such an extent that there are more such people than openings available. Therefore, good relations are spoilt when the correct education is not given.... Above all, good race relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who created wrong expectations on the part of the Native himself, and if such people believe in a policy of equality...."[14]

In view of these considerations it would seem

difficult/....

---

14 House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), No. 10/1953, Col. 3576.

difficult for the African educator to choose this horn of the dilemma. This situation becomes a repellent from this alternative.

Another important consideration in this respect is that a vocational preparation to a thoroughness limited only by individual capacity is, for the African, a remote though entertained ideal. And, at present, financial limitations make it impossible for the African to do much for himself along the lines of this alternative. He must depend on the charity of the White financial benefactor. But is this charity forthcoming and, if so, to what extent? The White benefactors have decided to peg the African budgetary vote at its 1952 level - on the usual plea of lack of funds. Hoernle raises the general question:

> "And why this lack of funds? At bottom, because the dominant White community, whilst it does not actually prevent Native education, is not willing to provide for the Native children the same educational facilities which it provides for its own children. And the reason for this unwillingness, again, is the tacit recognition that a Native population educated to the same average level as the White population can no longer be dominated."15

This situation presents a practical difficulty for the African educator in his desire and effort to develop the powers and potentialities of the

educand/.....

---

15 R.F. Hoernle, op. cit., p. 14.

educand to the fullest. That is, this development must be subject not only to the educand's "opportunities in life" but also to the (deliberately) limited financial provisions dictated by those whose interest it is to dominate him "for all time" and "at all costs."

As long as the pursuit of the objective of individual effectiveness - in the liberal sense- continues to be accompanied by these repelling factors, the orientation of the African educator to it remains problematic. It does not allow for easy self-dedication by the African educator to the task of developing the individuality of the educand so that he can participate effectively and satisfactorily to himself in the social milieu of the wider collectivity. But, at the same time, he is impelled by the other factors discussed - including the African ideology which formulates his conception of the status ideal - not only to consider but also to choose this alternative. However, the other factors - including the White ideology, especially in its latest version - impel him both to consider and to adopt his "own lines" and - to develop the educand's individuality "according

to his/.....

to his opportunities in life."

In fine, the dilemma that confronts the African educator with reference to the objective of Individual Effectiveness is: whether he will be realistic or idealistic in his orientation to this objective. Will he meekly accept the status quo as identicial with the status ideal (as defined in the White ideology) and develop the individuality of the educand "<u>according to his opportunities in life</u>," or will he anticipate the development of the status ideal from the status quo (according to the idealism of the African ideology) and develop the individuality of the educand "<u>as a human being</u>?" Will he seek to prepare the educand for effective self-realisation only within a subordinate African community with the attendent arbitrary limitation of scope for the gratifying display of talent or will he seek to prepare him for effective self-realisation in a common equalitarian South African society with the attendent expansiveness of scope for the blossoming of individual innate capacity? We have tried to indicate that as a result of this dilemma, the African educator's

orientation/.....

orientation to this objective of education is indeterminate and problematic. There are imperatives as well as repellents on each horn of the dilemma; and in the meantime, the African educator has to get doing something towards the pursuit of the objective.

CHAPTER XIV

THE DILEMMA ARISING FROM THE OBJECTIVE OF TELIC SOCIAL CHANGE

The general dilemma of the African educator's orientation to the objectives of the educational system which we have tried to indicate with respect to the other two objectives is also implicit in the objective of Telic Social Change. In our earlier discussion of this objective and of the principle of relative social parallelism, we have suggested that in its adjustment to this objective the educational system involves the promotion of a progressive, systematic, rational and purposive departure from the status quo in the direction of some rationally or ideally appraised conception of social order and social functioning. We have suggested, further, that whereas this adjustment occurs, immediately, on the individual level, it carries over, ultimately to the group level. It is our contention, that in his orientation to this objective, the African educator is faced with a dilemma on both levels. We shall, therefore, treat each in turn.

PROMOTION/.....

PROMOTION OF TELIC CHANGE ON THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

On this level, it should be recalled from our discussion of this objective that the promotion of telic social change involves the following: (a) the cultivation, in the educand, of the scientific attitude of mind to his total environment- this means "the cultivating of a love of truth, a broad outlook, and objectiveness;"[1] a trust in reason and realistic thinking rather than in sentiment and sentimental thinking, and emancipation from the thraldom of rationalisations and ideologies through critical examination and testing of facts and theories; (b) the encouragment of creative imagination, thinking and idealism; that is, "the filling of the young mind with interests, ideals and the joy of life, avoiding represions;"[2] (c) having cultivated in the educand a scientific orientation towards the status quo and a spontaneously creative orientation towards a status ideal, education in this case involves "fostering in him contributive attitudes, preparing him to participate in common welfare activity which leads progressively, systematically and purposively

from/.....

---

1 J. Smuts, "Education for Freedom and Initiative," in E.G. Malherbe (ed), op. cit., p. 5.

2 J. Smuts, op. cit., loc. cit.

from the status quo to the status ideal.

It is our view that the Integrationist ideological role-expectations with regard to this objective, and on this level, are precisely in line with a conception of the promotion of telic social change in the manner outlined above; that is, the inculcation, of the scientific attitude, the encouragement of creativeness and the cultivation of contributive attitudes, in the African educand. This, in our view, does not need elaboration. It is of the essence of democracy to examine and weigh facts through research and free discussion; to allow for and encourage individual creativeness; and to harness these for gradual social transformation towards higher levels of social well-being. And in so far as the Integrationist ideology is based on a re-affirmation of democratic values and a desire for their generalisation and entrenchment in the social structure, it is clear that the role-expectation that African education shall promote telic social change in this manner in South Africa is implicit in the ideology as such.

At the same time it is our contention that

the Apartheid/.....

the Apartheid role-expectations, in this connection, are diametrically opposed to this conception of the promotion of telic social change, and, hence, to the Integrationist role-expectations. And in this sense, there is created a dilemma of orientation for the African educator on this level of the pursuit of the objective.

The Apartheid role-expectation here, is firstly, that the African educational system shall not inculcate in the educand the critical or scientific attitude of mind towards this total environment, which includes the status quo but an attitude of unquestioning acceptance of it as given. In the light of what we have said about the Apartheid ideology this bold proposition hardly needs documentation. It is in the interests of the Whites and of "White domination for all time" that the status quo should not be subjected to rigorous scientific examination and criticism. And a generation of young African educands equipped with the scientific attitude of mind towards it must of necessity be viewed as a potential disruptive element, threatening the social structure from within by exposing, through scientific analysis, the rational and moral indifensibility of its

fundamental/.....

fundamental principles and the system of social apologetics designed to defend the indefensible.

From this point of view, African education cannot be expected to cultivate " a love of truth," but an undiscriminating and omnivorous appetite for any "baked" "bread-crumbs that fall from the table of the masters;" nor "a broad outlook," but a narrow outlook prescribed by the Apartheid ideology in terms of hierarchical racial categories rather than equalitarian human categories; nor "objectiveness," but subjectiveness taking the form of sentiments and attitudes of racio-ethnic exclusiveness, dissociation from other Non-White groups and subordination to the White group. All this is in the interests of "White domination for all time." It involves a radical rejection of the scientific spirit; and this, for the Whites, we maintain, is "a functional necessity." And, hence, African education must be, and is, expected to meet this fundamental necessity. This, as we have said, earlier, is inseparably tied up with the White group's considerations of survival, and its "unalterable and indomitable determination" to keep their dominant position beyond questioning and criticism - scientific or otherwise.

It is/.....

