

**IMBALANCES AND INEQUITIES IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION: A
HISTORICAL-EDUCATIONAL SURVEY AND APPRAISAL**

by

INBANATHAN NAICKER

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SUPERVISOR: DR S. SCHOEMAN

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DECLARATION

I declare that **IMBALANCES AND INEQUITIES IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION: A HISTORICAL-EDUCATIONAL SURVEY AND APPRAISAL** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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INBANATHAN NAICKER

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DEDICATION

For my parents, Kistasamy
and Devanai Naicker, for
their continued faith in
education.

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SUMMARY

This study, in the main, focuses on the racial imbalances and inequities that characterised South African education between 1965 and 1992. A historical background of the South African educational system as well as an account on the apartheid ideology and its impact on education is presented. For the four principle racial groups in South Africa, namely, the Africans, Indians, Whites and Coloureds, a historical-educational survey of the imbalances and inequities prevalent in pre-primary, school-based and post-secondary education in respect of access to education, financing of education, and human and physical resources is given. As a way forward, some recommendations for the redressing of the imbalances and inequities identified in this study are presented.

KEY TERMS:

Racial inequities; Apartheid ideology; Pre-primary education; School-based education; Post-secondary education; Access to education; Financing of education; Physical resources; Human resources; Redress.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

It is abundantly clear that education in South Africa has moved to centre stage. Recent newspaper headlines, such as "*Schools face mammoth changes*" (Daily News, The 1995:3), "*Education enquiry begins*" (Natal Mercury, The 1994b:6), "*700 million lopped from education allocations*" (Sunday Times 1995:1) and "*Five years before parity in education*" (Daily News, The 1994b:3) all bear testimony to this. Further, immediately prior to the April 1994 general elections, a plethora of publications, investigations and recommendations surfaced on education in a New South Africa by parties vying for political ascendancy. Obviously, one immediately concludes from this that something is amiss in the existing state of education.

Ever since the National Party government assumed power in 1948, education in South Africa has been beset by crises. With its apartheid ideology,¹⁾ it was the aim of the

1) See chapter 2, pp. 28-57.

government to provide education in South Africa along racial lines. In terms of the *Population Registration Act* (30 of 1950) the entire population was classified into one of four racial groups, viz. Whites, Coloureds, Natives (Africans) or Indians. In keeping with the apartheid ideology, the state campaigned vigorously for "control over all education" of the different racial groups (Hofmeyr & Buckland 1992:20).

In 1949 the government appointed, under the chairmanship of Dr W.W.M. Eiselen, the Commission of Inquiry on Native Education (1949-1951), to investigate Native education. Basically, as a result of the recommendations of this commission, the government took full control of African education from the missionary societies and provincial administrations in terms of the *Bantu Education Act* (47 of 1953). What lay in store for the education of Africans under this Act can be summed up from Dr H.F. Verwoerd's²⁾ speech to senate in 1954:

It is the policy of my department that education [for Africans] should have its roots entirely in the native areas and in the native environment and the native community. Thus Bantu education must be able to give itself complete expression and there it will have to perform its real service... There is no place for him [the African] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ...

2) Minister of Native Affairs who later became Minister of Bantu Education and eventually Prime Minister of South Africa.

Up till now he has been subject to a school system which drew him away from his community and practically misled him by showing the green pastures of the European but still did not allow him to graze there (South Africa. Department of Native Affairs 1954:23).

It was obvious from this speech that Native education would be of an inferior quality when compared to that of the Whites. As Davie (1955:15) stated:

... it is the intention of the framers of the Act that the education of the African child shall be different from that of the European and, further, that this difference shall establish and perpetuate an inferior status in the African in relation to the European.

In 1979 the *Education and Training Act* (90 of 1979) replaced the *Bantu Education Act* (47 of 1953). In terms of the *Education and Training Act* (90 of 1979), all education policy, except higher education, was to be decided by the Minister of Education and Training (South Africa 1979b:sec. 2). Despite this change in the administration of education for the Africans, education of an inferior standard and quality was still the order of the day in 1979.

The developments in Coloured and Indian education followed the same pattern as that of the Africans. The government created special systems of education for Coloureds and

Indians in order to place them in a segregated and subordinate role in South Africa. The education of Coloureds was mainly the responsibility of the provincial education departments (DNE 1985:4). The control of education for Coloureds was transferred, in terms of the *Coloured Persons Education Act* (47 of 1963), to the Department of Coloured Affairs from 1 January 1964 in the Cape Province and 1 April 1964 in the other three provinces. In terms of this Act the responsibility for all education for Coloureds, except higher education, became the domain of the Department of Coloured Affairs (South Africa 1963:sec.2). From 1 October 1980, the Department of Internal Affairs administered Coloured education through a directorate of education (DNE 1993b:1).

As with Coloured education, the education of Indians was largely in the hands of the provincial education departments—mainly the Natal Provincial Administration (DNE 1985:4). In 1965 the promulgation of the *Indians Education Act* (61 of 1965) provided for the take-over of Indian education by the Department of Indian Affairs as from 1 April 1966 in Natal, and 1 April 1970 in the other three provinces. This Act, however, excluded higher education (South Africa 1965:sec.2). From 1 October 1980, the education of Indians was the

responsibility of the Directorate of Education of the Department of Internal Affairs (DNE 1993b:1).

The education of Whites, except higher education, was largely the domain of the four provincial councils. In 1967 the *National Education Policy Act* (39 of 1967) laid down the broad principles for all subsequent education, except that of higher education, for Whites (South Africa 1967b:sec. 2).

Dissatisfaction with the systems of control and conditions within African, Coloured and Indian schools as compared to White schools led to widespread disruption and unrest³⁾ in 1976. Vos & Brits (1990:55) cited the following as the probable causes of the unrest: inequality in the provision of physical facilities, inequality regarding financial provision, the compulsory use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction, inequality in conditions of service for teachers and the imparting of inferior education by unqualified teachers.

In order to address these problems the government, in 1980, requested the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) to

3) Of note was the Soweto riots of 1976 (see also chapter 2, pp. 54-55).

conduct a thorough investigation into the country's education dispensation and make its recommendations. In 1981 a commission, known as the De Lange Commission, put forward numerous recommendations for consideration by the government, including eleven principles for the provision of education in South Africa (HSRC 1981b:14). Further, the commission also noted that present day differentiation practices in education rests purely on the basis of race or colour and was the source of unequal treatment. This, the commission argued, resulted in an individual not receiving his rightful share in the provision of education because he was a member of a particular race group. The commission also recommended that a single ministry of education be created to effectively meet the need for a national education policy aimed at "equal opportunity" and "equal quality and standards" (HSRC 1981b:195).

In 1983 the government released its *White Paper on Education Provision in the Republic of South Africa*. Notwithstanding the recommendations of the De Lange Commission, the White Paper made provision for a multiplicity of education departments segregated on racial lines, each with its own Minister of Education (South Africa 1983d:6). This segregation provided a platform for the government to

perpetuate the imbalances and inequities that existed previously.

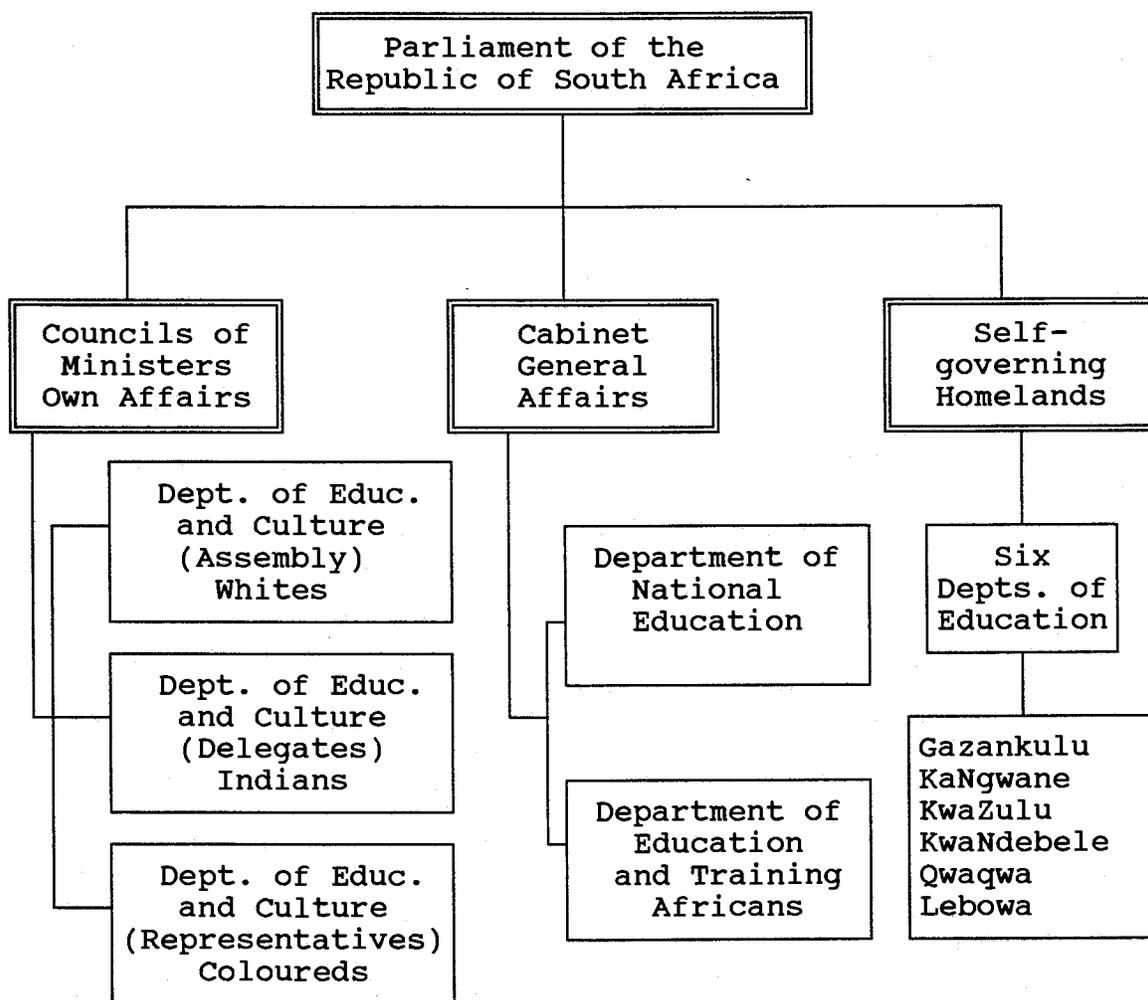
In keeping with the *Republic of South Africa Constitution Act* (110 of 1983), education for the Whites, Indians and Coloureds was designated an "own affair"⁴⁾ and was to occur within the cultural and value framework of the particular group. Consequently, all education for Whites fell under the control of the Department and Minister of Education and Culture: Administration, House of Assembly. Since the abolition of the provincial councils in 1986, the four provincial education departments were constituted as executive provincial education departments under the Minister of Education and Culture. The universities and technikons, historically considered mainly for Whites, also fell under the jurisdiction of the Minister (DNE 1991:1).

The education of Coloureds became the domain of the Department and Minister of Education and Culture: Administration, House of Representatives. This included the historically Coloured university and technikon. The education of Indians was put under the control of the Department and Minister of Education and Culture: Administration, House of

4) Section 14 of the Act refers to "own affairs" as matters which specially or differentially affect a population group in relation to the maintenance of its identity and the upholding and furtherance of its way of life, culture, traditions and customs.

Delegates including the historically Indian university and technikon (DNE 1991:2).

Figure 1: Schematic representation of the control of education in South Africa since 1984



Source: Adapted from Bunting 1994:7

The *Republic of South Africa Constitution Act* (110 of 1983) also made provision for "general affairs".⁵⁾ The *National Policy for General Education Affairs Act* (76 of 1984) defined the spheres and the way in which general education policy may be determined. Under this Act the Minister of National Education may determine general policy for formal, informal and non-formal education with regard to:

... norms and standards for the financing of running and capital costs of education for all population groups; salaries and conditions of employment of staff; the professional registration of teachers and the norms and standards for syllabuses and examinations; and for certification of qualifications (South Africa 1984b:sec.2).

African education was regarded as a "general affair" (see figure 1, p. 8). The Department and Minister of Education and Training administered all education for Africans in South Africa outside the self-governing territories, including the historically African universities and technikons (DNE 1991:3).

Against the above background the problem of, motivation for and the purpose of research can be described.

5) Section 15 of the Act refers to "general affairs" as matters which are not own affairs of a population group (see p. 7).

1.2 FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM, MOTIVATION FOR AND PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

The problem which underlies this research can briefly be outlined as follows. In the early 1990's sweeping political reforms were instituted by the National Party government. With the knowledge that the demise of the apartheid ideology was imminent and that South Africa was on the path to democracy, numerous discussions, debates, conferences and publications "did the rounds" on the renewal and reconstruction of the education system. Of note was the *Education Renewal Strategy* (ERS) published in 1992, the *National Education Policy Investigation* (NEPI) commissioned by the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) in 1990 and the African National Congress' (ANC) discussion document, *A Policy Framework for Education and Training* in 1994. A common element in all of the above documents was its reference to the imbalances and inequities in education provision in South Africa. A situation of immense racial disparity in education provision thus exists:

- In the field of pre-primary education, inequities manifest themselves in access, funding and resource provision. The situation in South Africa is of such a nature that access to pre-primary education is very limited and available provision is in inverse proportion to need on a racially

determined basis. Figures quoted by the African National Congress (ANC) puts the situation in perspective: one in every three White children have access to pre-primary education services compared to one in eight Indian and Coloured children and one in sixteen African children (ANC 1994:92). While these figures are startling enough in terms of childrens' opportunities for learning, the gap is further exacerbated by the fact that there is wide variation in the amount of money that is spent on these children. The *Report of the South African Study on Early Childhood Development* (1994) contends that government expenditure for a pre-primary year for White children far exceeds the expenditure on non-White children. Further, the report adds that not only do White children have greater access to pre-primary education, but it is likely that the quality of their pre-primary education is radically different, based on much higher levels of expenditure (Padayachie et al 1994:6).

- With regard to school-based education, some of the most distressing issues today are the disparities in the per capita expenditure, the teacher-pupil ratios, the pass rates in the matriculation examinations, the qualifications of teachers and physical resource allocation. The Education

Foundation cites the 1994/1995 per capita expenditure as R1 817 for Africans, R4 772 for Whites, R4 423 for Indians and R3 601 for Coloureds (Beard 1995:Correspondence). According to *The Daily News* and *The Natal Mercury* the government was spending approximately three times more on a White child than on an African child (Daily News, The 1994b:3; Natal Mercury, The 1994a:2). Further, Minister Sibusiso Bengu, the National Minister of Education and Training, was quoted as stating that such disparity will continue because "...it would take five years to bring about equal spending on White and Black [non-White] pupils" (Daily News, The 1994b:3).

The teacher-pupil ratios differ significantly across ethnic departments from a ratio of 1:20 to 1:40. The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) quotes the teacher-pupil ratio as being 1:37 in the Department of Education and Training schools, 1:40 at schools in the self-governing territories, 1:20 in schools serviced by the House of Assembly and 1:22 in schools serviced by the House of Delegates and House of Representatives (SAIRR 1995:251).

The success rates in the matriculation examinations reveal the stark imbalances and inequities in education, with the

Whites and Indians achieving overall pass rates in the upper 90% range while fewer than 50% of African pupils pass this examination. Further, few African pupils gain a matriculation exemption pass as opposed to Whites, Indians and Coloureds. This results in limiting African access to university education, as a matriculation exemption is a prerequisite for admission.

A comparison of the physical facilities at schools for the four racial groups reveals the disadvantaged position of particularly the African schools. The problems that African schools face are:

... a lack of laboratories, equipment, resource centres, libraries, musical equipment, art equipment, playing fields, staff rooms and office facilities - assets that most White schools take for granted ... schools do not even have telephones, running water and even electricity (Daily News, The 1994a:15).

At African schools there is a severe shortage of qualified teachers. The majority of African teachers lack a university degree. A substantial cohort of teachers fall into the A1 and A2 category which means they are underqualified. Coloured teachers are a little better off than their African colleagues in terms of qualifications.

In White and Indian schools a minimum qualification of M+3, i.e. matric plus three years of teacher training is a prerequisite in order to be admitted onto the permanent staff. Hence, the calibre of the teaching staff at White and Indian schools, and to a lesser extent Coloured schools is presently much higher than that of African schools.

- The imbalances and inequities prevalent in school-based education is also symptomatic of post-secondary education. The participation rates in post-secondary education differ widely across the four racial groups. John Samuels, the Deputy Director-General of the National Ministry of Education and Training, pointed out on the national television programme *Agenda* that the participation rates for Whites in post-secondary education is thirty per hundred individuals compared to three per hundred individuals for non-Whites (SABC, 26 March 1995a).

An analysis of the racial profile of the teaching staff at post-secondary institutions reveals that Whites enjoy greater access to teaching posts as compared to the non-Whites. Dr Maki Mandela, the affirmative action officer at the University of the Witwatersrand, stated that non-Whites were poorly represented in the staff (academic) profiles at most universities. She added that at faculties where non-

Whites were present, they normally occupied posts in the lower rungs of the staffing hierarchy (SABC, 15 November 1995b).

The above events aroused an interest within the researcher to provide by means of this research, scientifically valid answers to the following three questions:

- Why imbalances and inequities exist in South African education?
- What is the extent of the imbalances and inequities in South African education?
- How can these imbalances and inequities be redressed?

The purpose of this study is thus two-fold.

- Firstly, it is the intention of the researcher to document the imbalances and inequities that prevail in South African education in time perspective since there is a paucity of research in this field.
- Secondly, the buzzword amongst the major role players and stakeholders in education today is "redress". Authentic redress procedures of historical imbalances and inequities in education is only possible if the gravity of the imbalances and inequities that existed and the groups most disadvantaged by such imbalances and inequities are known.

Therefore, this study aims to highlight the extent of the imbalances and inequities that existed over time as well as the people most disadvantaged by such imbalances and inequities so that authentic redress policies can be developed in order to level the education playing field.

1.3 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

1.3.1 Imbalance

The concept *imbalance* refers to an unbalanced state or condition resulting in a lack of proper proportion or relation between corresponding items (Random House Unabridged Dictionary 1993:s.v."imbalance").

1.3.2 Inequity

Inequity refers to a state or condition of being unequal, or a state or condition in which disparity exists. With reference to persons, inequity can manifest itself in terms of quantity, number, intensity or quality. It could also refer to unequal treatment of others, unfairness, partiality and favouritism or bias (New English Dictionary, A 1901:s.v. "inequity").

Verma (1993:2) argues that the concept is generally used to refer to matters of ethnicity or race, socio-economic status or social class, sex or gender and inter-regional differences.

1.3.3 Education

The concept *education* is of Latin origin and means "to bring up", "train" or "provide schooling for" (Pocket Oxford Dictionary 1966:s.v."education").