It is, further, of the very nature of ideological education sponsored by a controlling group that all answers to questions regarding the social order are to be taken from the ideological system as given. For a description of the status quo the members of the minority group must accept the ideological distortions of the majority group. For a description of the status ideal - the social order to be desired - the minority group must accept the idealistic ideological mirages conjured by the egoistic altruism of the majority group. And the ways or processes for the transition from the one to the other must be the infinitely circuitons ones, prescribed by ideological legislation, and leading the minority group round and round the throne of the sovereign majority group.

In this case, the cultivation of the inquiring scientific frame of mind in the minority group becomes redundant. All the answers to questions on the social order are enshrined in the ideological creed or dogma. Independent scientific inquiry, in this sense, becomes a socio-political heresy. And the African educational system may, therefore not be expected to promote

this heresy/.....

this heresy against the omnipotent Whites and their ideological dogma. And if it does, as it has tended to do in the past, then it is another functional necessity that counter-measures must be taken to increase the social distance between the Whites and Africans so as to reduce or eliminate the immediate danger of the exposure of the assumptions and principles underlying the social structure through scientific criticism by qualified members of the minority group. These must be made or forced to apply their scientific training only within their own group. They must also be reduced in number to the barest minimum through a rigorous process of sifting and elimination in the primary school during which the largest possible number of African educands must be diverted to crafts and trades, allowing only a negligible proportion to proceed to higher learning which would inculcate in them contributive scientific attitudes.

The encouragement of creative imagination, thinking and idealism in the African educand is also not a role-expectation favoured by the Apartheid ideology - at least in human or universalistic

terms/.....

If the African educational system must encourage creativeness in the African educand, it must be a creativeness defined in racio-ethnic group terms and its expression limited to the life of the in-group. But in general human or universalistic terms - in which this creativeness is conceived in the Integrationist ideology - it is a potentially disruptive factor to the status quo: and, hence, incompatible with White group interests. Within the context of the plural South African society, the Apartheid ideological postulates and prescriptions must represent, to the minority groups, the pinnacle of creative imagination, thinking and idealism with regard to the status quo, the status ideal and telic social change.

In the present adult African population creative imagination, thinking and idealism in this connection is not tolerated. It is rigidly suppressed under the Supression of Communism Act: and the collective pooling of its creative resources is illegalised under the Ridous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Act. It is a heresy against the idealogical creativeness of the Whites and a crime against the imagination, thinking and

idealism/.....

idealism that has gone into the formulation of the ideology. The Apartheid programme represents the "blue print" for telic social change in South Africa - the "New Deal" whose complex implimentation must be stretched indefinitely "over many years."

In view of t his, it is logical to repeat that from the Apartheid ideological point of view, both the expresion of creativeness on the part of the African adult population and the encouragement of creative imagination, thinking and idealism on the part of the African educand - with respect to telic social change in South Africa - are redundant; and the African educational system is, for that reason, not expected to encourage this redundancy. Any creativeness along these lines among Africans must be turned inwards to find expression within the African in-group only.

Thus, from the point of view of the general society, the Apartheid ideological role-expectation in this connection is that the African educational system shall discourage any creative imagination, thinking and idealism oriented towards telic social change in South Africa. Positively, it is

expected to encourage either accommodative imagination, thinking and idealism in conformity with the Apartheid ideology or socio-politically innocuous imagination, thinking and idealism. If this should seem an unwarranted inference, we may ask the question: Why is liberal African education being abolished, and ideological Bantu education, substituted in its place?

The third aspect of the promotion of telic social change on the individual level we said was the fostering of contributive attitudes towards society - including preparation of the educand for participation in common welfare activity. In negative terms the relevant Apartheid role-expectation here is that the African educational system shall discourage the development of these attitudes in the African educand. On e of the points on which the abolished liberal African education has been strongly censured both by the Minister of Native Affairs and by the Secretary for Bantu education (Dr. Eislen) is that it fostered contributive attitudes towards the general society, including expectations and aspirations to participation in common welfare activity.

Both/.....

Both emphasise that this was fundamentally wrong and undesirable because there is no scope for such contributive attitudes, expectations and aspirations in the general society. Africans, in other words, are not expected to have or express these attitudes and to realise these expectations and aspirations in South Africa. They may have them and express them as members of a racio-ethnic group within that group (and even then within White safety-limits): but as <u>human beings</u> in a total society they must be contributively barren, entertain no expectations and aspirations for participation in a common social endeavour towards telic social change. The only welcome contribution they may and must make towards the general society is that of supplying cheap (menial) labour; the only legitimate expectation they may entertain is that of "the black bread of starvation;" and the only legitimate aspiration, to serve their White masters in pious humility.

In positive terms, we submit that the relevant Apartheid role-expectation implicit here is that the African educational system shall encourage in the educand, non-contributive attitudes towards telic social change in South Africa;

discourage/.....

discourage any "false" expectations and aspirations towards this end as defined in liberal terms; and encourage the development of contributive attitudes, expectations and aspirations that are consistent with the Apartheid ideological definition of the situation and the direction of telic social change it prescribes for South Africa. If this sounds unwarranted we may ask: why are the Teacher Training Schools, which produced the type of African educator who encouraged these attitudes, expectations and aspirations in liberal terms, being abolished and the Apartheid apologists instituting their own Teacher Training Schools, if not to produce a new type of Bantu educator prepared to develop these attitudes, expectations and aspirations in ideological terms?

In the light of the preceding discussion of the ideological role-expectations with regard to the promotion of telic social change on the individual level, it seems logical to us to insist that whereas the Integrationist role-expectation is that the African educational system shall prepare the African educand for telic social change, oriented to the democratisation of South African society, the Apartheid role-expectation is that it

shall not prepare him for this type of social change but rather for accommodation to a predetermined programme of ideological social change designed to guarantee "White domination for all time."

What is the significance of this divergence of role-expectations to the African educator in his orientation to the objective of telic social change? We suggest that this situation also presents a dilemma to the African educator. The problem is, whether in his orientation to the objective of telic social change he shall inculcate the scientific attitude, cultivate social creativeness and develop contributive attitudes in the educand as a human being, or discourage the development of these in the educand as a human being and only encourage it in the educand as a member of a subordinate group in terms of the Apartheid definition of the situation. In other words will his orientation to this objective be dynamic or accommodative? We submit that there are imperatives and repellents on each horn of the dilemma.

As a civil servant, he is rationally, if not ethically, constrained to commit himself to the accommodative horn of the dilemma. Given the situation and its Apartheid ideological

definition/.....

definition, he has the choice of either relinquishing his role or of retaining it. If he retains it, it is rational that he should conform to the definition of the situation and it is only ethical that he should perform his role honestly while he retains it. In other words, there is, for each functioning African educator, a rational and ethical imperative towards conformity or accommodation to the relevant Apartheid role-expectations.

A re-inforcing consideration here is that the general society is not prepared to recognise, appreciate or accept any contributions from the African graduand towards telic social change in South Africa. There is, involved here, a consideration of the futility of any effort, on the part of the African educator, directed towards the preparation of the African educand for telic contributions to the development of the country. Such contributions, as we have suggested, are viewed as redundant and as subversive to White domination. Add to this that an African educand who has thus been prepared is invariably sharply set against the policy of the country and the laws passed under that policy. He is made a

potential/.....

potential statutory criminal (for instance, in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act). Hence, if the African educator is to avoid expending his labour on a futile objective, and avoid setting the African youth against some of the legitimate laws of the land, thus defeating the end of the socialising function of education, it would seem imperative that he commits himself (and the educand) to the accommodative horn of the dilemma.

Whereas these considerations would tend to persuade the African educator towards the accommodative alternative, there are other considerations just as potent persuading him towards the dynamic alternative. We need not here belabour the point that, as an African, the African educator, owes the relevant Integrationist role-expectations moral obligation or that he voluntarily wants to perform his task in this respect according to the definition of the situation afforded by this ideology. Rather, we want to emphasise the factor of the tradition of educational theory under which he has been prepared for his task.

Until the undisguised introduction of ideological education, designed to accommodate the African educand and the African group to the

requirements/.....

requirements of State Policy, ~~and~~ the Teacher Training Institutions for Africans have been largely run by the Missionaries who, on the whole, have been champions of the liberal tradition in African education in South Africa. Although the liberal tendency in missionary education might have been largely based on Christian conceptions of the dignity and worth of the individual as an end in himself, its influence on the orientation of the African educator to his task has not been inconsiderable. This orientation has been further reinforced by the system of ideas that Child and Educational Psychology has contributed to the educator's understanding of the educative process. The emphasis here has been on the central position of the educand in the educative process and the primacy of the full development of his personality and his equipment for contributive participation in common societary activities with a view to his self-realisation and the advancement of society. The African educator has been steeped in this view of his responsibilities to the educand and, by implication, to society. Hence the Integrationist role-expectations are positively challenging to him and he feels that challenge

more keenly/.....

more keenly seeing that it is consistent with this tradition. And an educational tradition involving the subordination of the individual to arbitrary socio-political considerations is bound to be repulsive to him.

Add to this the fact that the African educator is aware of the implications of ideological social change which the Apartheid role-expectations envisage. This is particularly true of the leadership within the professional organisations who, on the whole, are voracious readers especially in the fields of education, history and South African socio-political problems. In this sense, they may be expected to be aware of the relevant and comparable implications of ideological education, especially in Germany and Italy, for the problem of telic social change through the educationaly system. Having no reason to suppose that the South African brand of ideological education will be fundamentally better in the sense of being less crushing to the development of the scientific attitudes on the part of the educand, the African educator tends to be repelled from the Apartheid horn of the dilemma towards the Integrationist.

Another important consideration here is that

if it/.....

if it is true, as the Native Education Commission suggests, that the African educator is, as a result of his acculturation in the Western direction, cut off from his racio-ethnic group, he is by no means willing to fall back into a state of tribal docility; nor is he willing that the rest of his fellow Africans should remain in that state. He wants to uplift them to the level of acculturation that he has attained. This cannot be done under a system of ideological education which emphasises the uncritical attitude, socio-political inertia, and the attitude of receptiveness with respect to the African's orientation to the general society - hence, his rejection of the Apartheid role-expectations. It can be done under a system of liberal education emphasising the cultivation in the African educand of the scientific attitude, creativeness and contributive attitude, creativeness and contributive attitudes towards the re-organisation of the genral society, so that the society ultimately affords scope for the fullest possible realisation of its human potential and its own possibilities for progress. Hence, here, there is an imperative towards the Integrationist horn of the dilemma. At the same time, while these

considerations/.....

considerations, impel the African educator towards the Integrationist horn of the dilemma, they also repel him from the Apartheid alternative, and those that impel him towards the Apartheid horn of the dilemma also tend to repel him from the Integrationist alternative. In this way a real dilemma of orientation is created for the African educator.

PROMOTION OF TELIC SOCIAL CHANGE ON THE GROUP LEVEL

The problem of education in a plural society is ultimately not simply that of the psycho-social adjustment of the individual educand to his total environment. In such a society it has another dimension, that of the mutual adjustment of the constituent groups between themselves, and between each and the total social system which all the groups taken together constitute. This dimension emerges in sharp relief when the promotion of telic social change, through the education of groups, is considered. Through a particular re-organisation of the educational system - with respect to the type of administrative and educative personnel,

the type/.....

the type of curriculum, the type of methods and the type of definition of the situation - a particular emphasis, which is calculated to result in a particular adjustment of group-relations and the relation of groups to their total environment, may be achieved. In this way, telic social change may be re-directed fron an equalitarian to a non-equalitarian adjustment of groups between themselves and their total environment - including the opportunities for access to the social and non-social resources of the society - and vice versa.

In such a situation it is important to note that the African educator's choice of orientation with regard to the alternatives presented by the two ideologies goes a great way, in so far as the educational system is an agency of social change, towards deciding whether South Africa will move towards an equalitarian form of mutual adjustment of the constituent groups or towards the perfection and perpetuation of the group inequalities characteristic of the status quo.

We have pointed out in our analysis of the Apartheid ideology that the African educational system is expected to be an agency of isolating the African group from the other three groups

and of/.....

and of subordinating it to White domination. On the group level, it is expected to lead systematically to such a form of non-equalitarian social organisation. Arrangements for the realisation of this role-expectation have already been made on several points within the system. Firstly, as if the setting up of a special State Department of Native Affairs was not sufficient to impress upon the African group a feeling of being different from the White group and the other groups - and difference in South Africa necessarily means inequality - a special Bantu Education Section of this Department has been set up further to indoctrinate this group with the dogma that it is "an independent race" - with "distinctive characteristics and aptitudes." As a result of its distinctiveness, its members may not share and participate in a common educational system. We must emphasise that it is not difference or horizontal distinctiveness that is implied here; it is <u>inequality</u> or vertical distinctiveness. White South Africa, on the inter-group level, thinks in vertical or hierarchical terms and acts along that plane. Add to this fact that at the top and at other strategic points in the administration of Bantu education stand the staunchest

Apartheid apologists.

Secondly, we have already referred, in another context, to the taking over by the State of the full control of the Teacher Training Colleges. We have pointed out that the primary reason for this is that the African educator produced in the Mission-controlled Teacher Training Schools were nurtured in a tradition of educational theory and ethics that made it impossible for them to work towards the ultimate adjustment of the South African racio-ethnics on the principle of inequality under White domination. Hence, the taking over of these institutions may correctly be interpreted as calculated to result in the production of African educators who will be disposed to utilise the influence of the educational system (on the African group) towards the realisation of the form of mutual group-adjustment envisaged in the Apartheid ideology. This will necessarily carry with it the implication of the unequal access of the groups to the total resources of the country, and the preparation not only of the educand but also of the group as a whole for accepting and accommodating itself

to the/.....

to the "place" allocated to it by the White benefactors.

A further preparation for the isolation and subordination of the African group through the educational system is implicit in the recommendations of the Native Education Commission regarding the curriculum or content of "Bantu education." The emphasis, according to the Commission must be (and will be) on manual work. The Native must be taught to use his hands rather than to use his head because an amphasis on the latter makes him despise his apportioned "place" as an endless reservoir of cheap menial labour and aspire to the White collar jobs which are the preserve of the White over-lord. His aspirations in this direction threaten to obliterate the Master and Servant distinction which must be maintained "for all time."

Another preparation for the re-organisation of White-Black group relations on the principle of inequality is implicit in the emphasis placed by the Commission and by the Minister on the Bantu Language medium in the curriculum. It is proposed that Bantu Education shall be conducted in the Bantu language, first in the Infant and

Primary Schools, and then progressively up the educational levels. The sociological import of this proposal for the future mutual relationships of the African and White groups in this country is tremendous. The function of a common language in the stablishment of rapport and mental inter-stimulation, and its effect on the reduction of social distance between groups cannot be overemphasised.[3] It is a basis of common social solidarity on the equalitarian principle. Hence, an African educational system using an international language - English - may ultimately lead systematically to a common society. On the other hand, the divisive function of a sectional and exclusive language is just as important in promoting isolationism and narrow ethnocentric group feelings. At the same time it has the function of robbing the group of the opportunities of benefitting directly from the human or universal heritage conveyed through the medium of a more universal language. It involves a handicap in direct participation on the national and international levels. This is

the/.....