The *Dictionary of Education* on the other hand, defines *education* as a social enterprise by which people are subjected to the influence of a selected and controlled environment, so that they may attain social competence and optimum individual development (Dictionary of Education 1959:s.v."education").

1.3.4 Historical-educational

According to Venter & Van Heerden (1989:48) the concept *historical-educational* refers to the interpreting and describing of the structural relatedness of the education phenomenon or education reality of the past in its situatedness in time with the aim of illuminating the present and providing guidelines for the future.

1.3.5 Apartheid

The concept *apartheid* literally means "separateness" or "distinctness". As official government policy since 1948, *apartheid* encompassed racial separation at all levels (Readers Digest 1992:514).

Keet (1957:1) sees this concept as a government policy which seeks by means of legislation to segregate politically, economically and socially the different racial groups in South Africa.

1.3.6 Pre-primary education

The concept *pre-primary education* refers to education preceding primary education (International Dictionary of Education 1977:s.v."pre-primary education"). More specifically, it refers to the education provision for children three years and above but below the statutory school-starting age (South Africa 1979b:sec. 1).

1.3.7 School-based education

The concept *school-based education* as used in this study, refers to education offered at the formal school level normally comprising primary and secondary education.

1.3.8 Post-secondary education

The concept *post-secondary education* refers to the education which follows the completion of secondary education, or its equivalent (International Dictionary of Education 1977:s.v."post-secondary education"). In South Africa *post-secondary education* comprises three main sectors, namely, universities, technikons and teacher training colleges (NEPI

1993b:205). When the concept *post-secondary education* is used in this study only the first two sectors are included.

1.4 METHODOLOGICAL ACCOUNT

1.4.1. Approaches

After all available data was collected, it was endeavoured to present them in a meaningful and justified manner by using a specific approach. Broadly speaking, the researcher followed a scientific, justified approach with the basic attitudes of objectivity, criticism and discipline towards the study.

More specifically, the problem-historical approach was followed. This approach advocates that a mere collection of historical-educational facts is not sufficient to produce scientific knowledge and that the educational past can only be uncovered by asking questions arising from current difficulties in education. Thus, proceeding from a current problem in educational theory or practice, solutions are sought to similar problems in the educational past (UNISA 1994:14).

1.4.2. Method of research

Venter & Van Heerden (1989:108) refer to a research method as:

...the road by which the pedagogician

carries out his scientific research and eventually discovers the truth which he uses to establish his science.

In this study the researcher has employed the basic scientific research method which is also known as the historical-educational research method. The researcher adhered to the seven basic steps of this method.

1.4.2.1. Choice of a suitable topic

The topic *Imbalances and inequities in South African education: a historical-educational survey and appraisal* was chosen after careful consideration of the educational value of researching such a topic. Further, the researcher also took into account the availability of relevant primary and secondary sources in pursuing such a topic.

1.4.2.2 Preliminary study

In order to determine exactly what the topic entails, and to be in a position to interpret and evaluate the data from the educational past, the researcher set about mastering the existing knowledge pertaining to the topic.

1.4.2.3 Hypotheses

In order to guide the research process the researcher formulated the following hypotheses:

- **The racially segregated provision of education in South**

Africa resulted in wide ranging imbalances and inequities in education.

- The non-White racial grouping is more disadvantaged in terms of education provision than the White racial grouping.

1.4.2.4 Investigation of the problem in the educational past

In order to test the validity of the hypotheses, the researcher engaged in the examination and study of the educational past from the point of view of the stated problem. Both, primary and secondary sources, which had a direct or indirect bearing on the stated problem were consulted.

The primary sources consulted in this study were as follows: personal communication and correspondence; television programmes; South African education acts; annual reports of the Departments of Bantu Education, Coloured Affairs, Indian Affairs, Internal Affairs, National Education, Education and Training, and Administrations of the House of Delegates, Representatives and Assembly; White Papers on education; publications by the Department of National Education; Commission reports on education; and reports of the Central Statistical Services.

Secondary sources used in this study include books, journal

articles, theses, newspaper articles, HSRC reports and Race Relation surveys.

1.4.2.5 Critical evaluation of data

After selecting the relevant data the researcher submitted the data to two critical processes, i.e. elimination and external and internal criticism. In subjecting the data to the process of elimination, the only material which was retained was that which was educationally relevant to the problem and which can be of real educational value for the present.

In subjecting the data to external criticism the researcher tried to establish whether the source is authentic or not. The source was subjected to the following questioning in order to determine authenticity as cited in Venter & Van Heerden (1989:115):

- Is the source an original text or copy?
- Has the source been altered by inaccurate transcription?
- Is there any indications of plagiarism or peculiar interpretations?
- Is the language, style, spelling, etc. consistent with other works by that author and period in which it was written?

In subjecting the data to internal criticism, an attempt was made to establish whether the data and statements in the source were reliable and acceptable. In order to establish this the researcher posed the following questions (UNISA 1994:18):

- Does the source contain incorrect facts or judgements?
- Was the writer biased or did he argue in an illogical manner?
- Was he an eyewitness to what he describes?
- Did he make use of reliable sources?
- Can the writer be regarded as trustworthy?

1.4.2.6 Interpretation of data

In interpreting the data the researcher took into account the background of time, the surroundings and the circumstances during which the events occurred. The data was also subjected to a stringent test in order to establish the validity and acceptability of the hypotheses.

1.4.2.7 Writing of the research report

In the light of the historical-educational data collected, the researcher, in writing the report, traced the development of the problem through time. The facts are ordered chronological-thematically in the subsequent chapters for each of the four racial groups. Further, the data was

critically evaluated in order to gain an understanding of the imbalances and inequities in education that exist presently, as well as to make recommendations for the future.

1.5 DELIMITATION OF THE FIELD OF STUDY

This study uses 1965 as its point of departure. Although educational imbalances and inequities existed prior to this period, the researcher was restricted in the sense that sources, especially primary sources regarding all four racial groups, were not readily available prior to 1965. The cut-off date for this study is 1992 because the majority of the primary sources on education in the post-1992 period presents educational data in a regional format rather than a racial one. Thus, the availability of data for each of the four racial groups in the post-1992 period was limited.

Verma (1993:2) correctly points out that imbalances and inequities exist in various forms: race, social class, gender and inter-regional differences (also see p. 16). Whilst acknowledging this, the researcher was of the opinion that too broad a field of study would be time consuming and may lead to a superficial study. Thus, this study focuses only on the racial imbalances and inequities that exist in education for the four main racial groups, viz. Africans, Indians, Whites and Coloureds.

Although imbalances and inequities are present in almost all facets of South African education the researcher limited the field of study to pre-primary education provided by the ethnic education departments, school-based education and post-secondary education, namely, university and technikon education. This study is also restricted to the former four provinces of South Africa, namely, Cape Province, Orange Free State, Natal and Transvaal, and the non-independent homelands of Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaZulu, KwaNdebele, Qwaqwa and Lebowa. It excludes the former TBVC (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) states.

1.6 FURTHER COURSE OF STUDY

- Chapter two describes the genesis, evolution and characteristics of the ideology of apartheid with reference to its impact on education. This chapter provides a theoretical foundation for the study of the imbalances and inequities in South African education. The aspects explored are:

- genesis of apartheid
- evolution of apartheid under the National Party (1948-1994)
- characteristics of apartheid
- resistance to apartheid
- apartheid and education

- Chapter three provides an overview of the imbalances and inequities in pre-primary education provision by the ethnic education departments in respect of the four racial groups. A general historical perspective on provision is presented as an introduction. This is followed by an exposition of the imbalances and inequities for the four racial groups. For each of the racial groups the following aspects will be studied:
 - pre-primary education legislation
 - access to pre-primary education
 - financing of pre-primary education
 - resources for pre-primary education

- In chapter four an outline of the imbalances and inequities in school-based education is provided. For each of the four racial groups the following aspects will be studied:
 - access to school-based education
 - representation across the four phases of school education
 - pupil progress
 - expenditure on education
 - resources for education, i.e. human resources and physical resources
 - performance in the senior certificate examinations

- Chapter five provides a survey of the imbalances and inequities in post-secondary education. An introductory comment is followed by a specific study for each of the four racial groups with regard to university and technikon education. The following aspects will be explored:
 - access to university and technikon education
 - academic staff at universities and technikons
 - output of universities and technikons

- Chapter six comprises findings, a conclusion and recommendations. A summary of the findings is cited, followed by an evaluation of some of the findings and a conclusion. As a way forward, numerous recommendations are suggested for redressing the historical imbalances and inequities cited in this study.

CHAPTER 2

THE GENESIS, EVOLUTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IDEOLOGY OF APARTHEID⁶⁾ WITH REFERENCE TO ITS IMPACT ON EDUCATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Since 1948 South African society has largely been shaped by the apartheid ideology of the ruling National Party (1948-1994). This ideology, in its implementation by the government, embraced the ideal of total separation of the races in all spheres of life. More specifically, in the sphere of education, it has been used as a tool to divide and control, to protect White privilege and power socially, economically and politically and to ensure Afrikaner dominance. Further, decades of apartheid education has resulted in gross inequalities and backlogs in education (Hofmeyr & Buckland 1992:19-20).

In order to determine how the ideology of apartheid has shaped education in South Africa, this chapter briefly surveys the genesis of apartheid as well as its evolution under the National Party. Further, some of apartheid's most

6) When the word *apartheid* is used in this study it refers to the ideology of apartheid.

salient characteristics relevant to the topic will be elucidated upon together with its impact on South African education.

2.2 GENESIS OF APARTHEID

Historians generally hold a multiplicity of views regarding the origins of segregation in South Africa. However, most historians agree that segregation according to race and class took root soon after the first Dutch settlers stepped ashore at Table Bay in April 1652. Joyce (1990:8) advocated that with the importation of slaves since 1658, the competition for land and the results of pioneering, a pattern of dominance was set. The Whites owned most of the land and were in authority at every level of administration and the economy. The status of the non-Whites (Khoisan, slaves, Xhosa and the rapidly growing Coloured population)⁷⁾ was largely restricted by law to that of labourers. Thus, under Dutch rule (1652-1795), segregation became entrenched, and consequently social mixing, which was a fairly common and

7) Khoisan was a collective term used to refer to the indigenous Khoikhoi (hottentot) and San (bushmen) people (Davenport 1978:4).

The slaves were people who were imported from other parts of Africa and the East to work as unskilled labourers on the farms and in the towns (Christie 1991:31).

The Xhosas were part of the indigenous African grouping who spoke a language called Xhosa (United Nations 1968:42).

The Coloured population refers to the people of mixed descent with Hottentot, White and other strains in varying proportions (Müller 1975:xiv).

refreshingly civilised feature of the colony, became a rarity by the late eighteenth century (Joyce 1990:8).

Within religion, segregation also made its inroads. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century non-racial membership and worship was the norm in the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* (NGK)⁸⁾ (Ngcokovane 1989:41). Since the latter half of the eighteenth century the congregation of this church kept separate baptismal records, and after the 1820's a practice of holding separate services for non-Whites and Whites was established (Joyce 1990:8). As from 1857 segregation in religion became the norm with the establishment of racially separated churches as some White members preferred to attend separate communion services and to worship separately from non-Whites (Ngcokovane 1989:41).

According to Dubow (1989:23) segregation became an established political keyword only in the first two decades of the twentieth century. During the 1902 opening of the Cape parliament the then governor used the word *segregation* for the first time in parliament when he stated that it was necessary for the government to be endowed with larger powers than they now possess to effectively carry out the policy of segregation.

8) The *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* (NGK) translated into English is the Dutch Reformed Church which was at that time the only recognised religious institution.

Significant segregationist legislation was firmly established on the statute books by 1925 in the form of the *Mines and Workers Act* (12 of 1911) which introduced a legal colour bar into the mining industry by preventing the employment of Africans as skilled workers in the mines; the *Native Land Act* (27 of 1913) which prohibited Africans from purchasing, leasing or acquiring land situated outside scheduled African areas; and the *Native Urban Areas Act* (21 of 1923) which legally defined African locations and gave White local authorities the power to exclude Africans from so-called White areas. In addition to the above acts, the pass laws (an influx control mechanism) was used to restrict the movement of Africans into the White urban areas. Lambley (1980:29) argued that the above Acts together with other legislation contained the movement of Africans, removed the power of the chiefs, and restricted the development of the African and Coloured middle class who, in the past, functioned as part and parcel of the White society. These measures were at that time, according to Dubow (1989:39), seldom interpreted as integral elements of a unified ideological package.

According to Bunting (1971:23) the word *apartheid* was used for the first time in 1943 in a newspaper article which referred to the "Nationalist policy of apartheid". The first

use of the word in parliament occurred in 1944 when Dr D.F. Malan, the then leader of the Opposition in parliament stated:

To ensure the safety of the White race and of Christian civilisation... the honest maintenance of the principles of apartheid and guardianship... [are essential] (Bunting 1971:24).

Since then the word *apartheid* became widely used to refer to the apartness or segregation of the races (Bunting 1971:24).

2.3 EVOLUTION OF APARTHEID UNDER THE NATIONAL PARTY (1948-1994)

In 1947, the National Party⁹⁾ appointed a special commission to look into the ideology of apartheid. This commission's conclusions were embodied in a pamphlet distributed by the Head Office of the National Party in 1947. This pamphlet elucidated the principles of the apartheid ideology and outlined, *inter alia*, the following:

The policy of our country should encourage total apartheid as the ultimate goal of a national process of separate development. It is the primary task and calling of the state to seek the welfare of South Africa, and to promote the happiness and well-being of its citizens, non-White as well as White. Realising that such a task can best be

9) A political party formed by J.B.M. Hertzog in 1914 to represent Afrikaner interest (Joyce 1990:519).

accomplished by preserving and safeguarding the White race, the National Party professes this as the fundamental guiding principle of its policy (Bunting 1971:25).

In the 1948 general elections the National Party based its election campaign on the above policy of apartheid, and was subsequently elected into power. According to Du Pre (1990:32), the National Party, on accession to power, had no clear idea of how it was going to implement this policy, but nevertheless wanted to enforce racial separation. When the first Prime Minister of the National Party, Dr D.F. Malan (1948-1954) took office in 1948 he promised the *volk*,¹⁰⁾ Afrikaner protection from non-White competition when he stated that non-Whites must "... be put in their place" (Ngcokovane 1989:56). He further declared that the principle of territorial segregation between Whites and the Africans was generally an accepted principle and that the native (African) reserves¹¹⁾ must become the true fatherland of the African (Carter 1966:4).

Under Prime Minister J.G. Strijdom (1954-1958) who succeeded Dr D.F. Malan, the ideology of apartheid constituted the

10) This word refers to the Afrikaner nation.

11) The native reserves were the areas set aside under the policy of separate development for the Africans.

main force in Afrikaner national politics. For Strijdom the continuation of White supremacy was the main principle of the apartheid ideology (Ngcokovane 1989:114). He strongly espoused that the development of the non-Whites must take place in their "own areas" under the guardianship of the Whites (Carter 1966:5; Bunting 1971:26).

In 1958 a new era, positing apartheid as an ideology of change, emerged with the accession of Dr H.F. Verwoerd (1958-1966) to the political leadership of the National Party. He introduced and implemented a persuasive ideal of total separation called *separate development*. The implications of Verwoerd's ideal meant that all Africans were no longer regarded as citizens of South Africa but as citizens of homelands or bantustans which comprised only 13% of the land in South Africa (Ngcokovane 1989:116). Further, under the Verwoerd government the *Group Areas Act* (41 of 1950) was extended to include an increasing number of areas that were declared exclusively for the Whites. This resulted in scores of Indians, Coloureds and Africans being uprooted from their homes at short notice. Joyce (1990:45) estimated that in the 1960's some two million Africans were relocated and 600 000

Indians and Coloureds were moved in terms of the *Group Areas Act* (41 of 1950).

Dr Verwoerd's successor, B.J. Vorster (1966-1978) continued in the footsteps of Verwoerd. He declared that South Africa was for the Whites only and firmly believed that the policy of separate development for the non-Whites would be the only way these races could advance (Bunting 1971:26-28). Through the *Bantu or Homeland Citizenship Act* (26 of 1970), promulgated during the Vorster reign, every African in South Africa was classified as a homeland citizen and since 1976 four of these homelands, namely, Transkei (1976), Bophuthatswana (1977), Venda (1979) and Ciskei (1981) were granted independent status (Ngcokovane 1989:125). In order to review the position of the Coloureds within the apartheid framework the Vorster government appointed the Theron Commission (1973) to investigate the political, economic and social development of the Coloureds. Notwithstanding the recommendation of this commission in 1976 that Coloureds be granted direct representation in existing parliamentary and provincial institutions and that the *Group Areas Act* (41 of 1950) be amended in favour of the Coloureds, the Vorster government reacted to these proposals as being unacceptable (Joyce 1990:91; Readers Digest 1992:469).

When Mr P.W. Botha (1978-1989) succeeded B.J. Vorster in 1978, he made it abundantly clear that he was committed to the apartheid system of separate development. Consistent with this stance he announced a new constitution, the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (110 of 1983) which according to him "...would bring radical changes but would in essence leave the basic principles of apartheid unassailed" (Ngcokovane 1989:126). This 1983 Constitution granted the Coloureds and Indians, two numerical minorities in the non-White population the right to vote their representatives into parliament. Their representatives, however, sat in segregated chambers of parliament, and their social life was still hemmed in by segregation. James & Du Pisanie (1987:37) argued that the tricameral parliament (also see p. 47) and its enabling legislation reproduced rather than adulterated racial and ethnic boundaries. They added that the true purpose of the 1983 Constitution was to entrench and protect the group rights of Whites.

Towards the latter half of the 1980's the tide began to turn in South Africa as the apartheid machinery could no longer sustain itself. The institution of economic sanctions against South Africa and foreign disinvestment weakened the economy. Internally, resistance to apartheid escalated. The freedom

fighters increased their efforts to target military, economic and government institutions and installations. Worker resistance was also on the increase. The non-White trade unions grew in strength and overtly demonstrated their opposition to apartheid. They were often joined by the non-White students who protested against the unequal and racist education policies. Further, community organisations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Forum (NF) heightened their resistance against the tricameral parliamentary system (Ngcokovane 1989:132-133).¹²⁾

Against this backdrop Mr F.W. de Klerk (1989-1994) assumed the presidency in South Africa and as such was forced to embark on a policy of reform. On 2 February 1990 he announced sweeping political changes. The political organisations which were banned because of their vehement protests against apartheid were unbanned and numerous political leaders

12) The United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed in 1983 in reaction to Mr P.W. Botha's tricameral constitutional arrangement. It was an umbrella body comprising over 400 civic, church, sports, trade union and other organisations (Joyce 1990:143).
The National Forum (NF) was a group of Black consciousness bodies formed in 1983 to oppose the introduction of the tricameral constitutional system (Joyce 1990:142).

imprisoned for their stance against apartheid were released (Christie 1991:55). Through the process of negotiation with the main political role players, namely, the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) a new constitution, the *Interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (200 of 1993), was adopted which prohibited discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity and social origin.¹³⁾ In April 1994, South Africans took a massive leap forward and changed the country's course from White rule and apartheid to a non-racial democracy. A government of national unity under President Nelson Mandela (1994-) was inaugurated in May 1994 which finally marked the shift in power (Beijing Conference Report 1995:1).