3 We cannot go into the anomalous case of Switzerland here. The place of a common language-medium of communication in social and national solidarity is acknowledged in social psychology and in sociology and hardly needs documentation here.

the position to which the Apartheid proposal drives the African group - a position of isolation, ethnocentrism, and of exclusion from the universal heritage and from direct participation in national and world affairs.

However, if White domination must be maintained, the barest possible minimum of knowledge of an international language like English must be made available to the African group. The Commission gives the criterion of this minimum (and there is an unmistakable note of caution about it lest the wider intellectual and cultural horizons be opened to the African group):-

"This should be done in such a way that the Bantu child will be able to find his way in European communities, to follow oral or written instructions; and to carry on a simple conversation with Europeans about his work and other subjects of common interest."[4]

To any South African, it is crystal clear that the phrase "and other subjects of common interest" is a meaningless frill in this connection. The essential point is that this group must be equipped with sufficient knowledge of English (and Afrikaans) to make its labour more easily

exploitable/.....

---

4 Report: U.G. No. 53/1951, par. 924.

exploitable. But, otherwise, the divisive, isolating and subordinating Bantu medium must be thoroughly enforced with "a strict system of inspection" in future. Here we see unmistakable manouvres towards a gradual and systematic re-ordering of group relationships in South Africa on the principle of inequality of the groups themselves and of the opportunities for the utilisation of South African and world resources.

From the point of view of the African group, however, the educational system is expected to perform a directly opposite function with regard to the problem of the mutual adjustment of the South African groups between themselves and between each and the total environment. It is expected to lead the group gradually and systematically towards a level of social development where it will stand on a par with the other South African groups and progressive human groups elsewhere. In other words, it is expected to be an agency of the integration of the African group with the other South African groups in a common equalitarian society which will be at a par with the other nations of the World. It is expected, in so far as its function and influence go, to be an agency

of the/.....

of the liberation of the African group from isolationism, narrow ethnocentricity and socially stunting exclusiveness. It is expected to introduce the African group to the national and the inter-national heritage and to open to the group wider spheres of social participation.

It would appear, from the Apartheid definition of the situation in this respect, that the implicit assumption in that ideology is that the African group's aspirations and potentialities are, or ought to be, localised in the communal African group. Is this true or tenable? Has the African group no aspiration to assume responsibilities and to participate in the broader South African national life and in the yet broader life of the international world? Has this group no responsibilities which, in their magnitude, transcend petty local responsibilities and spill over into the South African national responsibilities and those of the world at large?

In terms of the African group's Integrationist ideology, the aspirations and potentialities of any social group cannot be contained exclusively

in the/.....

in the local community. They transcend it and strech forth to participation in the responsibilities of broader and yet broader human activities. This is a natural tendency for a group to seek to expand itself, vary its interests and responsibilities beyond the immediate circle. It is a concentric pattern of personality expansion in the field of social participation; beginning at a central point of service to self, then to the immediate family, then to the local community, then to the native country, then to the native continent, then to the world, and on and on ad infinitum, to the service of God. Perhaps the last word of the Integrationist ideology was said by that great social philosopher, Jesus of Nazareth: "that ye may have life, and have it more abundantly." And this life abundant may only be realised in an equalitarian society. It is irreconcilable with the regimentation and subordination of one group to another.

Thus, ultimately the dilemmas that confronts the African educator are not just individual or professional-group problems. They are intimately tied up with the broader problem of group relations in South Africa and the principles that, according

to the/.....

to the wills and purposes of the White group, underlie the existing system of group relationships; and that, according to the African group, should underlie the ideal system of group relationships. Each group is uncompromisingly determined that the African educational system shall be an agency promoting the internalisation and institutionalisation of the principles of its choice.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

The specific problem with which we have been concerned in this study is that of the relationship between the African educational system and the South African social system as affected by ideological factors. This problem is an aspect of the broader problem of the structural-functional relationships between institutional systems and the social system in which they operate. While we recognise the principle of the relative autonomy of institutional systems, we have emphasised that, as a functional necessity, institutional systems stand or ought to stand in a relationship of relative social parallelism with the social system which constitutes their social base. Their role-structure, their means and methods, their selective and regulatory norms and their objectives cannot be entirely independent or unrelated to the underlying social system. The objectives, in particular, we emphasised, are a social trust to institutional systems and are closely bound up with group-needs and satisfactions and with considerations of group solidarity and survival through time and change.

e/.....

We have pointed out, however, that this relationship of relative social parallelism is not "given." It is subject to two main conditional factors: namely (a) the descriptive and prescriptive "definition of the situation" for institutional action - through systems of scientific, unscientific and/or non-scientific ideas; and (b) the effort of the personnel of institutional systems to achieve and maintain that relationship under changing conditions - within and/or without the institutional systems either by modifying the institutional systems or by promoting desired or necessary changes in the social system. In fine, relative social parallelism between institutional systems and the social system, is a problematic relationship. It is not given. It requires effort in a defined situation.

On the basis of this assumption, we have proceeded to inquire into the definition of the situation for the operation of the African educational system in relation to the South African social system. We have elected to examine the definition of the situation, in this case, provided by the ~~tow~~ two major South African group-ideologies - the

Apartheid/.....

Apartheid ideology of the White power-majority group and the Intergrationist ideology of the Non-White numerical-majority group - and to analyse the implications of such ideological definition of the situation for the African educator in his effort to orient himself to the objectives of education. In the course of this examination and analysis, two important facts have emerged.

Firstly, while containing unmistakable ideal elements, these ideologies have appeared to correspond to the respective social positions, including the interests, fears, values and outlook, of the two groups. The Apartheid ideology of the Whites shows a high degree of correspondence to this group's power-majority social position, its fears of "swamping," its value of White - Non-White inequality, and its racio-ethnocentric outlook. Its ideology emerges as a system of rationalisation of these - especially in view of the Democratic Creed. This ideology has a dual function: (a) the pacification of the conscience and the consolidation of the dominant position of the Whites; and (b) the deceptive persuasion of the Non-Whites towards the accommodative acceptance

of the/.....

of the status quo.

The Integrationist ideology of the Non-Whites also shows a high degree of correspondence to their power-minority social position, their interest in self-emancipation from that position, their fears of perpetual subordination, their value of White - Non-White equality, and their humanistic outlook. Hence, their ideology emerges as a system of apologetics for these - in view of undemocratic South African practice. This ideology also has a dual function: the re-inforcement of the conscience and the rejection of the subservient position of the Non-Whites; and the deceptive persuasion of the Whites towards the dynamic acceptance of the status ideal. (The deception here inheres in the fact that this ideology does not emphasise the sacrifice of power, prestige and possessions that the democratisation of South African society will entail for the White group, but would make this group believe that such a re-opganisation of the society will be to the equal advantage of everyone. The fact is that an equalisation of opportunities would mean, at least initially, a substantial gain for the now-subordinate groups and a

substantial/.....

substantial loss for the now-dominant group, in comparison with their rights to opportunities in the status quo). In fine, the two ideologies represent the opposite orientations of the two groups to the South African social system as it is and as it should be.

Secondly, in so far as the orientations of the two groups to the social system are opposite to each other, the two ideologies which represent them may be expected to be so and the definition of the situation that they provide for the structural-functional relationship between the African educational system and the South African social system, conflicting. We have attempted to indicate that this is so. In our analysis of the two ideologies we indicated that, from the descriptive point of view, the Apartheid ideology describes the social system as a vertical system of relationships between four racio-ethnically distinctive and independent groups - with characteristic interests and aspirations that cannot be reconciled along the horizontal plane of equality and common or shared socio-political participation. The "only honest, justifiable and unbiassed" reconciliation (if a reconciliation it be) can only be along the

same/.....

same vertical plane on the principle of "White domination for all time."

The Integrationist ideology, on the contrary, describes the social system as a vertical system of relationships between four interdependent groups whose racial characteristics are, per se, irrelevant to performance in roles, whose ethnic differences are no essential barrier to common socio-political participation, and whose interests and aspirations cannot be reconciled along the vertical plane on the principle of white domination, but only along the horizontal plane and on the principle of democratic equality.

In the light of these two conflicting descriptive definitions of the situation, we have proceeded to indicate that a similar conflict exists on the prescriptive level. We have analysed the conflict here in terms of the concept of ideological role-expectations with regard to the African educator's pursuit of the objectives of education in relation to the social system.

With regard to the objective of Group Solidarity, we have shown that the Apartheid role-expectation is that the African educational system shall confine itself to the achievement of the solidarity, not of the whole social system, but of the African group

only/.....

only "as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, thier distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under ever-changing conditions are taken into consideration" in apartness or isolation from those of the other groups in the social system. From the point of view of the social system we have indicated that this prescriptive definition of the situation is "a functional necessity" for guaranteeing "White domination for all time" in South Africa.

The Integrationist role-expectation, on the contrary, is that the African educational system shall not confine itself to the achievement of African group solidarity but interest itself actively in the achievement of the solidarity of the whole society, as its ultimate objective, through a closer integration of interdependent racio-ethnic groups destined to share a common territory. And, from the point of view of the social system, we have attempted to show that this prescriptive definition of the situation is also "a functional necessity" for guaranteeing the self-emancipation of the Non-White group and the equality of opportunities.

In fine/.....

In fine, the Apartheid role-expectation is that the African educational system shall be an agency for the internalisation in the African group of non-equalitarian values including their socio-political implication of the domination of the social system by the White numerical-minority group. The Integrationist role-expectation is that this educational system shall promote the internalisation and institutionalisation of equalitarian values - including their socio-political implication of the self-emancipation of the Non-Whites from White domination.

With regard to the objective of Individual Effectiveness, we have indicated that the Apartheid role-expectation is that the African educational system shall develop and equip the individuality of the African educands primarily "according to their opportunities in life," and only secondarily according to their abilities. These opportunities, we have pointed out, are not allocated in terms of universalistic criteria involving aptitude and ability in role-performance, but in terms of particularistic criteria involving racio-ethnic origin and affiliation. So that the extent of the development of the African educand's individuality is expected to be limited

by the/.....

by the social position of his racio-ethnic group and the scope for his effective self-realisation in roles is expected to be limited to the opportunities open to his group. From the point of view of the social system, we have indicated that this prescriptive definition of the situation is "a functional necessity" for "keeping the Native in his 'place'" and, hence, for guaranteeing "White domination for all time" in South Africa.

The Integrationist role-expectation, on the contrary, is that the African educational system shall develop the individuality of the educands primarily according to their aptitudes and ability as human beings and only secondarily according to their opportunities in life. The opportunities envisaged here, we have pointed out, are not to be allocated in terms of particularistic criteria derived from racio-ethnic categories but in terms of universalistic criteria involving recognition of aptitudes and abilities in role-~~expectation~~ performance - irrespective of the pigment of the role-incumbent. Hence, the extent of the development of the educand's individuality is expected to be limited by his innate equipment;

and/.....

and the scope of his effective self-realisation in roles, by the personal - and group-need satisfactions deriving from the free expression of his individuality - as a human being. From the point of view of the social system this prescriptive definition of the situation is "a functional necessity" for the self-emancipation of the African from the "place" allocated to him and for guaranteeing equality of opportunities for persons.

In fine, the Apartheid role-expectation here is that the African educational system shall be an agency for the internalisation in the African ~~group~~ educand and the institutionalisation in the African group of particularistic norms or criteria for role-preparation, role-allocation and role-incumbency, including their socio-political implication of "White domination for all time." On the contrary, the Integrationist role-expectation is that this educational system shall be an agency for the internalisation and institutionalisation of universalistic criteria for role-preparation, role-allocation and role-incumbency, including their socio-political implication of the self-

emancipation/.....

emancipation of the Non-Whites from their present subordinate position.

With regard to the objective of Telic Social Change we have tried to point out that the Apartheid role-expectation is that the African educational system shall not promote telic social by inculcating or cultivating the scientific attitude of mind, creativeness and contributive attitudes in the African educand nor by, in any way, becoming a source of social ferment in the transformation of the status quo into the status ideal defined in the Integrationist ideology. Positively, the expectations is that it shall be an agency for the accommodative adaptation of the African educand and the African group to the status quo, and be the strong-hold of reactionary thought and attitudes among the Africans who must look up to the omniscience of the Whites for the direction of telic social change and wait accommodativley for the beneficent dispensations promised under the Apartheid programme. From the point of view of the White group's orientation to the social system this is also "a functional necessity" for the entrenchment of the Whites in their position of dominance.

The Integrationist role-expection, on the

contrary/.....

contrary is that this educational system shall promote telic social change by cultivating, in the educand, the scientific attitude, creative thinking, imagination and idealism, and contributive attitudes towards the welfare and progress of a common South Africa; and become a source of social ferment in the transformation of the undemocratic status quo into a democratic status ideal. In other words, the expectation is that the African educational system shall be an agency for the dynamic adaptation of the African educand and the African group to the status quo, and be the strong-hold of constructively critical thought and attitudes among the Africans who must appeal to their own reason and idealism for the direction of telic social change and proceed actively, and in an orderly manner, to transform the status quo in terms of their rationally and ideally conceived programme. Hence, from the point of view of this group's orientation to the social system, this prescriptive definition of the situation is "a functional necessity" for the self-emancipation of this group from the thraldom of the status quo.

In fine, the Apartheid role-expectation here is that the African educational system shall be an

agency/.....

agency for the internalisation in the African educand and the institutionalisation in the African group of the attitude of accommodative adaptation to a "given" status quo, including the implication of "White domination for all time." On the contrary, the Integrationist role-expectation is that this educational system shall be an agency for the internalisation and institutionalisation of the attitude of dynamic adaptation to a problematic racial-caste social system, including the socio-political implication of its self-emancipation from its present socio-political position.

It is clear from the preceding paragraphs that, on the level of the descriptive and prescriptive "definition of the situation" for the structural-functional relationship between the African educational system and the South African social system which constitutes its social base, the relationship between the two, in terms of the principle of relative social parallelism, is highly indeterminate, controversial and problematic. The two conflicting ideological definitions of the situation constitue an aggravating factor to the lack of "givennes" which we have suggested

is an/.....

is an inherent characteristic of the area of structural-functional relationships between institutional systems and the social systems in which they operate. Hence, on the level of the definition of the situation for a relationship of relative social parallelism between the African educational system and the South African social system, we may conclude that the situation is defined for the African educational system - hence for the African educator - in ~~two~~ irreconcilably divergent terms - Apartheid versus Integration.