- 13) The African National Congress (ANC) was formed in 1912 and has campaigned peacefully for freedom, justice and democracy up to 1960 when it was banned. In 1990 it was unbanned (Joyce 1990:142).
The South African Communist Party (SACP) was formed in 1921 and disbanded in 1950. In 1953 it re-established itself as an underground movement and formed close ties with the ANC. It was subsequently unbanned in 1990 (Joyce 1990:143).
The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was founded in 1953 after they had broken away from the ANC. They were banned in 1960 and went underground. In 1990 they were unbanned (Joyce 1990:142).
The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was initially formed as a Zulu national and cultural movement. In 1990 it opened its doors to all race groups and became a political party (Readers Digest 1992:518).

2.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF APARTHEID

In order to set the ideology of apartheid in perspective and reveal its nature, it is essential to describe some of its most important - for this study - relevant characteristics.

2.4.1 White supremacy

A cardinal characteristic of the ideology of apartheid was that of White supremacy. The National Party strongly believed that the White man must remain *baas* (boss or master) in South Africa. This *baasskap* (White supremacy) view of the National Party has its roots, *inter alia*, in the fear of being "swamped" by the African masses (termed *swartgevaar*) and the Calvinistic view of life of the Afrikaners. The National Party claimed that they would be "swamped" by the African majority if they were granted equal rights as the Whites. Thus, according to J.G. Strijdom, a former Prime Minister of South Africa, the only way to avoid this was by White supremacy (*baasskap*) (Ngcokovane 1986:207).

The Whites also justified their domination of the non-Whites in religious terms. As Calvinists the Whites understood themselves to be God's chosen people and as such regarded themselves to be morally and culturally superior to the non-Whites (Ngcokovane 1986:45). This view of White superiority was further reinforced by the Calvinist doctrine of

predestination where the Whites regarded themselves to be the chosen race and people of God in South Africa. Thus, by being the chosen race, they considered themselves superior to the non-White masses (Du Pre 1990:96).

In order to ensure the maintenance of White supremacy and domination the non-Whites were excluded from participation in all aspects of government. Strijdom contended that the only way the Whites could maintain their domination was by withholding the vote (Dubula 1965:9-10). The pattern of White dominance was further reflected in the land policy of the National Party. Whilst Whites were by far in the minority, they had access to 87% of the land in South Africa. In contrast to this, Africans who were by far in the majority had to be content with 13% of the land, termed reserves. These reserves according to Joyce (1990:17) were all poor, overcrowded and underdeveloped.

The superiority of the Whites was further reflected in some of the early apartheid legislation such as the *Prohibition of the Mixed Marriages Act* (55 of 1949) which outlawed marriages between persons of different races and the *Immorality Amendment Act* (21 of 1950) which prohibited sexual relations between persons of different races. Although these laws were

not discriminatory *per se*, Dugard (1978:9) argued that the fact that these laws were imposed by a White legislature on the non-White population, a feeling of humiliation or inferiority was created within the non-White sector as these laws were designed to maintain White purity.

2.4.2 Segregation of the different racial groups

The primary aim of the apartheid ideology was to ensure the political, territorial, social and economic segregation of the different race groups in South Africa. In the words of Dr H.F. Verwoerd:

Apartheid comprises a whole multiplicity of phenomena. It comprises the political sphere; it is necessary in the social sphere; it is aimed at in Church matters; it is relevant in every sphere of life. Even within the economic sphere it is just not a question of numbers (Davenport 1978:270).

2.4.2.1 Political sphere

On the political front apartheid, in the main, centered around the disenfranchisement of the non-Whites so as to ensure that power was concentrated in the hands of the White community. Fortunately for the National Party the Africans were already removed from the common voters roll when they came into power. Hence, their attention was focussed on the

reversal of the enfranchisement of the Indians and Coloureds. In 1948, two years after being granted a limited franchise (Indians were granted the right to vote White representatives into parliament on a separate voters) by the Smuts¹⁴⁾ government (1939-1948), the Indians were disenfranchised. This was followed by the removal of the Coloureds from the common voters roll after a bitter parliamentary and legal struggle between 1951 and 1957 (Davenport 1978:334). Thus, from a limited measure of influence in the central political system, non-White participation was totally eliminated under apartheid.

2.4.2.2 Territorial sphere

A significant consequence of apartheid was the physical separation of the races. Territorially, Whites were separated from the Africans by the creation of the African reserves (homelands), but areas for Coloured and Indians were initially not clearly demarcated from the White residential areas. Consequently, the *Group Areas Act* (41 of 1950), considered by many to be the cornerstone of apartheid, was promulgated. This Act demarcated racially exclusive residential areas for the various population groups (Liebenberg 1975:428).

14) General J.C. Smuts was Prime Minister of South Africa from 1939 to 1948.

2.4.2.3 Social sphere

In the social sphere apartheid was characterised by the rigid prevention of the mixing of the races. Marriages and extra-marital relations between Whites and non-Whites was prohibited through the enactment of the *Prohibition of the Mixed Marriages Act* (55 of 1949) and the *Immorality Amendment Act* (21 of 1950), respectively. The *Reservation of the Separate Amenities Act* (49 of 1953) made apartheid compulsory in all public places and precluded non-Whites from using the facilities designated exclusively for the use of the White racial group (Liebenberg 1975:428).

2.4.2.4 Economic sphere

Economic apartheid was based on the maxim "never a White under a non-White" and hence was designed to keep the non-Whites as cheap labour to serve the White man's needs while ensuring that all wealth was retained in the hands of the Whites (Randall 1973:15). In the labour hierarchy the Whites generally occupied managerial and skilled positions whilst the non-Whites were restricted to unskilled posts. This form of labour specificity was taken a step further when job reservation was introduced in terms of the *Mines and Works Act* (27 of 1956) and the *Industrial Conciliation Act* (28 of 1956). This resulted in the specifying of job types for a

particular racial group (Lemon 1976:41). According to De Villiers (1970:95) the more skilled and better paid jobs were normally reserved for the Whites and the lower paid ones were reserved for the non-Whites. Further, access to entrepreneurial opportunity was weighted heavily against the non-White population. As a result of various restrictive and discriminatory measures non-White entrepreneurs had far less freedom than their White counterparts (Randall 1973:24). A direct consequence of these discriminatory practises had resulted in three quarters of the national income being concentrated in the hands of the White minority (Lemon 1976:44).

2.4.3 Racial inequality

In all spheres of South African life a pattern of racial inequality was effectively institutionalised within the apartheid system. This racial inequality has manifested itself, *inter alia*, in the unequal allocation of basic rights and the unequal provision of services, facilities and employment.

One of the most offensive aspects has been the pass laws which conferred rights relating to the movement and residence on an unequal basis on the grounds of race. The Africans in

the main were subjected to harsh influx control measures which entailed the compulsory carrying of a document known as a pass in order to regulate their entry into the White urban areas. The failure to produce this pass on demand resulted in the criminal prosecution of the offender. These influx control measures was not applicable to the other race groups in South Africa (Dubula 1965:13; Dugard 1978:8).

The laws that provided for job reservation (see p. 43) largely restricted the non-Whites from occupations of skill. In addition to statutory job reservation there was also what Dugard (1978:8) called conventional job reservation. He argued that the fact that certain jobs were reserved by law for the Whites, employers were encouraged to reserve others by convention for the Whites.

The *Group Areas Act* (41 of 1950) was also a source of unequal treatment of the races. This was evident from the number of forced removals. In the 1960's only 40 000 White families were moved from their homes and resettled in group areas compared to 600 000 Coloured and Indian families and approximately two million African families (Joyce 1990:45; also see pp. 34-35). Further inequalities in the treatment of the different racial groups was meted out by the *Reservation*

of the *Separate Amenities Act* (49 of 1953). This Act allowed persons in control of premises to reserve separate facilities for the different racial groups. Although the Act did not specify that non-Whites should be discriminated against, Dugard (1978:9) advocated that in practice the facilities for non-Whites were inferior or virtually non-existent.

2.5 RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID

The changes brought about by apartheid was often met with resistance from the non-Whites in South Africa. Such resistance manifested itself in various forms, namely, boycotts, strikes, defiance and riots. The first large scale, concerted effort against apartheid was the Defiance Campaign¹⁵⁾ of 1952 launched jointly by the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) and the Coloured People's National Union.¹⁶⁾ These organisations, acting in unison, called on the government to repeal all apartheid legislation. The government reacted strongly to the Defiance Campaign by arresting and imprisoning scores of protesters (Horrell 1963:11-12; Du Pre 1990:47-48).

15) The Defiance Campaign was an attempt by groups opposed to apartheid to overburden the law enforcement machinery by contravening discriminatory legislation (Readers Digest 1992:516).

16) The South African Indian Congress (SAIC) was founded in 1920 to secure Indian rights (Readers Digest 1992:521). The Coloured People's National Union was established in 1944 as a pressure group (Horrell 1963:5).

In the 1960's resistance to apartheid measures were intensified. The government, not to be outdone, reacted by declaring states of emergency and banned the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). These organisations, however, did not fold but went underground and launched an armed struggle against the state and its repressive laws by engaging in acts of sabotage and large scale insurrection (Joyce 1990:44). The government reacted to these acts mercilessly. The non-Whites were hammered into submission by a combination of police surveillance, police informers, detention without trial, the threat and fear of imprisonment on Robben Island and unbridled brutality on the part of the security forces (Du Pre 1990:75).

In the 1970's and 1980's resistance to apartheid measures continued. Of special note was the opposition of the non-White masses to the 1983 Constitution (110 of 1983) which provided for a tricameral system¹⁷⁾ of government. The majority of the non-Whites found this system of government unacceptable since power was still retained in the hands of the Whites and the African majority was completely excluded from the proposed tricameral system (Du Pre 1990:84-85).

17) The tricameral system of government entailed three legislative houses: the House of Assembly for the Whites, the House of Representatives for the Coloureds and the House of Delegates for the Indians (Readers Digest 1992:469).

Organisations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and National Forum (NF) (see p. 37) launched vehement protests against this constitution and the 1984 tricameral parliamentary elections, and demanded full political participation in a unitary state. Soon large scale unrest broke out throughout the country. The resultant effect was that more than 700 people were killed in clashes with the police and numerous leaders were arrested (Ngcokovane 1989:133).

2.6 APARTHEID AND EDUCATION

The National Party government (1948-1994) used two main methods to advance their interests: physical force and mental (mind) control (Heatly 1979:3). The latter (relevant to this dissertation) entailed the distortion of the non-Whites understanding of themselves, of the Whites and of reality so that they might become willing servants of the Whites (Cesaire 1968:7). Once people are mentally enslaved they accept oppression and exploitation, and may even participate in their own oppression and exploitation (Kasene 1993:57). One such tool of mental (mind) control used by the National Party was education.

Although discrimination, segregation and subordination of

non-Whites had a long history in South African education, with the accession to power of the National Party in 1948 separatist practices in education were solidified into the apartheid ideology. Since 1948 the National Party therefore pursued two objectives in education: segregated differentiated education for the different racial groups and state control over all education in the interest of Afrikanerdom (Hofmeyr & Buckland 1992:20).

In the following paragraphs the National Party's educational endeavours to realise the above-described characteristics of the ideology of apartheid (see pp. 39-46) as well as the resistance measures employed by the non-Whites to apartheid practices in education will be discussed briefly.

2.6.1 White supremacy and education

The apartheid education system was used, in the main, to reinforce views of inferiority and superiority. The inferior education offered to the non-Whites was designed to maintain White political supremacy and to keep the non-Whites in lowly paid jobs so as to ensure that they posed no direct threat to the Whites (Ngcokovane 1989:195). Mr P. Jansen, the former Minister of National Education did not hesitate to make the National Party's priorities clear when he declared that:

We want to give White education the very best and we want to give the other people the best possible in the shortest period of time (Ngcokovane 1989:109).

At White schools pupils were taught from childhood that the White man was in every way a superior being and was born to rule over the non-Whites. The United Nations advocated that the different race groups were educated differently in order to prepare them for the position in South African society for which they were destined (United Nations 1968:24). According to Dubula (1965:15) the White child was prepared for overlordship, whilst the non-White child, especially the African child was educated for a life of serfdom. To this end, apartheid education presented entirely different objectives and methods for the different sections of the population. Even the syllabi and textbooks used by the non-White children inculcated and perpetuated the idea of White superiority and non-White inferiority (United Nations 1968:25). Further, Khoapa (1973:174) pointed out that in order to maintain the *status quo* of White supremacy, control of education was largely vested in the hands of the Whites, even at institutions catering for non-Whites. This form of control as observed by Christie (1991:142), was also extended to the universities.

2.6.2 Segregation of the different racial groups and education

In keeping with the apartheid endeavour of separate social institutions for the different racial groups, the National Party government created separate educational subsystems to cater for the four racial groups. This began in 1953 with the promulgation of the *Bantu Education Act* (47 of 1953). This Act was motivated largely by the need of the government to bring the education of Africans under state control so that it could dictate the form of African education. Prior to the take-over of African education by the state, the missionary societies and the provincial administrations provided education for Africans. The provision of education for Africans by the missionary societies was not part of the National Party's grand plan for education as they believed that at the schools run by the missionary societies "dangerous, liberal ideas were fed by outsiders into untrained minds" (Dubow 1989:17). Thus, in 1949 a commission was established, called the Eiselen Commission to look into the education of the Africans. As a result of the recommendations of this commission, the government took full control of education for Africans in terms of the *Bantu Education Act* (41 of 1953) (see chapter 1, p. 2).

The National Party's principle of segregated education

provision was taken a step further in 1959 with the promulgation of the *Extension of the University Education Act* (45 of 1959). This Act provided for the establishment of racially exclusive universities for the Africans, Indians and Coloureds. In order to ensure firm government control of these institutions and to control the thoughts of the non-Whites, these institutions were staffed largely by Afrikaners (Ngcokovane 1986:162; Du Pre 1990:46).

The education for Coloureds and Indians followed the same pattern of development as that of Africans. In 1963 and 1965, Coloured and Indian education was brought under government control in terms of the *Coloured Persons Education Act* (47 of 1963) and the *Indians Education Act* (61 of 1965), respectively (see chapter 1, pp. 3-5). This, thus completed the implementation of the South African government's policy of total separation of the education subsystems for the four principle racial groups (United Nations 1968:24). Similar to the education for Africans, Coloured and Indian education was also of an inferior standard (Robertson 1978:119).

Christie (1991:141) added that education in South Africa was never designed to bring the racial groups together. Rather, it was designed to keep them apart. The creation of separate

schools was part of an overall plan for the social, economic and political development of apartheid. Schools were part of creating and maintaining an awareness of separateness and differences. The separateness of the education facilities for Africans, Indians and Coloureds was not only achieved through schools, but also through separate administrative structures, segregated financing arrangements and differences in syllabi (Bernstein 1971:44)

2.6.3 Racial inequality and education

Another important aspect of segregated education provision was that the separate education departments did not provide education of equal quality. Christie (1991:56) pointed out that under the apartheid regime, patterns of educational inequality were entrenched, and the different education subsystems operating in South Africa did not provide equal quality education for the different racial groups in South Africa.

For a comprehensive account of the racial inequalities that was prevalent in education refer to chapters 3, 4 and 5.

2.6.4 Resistance and education

Resistance has always been an integral part of apartheid

education. Some of the more salient features of resistance to apartheid education were as follows:

- The introduction of Bantu education in 1953 was met with strong resistance by the parent community and the African National Congress (ANC), as they viewed Bantu education as being a tool of apartheid. One of the forms of opposition to Bantu education was a schools boycott organised in 1955 by the African National Congress (ANC). Dube (1985:96), however, noted that the resistance to Bantu education soon petered out because opposition to other apartheid legislation of that time became more important.
- The promulgation of the *Extension of the University Education Act* (45 of 1959) resulted in wide scale student protest against the institution of ethnic universities and the exclusion of non-Whites from designated White universities. Resistance, however, to these apartheid measures at universities was mainly symbolic. There were no stay-away campaigns or militant action. Protest action took the form of mass meetings and one-day boycotts of classes (Christie 1985:232).
- The events of June 1976 was a watershed in the resistance

to apartheid education. On 16 June 1976, a well-organised mass protest of some 6 000 school children from Soweto led to a confrontation with police. This event triggered off riots, violence and unrest which spread throughout South Africa, including Indian and Coloured schools in the months that followed. The resultant effect was that some 575 protesters were killed and 3 907 were injured in clashes with the police. The Cillie Commission¹⁸⁾ which investigated the causes of the unrest cited that apart from the stipulation that half of the subjects in standard five and six must be taught through the medium of Afrikaans at African schools, there was general apathy with regard to the standard of education, the quality of teaching and with school buildings and equipment (Behr 1988:37).

- April 1980 marked a resurgence in unrest at schools which started in Cape Town and spread throughout the country. Thousands of non-White students took to the streets to protest against apartheid education. In some areas the unrest was so severe that African, Indian and Coloured schools had to be closed. The intervention of the police in these areas resulted in numerous protesters being killed or injured. Christie (1985:244) advanced that the main causes

18) The Cillie Commission (1977), under the chairmanship of Justice P.M. Cillie was appointed by the government to investigate the causes of the June 1976 uprising (Behr 1988:37).

of the unrest were the poor resourcing of schools and the lack of qualified teachers at schools catering for non-Whites.

- In 1984 and 1985 the education crisis in South Africa intensified. Samuels (1990:27) noted that by the end of 1984, in excess of 500 000 students were involved in protests against the apartheid education system. Moreover, during these years, students linked their educational grievances to an even greater extent to the wider community and political issues. In order to suppress student resistance and force students back into classes, the government declared a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts in July 1985. This, however, exacerbated the situation with non-White students, virtually throughout the country, embarking on a schools boycott. To these students "liberation now - education later" became the maxim. Throughout this education crisis scores of students were arrested and detained (Samuels 1990:27-28).
- Throughout the early 1990's chaos and disorder reigned in education. Inside many township schools, students and teachers, affiliated to national political organisations continued to exert pressure on the state through school boycotts, school take-overs and vandalism (Murphy 1992:370).

2.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the above discussion it is patently clear that apartheid, as state ideology and policy, has had far reaching consequences for the non-White inhabitants of South Africa. In the maintenance of the *status quo* of White supremacy, apartheid has segregated the Whites and non-Whites politically, territorially, socially and economically. This segregation has resulted in relegating the non-Whites of South Africa to roles of servitude. Above all, the application of apartheid to education has resulted in the fragmentation of education on racial lines and the unequal provision of education in the pursuit of maintaining White hegemony over the non-Whites.

In the subsequent chapters the manifestation of apartheid in education, namely, the unequal provision of education on racial lines, will be examined more closely. In the next chapter an overview of the imbalances and inequities in pre-primary education in South Africa will be elucidated.