It has been our further task to attempt to show that this indeterminacy of relative social parallelism inherent on the definitive level carries over to the level of effort. This involves the African educator, directly and immediately, not only in his cognition of the objectives of education but also in his pursuit of them in relation to the social system and the role-expectations entertained in it with regard to his effort. We have suggested that the African educator may be legitimately expected to be aware or conscious of the two conflicting prescriptive definitions of the situation in the form of divergent role-expectations. In so far as this is the case, his effort in the pursuit of

these objectives may be said to be fraught with a series of dilemmas of orientation. The two conflicting sets of role-expectations confront him with two correlated problems that are fundamental to a voluntaristic theory of social action: namely, evaluation and choice. In other words, on the level of effort the African educator is faced with the problem of evaluating, and choosing between, the two ideological definitions of the situation before he can bring the African educational system into some relationship of social parallelism with the South African social system. Hence on this level also the relationship of relative parallelism between the two is not "given": it is subject to effort involving evaluation and choice.

We have tried to show at some length that the African educator's task in this regard is by no means an easy one. It is made difficult by a number of imperatives and repellents operating on each horn of each dilemma of orientation. On the Apartheid horn of the dilemma, with respect to each of the objectives of education, we have noted a series of imperatives which we may subsume under the concept of accommodative-adaptive imperatives. That is, imperatives impelling the African educator towards

higher/.....

higher evaluation and choice of the Apartheid definition of the situation, for social parallelism, as "given." These have been of two major types: the rational and the irrational.

By the rational type we maan those imperatives involving (a) the consideration of the existing racial-caste social system as a "given" set of conditions held constant by the "unalterable and indomitable determination" of the Whites - in which case it would be but rational to accommodate oneself, the African educand and the African group to the unalterably "given" conditions of the social system; and (b) the consideration of the psycho-social adjustment of the educand (and the African group) educated in the light of either definition of the situation. In this case it would be but rational for the African educator to prepare the educand for life in a subordinate group under "White domination for all time," rather than prepare him for life in an equalitarian society whose realisation, through the transformation of the status quo which is governed by the "unalterable and indomitable determination" of the Whites to maintain White domination, would appear to be but an empty dream.

By the/.....

By the irrational type of accommodative-adaptive imperatives we mean those imperatives involving ideological deception of the African educator to a naive acceptance of the mirage of "areas of liberty" promised on the idealistic level of the Apartheid ideology which is, in effect, the unwitting acceptance of the status quo as given on the level of expediency in Apartheid. (We have, however, pointed out that this is not a very potent imperative). There is also, as we indicated, a type of imperative here, perhaps just as weak: that is the <u>non-rational.</u> This involves the question of <u>moral</u> scruples on the part of the African educator. In so far as he retains his role-incumbency as a civil servant and has moral scruples, he will be constrained to perform his role honestly and faithfully in the light of the definition of the situation provided by his pay-master. However, as we pointed out, this imperative is likely to be tied up with rational utilitarian considerations of faithfull role-performance in view of the risk of being "fired" and the humiliation which goes with "poor relief." However, on the whole the accommodative-adaptive imperatives would appear to be <u>primarily</u> of the

rational/.....

rational type involving rational evaluation and choice.

On the Integrationist horn of the dilemma, and with respect to each of the objectives of education, we have also observed a series of imperatives. These we may subsume under the concept of dynamic-adaptive imperatives. By this we mean the imperatives impelling the African educator towards higher evaluation and choice of the Integrationist definition of the situation, for social parallelism, as an act of moral obligation to the ideals of his group. We had distinguished two aspects of this compelling sense of moral obligation: the internal and the external. (We have used these terms in the strict Durkheimian sense).

In so far as the African educator is, by nature and by (primary) nurture, an African, he may be expected to have internalised the values and ideals of his group. These operate on him from within, as an internal compelling force or imperative, towards higher evaluation and choice of his group's ideological definition of the situation and role-expectations. In so far as this imperative operates from within, we may say that he wills the higher evaluation and choice of the Integrationist

horn/.....

horn of the dilemma. And in so far as he wills this orientation we may suggest that it becomes his purpose to dedicate his effort to the pursuit of the objectives of education in the light of the Integrationist definition of the situation. In other words, he wants to adopt this horn of the dilemma - it is consistent with his moral will and purpose as an African.

However, though internalised, the values and ideals of a social group remain as "a social fact" - "external" and "constraining" - to the individual members of the group. This, we have pointed out, is true of the values and ideals of the African group involved in its prescriptive definition of the situation for relative social parallelism between the African educational system and the South African social system. These are impressed upon him by formal and informal group sanctions. In so far as he is solidary with his group he is under external moral constraint or obligation to remain true to them in all his roles - including the role of educator.

Implicit in the external aspect of this non-rational or moral imperative is a rational type

of/.....

of imperative. This arises from considerations of the consequences - in the form of such sanctions as ostracism - attendant on a betrayal of social group values and ideals through higher evaluation and choice of the Apartheid horn of the dilemma. The significance of this imperative may be expected to increase in proportion to the strength of the corresponding imperative towards the Apartheid horn of the dilemma.

We have also referred to an irrational imperative operative here. This is in the nature of traditionalism inherent in the tradition of educational theory in which the African educator has been trained - the liberal tradition. In so far as he is impelled by this factor towards the Integrationist horn of the dilemma - which is essentially liberal - we may say that his higher evaluation and choice of this alternative would be largely a matter of traditional irrationality. In educational practice, he knows of no other tradition of education as intimately as he knows the liberal. In this sense, his rejection of the implications of Apartheid for the African educational system would be on the grounds that they are contrary to tradition: and his favourable disposition towards the liberal - Integrationist - implications would be on the grounds

that they are in conformity with tradition.

With regard to the repellents from each horn of the dilemma, we have pointed out that the imperatives towards the one horn operate at the same time as repellents from the other. So that, we need not devote time to them in this brief summary.

In broad outline, we may conclude by drawing attention to five cardinal points in this study:

1. The problematic character of the structural-functional relationships - in terms of relative social parallelism - between the African educational system and the South African social system. This is only a type case of a more general problem in sociological theory - the problem of mutual relationships between institutional systems and their social systems.

2. The role of the Apartheid and Integrationist ideologies in the definition of the situation for the achievement of relative social parallelism between the African educational system and the South African social system. This is also a type case of a more general problem in sociological theory - the problem of the role of ideas in social action, including institutional action.

3. The problematic character of evaluation and choice, by the African educator, as a fundamental step in the effort required for the achievement of a relationship of relative social parallelism between the African educational system and the underlying South African social system. This is also a type case of a more general problem in sociological theory - the problem of evaluative and selective effort in social action.

4./.....

4. The role of rational, irrational and non-rational factors in the African educator's effort to evaluate and choose between the alternative orientations to the objectives of education. This is also a type case of the more general problem of the role of objective and subjective factors in social action.

5. The general problem of the internalisation and institutionalisation of norms, values and ideals in a plural society lacking consensus on fundamentals of actual and ideal social organisation.

In the final analysis, the African educator's general problem is essentially a dilemma of norms, values and ideals embodied in the conflicting ideologies of two groups occupying the extreme ends of the social ladder. It is the dilemma of the internalisation and institutionalisation, through the educational system, of particularistic norms versus universalistic norms; oligarchic values versus democratic values; racio-ethnocentric ideals versus humanistic ideals.

WHICH SHALL SURVIVE ?

A P P E N D I C E S

A.

It must be conceded that Marx was aware of subjective - volitional and purposive - factors in human action. But it is our view that this awareness had but little softening effect on the rigour of his deterministic theoretical position. He did not recognise subjective phenomena as constituting an order of reality - sui generis; but as "reflexex," "echoes," "phantoms," and "sublimates of their material life-processes. (See K. Marx, op. cit., pp. xxx, 46, 47, 51, 56 - 57).