CHAPTER 3

AN OVERVIEW OF THE IMBALANCES AND INEQUITIES IN PRE-PRIMARY EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The National Party government (1948-1994) was, broadly speaking, not in favour of any form of provision for children before school-going age (NEPI 1992a:13). As a result, very little development in the provision of education for young children occurred since the inception of the National Party regime into government. However, a change to this policy occurred with the passing of the *Coloured Persons Education Act* (47 of 1963) and *Indians Education Act* (61 of 1965) where reference was made to the subsidisation of pre-primary schools (South Africa 1963:sec. 4; South Africa 1965:sec. 4).

In 1969, following the *National Education Policy Act* (39 of 1967), the White provincial education departments were legally empowered to assume some form of control over pre-primary education. This resulted in considerable expansion in the provision of pre-primary education for White children in

the 1970's and subsequent years. Pre-primary education provision for African children only gained momentum in the 1980's when the Department of Education and Training (DET)¹⁹⁾ began to play a role in this sphere. However, development and expansion was slow and was constantly hampered by a lack of finance.

The De Lange Report (1981) highlighted the value of pre-primary education in ensuring the school readiness of young children. The report elucidated the following factors, among others, in support of pre-primary education:

- An escalation in environmental deprivation of young children has occurred due to an increase in the number of mothers who are working because of economic pressures. This has consequently resulted in a number of children not being school ready.
- The high drop-out and failure rate of Africans in the first phase of basic education, viz. substandards A and B and standard one of the formal school system.
- Learning problems and giftedness can be recognised more easily and appropriate steps taken (HSRC 1981b:27).

Based on the above demand factors and simultaneously taking cognisance of the high cost of the conventional three year programme enjoyed by White children, the report recommended

19) This Department will subsequently be referred to as the DET.

that a bridging period, aimed at achieving school readiness for as many children as possible, be instituted for the most part at the present primary school before they begin with formal education. The duration of the bridging period was to be from one to two years. It was envisaged that at the age of five the bridging period could be entered voluntarily and at the age of six it was to be compulsory. Further, it was recommended that this service be provided free. With regard to pre-primary schools the report suggested that in addition to private welfare initiative, there should also be a limited development of these institutions on departmental initiative, but restricted to areas where the needs of small children were the greatest (HSRC 1981b:107-108).

The government, in its *White Paper on the Provision of Education in the Republic of South Africa* (1983), responded to the above recommendations by stating:

The government accepts the recommendations ... regarding a bridging period of one to two years aimed at promoting school readiness in as many children as possible before basic education is started ... The government also accepts the fact that the education department concerned should have the power to decide whether and for how long a particular pupil should be included in the bridging programme. Attendance

during the pre-basic bridging period cannot be made compulsory before the age of six years. It is left to the various executive departments to apply this principle according to the need (South Africa 1983d:22).

The government's response was tantamount to shifting the responsibility for pre-primary education to the education departments. Further, no definite directions were given as to whether additional finance would be made available to the education departments for the implementation of the bridging period. With regard to institutionalised pre-primary provision for three to six year olds, the government cited a lack of finance in extending this service.

In the mid-eighties pre-primary education provision began to decline further. With the introduction of the tricameral dispensation, matters which specially or differentially affected a racial group in relation to the maintenance of its identity and the upholding and furtherance of its way of life, culture, traditions and customs was termed an "own affair" (South Africa 1983b:sec. 2). Education provision, including pre-primary education for the different racial groups, was thus an "own affair".

With education being an "own affair" it was obvious that the

financing of pre-primary education would fall within the ambit of the respective education departments (see chapter 1, p. 7). However, the formula used for calculating the education budgets of the ethnic education departments excluded pre-primary education. This was the result of the South African National Education Policy (SANEP) formula that determined subsidies. A new formula, which became operational in April 1987, also made no provision for the financing of pre-primary classes at state schools (NEPI 1992a:14).

In the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS; 1991) it was pointed out that owing to severe budget restrictions most education departments had to scale down their activities. Regarding pre-primary education the ERS stated the following:

... no general policy for this type of education [pre-primary] exists at present, each education department determining its own approach to pre-primary education. This approach is based on a decision taken by Education Ministers in 1987 that general policy for ordinary school education should first be determined in its various facets, after which policy for pre-primary education could be considered (CHED 1991:64).

The ERS further stated that the major part of pre-primary education was conducted in the form of non-formal education, usually with some links (such as registration or

subsidisation) to the formal education sector. It also recognised the value of pre-primary education, particularly in ensuring school readiness for learners from disadvantaged backgrounds. The ERS thus recommended that the South African Council for Education (SACE)²⁰ should develop a national strategy for pre-primary education and added that particular attention should be paid to utilising the first school year as a bridging year and the integration thereof with the first school phase of seven years (CHED 1991:63-64).

Against the above introductory remarks, the imbalances and inequities in pre-primary education with reference to Africans, Indians, Whites and Coloureds will be discussed.

3.2 IMBALANCES AND INEQUITIES IN PRE-PRIMARY EDUCATION WITH REFERENCE TO AFRICANS, INDIANS, WHITES AND COLOUREDS

3.2.1 Africans

3.2.1.1 Legislation regarding pre-primary education

The *Bantu Education Act* (47 of 1953) made no provision for the Department of Bantu Education to assume *de jure* responsibility for pre-primary education, be it by registration or subsidisation of private pre-primary schools.

20) The South African Council for Education (SACE) is an advisory body comprising members appointed by the Minister of National Education.

Consequently, the Department played no role in pre-primary education up to 1979 (Vos & Brits 1987:73). However, with the promulgation of the *Education and Training Act* (90 of 1979), a legal basis was established for the DET to involve itself in pre-primary education through the registration and subsidisation of private pre-primary schools (South Africa 1979b:sec.1, sec.9). Accordingly, the DET engaged in registering all existing private pre-primary educational institutions during 1980 and 1981 (South Africa. DET 1980:138). The passing of two further acts, the *Education and Training Amendment Acts* (74 of 1984) and (3 of 1986) empowered the DET to establish, erect and maintain pre-primary schools (South Africa 1984a:sec.1, South Africa 1986:sec.5a).

3.2.1.2 Access to pre-primary education

Pre-primary education for Africans was restricted to three basic forms, namely, pre-primary schools, pre-primary classes and the school readiness programme which was later transformed into a bridging period programme.

Pre-primary schools catered for the three to six year old infant and were privately run institutions controlled by *inter alia*, churches, mines and community councils.

Pre-primary classes catered for five year olds and were, in the main, located within primary schools (South Africa. DET 1984:64). The school readiness programme on the other hand, comprised a basic 12 to 15 week programme for sub-standard A pupils (South Africa. DET 1981:9). In 1988 this programme was transformed into what is presently known as the bridging period programme (South Africa. DET 1989:96).

a) Pre-primary schools

Table 1 (see p. 66) provides an analysis of the number of pre-primary schools and the number of children accommodated in schools registered with the DET and the education departments of the self-governing territories of Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaZulu, KwaNdebele, Qwaqwa and Lebowa since 1982. The number of pre-primary schools registered with the above education departments, as well as the number of children accommodated increased steadily as from 1982 (see table 1). A welcome development in pre-primary education provision for Africans was the establishment of pre-primary schools on farms. At the inception of this type of provision on farms in 1985 six such schools were registered (South Africa. DET 1986:87).

Table 1: Number of pre-primary schools for Africans and the number of children accommodated

YEAR	NO. OF SCHOOLS	NO. OF CHILDREN
1982	37	4 646
1984	80	11 604
1986	187	18 893
1988	299	32 987
1990	453	51 188
1992	617	67 171

Source: South Africa. DET (1982:359; 1984:175; 1987:241; 1989:291; 1991:199; 1993:227).

b) Pre-primary classes

In 1984 the DET experimented with the idea of extending pre-primary education provision by encouraging community efforts in the establishment of pre-primary classes. As a result, 64 classes were set up in the Johannesburg region, especially Soweto (South Africa. DET 1984:64). In 1986 this form of provision for five year olds was extended to include Khayelitsha, Soshanguve, Duduza and Walvis Bay (South Africa. DET 1987:100). The Qwaqwa Education Department followed suite in 1988 and set up 33 class units (South Africa. DET 1989:291). Table 2 (see p. 67) shows the number of pre-

primary classes and the number of children accommodated in these classes since 1984.

Table 2: Number of pre-primary classes for Africans and the number of children accommodated

YEAR	NO. OF CLASSES	NO. OF CHILDREN
1984	64	1 948
1986	97	3 200
1988	141	6 390
1990	71	4 206
1992	55	4 449

Source: South Africa. DET (1984:175; 1987:241; 1989:291; 1991:199; 1993:227).

After 1988 there was a drastic decrease in the number of pre-primary classes. This decrease was largely due to the DET withdrawing its subsidy to pre-primary classes. In its 1988 *Annual Report* the DET cited a lack of funds in hampering continued support for pre-primary classes, and added that the care of pre-school children should be the responsibility of the parents and the community, and therefore the Department's contribution towards pre-primary education entailed advice and motivation to local authorities and other bodies to promote pre-school education (South Africa. DET 1989:94). As

a result, in 1992 there was only one pre-primary class in existence at DET primary schools (South Africa. DET 1993:227).

c) School readiness and bridging period programmes

In its 1981 *Annual Report* the DET acknowledged the value of pre-primary education:

It is obvious that where children are admitted at the age of six years, one child will be fully school ready while another will still have some lee-way to make up, which will place a considerable burden on the school programme (South Africa. DET 1981:8).

Therefore, to ensure school readiness the DET has since 1981 engaged in devoting the first 12 to 15 weeks of the school year for sub-standard A pupils to a school readiness programme (Vos & Brits 1987:91). In 1982 this programme was extended to include 1 322 schools, benefiting some half a million pupils (South Africa. DET 1982:6).

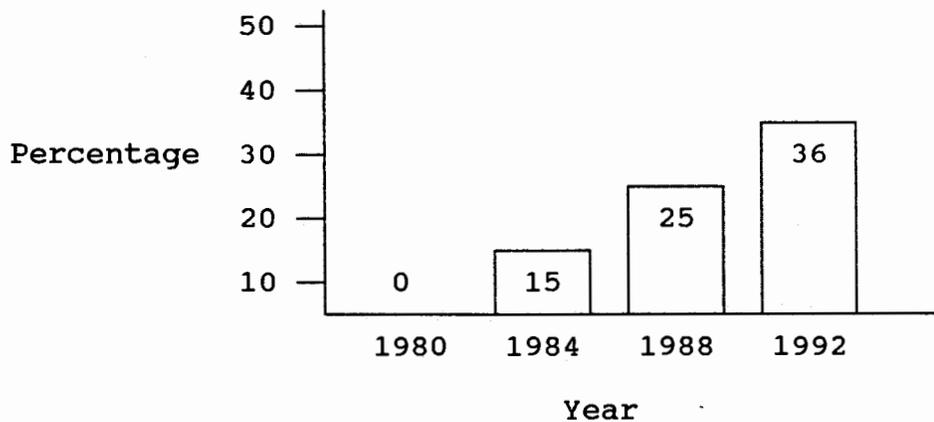
In 1985 the Department began an investigation into a bridging period programme. In essence, this programme was an extended school readiness programme initiated due to some pupils not being school ready even after the normal 12 weeks school readiness programme. As a pilot project three bridging period

programmes were established at Soshanguve and Walvis Bay (South Africa. DET 1986:87). Due to the success of this programme it was extended to include 450 classes in 1989, 1 340 classes in 1990 and 2 100 classes in 1992 (South Africa. DET 1990:93; 1991:46; 1993:72).

d) Proportion of children catered for in pre-primary education

The percentage of African children in receipt of pre-primary education linked to the African education departments expressed as a proportion of the total provision for the four racial groups is given in figure 2 (see p. 70). As is evident from figure 2 the percentage for African children increased steadily reaching 36% in 1992.

Figure 2: Percentage of African children in receipt of pre-primary education expressed as a proportion of the total provision by education departments²¹⁾



Source: Compiled from figures in tables 1, 2 and sections 3.2.2.2, 3.2.3.2 and 3.2.4.2

3.2.1.3 Financing of pre-primary education

Since 1982 the DET paid a per capita subsidy to a select number of schools registered with the Department. In order to qualify for the subsidy schools had to meet certain requirements, such as following a prescribed Departmental educational programme or a programme which has been approved by the Department (South Africa. DET 1987:100). Since the inception of the subsidy scheme an amount of R25-00 per five year old child per quarter or R100-00 per five year old child

21) This figure excludes the school readiness and bridging period programmes as these are not considered authentic pre-primary programmes since children are already in sub-standard A (NEPI 1992a:33).

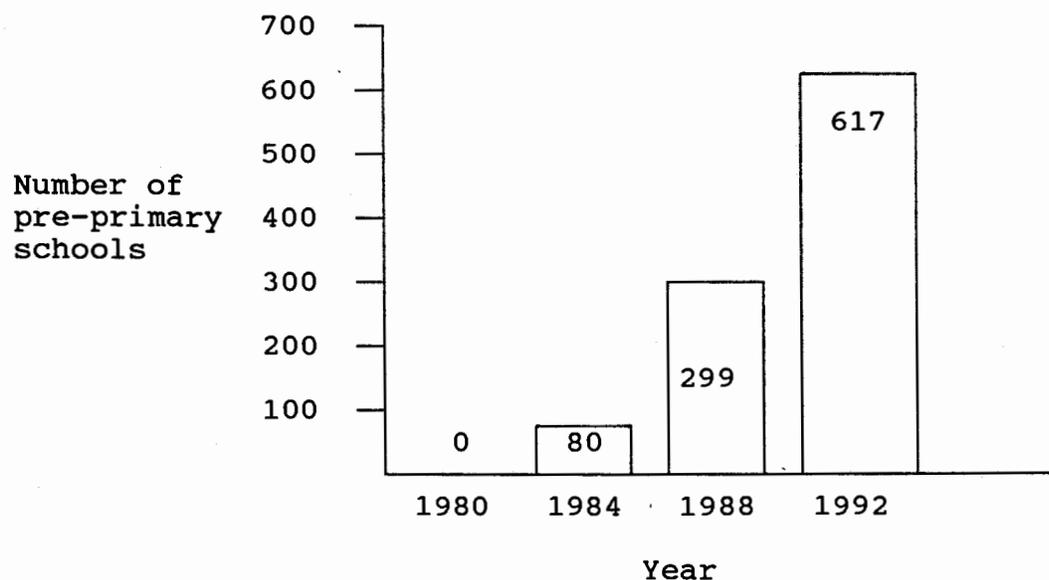
per annum was the rate of subsidisation (South Africa. DET 1982:8).

In 1986 the existing subsidy formula was reviewed:

All registered pre-primary schools, irrespective of the number of children enrolled, receive a basic amount of R3 000 per annum. Apart from the basic amount an additional R100 for every 3 pupils in excess of an enrolment of 30 is payable annually (South Africa. DET 1987:100).

Figure 3 (see p. 72) shows the number of pre-primary schools that qualified for a subsidy from the African education departments. Although the number of African pre-primary schools in receipt of a subsidy more than doubled between 1988 and 1992, there was no increase in the number of DET registered schools that received subsidies since 1988 (South Africa. DET 1991:93). This must be seen in the light of the new SANEP financing formula (see p. 62) that excluded pre-primary education from the formula for calculating education department budgets.

Figure 3: Number of pre-primary schools catering for Africans in receipt of a subsidy



Source: South Africa. DET (1984:175; 1989:291; 1993:227).

Pre-primary classes were subsidised in a similar manner to that of pre-primary schools, i.e. they qualified for a per capita subsidy similar in value to those paid to pre-primary schools (see pp. 70-71).

The school readiness and bridging period programmes were considered part of mainstream education. As a result, these programmes were financed from funds allocated to mainstream education (Padayachie et al 1994:19).

3.2.1.4 Resources for pre-primary education

a) Teachers

Table 3 (see below) shows the number of teachers involved in pre-primary education in the African education departments.

Table 3: Number of teachers involved in pre-primary education for Africans

YEAR	NO. OF TEACHERS
1982	168
1984	411
1986	848
1988	1 140
1990	1 424
1992	1 076

Source: South Africa. DET (1982:359; 1984:175; 1987:241; 1989:291; 1991:199; 1993:227).

Of significance, is the number of teachers holding formal pre-primary teacher qualifications. In 1982, only 31% of DET teachers and no teacher in the self-governing territories possessed formal pre-primary qualifications (South Africa. DET. 1982:360). By 1986, the percentage of DET teachers

with formal pre-primary qualifications decreased to 17% while the percentage of formally trained pre-primary teachers increased to 8% in the self-governing territories (South Africa. DET 1987:24). As at 1990 the situation had not improved much with 10% of DET teachers and 13% of teachers in the self-governing territories possessing formal teaching qualifications (South Africa. DET 1991:226). Short (1992:246) commented that the shortage of tertiary trained teachers was a major problem in African pre-primary education.

b) Teacher-child ratios

In 1982 and 1984, the average teacher-child ratios in African pre-primary schools was 1:28 (calculated from South Africa. DET. 1982:359; 1984:179). By 1988 the average teacher-child ratios had increased to 1:35; and in 1992 the teacher-child ratios ranged from 1:23 to 1:59 in the DET and self-governing territories (calculated from South Africa. DET 1989:291; NEPI 1992a:18).

c) Formal teacher training by education departments

A pre-primary teachers course was introduced for the first time in 1978. The entrance qualification was standard eight and the duration of the course was two years. This course was offered at the Soweto Training College and Langa Adult

Education Centre near Cape Town (South Africa. DET 1979:115). In 1982, a three-year post-matric primary teachers diploma (pre-primary) was introduced at Soweto College of Education. This course was subsequently extended to St. Francis College near Cape Town in 1983 (South Africa. DET 1983a:59). Notwithstanding a severe shortage of tertiary trained, qualified pre-primary teachers, the DET began phasing out pre-primary teachers training courses in 1988. The official reason given for this was rationalisation at its colleges of education (South Africa. DET 1989:128). As at 1992 there was no tertiary training available in pre-primary education at the colleges of education for Africans. However, there was a strong tendency to include some training relevant to "preparation for school" in the junior primary teacher training courses (NEPI 1992a:31).

3.2.2 Indians

3.2.2.1 Legislation regarding pre-primary education

The *Indians Education Act* (61 of 1965) made provision for the Department of Indian Affairs: Division of Education to involve itself in pre-primary education. The Department was empowered to award grants-in-aid or subsidies and loans to the governing body of any school including pre-primary schools (South Africa 1965:sec. 4.1). This Act, however,

precluded the Department from erecting and/or maintaining pre-primary schools. In terms of the Act, all existing pre-primary schools catering for children in the three to six year age group were required to register with the Department as private schools (South Africa 1965:sec. 6.1). These schools once registered, could apply for a state subsidy provided they were conducted on a non-profit basis (Moodley 1985:1). A further Act, the *Indians Education Amendment Act* (39 of 1979) empowered the Department to erect and/or maintain pre-primary schools (South Africa. 1979d:sec. 2a).