To him, for instance, "the religious world is but a reflex of the real world," (op. cit., p. 51); and,"a relation between two wills, ... is but a reflex of the real economic relation between the two. It is this economic relation that determines the subject matter comprised in such (an) act. The persons exist for one another merely as representations of, and therefore, as owners of, commodities." (Op. cit., 56 - 57).

In his collaborative treatise on German Ideology, he outlines his methodological approach as follows:

"We set out from real, active men, and on the basis of their real life-process we demonstrate the development of the ideological reflexes and echoes of this life-process. The phantoms formed in the human brain are also, necessarily, sublimates of their material life-process, which is empirically verifiable and bound to material premises. Morality, religion, metaphysics, all the rest of ideology and their corresponding forms of consciousness, thus no longer retain the semblance of independence. They have no history, no development; but men, developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter, along with this their real existence, their thinking and the products of their thinking. Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life." (K. Marx and F. Engels, The German Ideology, edited by R. Pascal: London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1939, pp. 14 - 15).

In his "Introduction" to Marx and Engels' The German Ideology, Pascal points out that by 1843, "Marx had/.....

"Marx had, however, goven a long way towards understinding the relationship between ideas and society.... Hence he (could) write: 'it is the philosopher in whose brain the revolution is beginning!'" (op. cit., p. xi). (N.B. Brackets and emphases in quotations are ours).

B.

It is sometimes contended, in defence of Marx from the charge of radical materialism, that his awareness of the role of ideologies in human action suggests that he is not as rigidly deterministic as he appears to be. The point made in his defence, in this case, is that his recognition of ideological factors means a recognition of the fact that people can and do act contrary to their materially determined interests as a result of ideological deception.

But it is our view that Marx's approach to ideologies makes this defence impossible. He rules it off himself, in the sense that he ties up ideologies so tightly to the materially determined interests that there can be no logical possibility for a group's ideology to be contrary to its interests. To him ideologies are group "weapons of struggle;" they promote group interests and not contradict them. They do not contradict group interests because they cannot contradict them, in the sense that they have no reality of their own - they have no independence; but are merely "reflexex and echoes," handmaids, of group interests.

To admit the possibility of ideological deception would be, for him, to admit the "independence" of ideologies from their group-interest motivated "material life-processes" - so that they may be detached from the group whose interests they promote and become engrafted in the orientation of a group whose interests they contradict (under camouflage). The possibility of ideological deception can only arise from a voluntaristic approach which accords independent reality to such subjective phenomena. In such an approach, they become "independent variables" and not "dependent variables" as with Marx.

The possibility of ideological deception emerges clearly in Max Weber's voluntaristic approach. While Marx is preoccupied with showing correspondence

between/.....

between ideologies and interests, Max Weber attempts to go further to show possible tensions or contradictions between ideologies and interests. And this is possible because he accords independence to subjective factors, and, hence, the possibility of detachment of ideologies from an effector-group and attachment on a receptor-group; or the sharing of one ideology by two groups - one of which is under deception.

He distinguishes two levels of ideological development: (a) the level of "inception," and (b) the level of "routinisation." On the first level he seeks to point out the independent origin of ideas from the genius of "charismatic" individuals. Here, he stresses that there is no close correspondence between the interests of such an individual and those of his disciples or group. His disciples may be drawn from different groups or strata. On the second level, ideologies become any group's possessions, not through a given correspondence with group interests, but through "elective affinity" with group values, interests and outlook. It is on this level that the possibility of a 'false perception" of "affinity" and, hence, ideological deception arises.

The point we are making here is that only by recognising the independence of ideas relative to the interests of their publics is it possible to introduce the concept of "ideological deception" into a discussion of ideologies. And that, in so far as Marx did not recognise this fact, it is not possible to suggest that his awareness of the role of ideologies in human action was a softening factor to the rigidity of his materialistic determinism.

C.

There is an element of arbitrariness about our categorisation of the perceptual aspect of the structure of an institutional system. In the actor-sector, for instance, the role-structure and the other role-incumbents constitute, for each individual incumbent, part of the situation of his action - the conditional elements. Hence, the components of this sector are viewed from the point of view of the observer, involving some

unavoidable/.....

unavoidable abstraction.

The components of the situation-sector have not been arranged according to any special scheme of priorities. They have merely been listed as belonging there, from our point of view. It is conceivable that the organisational elements may, from one point of view, be considered as belonging to the status-role structure. We have not yet been able to avoid this arbitrariness and (implicit) overlapping.

The components of the end-sector may be viewed, initially, either from the point of view of the felt needs (of individuals or groups) pointing to ends; or from the point of view of ends adjusted to needs. The point of view adopted, here, has been dictated by convenience for the handling of our central problem as formulated in this study - that is, the problem of orientation to institutional ends (adjusted to group needs) in an ideologically defined situation.

D.

An immediate empirical situation that would seem to invalidate the proposition that ideologies are sectional group-possessions is the South African. It would appear here that the democratic ideology has been accepted across group lines, and that, therefore, it is coterminous with the whole society. But to us this is more apparent than real.

In the first place, the dominant White group does not accept this ideology in its truly universalistic spirit, but accepts a mutation of it - that is, "White democracy" for the regulation of its Intragroup relationships. This is a clear rejection of the universalistic spirit of democracy.

In so far as the other three racio-ethnic section of the population are relegated to a subordinate position, they constitute one subordinate or minority group. And in so far as they all accept democracy, in its universalistic spirit, they do so as such a single Non-White minority interest-group. Hence, to suggest that, in this case, democracy has been accepted across Non-White group lines is to appeal to categories - racial and ethnic - which, from the

point/.....

point of view of this group, are inconsequential and irrelevant to status-role allocation.

In brief, the democratic ideology in South Africa is not accepted across group lines - that is, interest-group lines. There is a distinct cleavage on the basis of interest: the minority-interest group accepting this ideology, and the majority-interest group rejecting it, adopting a mutation of it for its intragroup relations and a radically undemocratic ideology - Apartheid - for the regulation of intergroup relations in South Africa.

E.

It would appear that there is no unanimity on the validity of the expectation that the South African Whites are aware of the inconsistency of democratic principles and their undemocratic practice in the intergroup situation, and, hence, on the implication that there is in South Africa a moral dilemma parallel to the "American Dilemma."

We must concede that, perhaps, in so far as such awareness in thought of as a result of spontaneous heart-searching on the part of the Whites our expectation is clearly invalid; and, in that sense, there is no parallel to the "American Dilemma." In this sense, the South African Whites have precluded the dilemma by ideationally delimiting "areas of liberty" for each group, where democracy may come to its own, and, on this level, it is only a matter of time (timeless time) when that shall be consumated - and the present inconsistency is viewed as an inevitable phase in the evolution of South Africa towards that millenium. As they do not fix for themselves any time limit but are content to spread the process of the creation of the "areas of liberty" "over many years," their conscience can repose in that day-dream: and, from this point of view, there is little or no chance for a moral dilemma to arise.

But the awareness we expect on the part of the Whites is not a spontaneous one. It cannot be.

It is/.....

It is compulsory. And the "South African dilemma" we have in mind is a forcefully imposed dilemma. The South African Whites are constantly being forcefully roused from their sweet repose in the utopian idea of "areas of liberty" to be created "over many years," (a) by the incisive gnawing of the Non-White mice through ideological analysis which exposes the contradiction between the universalistic spirit of deomocracy and the nebulousness of the utopian "areas of liberty;" (b) by the insistence of the Non-Whites on that the democratisation of South Africa cannot be postponed any longer; and (c) by world opinion which insists that the Apartheid programme, however formulated, is not and cannot be equated with a democratic programme.