3.2.2.2 Access to pre-primary education

Three basic forms of pre-primary education were available to Indian children. These were:

- Pre-primary schools which were privately run institutions catering for children in the three to six year age group.
- School readiness classes which catered for five year olds. These classes were run by community organisations at primary schools. It involved a daily two hour programme normally conducted from 12:30 to 14:30 in grades classrooms vacated by junior primary pupils.
- Bridging module readiness classes which catered for five year olds in the regular school context (Short 1981b:2; Moodley 1985:1).

a) Pre-primary schools

Since the passing of the *Indians Education Act* (61 of 1965) the registration of pre-primary schools with the Department of Indian Affairs: Division of Education was slow. According to Behr (1971:96) interest on the part of the Indian community towards pre-primary education was negligible. Between 1965 and 1969, only three schools were registered with the Department. It was only during the 1980's that the establishment of private pre-primary schools gained momentum. Generally, it was the policy of the Department of Indian Affairs: Division of Education and the Department of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Delegates to subsidise private pre-primary schools rather than have them erected by the state (Behr 1988:119). Table 4 (see p. 78) shows the number of pre-primary schools registered with the Department as well as the number of children accommodated since 1970. Both, the number of schools registered as well as the number of children accommodated has shown small increases. Thus, Behr (1984:277; 1988:119) contended that there was no noteworthy growth in pre-primary education for Indians despite the dire need for it.

Table 4: Number of pre-primary schools for Indians and the number of children accommodated

YEAR	NO. OF SCHOOLS	NO. OF CHILDREN
1970 ²²⁾	3	89
1976	5	154
1980	15	837
1982	22	1 210
1984	28	1 675
1986	32	2 233
1988	37	2 567
1990	43	2 798
1992	42	2 875

Source: Behr (1971:96); South Africa. Department of Statistics (1979a:57-58); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1985a:1; 1987c:1; 1987d:1); South Africa. Administration: House of Delegates (1987:8; 1989:9; 1991:37); Naidoo (1995:Personal communication).

b) School readiness classes

In order to extend the pre-primary education service, the

22) These figures are for 1969. The figures for 1970 was not available.

Department of Indian Affairs: Division of Education encouraged community efforts in the provision of school readiness classes. These classes for five year olds were first initiated in 1974 by the Indian welfare societies at three schools (Naidoo 1978:58). The Department allowed community organisations the use of its infant classrooms and provided them with approved school readiness programmes (South Africa. Department of Indian Affairs 1978:21).

In 1985, 7 195 children were involved in this programme at 145 schools comprising 253 class units (Moodley 1985:4). This service was further extended in 1987 involving approximately 8 500 children at 178 schools (South Africa. Administration: House of Delegates 1988:10). By 1992 this service had declined, accommodating only 5 650 children (Padayachie et al 1994:45).

c) Bridging module readiness classes

Bridging module readiness classes for five year olds were introduced in 1985 as a pilot project. According to Moodley (1985:2):

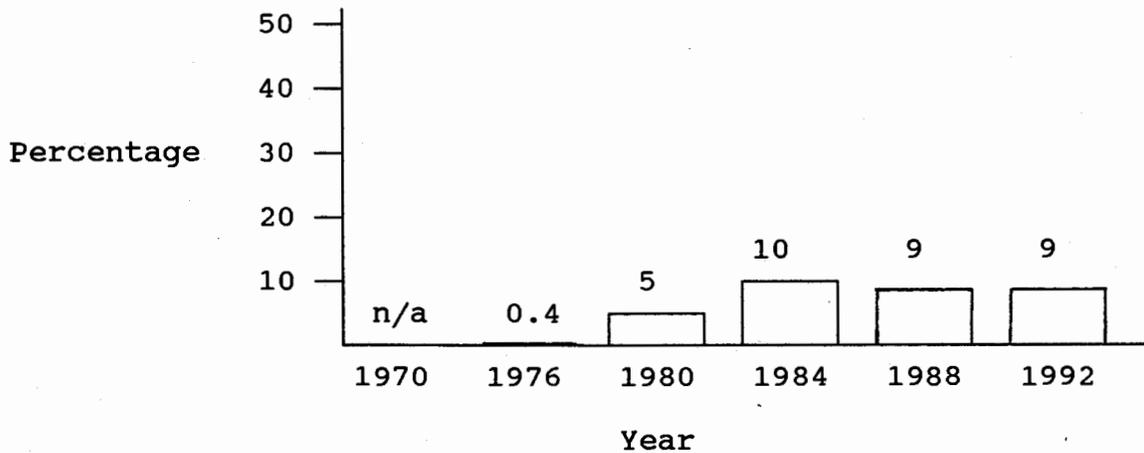
... this service arises out of the Departments' own experiences with school readiness programmes and the priority recommendation accorded to such a service in the 1981 De Lange Committee Investigation into Education.

In 1985, 20 units were established, accommodating a maximum of 25 children per unit (Moodley 1985:2). By 1988, 84 units were established (South Africa. Administration: House of Delegates 1989:9). The period 1990 to 1992 saw no increase in the number of units, with 155 units accommodating a maximum of 30 pupils per unit being in existence (South Africa. Administration: House of Delegates 1991:36; 1993:32).

d) Proportion of children catered for in pre-primary education

The percentage of Indian children in receipt of pre-primary education linked to the Indian education department and "own affairs" administration expressed as a proportion of the total provision for the four racial groups is given in figure 4 (see p. 81). Between 1984 and 1992 the proportion of Indian children receiving pre-primary education remained fairly constant (see figure 4).

Figure 4: Percentage of Indian children in receipt of pre-primary education expressed as a proportion of the total provision by education departments



Source: Compiled from information in Table 4, sections 3.2.1.2, 3.2.3.2 and 3.2.4.2 and figures by Naidoo (1995:Personal communication).

3.2.2.3 Financing of pre-primary education

The Department of Indian Affairs: Division of Education, the Directorate of Indian Education of the Department of Internal Affairs and the Department of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Delegates made provision for the subsidisation of registered private pre-primary schools which were conducted on a non-profit basis. Since 1965, the subsidy was R5-00 per child per quarter. In the latter 1970's this subsidy saw small increases (R7-00 per child per quarter in 1975, R10-00 per child per quarter in 1980). In the early

1980's this subsidy rate was subsequently reviewed. A per capita subsidy of R120-00 per child per annum was available to registered pre-primary schools (Moodley 1985:1). In 1988, a further review of the subsidy rate occurred, resulting in a per capita subsidy of R36-00 per child per quarter, or R144-00 per child per annum (South Africa. Administration: House of Delegates 1989:8).

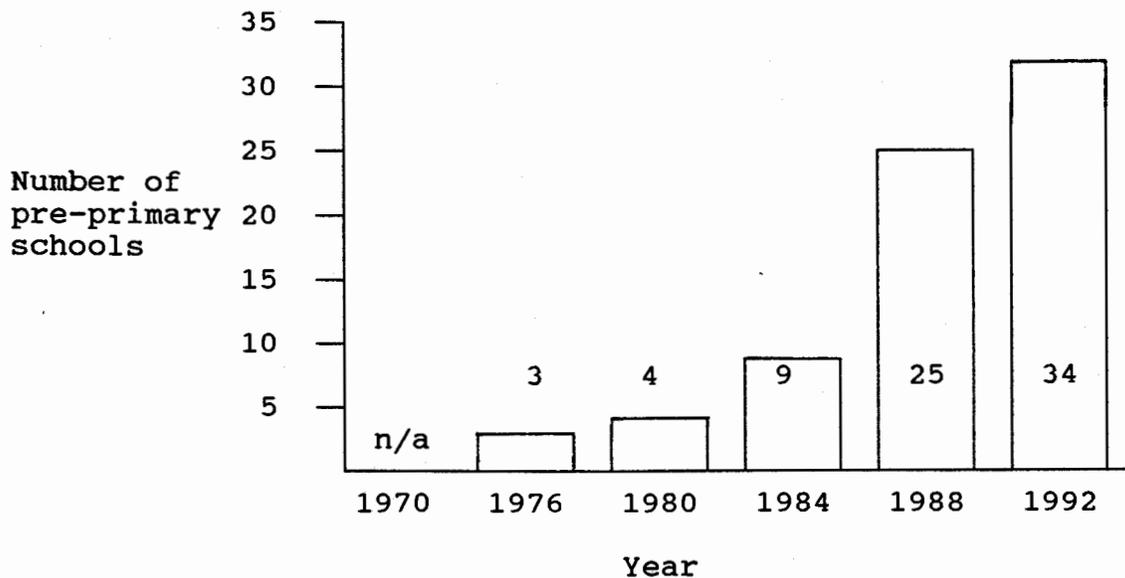
Apart from a per capita subsidy, the Directorate of Indian Education of the Department of Internal Affairs and the Department of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Delegates also provided since 1980 and 1984, respectively, a building subsidy and a furniture and equipment subsidy. A building subsidy up to a maximum of R20 000 on a rand-for-rand basis, and a furniture and equipment subsidy up to a maximum of R2 500 on a rand-for-rand basis was available (South Africa. Department of Internal Affairs 1981:29).

These rates were subsequently reviewed in 1985, and from then on a building subsidy of up to a maximum of R100 000 on a rand-for-rand basis and a furniture and equipment subsidy of R8 000 on a rand-for-rand basis was available (Moodley 1985:1).

Figure 5 (see p. 83) shows the number of pre-primary schools in receipt of a subsidy from the Department. From figure 5

it was obvious that only a limited number of schools were in receipt of a subsidy from the Department.

Figure 5: Number of pre-primary schools catering for Indians in receipt of a subsidy



Source: Compiled from South Africa. Department of Statistics (1979a:58); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1985a:3; 1987d:4); South Africa. Administration: House of Delegates (1989:9); Naidoo (1995:Personal communication).

The community organisations which ran the school readiness classes largely financed this type of education provision since its inception. The Department of Education and Culture,

Administration: House of Delegates, however, has since 1986, provided a small wage subsidy which was paid to the teachers involved in this programme. This subsidy was set at R3-40 per teacher up to a maximum of two hours per day for 5 days a week (South Africa. Administration: House of Delegates 1987:8; 1991:34). The bridging module readiness classes were on the other hand, considered to be part of mainstream education. Hence, all costs (teachers salaries, furniture and equipment) were borne by the Department of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Delegates (Naidoo 1995:Personal communication).

3.2.2.4 Resources for pre-primary education

a) Teachers

Table 5 (see p. 85) shows the number of teachers involved in pre-primary school education. Of note is the number of teachers holding formal pre-primary teaching qualifications. Although figures of the qualifications of teachers at pre-primary schools prior to 1980 was not available, Reilly & Hofmeyr (1983:76) concluded that the percentage of qualified teachers at Indian centres were extremely unfavourable and the position was considered as being critical. In 1980, only 19% of teachers possessed formal pre-primary teaching qualifications (South Africa. Central Statistical Services 1985a:5). By 1984 the situation deteriorated, with only 11%

of teachers holding formal pre-primary teaching qualifications (South Africa. Central Statistical Services 1987d:9). According to Naidoo (1995:Personal communication), the majority of teachers at private pre-primary schools lacked formal training. However, to compensate for this, many were in possession of non-formal training obtained through non-government resource agencies, such as the Chatsworth Early Learning Centre.

Table 5: Number of teachers involved in pre-primary school education for Indians

YEAR	NO. OF TEACHERS
1970	n/a
1976	9
1980	37
1984	81
1986	74
1988	86
1990	93
1992	95

Source: South Africa. Department of Statistics (1979a:60); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1985a:5; 1987d:9); Naidoo (1995:Personal communication).

Teachers involved in the school readiness classes had no formal training in pre-primary education. According to Moodley (1985:3):

... from a survey conducted it was established that 4 out of every 5 teachers in charge of community-based readiness classes have attended orientation classes of some sort in order to compensate for the fact that they are not professionally qualified for this type of work.

Since the inception of the bridging module readiness classes, qualified in-service teachers with at least a diploma in pre-primary education conducted the classes (Moodley 1985:2; South Africa. Administration: House of Delegates 1989:9).

b) Teacher-child ratios

Short (1981a:1) noted that no requirements regarding teacher-child ratios were set by the Department of Indian Affairs: Division of Education. Consequently, the teacher-child ratios varied quite considerably from centre to centre. In 1976, the average teacher-child ratio in pre-primary schools was approximately 1:17, while in 1980 and 1984 the ratio averaged around 1:23 and 1:21, respectively (calculated from South Africa. Department of Statistics 1979a:57-60; South Africa. Central Statistical Services 1985a:1-3; 1987d:1-4). Since 1986 an average ratio of 1:30 was maintained in pre-primary schools for Indians (Naidoo 1995:Personal communication).

For the school readiness classes no norms were set since the inception of the classes. However, when the wage subsidy for teachers was introduced (1986), an average ratio of 1:30 was maintained (Naidoo 1995:Personal communication). Since the inception of the bridging module readiness classes, an average teacher-child ratio of 1:25 was the requirement set by the Department of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Delegates (South Africa. Administration: House of Delegates 1987:8). However, in 1987 this ratio was increased to 1:30 and was maintained at this level since then (South Africa. Administration: House of Delegates 1988:10).

c) Formal teacher training by education departments

Specialist pre-primary teacher training has never existed for Indian teachers (NEPI 1992a:14). However, the two colleges of education designated for Indians (Springfield College of Education and Transvaal College of Education) offered a junior primary education diploma which included a pre-primary education component. Initially this was a three-year diploma but since 1985 it was extended to a four-year diploma (Moodley 1985:5).

3.2.3 Whites

3.2.3.1 Legislation regarding pre-primary education

Prior to 1967, no official policy regarding the role of the

White education departments in respect of pre-primary education existed. The passing of the *National Education Policy Act* (39 of 1967) brought about a minor change to this policy as pre-primary education was mentioned by implication in this Act, where reference was made to schools "... maintained, managed and controlled or subsidised by the Department or a provincial administration" (South Africa 1967b:sec. 1). Pre-primary education was thus not clearly defined and this prompted the Minister of National Education to appoint an interdepartmental committee in 1968 to investigate the matter of pre-primary education for Whites in South Africa (Olivier 1989:299).

In 1969 the Minister of National Education, in keeping with the findings of the interdepartmental committee, declared that pre-primary schools fall under the authority of the provincial administrations; children within the ages of three to six years could attend these institutions; a programme of planned educational activities be followed at pre-primary schools; pre-primary education was not compulsory and all pre-primary institutions be open to inspection by inspectors of the provincial education departments (Behr 1988:117; Vos & Brits 1990:89).

These amendments concerning national education policy regarding pre-primary education for Whites were confirmed in the *National Education Policy Amendment Act* (73 of 1969). This meant that the education ordinances of the four provinces had to be amended in order to incorporate and bring pre-primary education under the jurisdiction of the provincial directors of education. The White education departments were thus empowered to take responsibility for pre-primary education (Olivier 1989:299).

3.2.3.2 Access to pre-primary education

Pre-primary education provision for Whites was restricted to two basic forms, namely, pre-primary schools and pre-primary classes. Four types of pre-primary schools were distinguished:

- Provincial pre-primary schools which were controlled and managed by the provincial education departments.
- Provincially controlled pre-primary schools where the provincial education departments paid only the teachers salaries.
- Subsidised pre-primary schools which qualified for a per capita subsidy from the provincial education departments.
- Private pre-primary schools run by parents and community organisations (Short 1981b:2).

Pre-primary classes on the other hand were attached to primary schools. The provincial education departments took full responsibility with regard to the control and management of these classes (Short 1981b:2).

a) Pre-primary schools

Table 6 (see p. 91) shows the number of White children accommodated in pre-primary schools. In 1970 there was 231 registered institutions accommodating under 14 000 children. Since then, Behr (1988:117) and Padayachie et al (1994:9) have noted that provision for White children had increased quite rapidly. By 1992, White pre-primary schools accommodated in excess of 80 000 children. A new development in pre-primary education occurred in 1973 with the Transvaal Education Department establishing its own pre-primary schools (NEPI 1992a:23). By 1989, 126 such schools had been established (South Africa. Administration: House of Assembly, Department of Education and Culture 1990a:134). The other education departments, namely, the Cape, Natal and Orange Free State Education Departments generally favoured the "provincially controlled" option (NEPI 1992a:23).

Table 6: Number of pre-primary schools for Whites and number of children accommodated

YEAR	NO. OF SCHOOLS	NO. OF CHILDREN
1970	231	13 934
1976	447	30 002
1980	728	45 728
1982	797	50 619
1984	838	54 785
1988	1 033	79 844
1990	1 148	87 398
1992	1 166	80 941

Source: South Africa. Department of Statistics (1973:123-126; 1979b:1); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1985b:3; 1987e:3; 1987f:3); South Africa. Administration: House of Assembly, Department of Education and Culture (1990b:122, 127, 133; 1993:98, 104, 111).

b) Pre-primary classes

Table 7 (see p. 92) shows the number of pre-primary classes attached to White primary schools and the number of children accommodated in these classes. The Cape and Transvaal Education Departments generally favoured this type of provision (NEPI 1992a:22).

Table 7 : Number of schools with pre-primary classes for Whites and the number of children accommodated

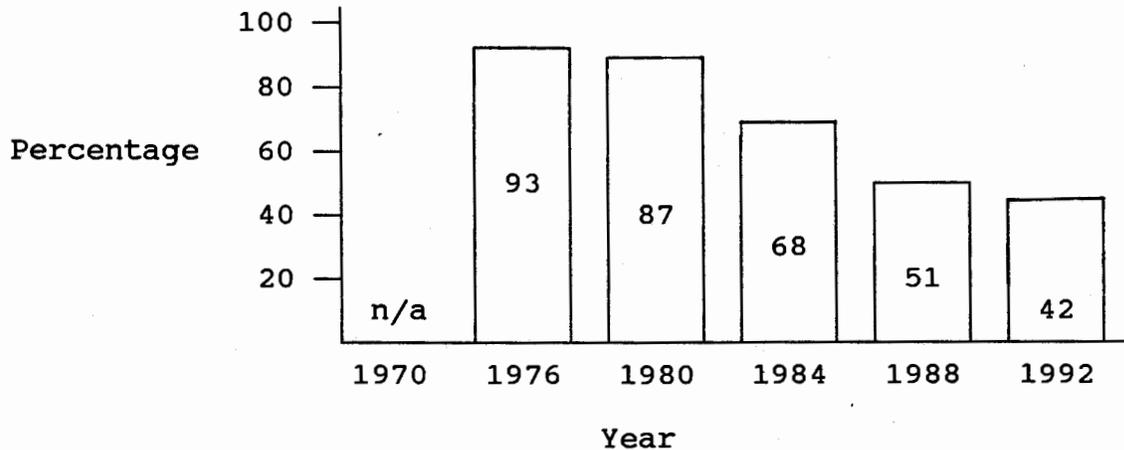
YEAR	NO. OF SCHOOLS	NO. OF CHILDREN
1976	n/a	3 242
1978	109	3 111
1980	136	3 763
1982	161	4 464
1984	185	5 225
1988	n/a	6 000
1992	n/a	4 752

Source: South Africa. Department of Statistics (1979b:1; 1982:3); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1985b:4; 1987e:4, 1987f:3); Short (1992:243); NEPI (1992a:18).

c) Proportion of children catered for in pre-primary education

The percentage of White children in receipt of pre-primary education linked to the White education departments expressed as a proportion of the total provision for the four racial groups is given in figure 6 (see p. 93). As is evident from figure 7, the percentage provision for White children declined steadily reaching 42% in 1992.

Figure 6: Percentage of White children in receipt of pre-primary education expressed as a proportion of the total provision by education departments



Source: Compiled from figures in tables 6 and 7 and sections 3.2.1.2, 3.2.2.2 and 3.2.4.2

3.2.3.3 Financing of pre-primary education

At provincial pre-primary schools, the provincial education departments carried the full responsibility for the financing of buildings, equipment, running expenses and teachers salaries since their inception in 1973 (Short 1981b:2; NEPI 1992a:23). This option was, however, a rather expensive one. The average cost to the Transvaal Education Department of running pre-primary schools for three to six year olds was R270 per child in 1975 and R3 039 per child in 1990 (Malherbe 1977:378; NEPI 1992a:26).

At provincially controlled pre-primary schools, the provincial education departments paid only the salaries of teachers in approved schools with an average enrolment of at least 15 children (Short 1981b:2; NEPI 1992a:26). In addition to this, the Natal Education Department also provided a building grant not exceeding 50 percent of the costs to non-profit school management committees (Malherbe 1977:378; Short 1981b:2).

Private pre-primary schools, registered with the provincial education departments received a per capita education subsidy provided that certain conditions were satisfied by their schools. The per capita subsidy was paid quarterly and was calculated on the basis of gross parental income. Since 1970 the subsidy rates were as follows:

Gross Parental Income per annum	Subsidy
Less than R3 000	R85
R3 000 to R5 000	R70
More than R5 000	R54

Source: Transvaal Education Department (1974: par. 1).

Subsequently, this rate was reviewed and in the early 1980's it was as follows:

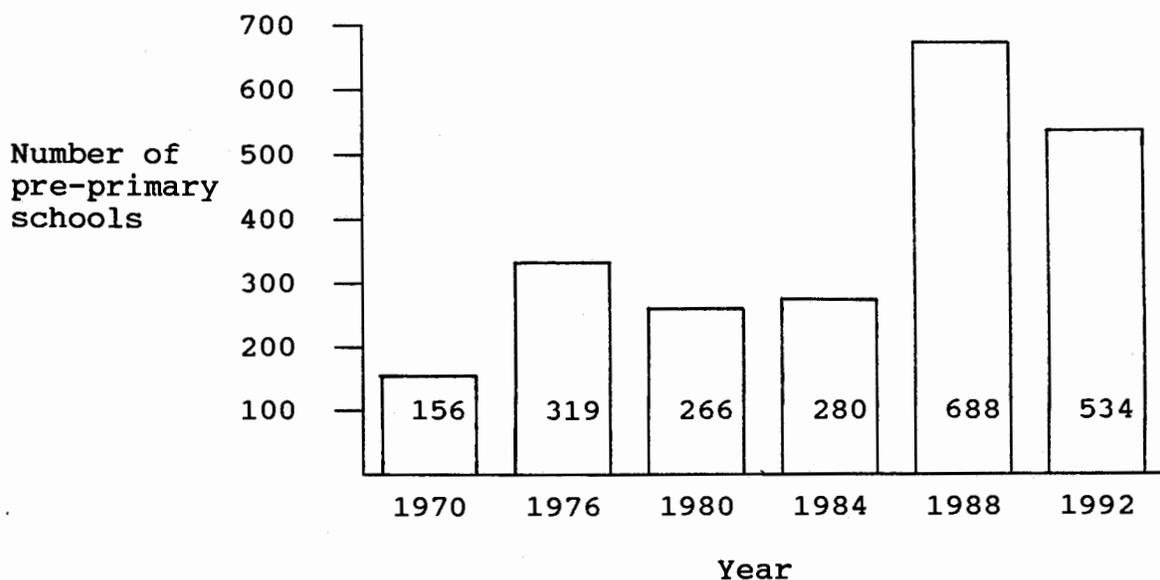
Gross Parental Income per annum	Subsidy
Less than R3 000	R125
R3 000 to R5 000	R105
More than R5 000	R85

Source: Short (1981b:2).

The NEPI Report has estimated that for 1990 the per capita subsidy amounted to R1 146-00 (NEPI 1992a:28).

Figure 7 (see p. 96) shows the number of pre-primary schools for Whites either fully subsidised or in receipt of a grant-in-aid subsidy. The period between 1988 and 1992 saw a decrease in the number of schools being subsidised. According to Mr Piet Marais, the then Minister of National Education, the White education departments had no plans to extend pre-primary education facilities. He added that some education departments had reduced their commitments to the pre-primary education sector because sufficient funds for pre-primary education could no longer be provided from the limited funds allocated to compulsory education (South Africa. Parliament. House of Assembly 1992b:col 1081-1082).

Figure 7: Number of pre-primary schools for Whites either fully subsidised or in receipt of a grant-in-aid



Source: Compiled from South Africa. Department of Statistics (1973:124; 1979b:3); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1985b:5; 1987f:5); South Africa. Parliament. House of Assembly (1992a:col. 706).

Pre-primary classes were financed in the same manner as provincial pre-primary schools (see p. 93). The provincial education departments thus carried the full responsibility for the financing of buildings, equipment, running expenses and teachers salaries (Short 1981b:2).

3.2.3.5 Resources for pre-primary education

a) Teachers

Table 8 (see p. 98) shows the number of teachers involved in pre-primary education in White pre-primary schools and classes. White pre-primary schools and classes were in the fortunate position of having a fair number of teachers with formal pre-primary qualifications under their fold. This stemmed from the *National Education Policy Amendment Act* (73 of 1969) which stipulated that the training of White persons as teachers for pre-primary schools be provided at a college or university (South Africa 1969b:sec. 1a). In 1970, approximately 49% of teachers had formal pre-primary teaching qualifications (South Africa. Department of Statistics 1973:131). By 1976 there was a tremendous improvement in the qualifications of pre-primary teachers with approximately 80% of teachers possessing formal pre-primary teaching qualifications (South Africa. Department of Statistics 1979b:10). Further, Reilly & Hofmeyr (1983:76) have shown that at provincial pre-primary schools, 90% of teachers were qualified in pre-primary education, while 65% and 54% of teachers were qualified in pre-primary education at provincially controlled and subsidised pre-primary schools, respectively. As at 1984, approximately 72% of teachers were formally qualified in pre-primary education (South Africa. Central Statistical Services 1987f:15).

According to the NEPI Report pre-primary schools and classes which were supported by the provincial education departments tended to be staffed largely by tertiary trained pre-primary teachers although this was not always the case in the private pre-primary schools run by parents and community organisations (NEPI 1992a:20).

Table 8 : Number of teachers involved in pre-primary education for Whites

YEAR	NO. OF TEACHERS
1970	789
1976	1 668
1980	2 507
1984	3 058
1990	n/a
1992	3 729

Source: South Africa. Department of Statistics (1973:131; 1979b:10); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1985b:14; 1987f:15); South Africa. Administration: House of Assembly, Department of Education and Culture (1993:111).

b) Teacher-child ratios

The Department of National Education stipulated that the teacher-child ratios for Whites was not to exceed 1:20 (Haasbroek 1975:15; Short 1981a:1). In the 1970's and 1980's the average teacher-child ratios conformed to this requirement (based on calculations from South Africa. Department of Statistics 1979b:1-10; South Africa. Central Statistical Services 1985b:3-14; 1987f:3-15). According to the NEPI Report, in the early 1990's, pre-primary schools controlled by the provincial education departments have been staffed at ratios ranging from 1:13 to 1:23 (NEPI 1992a:21).

c) Formal teacher training by education departments

Since the inclusion of pre-primary education into the education ordinances of the provinces in 1969, the provincial education departments began to play a greater role in pre-primary teacher training. As of 1970, the Transvaal Education Department introduced a four-year course in pre-primary education at four of its colleges of education. In 1972, the Natal Education Department began offering a three-year course in pre-primary education at three of its colleges of education. The Cape Education Department trained teachers in a three-year diploma in pre-primary education at the Graaf Reinet College of Education since 1974. In the same year the

Orange Free State Education Department began offering a four-year course in pre-primary work at the Bloemfontein College of Education (Reilly & Hofmeyr 1983:21).

In 1987, the Natal Education Department opted in favour of a combined four-year pre-primary and junior primary course with the aim of providing teachers with a qualification that was wider in scope (South Africa. Administration: House of Assembly, Department of Education and Culture 1988:119).

Since 1990, the Orange Free State Education Department introduced a Further Diploma in Education (Pre-primary). The Transvaal Education Department, in the same year introduced a combined Pre-primary and Primary Higher Diploma in Education at its colleges of education (South Africa. Administration: House of Assembly, Department of Education and Culture 1991:82, 98).

3.2.4 Coloureds

3.2.4.1 Legislation regarding pre-primary education

The *Coloured Persons Education Act* (47 of 1963) paved the way for the Department of Coloured Affairs: Division of Education to involve itself in pre-primary education. The Department was empowered to register all existing private pre-primary schools, and also allowed to make grants-in-aid and loans to

the governing bodies of pre-primary schools (South Africa 1963:sec. 4.1). With regard to the establishment of pre-primary schools, a major breakthrough occurred in 1980 with the passing of the *Coloured Persons Education Amendment Act* (15 of 1980). This Act empowered the Department to establish, erect and maintain pre-primary schools (South Africa 1980:sec. 3).

3.2.4.2 Access to pre-primary education

Two basic forms of pre-primary education provision for Coloured children existed. These were pre-primary schools and pre-primary classes. Pre-primary schools catered for children in the three to six year age group and were privately run institutions. Pre-primary classes on the other hand, catered for five year old children and were attached to primary schools. These classes were run on a similar basis to classes in mainstream education (Short 1981b:2; Samuels 1995:Correspondence).

a) Pre-primary schools

In terms of the *Coloured Persons Education Act* (47 of 1963) all pre-primary schools had to register with the Department of Coloured Affairs: Division of Education. Despite this pre-condition, there was no noteworthy growth in pre-primary

education for Coloureds in general and more specifically in the number of schools that registered with the Department (Behr 1988:119). In the period 1965 to 1970 only 40 schools registered with the Department of Coloured Affairs: Division of Education (South Africa. Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs 1971:17). Table 9 (see p. 103) shows the number of pre-primary schools registered with the Department as well as the number of children accommodated. Since 1984, the number of schools and number of children accommodated increased quite considerably (see table 9).

Table 9: Number of pre-primary schools for Coloureds and the number of children accommodated

YEAR	NO. OF SCHOOLS	NO. OF CHILDREN
1970	40	n/a
1976	n/a	2 157
1980	56	4 803
1982	65	3 806
1984	66	5 783
1986	176	13 200
1988	245	17 580
1992	276	18 962

Source: South Africa. Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs (1971:17); South Africa. Department of Statistics (1979a:3-5); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1986a:3; 1987a:3; 1987b:3); South Africa. Administration: House of Representatives (1987a:15; 1989:65; 1993:40).

b) Pre-primary classes

In order to extend pre-primary education provision, pre-primary classes were introduced at primary schools as from 1984 (South Africa. Administration: House of Representatives 1987a:15). According to Samuels (1995:Correspondence) these

classes were established annually, on a progressive basis depending on need and subject to the availability of funds. The growth of this service is shown in Table 10 (see below).

Table 10: Number of pre-primary classes for Coloureds and the number of children accommodated

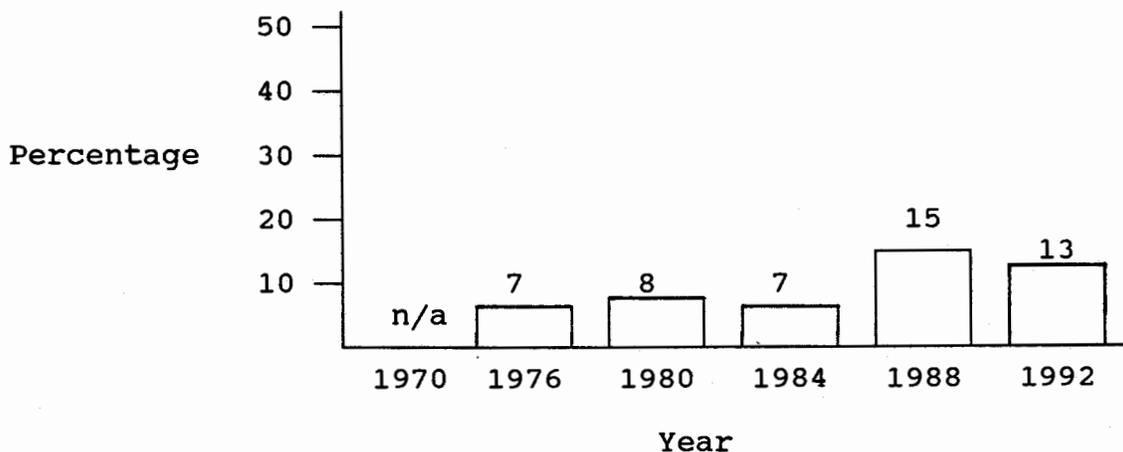
YEAR	NO. OF CLASSES	NO. OF CHILDREN
1984	25	625
1986	130	3 250
1988	242	6 050
1990	287	7 175
1992	294	8 042

Source: South Africa. Administration: House of Representatives (1987a:15; 1989:65; 1993:40); Samuels (1995:Correspondence).

c) Proportion of children catered for in pre-primary education

The percentage of Coloured children in receipt of pre-primary education linked to the Coloured education department expressed as a proportion of the total provision for the four racial groups is given in figure 8 (see p. 105).

Figure 8: Percentage of Coloured children in receipt of pre-primary education expressed as a proportion of the total provision by education departments



Source: Calculated from tables 9 and 10 and sections 3.2.1.2; 3.2.2.2 and 3.2.3.2

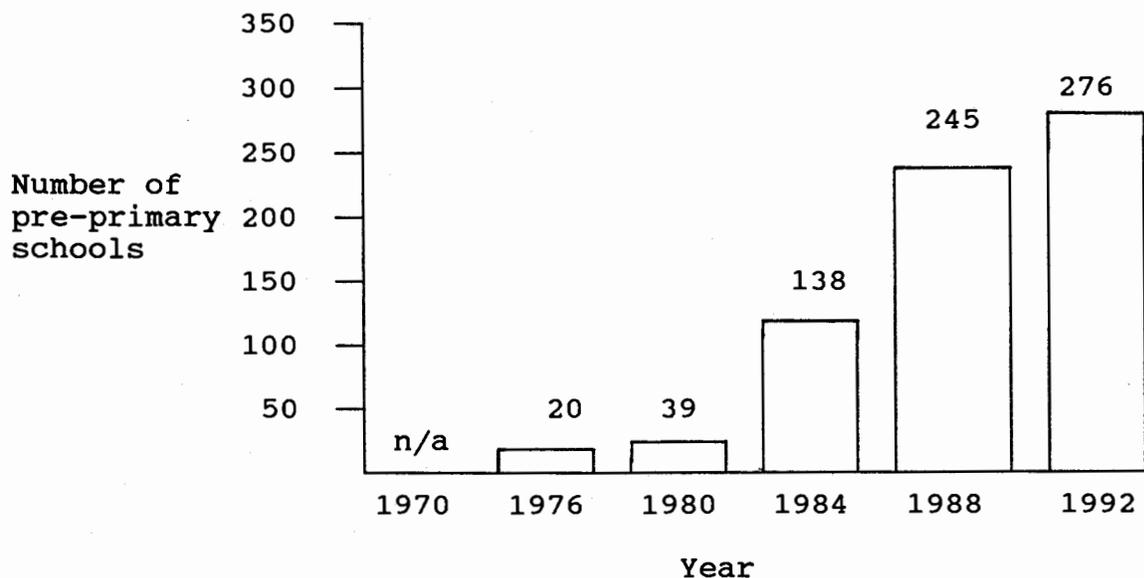
3.2.4.3 Financing of pre-primary education

All registered pre-primary schools for Coloured children were privately run institutions. As private institutions they qualified for a grant-in-aid subsidy from the Department of Coloured Affairs: Division of Education; the Directorate of Coloured Education of the Department of Internal Affairs and the Department of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Representatives. Since 1965, this subsidy amounted to R5-00 per child per quarter. In 1974 and 1978, this

subsidy was increased to R7-00 per child per quarter and R10-00 per child per quarter, respectively (Reilly & Hofmeyr 1983:28). Subsequent to this, the Directorate of Coloured Education of the Department of Internal Affairs, in April 1981, increased the subsidy rate to R30-00 per child per quarter (Short 1981b:2; Reilly & Hofmeyr 1983:28).

As from 1983, the Directorate of Coloured Education, Department of Internal Affairs embarked on a new basis of subsidisation. The boards of management of pre-primary schools could either choose between the payment of a monetary grant per child per term, or the appointment and remuneration of qualified pre-primary school teachers by the Department (South Africa. Department of Internal Affairs 1984:21). The rate of the monetary grant was improved as of 1 April 1990, to R144-00 per child per annum by the Department of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Representatives (Samuels 1995:Correspondence). Figure 9 (see p. 107) shows the number of pre-primary schools in receipt of a subsidy from the Department.

Figure 9: Number of pre-primary schools for Coloureds in receipt of a subsidy



Source: Calculated from South Africa. Department of Statistics (1979a:4); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1986a:6; 1987b:5); South Africa. Administration: House of Representatives (1989:65; 1993:40).

The financing of the pre-primary classes since their inception in 1984 was a rather costly affair owing to all costs, such as the remuneration of teachers and the provision of equipment and furniture being borne by Department of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Representatives (Samuels 1995:Correspondence). One year after

the inception of these classes the per capita costs amounted to R467-00 (calculated from South Africa. Administration: House of Representatives 1987b:1). By 1990 the per capita costs had risen to R1 652 per child which was higher than the per capita primary school cost (NEPI 1992a:26).

3.2.4.4 Resources for pre-primary education

a) Teachers

Table 11 (see p. 110) shows the number of teachers involved in pre-primary education in Coloured pre-primary schools and classes. Of importance, is the number of teachers holding formal pre-primary education teaching qualifications.

Although the qualifications of Coloured pre-primary teachers was not available prior to 1980, Short (1981a:1) commented that there was a severe shortage of qualified pre-primary school teachers. Even at centres in Cape Town it was found that only about 21% of the teaching staff were qualified pre-primary teachers. In 1980 and 1984, 35% and 41% of teachers had formal pre-primary teaching qualifications, respectively (South Africa. Central Statistical Services 1986a:12; 1987b:11).

According to Samuels (1995:Correspondence) since the take-over of Coloured education by the Department of Education

and Culture, Administration: House of Representatives in 1984, every effort was made to recruit qualified pre-primary teachers for posts at schools where the salaries of the teachers were paid by the Department. In most instances qualified teachers were appointed. However, should a qualified teacher not be available, an unqualified teacher was appointed in a temporary capacity. At pre-primary classes, it was found that in 1988 only 32% of teachers had formal pre-primary qualifications (South Africa. Administration: House of Representatives 1989:87). By 1992 this situation improved slightly with 55% of teachers teaching pre-primary classes holding formal pre-primary qualifications (South Africa. Administration: House of Representatives 1993:40).