In brief, the dilemma is implicit in the South African situation. By removing the Apartheid camouflage, the Non-Whites and the World force its reality into the mental and moral palate of the South African Whites. The South African Whites perceive it: but few have the courage to admit it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

1 Barnes H., Social Institutions, (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947).

2 Barnes H. and Becker H., Contemporary Social Theory, (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940).

3 Bernard L.L., Introduction to Social Psychology, (New York: Holt, 1926).

4 Bode B.H., Modern Educational Theories, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1937).

5 Bogardus E.S., Sociology, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1943).

6 British Board of Education, Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1944).

7 Brown F.J., Educational Sociology, (London: The Technical Press, Ltd., 1947).

8 Cole G.D., Essays in Social Theory, (London: The MacMillan Company, 1950).

9 Comte A., The Positive Philosophy, (1853), translated by H. Martineau, (London: John Chapman, 1892), Vol. II.

10 Cox O.C., Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1948).

11 Dollard J., Caste and Class in Southern Town, (New York: Harper, 1949).

12 Durkheim E., The Division of Labour in Society, (1893), translated by G. Simpson, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1933).

13 Durkheim E., The Rules of Sociological Method, translated by S.A. Solovay and J.H. Mueller, and edited by E.G. Catlin, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938).

14 Eby S.L., An Introduction to Western Civilisation, edited by G.A. Hedge, (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1933).

15 Findlay G., Miscegenation, (Pretoria: The "Pretoria News" and Printing Works, Ltd., 1936).

16 Finney R.F., A Sociological Philosophy of Education, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1928).

17 Frankel S.H., Capital Investment in Africa, (London: Oxford University Press, 1938). - Clay H., "Report on Industrial Relations in Southern Rhodesia, " C.S.R., 3, 1930.

18 Gerth H.H. and Mills C.W., From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, (London: Kegan Paul, Trubner and Company, Ltd., 1947).

19 Hayes, E.C., Introduction to the Study of Sociology, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1915).

20 Hegel G.W.F., The Phenomenology of Mind, (1807), translated with an introduction and notes by J.B. Baille, (London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1931).

21 Hertzler J.O., Social Institutions, (New York: MaGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1929).

22 Hetherington H.J. and Muirheid J.H., Social Purpose, (London and New York: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1918).

23 Hoernle R.F.A., South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit, (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1945).

24 James W., Talk to Teachers, (London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd.,).

25 Jowitt H., Principles of Education for African Teachers, (London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., 1945).

26 Kinneman J.A., Society and Education, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1932).

27 Linton R., The Cultural Background of Personality, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1949).

28 MacIver R.M., Society: A Textbook of Sociology, (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1947).

29 MacIver R.M., The Elements of Social Science, (London: Methuen and Company, 1952).

30 MacIver R.M. and Page A.W., Society: An Introductory Analysis, (London: The MacMillan Company, 1952).

31 Malherbe E.G. (editor), Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society, (Cape Town and Johannesburg: Juta and Company, Ltd., 1937).

- Dewey J., "The Need for a Philosophy in Education."

- Rugg H., "The Reorganisation of the Curriculum: Administrative Attempt in America."

- Rugg H., "The Winnetka Experiment."

- Smuts J.C., "Education for Freedom and Initiative."

32 Mannheim K., Freedom, Power, Democratic Planning, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950).

33 Mannheim K., Ideology and Utopia, translated by L. Wirth and E. Shils, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1952).

34 Marx K., Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production, (1887), translated from the third German edition by S. Moore and E. Aveling and edited by F. Engels, (London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1949).

35 Marx K. and Engels F., The German Ideology, Parts I and III, edited with an introduction by R. Pascal, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1939).

36 Merton R.K., Social Theory and Social Structure, (Glencoe: Ill., The Free Press, 1949).

37 Murray V., The School in the Bush, (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1929).

38 Ogburn W. and Nimkoff M.F., Sociology, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946).

39 Panunzio C., Major Social Institutions, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1946).

40 Park R.E. and Burgess E.W., Introduction to the Science of Sociology, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921).

41 Parsons T., The Structure of Social Action, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937).

42 Parsons T., Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied, First Edition, (Glencoe: Ill., The Free Press, 1949).

43 Parsons T., The Social System, (Glencoe: Ill., The Free Press, 1951).

44 Parsons T., Essays in Sociological Theory, Revised Edition, (Glencoe: Ill., The Free Press, 1954).

45 Parsons T. and Shils E.A., Toward a General Theory of Social Action, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951).

46 Peters C.C., Foundations of Educational Sociology, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1925).

47 Roucek J.S., Sociological Foundations of Education, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1942).

48 Stuckenberg J.H.W., Introduction to the Study of Sociology, (New York: Armstrong, 1898).

49 Summer G.W., Folkways, (New York: Gunn, 1907).

50 Tabata I.B., The Awakening of the People, (Johannesburg: The People's Press, 1950).

51 Tarde G., Laws of Imitation, transalated by E.C. Parsons, (New York: Holt Company, 1903).

52 Toennies F., Fundamental Concepts of Sociology, (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft), (1887), translated and supplemented by C.P. Loomis, (New York: American Book Company, 1940).

53 Urwick E.J., A Philosophy of Social Purpose, (London: Methuen, 1912).

54 von Wiese L. and Becker H., Systematic Sociology, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1932).

55 Ward L.F. Pure Sociology, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1911).

56 Weber M., The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, translated by T. Parsons, (London and New York: Allen and Unwin, and Scribners, 1930).

ARTICLES IN COMPENDIA

57 Hamilton W.H., "Institutions," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. VIII.

58 Znaniecki F., "Social Organisation and Institutions," in G.Gurvitch and W. Moore, Twentieth Century Sociology, (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945).

ARTICLES IN JOURNALS

59 Counts G.S., "Control of Education in Industrial Society," Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XXIV, No. 2., 1931.

60 Ellwood C.A., "The Fundamental Research in Educational Sociology," Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, 1934.

61 Kuper L., "The Background to Passive Resistance (South Africa 1952)", Race Relations Journal, Vol. XX, No. 3, 1953.

62 Kuper L., "The South African Native: Caste, Proletariat or Race?", Social Forces, Vol. 28, No. 2, December, 1949.

63 Payne E.G., "The Progress of Educational Sociology," Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XXI, 1927.

PAMPHLETS

64 Eislen W.M., "The Meaning of Apartheid," published by the South African Institute of Race Relations, 90/53.

65 Horrell M, "The Population of the Union of South frica," published by the South African Institte of Race Relations, 1953.

66 Olivier NJ.J., "Apartheid - A Slogan or a Solutin," published by the South African Institte of Race Relations, 90/53.

67 Record ofProceedings of the National Conference on theReport of the Native Education Commission, Race Relation, 1952.

68 South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, "Integration or Seprate Development?", Stellenbosch, 1952.

69 Whyte Q. "Behind the Racial Tensions in South Africa" published by the South African Institute of Ra(Relations, 1953.

OFFICIAL

70 Act No. of 1953.

71 House ofssembly Debates (Hansard):
- 2ndeptember, 1948.
- 12tApril, 1950.
- 16tMay, 1951.
- No.0/1953.

72 Ministerf Native Affairs, "Bantu Education Policfor the Immediate Future, issued by the Ibrmation Service of the Department of NativAffairs, Pretoria, 1954.

73 Report: .G. 30/1939.

74 Report: .G. 53/1948.

75 Report: .G. 53/1951.