Table 11: Number of teachers involved in pre-primary education for Coloureds

YEAR	NO. OF TEACHERS
1970	n/a
1976	38
1980	170
1984	237
1988	n/a
1992	305 ²³⁾

Source: South Africa. Department of Statistics (1979a:9); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1986a:12; 1987b:11); South Africa. Administration: House of Representatives (1993:40).

b) Teacher-child ratios

Short (1981a:1) has noted that no requirements were laid down by the Department of Coloured Affairs: Division of Education with regard to teacher-child ratios at private pre-primary schools. Consequently there was considerable variation in the teacher-child ratios at these institutions.

23) This figure excludes teachers at pre-primary schools as these figures were not available.

In 1976 the average ratio was 1:32 (Calculated from South Africa. Department of Statistics 1979a:3; 5; 9). Short (1981a:1) noted that only 7% of pre-primary schools had teacher-child ratios of 1:20 or less. In the early 1980's there was a considerable improvement in the teacher-child ratios. Reilly & Hofmeyr (1983:110) recorded ratios ranging from 1:20 to 1:26. In the early 1990's an average ratio of 1:21 was maintained at Coloured pre-primary institutions (NEPI 1992a:18).

Since the inception of pre-primary classes in 1984 the Department of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Representatives has decreed that teacher-child ratios at pre-primary classes not exceed 1:25. According to Samuels (1995:Correspondence) teacher-child ratios at pre-primary classes rarely exceeded 1:25.

c) Formal teacher training by education departments

Reilly & Hofmeyr (1983:109) pointed out that up to 1983 only one institution (Athlone Training Centre) provided pre-primary training for teachers. This institution offered a pre-primary teachers certificate after two years of training with matric as an entrance requirement. This certificate could, however, be converted to a diploma after completing

one additional year of training if the trainee so desired (Short 1981a:2). In order to extend training in pre-primary education, the Department of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Representatives introduced a three year post-matric Diploma in Education (pre-primary) at its college of education, the Sallie Davies College of Education (formerly known as the Athlone Training Centre) since 1984 (South Africa. Administration: House of Representatives 1987a:18). In 1992, with the incorporation of the Sallie Davies College of Education into the Cape Town College of Education the Department's provision of pre-primary training came to an end (Samuels 1995:Correspondence).

3.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the above historical overview of the situation regarding pre-primary education in South Africa it can be seen that pre-primary education provision by education departments was totally inadequate, serving only a small proportion of children. Notwithstanding the vital importance of this service as espoused by the De Lange Report (1981), the government in the latter 1980's has shifted towards reducing its commitment to this service rather than extend it. Moreover, state pre-primary education provision was characterised

by differing standards with regard to access, financing and resourcing.

In order to determine the imbalances and inequities prevalent in school-based education, the next chapter provides an outline of the imbalances and inequities in school-based education in South Africa.

CHAPTER 4

AN OUTLINE OF THE IMBALANCES AND INEQUITIES IN SCHOOL-BASED EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The provision of school-based education in South Africa was, as a matter of state policy, segregated on racial lines in keeping with the apartheid ideology. Schooling for the four racial groups was catered for by each racial group's own education subsystem which operated in isolation from one another and was of unequal quality. In order to bring to light the imbalances and inequities prevalent in school-based education, this chapter focuses on various indicators which measures, directly or indirectly, educational quality.

The first indicator surveyed, is that of access to school-based education. Of primary significance is the school participation rate²⁴⁾ of the four racial groups. In an ideal environment it is expected that all children of school-going

24) The school participation rate is the ratio of the number of pupils at school to the number of pupils of school-going age in a population.

age would attend school, but hitherto this has not always been the case in South Africa as differing standards and policies were laid down with regard to participation in terms of compulsory education enactment. The De Lange Commission (1981) highlighted this aspect in its report and called for a uniform compulsory education policy (HSRC 1981b:184). This proposal was subsequently accepted in principle by the government in its *White Paper on Education Provision in the Republic of South Africa* (1983) (South Africa 1983d:31). The *Education Renewal Strategy* (ERS, 1992) also recommended that a period of compulsory schooling be implemented for all children for a period of nine years, from the age of six or seven to 15 or 16 years of age (DNE 1992b:xii).

The second indicator researched, is that of pupil representation across the four phases of school education, i.e. the junior primary, senior primary, junior secondary and senior secondary phases. According to Auerbach (1979:5) this indicator is of vital significance since its evenness tells us much about how long pupils stay at school, especially at the above levels and for those racial groups where compulsory education does not apply. He added that participation in secondary education is regarded as a good indicator of a country's development.

The third indicator analysed, is that of pupil progress through the school system. Hitherto, Hartshorne (1992:39) has noted that South African education statistics provide no data on pupils failing and repeating a particular class or standard. Hence, use is made of Auerbach's (1979:7) apparent cohort method, which, in this study, compares the enrolment in standard one with the enrolment in standard ten, and it is then assumed that the decrease from standard one to standard ten corresponds to wastage. This method produces very approximate estimates of drop-out while repetition is ignored.

A fourth indicator studied, is that of expenditure on education, including the per capita costs (expenditure per pupil) for the four racial groups. This indicator has always been a bone of contention amongst the four racial groups, with the De Lange Commission (1981) acknowledging the need for a more equitable distribution of finances for education (HSRC 1981b:185). The government's White Paper (1983; see also p. 115) also accepted in principle that education financing should be more equitable (South Africa 1983d:28). Consistent with this, the Minister of National Education in 1986 announced a ten year plan aimed at achieving parity in state spending on education for the four racial groups in

South Africa. However, by 1989 it became clear that it would not be possible to achieve parity within the envisaged ten years. As a result this plan had to be abandoned (NEPI 1993a:18).

The fifth indicator investigated, is that of resources for education comprising teacher qualifications, pupil-teacher ratios and physical resources. It is a truism to state that quality in education is dependent on the quality of educational resources available. Hence, an investigation of the quality of resources available to the four racial groups gives some measure of educational quality.

Lastly, the output of school-based education as measured by the performance in the senior certificate examinations is investigated. Of note is the number of candidates obtaining the matriculation exemption pass which is a prerequisite for university admission.

These six indicators will be used to measure the educational quality of school-based education for Africans, Indians, Whites and Coloureds in order to expose the imbalances and inequities prevalent in school-based education for the above-mentioned racial groups.

**4.2 IMBALANCES AND INEQUITIES IN SCHOOL-BASED EDUCATION WITH
REFERENCE TO AFRICANS, INDIANS, WHITES AND COLOURED**

4.2.1 Africans

4.2.1.1 Access to school-based education

a) School enrolment

Table 12 (see below) shows the school enrolment for Africans in ordinary school education²⁵⁾ as well as the proportion enrolled of the total school population.

Table 12: School enrolment patterns for Africans and the proportion enrolled of the total school population

YEAR	NUMBER ENROLLED	PROPORTION (%)
1965	1 572 007	56
1970	2 737 450	65
1975	3 697 441	69
1980	3 532 233	64
1985	4 194 441	68
1990	5 465 738	73
1992	6 078 269	75

Source: South Africa. Bureau of Statistics (1968:E33);
South Africa. Department of Statistics (1972:E37;
1978b:5.8); South Africa. Central Statistical
Services (1982:5.10; 1988:5.11; 1993b:5.32).

25) Ordinary school education excludes special education.

In 1965, Africans comprised 56% of the population in ordinary school education. By 1975, they made up 69% of the children in ordinary school education. In 1980, the proportion decreased to 64%. This was because by 1980 the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda became independent homelands and the figures excluded children in these homelands. By 1992, African children comprised 75% of all children at school (Malherbe 1977:256; Behr 1984:188; Vos & Brits 1990:85-86).

Whilst the increase in the school enrolment for Africans was encouraging it provided no indication of the ratio of pupils in school to the number of pupils of school-going age. Pillay (1990:32) has shown that the percentage of pupils in school, compared to the number of pupils of school-going age for the census years 1970 and 1980 was 54.2% and 83.1%, respectively. The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI, 1992) has estimated that for the 1990 school year the school participation rate for Africans was 94% (NEPI 1993a:18).

b) Compulsory school attendance and free schooling

Prior to the promulgation of the *Education and Training Act* (90 of 1979) no compulsory education existed for Africans.

However, in terms of the *Education and Training Act* (90 of 1979) it was stated that it shall be the aim and objective, with the cooperation of the parents to introduce compulsory school attendance and free tuition (including free books) in all areas for African children (South Africa 1979b:sec. 3c). Further, the Act stipulated that:

The Minister may by notice in the *Gazette* declare that regular attendance at any kind of school specified in such notice ... shall be compulsory for every Black [African] person belonging to an age group and who is resident in an area so specified (South Africa 1979b:sec.37(1)).

Compulsory school attendance was introduced in January 1981 on a gradual basis involving a few pupils at a time. In 1981 it was introduced at sub-standard A level at more than 200 schools, in 40 areas involving about 30 000 pupils. Free stationery, textbooks and readers were supplied and it was envisaged that this arrangement would continue until the pupils reached standard five (South Africa. DET 1981:107). According to Nkomo (1985:7) this arrangement only affected 1% of African children at that time.

In the areas where compulsory attendance was introduced, the parents had to undertake, on registration of their children, that their children would remain at school up to standard

five or the age of 16 years. Simultaneously, the Department undertook to provide educational facilities and learning materials free (South Africa. DET 1986:91).

In April 1988, Dr G.N. Viljoen, the then Minister of Education and Development Aid, stated in parliament that a total of 254 155 children were subject to compulsory education while 1 669 885 children were not (SAIRR 1989:259). This accounted for only 15% of children at DET schools. As at 1992 there was still no universal compulsory schooling for Africans, even in the self-governing territories (Hartshorne 1992:44).

Regarding user charges, education was never free for African children. Parents had to contribute financially towards the building of schools, the purchase of equipment and the employment of additional teachers (Horrell 1968:48; SAIRR 1979:410).

4.2.1.2 Representation across four phases of school education

Table 13 (see p. 122) shows the percentage of African children in the four phases of school education, namely, the junior primary phase, the senior primary phase, the junior secondary phase and the senior secondary phase.

Table 13: Percentage of African children in the four phases of school education

YEAR	JUNIOR PRIMARY	SENIOR PRIMARY	JUNIOR SECONDARY	SENIOR SECONDARY
1967 ²⁶	60	27	12	1
1970	57	28	14	1
1975	53	29	16	2
1980	48	29	17	6
1985	43	30	18	9
1990	38	28	21	13
1992	36	27	22	15

Source: Calculated from South Africa. Department of Statistics (1978b:5.32); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1982:5.34; 1993b:5.32).

In 1967, 1970 and 1975 more than half of the African pupils were concentrated in the junior primary phase. At the other extreme, less than 3% of pupils were in the senior secondary phase. Thus, Vos & Brits (1990:110) concluded that as far as numbers and percentages were concerned the majority of African pupils were concentrated in the lower standards. They added that by 1978, more than half of the total number of African pupils had not reached standard two. In 1980 and

26) The figures for 1965 was not available. For the Indian, White and Coloured racial groups the 1967 figures will also be used.

1985 in excess of 70% of pupils were receiving primary education while under 30% were in receipt of secondary education. Pillay (1990:34) has shown that the percentage of African pupils in the secondary phase was the lowest compared to the other racial groups. The 1992 figures, however, show some improvement in all four phases of education.

4.2.1.3 Pupil progress

Table 14 (see below) shows the progress of African pupils from standard one to standard ten.

Table 14: African pupil progress - Standard one to standard ten

YEARS	NUMBER IN STD. 1	NUMBER REACHING STD. 10	PERCENTAGE REACHING STD. 10
1967 - 1976	346 262	8 975	3
1970 - 1979	429 550	15 275	4
1973 - 1982	503 396	47 052	9
1976 - 1985	480 262	64 806	13
1979 - 1988	489 080	142 641	29
1981 - 1990	500 271	204 913	41
1983 - 1992	515 589	263 940	51

Source: South Africa. Central Statistical Services
(1988:5.33; 1993b:5.32).

A cause for concern in African education was the high drop-out rate of African pupils which, according to Pillay (1990:34), reflected a great wastage of human potential. Of those pupils who were in standard one in 1967, only 3% reached matric after nine years of schooling. Ashley (1990:12) stated that more than half of the African pupils drop-out of school before they complete standard five. Auerbach pointed out that the underlying cause of most early school leaving was the exposure of children from a culturally and economically deprived background to an inadequate schooling system (SAIRR 1979:413). Dr B. Louw, the former Director-General of the DET, added that the high drop-out rate at African schools is chiefly related to the poverty and unrest prevalent in African communities, as well as the poor qualification of teachers (SAIRR 1992:206). An encouraging feature, however, was that the drop-out rates were decreasing, with an increasing number of pupils, as noted by Pillay (1990:36), reaching matric.

4.2.1.4 Expenditure on education

Government policy, in regard to the financing of education for Africans, has been a controversial issue over the years. The only source of official revenue for African education came from the Bantu Education Account. The chief revenues

paid into this account were the poll tax on all African adults, a fixed contribution from the General Revenue Account of R13 million and occasional advances from parliament to meet any deficits (Unterhalter 1991:49). According to Robertson (1978:116) the contribution from the General Revenue Account was pegged at R13 million for almost 20 years during which its value was steadily eroded by inflation.

In the latter 1960's and early 1970's the Bantu Education Account ran into difficulties and interest free loans had to be raised to relieve the situation. As a result the *Bantu Education Account Abolition Act* (20 of 1972) was passed. Consequently, finance for African education was made available from the Consolidated Revenue Account comprising monies apportioned from the Revenue Vote: Education and Training and the Revenue Vote: Co-operation and Development. This new policy meant that African education would be financed from the whole body of tax-payers.

In terms of the *Republic of South Africa Constitution Act* (110 of 1983) the budget for the DET was decided upon by the Minister of Education and Development Aid, the Minister of Finance, and the Cabinet after due deliberation. Funds for the self-governing territories were included in the budgets

of the states through the Department of Education and Development Aid (Behr 1988:82).

Table 15 (see below) shows the expenditure on African education as well as the proportion it comprised of total education expenditure.

Table 15: Expenditure on African education (in millions) and its percentage of total education expenditure

YEAR	EXPENDITURE	PERCENTAGE
1965	24.9	7.7
1970	66.3	13.3
1975	160.2	15.3
1980	553.0	24.2
1985	1 816.0	31.1
1990	6 114.0	45.6
1992	8 134.0	49.0

Source: Unterhalter (1991:48); SAIRR (1993:586).

According to Unterhalter (1991:49) expenditure on African education has shown dramatic increases in the 1970's and 1980's. The percentage of African education expenditure of the total education expenditure has also shown massive

increases with just under 50% of the total expenditure being allocated to African education in 1992. According to Dostal (1989:20) expenditure on African education has increased more than 13 fold since 1980. She added that for the first time in 1987/1988 the total expenditure on African education exceeded that of the Whites. These changes, however, can be viewed from a different perspective when the figures on the per capita expenditure as shown in table 16 (see below) is examined.

Table 16: Per capita expenditure on African education

YEAR	AMOUNT (RANDS)
1965	12.70
1970	47.64
1975	50.00
1980	87.27
1985	478.50
1990	1 021.00
1992	1 470.00

Source: Unterhalter (1991:52); DNE (1993b:63); SAIRR (1995:240).

The per capita expenditure on African education increased rapidly since 1965. The percentage increase of the 1980

amount compared to the 1965 amount represents a 587% increase in the per capita spending. The increase in the 1992 per capita amount compared to the 1980 amount represents a 1 584% increase (calculated from table 16). Despite the above increases, Christie (1991:108) has noted that the per capita spending for Africans was the lowest compared to the per capita spending on the other racial groups.

4.2.1.5 Resources for education

a) Teacher qualifications

In South Africa, African education was characterised by a deficiency of teachers in terms of quality. The critical problem was the poor qualifications of teachers serving in African education. Given the disadvantaged milieu of the majority of African children, Solomon (Hartshorne 1992:218) stated the following:

... quality matters more the poorer
the setting... the poorer the country
the greater the effect of school and
teacher quality on achievement.

Table 17 (see p. 129) shows the qualifications of teachers that served African education.

Table 17: Qualifications of African teachers

YEAR	PROFESSIONALLY UNQUALIFIED	PROFESSIONALLY QUALIFIED	PROFESSIONALLY QUALIFIED GRADUATES
1965	5 407 (19%)	22 778 (81%)	376 (1.7%)
1970	7 783 (20%)	30 908 (80%)	783 (2.5%)
1975	11 169 (16%)	57 838 (84%)	1 515 (2.6%)
1980	12 019 (16%)	62 585 (84%)	1 126 (1.8%)
1985	21 830 (22%)	78 647 (78%)	2 168 (2.8%)
1990	19 850 (13%)	131 810 (87%)	7 043 (5.3%)
1992	20 125 (14%)	127 190 (86%)	10 438 (8.2%)

Source: SAIRR (1968:247); South Africa. Department of Bantu Education (1971:44; 1976:176); South Africa. DET (1980:245; 1986:table 3.3; 1991:table 3.3; 1993:254).

Despite there being a marked increase in the number of teachers who were professionally qualified, many within this category nevertheless did not even possess a matric qualification. In 1970, 83.8% (25 907 of 30 908) of professionally qualified teachers had a qualification equivalent to standard eight or lower (South Africa. Department of Bantu Education 1971:44). The number of professionally qualified teachers with a qualification of standard eight or lower in 1980 and 1990 was 79% (49 470 of

62 585) and 18% (23 571 of 131 810), respectively (South Africa. DET 1980:245; 1991:table 3.3). Another disturbing feature prevalent in African education, as noted by Behr (1984:191) and also evident from table 17 (see p. 129), was that in the professionally qualified cohort, very few teachers were graduates.

b) Teacher-pupil ratios

Table 18 (see p. 131) shows the average teacher-pupil ratios in African schools. The quantity deficiency of teachers in African schools was evident from the high teacher-pupil ratios. In 1965, the Department of Bantu Education's *Annual Report* expressed that it was faced with the problem of allocating staff as well as providing sufficient staff to keep pace with the rapidly growing school population (South Africa. Department of Bantu Education 1966:7). Hence, this explains the high teacher-pupil ratios. A noteworthy feature of African education, as noted by Christie (1991:128), was the progressive decrease in the teacher-pupil ratio. However, she added that it was still much higher than that of the other racial groups.

Table 18: Average teacher-pupil ratios at African schools

YEAR	TEACHER-PUPIL RATIO
1965	1 : 56.0
1970	1 : 60.0
1975	1 : 53.6
1980	1 : 45.9
1985	1 : 41.2
1990	1 : 39.3
1992	1 : 37.0

Source: Horrell (1968:53); Blignaut (1981:65); SAIRR (1981:460; 1986:372; 1995:250); DNE (1992a:54).

c) Physical resources

Under the Department of Bantu Education (1958-1978) the responsibility for the erection and maintenance of schools was vested in the parent community (the so-called community schools; also see p. 133). A general principal of R-for-R financing was established, under which communities had to finance half the cost of school buildings. In the urban townships the responsibility for building primary, and later junior secondary schools, was placed upon local authorities. In order to cover the interest and redemption costs of loans made for this purpose, local authorities were empowered to

add a levy to site rentals in the townships (Hartshorne 1992:38,70; SAIRR 1972:254). The maintenance of the school buildings was the responsibility of the schools themselves. Pupils had to undertake the daily maintenance of the buildings and grounds (Horrell 1968:32).

In 1970 it was reported that many of the primary schools in the urban areas were seriously overcrowded, with two classes of children sharing one room, or hired accommodation outside being pressed into use (SAIRR 1971:207). It was also noted that some 750 428 pupils were involved in double sessions²⁷⁾ with seventeen schools adopting the platoon system²⁸⁾ (SAIRR 1971:208). Malherbe (1977:255) noted that there was such a shortage of classroom space that many hundreds of pupils were turned away each year. According to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), the chronic shortage of school accommodation for African children continued in many areas, and the levies paid by Africans to their local authorities (administration boards) were raised in order to facilitate the building of more schools (SAIRR 1979:410).

27) Double sessions involve one teacher teaching two classes the same subjects at different times during the day.

28) The platoon system is where two schools use the same premises at different times, or where one classroom is used by two different sets of pupils during the day (Blignaut 1981:72; Hartshorne 1992:290).

With the passing of the *Education and Training Act* (90 of 1979) provision was made for the state to erect, establish and maintain public schools (South Africa 1979b:sec. 5). On 6 December 1978 the then Minister of Education and Training, Mr T. Janson stated that as of 1 April 1979 the state would accept full responsibility for the erection, and eventually the maintenance of community schools²⁹⁾ in the urban African townships (SAIRR 1979:410). He added that every effort would be made to eliminate the backlog in the provision of schools (SAIRR 1980:494). Hartshorne (1992:43) noted that from a small beginning of R10 million for the erection of schools for Africans in 1979/1980 there was a steady increase to about R100 million by the end of the 1980's. He added that despite this the classroom shortage nevertheless continued. It was noted that in 1980, 456 188 pupils were involved in double sessions and 153 772 pupils in the platoon system, while in 1990, 103 402 pupils were involved in double sessions and 328 594 pupils in the platoon system (SAIRR 1981:467; 1992:203).

All state, community and farm schools³⁰⁾ were provided with

29) Community schools were the former mission schools. These schools were so named because the supervisory functions over them were carried out by school committees and school boards whose members were drawn from the parent community.

30) Farm schools were established by the owners of farms on their property for the benefit of the children of their *bona fide* employees (Behr 1984:187).

the necessary furniture made at Bantu industrial schools and Department workshops. However, this supply of furniture was insufficient as it was reported from many centres that children had to squat on the floor, using benches to write on. The state-aided schools³¹⁾ purchased their own furniture. (Horrell 1968:22; SAIRR 1970:207).

The initial equipment for handicraft, science, vocational and technical subjects were either supplied or fully subsidised by the Department. Replacement equipment, however, had to be purchased from school funds. For the purchase of replacement science and handicraft items R-for-R grants were made available from the Department up to a maximum amount per subject (Horrell 1968:31-32). Since April 1968, schools were entitled to apply for audio-visual aids (such as record players, film projectors and tape recorders) on a R-for-R basis. However, only a limited number of applications were granted (Horrell 1968:65).

State, community and farm schools were supplied with readers and certain textbooks at the primary level. Post-primary pupils had to purchase their own books. State-aided schools

31) State-aided schools refers to schools in respect of which grants-in-aid or subsidies were paid (South Africa 1979b:sec. 1).

had to make their own arrangements for textbooks and readers (Horrell 1968:22).

Since 1970 a start was made to supply limited numbers of textbooks to secondary schools. These books were intended for loan purposes to poorer pupils (SAIRR 1971:212). By 1979, standard class textbooks were made available on loan to all pupils in Department schools, but parents still had to purchase the set books as well as stationery (SAIRR 1982:347).

In January 1986, Dr G.N. Viljoen, the then Minister of Education and Training, announced that his Department had found the necessary funds to provide, from 1986, free basic stationery for all pupils in the urban townships as well as the self-governing territories. In March 1986 he further announced that as from January 1987 free prescribed books will also be provided by the Department to urban township areas, and the self-governing territories would be provided with funds to purchase their own books (SAIRR 1988:426). Notwithstanding the Minister's announcement, the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI, 1992) has estimated that at African schools in 1990, less than two textbooks were available per pupil in the primary phase and less than four

textbooks per pupil in the secondary phase. Further, spending on teaching materials was estimated to be R30-00 per pupil (NEPI 1993a:24).

4.2.1.6 Performance in the senior certificate examinations

The African senior certificate examination results, as shown in table 19 (see p. 137), has remained a cause for concern for some time. Although the number of candidates sitting for the examination has increased consistently over the years, the overall pass rate has remained low. Further, Behr (1984:209) has noted that the number of candidates obtaining the matriculation exemption pass has also remained appallingly low. Consequently, Pillay (1990:41) has argued that few matriculants qualify for admission to universities. According to Mathonsi (1988:14) and Dlamini (1991:11) the poor senior certificate results was largely due to the poor facilities at African schools, the high pupil-teacher ratios, the poorly qualified teachers, and the paltry sums spent on African education. The Assistant-General Secretary of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC), Siphon Cele, further stated that the gross inadequacy of resources given to African education was a major cause of the poor results (SAIRR 1995:227).

Table 19: African senior certificate pass rates

YEAR	NUMBER OF CANDIDATES	NUMBER PASSED	%	NUMBER PASSED EXEMPTION	%
1965	1 339	827	61.7	323	24.1
1970	2 846	1 856	65.2	1 013	35.6
1975	8 445	5 400	63.9	3 520	41.7
1980	26 600	15 003	56.4	4 530	17.0
1985	65 270	28 448	43.5	6 882	10.5
1990	190 660	64 632	33.9	13 373	7.0
1992	262 441	106 945	40.8	23 949	9.1

Source: South Africa. Department of Bantu Education

(1976: 131); South Africa. DET (1980:287; 1994:table 1.7.1).

4.2.2 Indians

4.2.2.1 Access to school-based education

a) School enrolment

Table 20 (see p. 138) shows the school enrolment pattern for Indians in ordinary school education as well as the proportion enrolled in comparison to the total schooling population. Growth in Indian school enrolment remained small over the years with an increase of approximately 80 000 in 1992 compared to the 1965 enrolment. In addition, the

proportion of Indian children at school compared to the total schooling population averaged around 4%.

According to Pillay (1990:32) the percentage of Indian pupils at school compared to the number of pupils of school-going age in 1970 and 1980 was 84% and 94.8%, respectively. The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI, 1992) has estimated that in 1990 the school participation rate for Indians was 98% (NEPI 1993a:18).

Table 20: School enrolment patterns for Indians and the proportion enrolled of the total school population

YEAR	NUMBER ENROLLED	PROPORTION (%)
1965	152 697	5
1970	162 330	4
1975	183 594	3
1980	218 420	4
1985	233 002	4
1990	229 920	3
1992	233 004	3

Source: South Africa. Bureau of Statistics (1968:E27); South Africa. Department of Statistics (1972:E29; 1978b:5.7); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1982:5.9; 1988:5.9; 1993b:5.24).

b) Compulsory school attendance and free schooling

The *Indians Education Act* (61 of 1965) decreed that it was the prerogative of the Minister of Indian Affairs who, by government notice, could declare that regular attendance at state or state-aided schools be made compulsory for every Indian belonging to a certain age group and resident in an area so specified (South Africa 1965:sec. 23). These regulations relating to compulsory school attendance were published in *Government Notice No. R581* dated 18 April 1966 (South Africa 1966:Government Notice No. R581).

In terms of *Government Notice No. R63* of January 1973, regular attendance at school was for the first time made compulsory up to the age of 15 years for every Indian child who enrolled in class one from 1973 or thereafter (South Africa 1973a:Government Notice No. R63). In 1978 the executive committee of the South African Indian Council (SAIC), acting in terms of the *Indians Education Act* (61 of 1965), resolved that compulsory education for all Indian children in the seven to 15 age cohort become effective at the start of the 1979 school year (South Africa. Department of Indian Affairs 1979:64).

With regard to user costs, the *Indians Education Act* (61 of 1965) established the important principle that compulsory education shall be free (South Africa 1965:sec. 23). Even before the introduction of compulsory education for Indians, education was free. Auerbach (1979:11) pointed out that since April 1969 free books and stationery became available to Indian pupils throughout the country.

4.2.2.2 Representation across four phases of school education

Table 21 (see p. 141) shows the percentage of Indian children in the four phases of school education, namely, junior primary, senior primary, junior secondary and senior secondary phases. In 1967 under 69% of Indian children were in the primary phase of school education with 31% in the secondary phase. Samuels (1985:13) has shown that over the years a positive shift has occurred with greater percentages of children occupying places in secondary education. Behr (1988:214) has commented that since 1986 a consistent percentage distribution has existed among the different phases. This was further evident from the statistics in table 21 (see p. 141) where in 1990 and 1992 the percentage of pupils in the four school phases was fairly constant.

Table 21: Percentage of Indian children in the four phases of school education

YEAR	JUNIOR PRIMARY	SENIOR PRIMARY	JUNIOR SECONDARY	SENIOR SECONDARY
1967	35	34	23	8
1970	33	32	25	10
1975	34	31	22	13
1980	31	29	25	15
1985	26	28	27	19
1990	27	25	26	22
1992	28	26	24	22

Source: Calculated from South Africa. Department of Statistics (1978b:5.26); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1982:5.28; 1993b:5.24).

4.2.2.3 Pupil progress

The progress of Indian pupils through the school system is shown in table 22 (see p. 142). Behr (1984:275) and Samuels (1985:13) have noted that an increasing number of pupils were reaching standard ten with a corresponding decrease in the attrition rates. In the period 1967 to 1976 in excess of 75% of pupils dropped out of school during the nine years of schooling. However, the improvement in the 1983-1992 period

as shown in table 22 was encouraging with 33% of pupils dropping out during the nine year period.

Table 22: Indian pupil progress - Standard one to standard ten

YEARS	NUMBER IN STD. 1	NUMBER REACHING STD. 10	PERCENTAGE REACHING STD. 10
1967 - 1976	20 171	4 366	22
1970 - 1979	15 553	7 446	48
1973 - 1982	18 963	8 437	45
1976 - 1985	20 158	11 271	56
1979 - 1988	21 446	13 738	64
1981 - 1990	23 158	15 032	65
1983 - 1992	22 103	14 813	67

Source: South Africa. Central Statistical Services
(1988:5.27; 1993b:5.24).

4.2.2.4 Expenditure on education

Funds for Indian education were provided by the state. The *Indians Education Act* (61 of 1965) and the *Indians Education Amendment Act* (39 of 1979) established the important principle that the financing of Indian education was the responsibility of the state. The money was provided by the state treasury through funds voted by parliament for this

purpose. Since the 1983 "own affairs" dispensation (see chapter 1, p. 7) funds for all facets of Indian education were voted by parliament in the general budget after the Minister of Education and Culture, House of Delegates, the Minister of the Budget, House of Delegates, the Minister of Finance and the Cabinet had deliberated on it (Behr 1988:82). The amount of money spent on Indian education as well as its percentage of total state expenditure on education is shown in table 23 (see below).

Table 23: Expenditure on Indian education (in millions) and its percentage of total education expenditure

YEAR	EXPENDITURE	PERCENTAGE
1965	14.3	4.4
1970	19.8	4.0
1975	43.8	4.2
1980	122.7	5.4
1985	324.0	5.6
1990	805.0	6.0
1992	1 049.0	6.3

Source: Unterhalter (1991:51); SAIRR (1993:586).

Unterhalter (1991:51) noted that there were steady increases in the expenditure on Indian education. Despite this, the percentage of expenditure on Indian education in relation to the total education expenditure has remained small over the years. The per capita expenditure on Indian education, given in table 24 (see below), however, reveals a different perspective on education spending.

Table 24: Per capita expenditure on Indian education

YEAR	AMOUNT (RANDS)
1965	91.50
1970	121.00
1975	171.00
1980	318.00
1985	1 386.00
1990	3 055.00
1992	3 959.00

Source: Unterhalter (1991:52); DNE (1993b:63); SAIRR (1995:240).

The per capita spending on Indian education showed dramatic increases since 1965. In 1980, there was a 24% increase in the per capita spending compared to the 1965 amount. The 1992 per capita spending on education represented a 1 145%

increase compared to the 1980 figure (calculated from table 24). Christie (1991:108) has shown that the per capita spending on Indian education was the highest among the non-White groups.

4.2.2.5 Resources for education

a) Teacher qualifications

Indian schools were in the fortunate position of having a large number of professionally qualified teachers as shown in table 25 (see p. 146). In 1965, 84% of teachers were professionally qualified. By 1992 almost all teachers involved in Indian education were professionally qualified. A noteworthy feature of Indian teacher qualifications was the rapid increase in the number of graduates in the professionally qualified cohort. This bears testimony to the commitment and dedication of the Indian educator towards teacher upgrading. The number of teachers with a standard eight or lower qualification in the professionally qualified cohort has been virtually eradicated. Samuels (1985:14) has stated that this favourable position has arisen largely due to the in-service training opportunities that was available to Indian teachers. In 1970 and 1980, there were 27% (1 431 of 5 379) and 7.8% (606 of 7 747) of teachers falling into this category, respectively (SAIRR 1972:275; South Africa.

Department of Indian Affairs 1981:98). By 1990, just 0.4% (45 of 11 703) teachers had a qualification equivalent to standard eight or lower (DNE 1993a:101).

Table 25: Qualifications of Indian teachers

YEAR	PROFESSIONALLY UNQUALIFIED	PROFESSIONALLY QUALIFIED	PROFESSIONALLY QUALIFIED GRADUATES
1965	716 (16%)	3 643 (84%)	386 (8.9%)
1970	496 (8%)	5 379 (92%)	757 (14%)
1975	352 (4%)	6 558 (96%)	1 213 (18.5%)
1980	1 010 (11%)	7 747 (89%)	1 736 (22%)
1985	252 (2%)	10 437 (98%)	4 340 (41.6%)
1990	6 (00%)	11 703 (100%)	5 098 (43.6%) ³²⁾
1992	123 (1%)	11 958 (99%)	n/a

Source: Blignaut (1981:70); SAIRR (1967:256; 1972:275; 1988:440; 1992:210; 1995:250); South Africa. Department of Indian Affairs (1981:98); DNE (1993a:101).

b) Teacher-pupil ratios

The average teacher-pupil ratios for Indians as shown in

32) This figure represents the number of professionally qualified graduates for 1989. The figure for 1990 was not available.

table 26 (see below) has progressively declined reaching more manageable proportions since the 1980's. Christie (1991:128) has shown that the teacher-pupil ratio at Indian schools was more or less comparable to the ratios at Coloured schools but was far higher than that at schools for the Whites.

Table 26: Average teacher-pupil ratios at Indian schools

YEAR	TEACHER-PUPIL RATIO
1965	n/a
1970	1 : 27.9
1975	1 : 26.6
1980	1 : 25.6
1985	1 : 22.5
1990	1 : 20.9
1992	1 : 22.0

Source: Blignaut (1981:65); SAIRR (1981:460; 1986:372; 1995:250); DNE (1992a:54).

c) Physical resources

Since 1966 the state has engaged in a vigorous school building programme for Indians. According to Samuels (1985:14) the twenty-classroom primary schools with multi-purpose rooms, needlework rooms and book distribution rooms

built in the 1970's were a great improvement over the state-aided austerity schools and Natal Education Department schools. These multi-storey high schools with specialist facilities for music, history, geography, typing, science and art were part of the school building programme since the 1970's (South Africa. Department of Indian Affairs 1971:47).

Since the beginning of the 1980's superior eighteen-classroom schools with a large library/resource centre and six other specialist rooms were introduced into the school building programme. Despite the accelerated school building programme, severe school accommodation problems were still experienced. As a result, the platoon system (see p. 132) was called into use. In 1970, 13 047 pupils were involved in the platoon system, and in 1980, 9 343 pupils (SAIRR 1971:221; 1982:359). By 1983 the platoon system was eradicated (Behr 1984:295). Further, in 1985 the Department of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Delegates also announced that the building of school halls was to commence in 1986. It was then envisaged that these halls would be erected at a rate of ten per year. However, such optimism did not materialise and by 1990 only three halls had been erected (South Africa. Administration: House of Delegates 1986:10; 1991:45).

Since 1966 all furniture and standard equipment were supplied by the Department of Indian Affairs: Division of Education, and most educational aids were provided, at full cost to the state. Certain educational aids, such as tape recorders, record players and 35mm film strip projectors were supplied to schools on a R-for-R basis (South Africa. Department of Indian Affairs 1971:49). Samuels (1985:14) concluded that by 1985, the quality and the quantity of teaching aids had improved quite considerably at Indian schools.

At Indian schools, well before the inception of compulsory education, pupils were provided with free textbooks and stationery. Since the introduction of compulsory schooling, (see p. 139), large sums of money was expended in providing a satisfactory textbook and stationery service to Indian children. The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI, 1992) has estimated that in 1990 each Indian child received an average of eight textbooks from the Department of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Delegates and that this Department expended approximately R300-00 per pupil on teaching materials (NEPI 1993a:24).

4.2.2.6 Performance in the senior certificate examinations

Results of the senior certificate examination as shown in table 27 (see p.. 151) reveals how the quality of Indian

education has improved over the years. According to Behr (1984:294) and Samuels (1985:14) an increasing number of candidates sat for this examination with corresponding increases in the number of candidates who passed. In addition, a larger proportion of candidates obtained the matriculation exemption pass, thus granting them access to university education. Samuels (1985:14) ascribed the general improvement in the pass rates to an improvement in the teacher-pupil ratios, the quality of school facilities, and the professional qualifications of teachers.

Table 27: Indian senior certificate pass rates

YEAR	NUMBER OF CANDIDATES	NUMBER PASSED	%	NUMBER PASSED EXEMPTION	%
1965	1 328	725	54.6	n/a	n/a
1970	2 569	1 519	59.1	450	17.5
1975	4 327	3 679	85.0	1 010	23.3
1980	5 279	4 470	84.7	1 855	35.1
1985	11 071	9 473	85.6	3 577	32.2
1990	14 542	13 816	95.0	6 615	45.5
1992	14 465	13 755	95.1	7 156	49.5

Source: SAIRR (1967:254); Blignaut (1981:76); South Africa. Department of Indian Affairs (1977:74); South Africa. Department of Internal Affairs (1982:112); South Africa. Administration: House of Delegates (1986:26; 1993:26).

4.2.3 Whites

4.2.3.1 Access to school-based education

a) School enrolment

Table 28 (see p. 152) shows the school enrolment patterns for Whites in ordinary school education as well as the proportion they comprised in relation to the total schooling population.

Table 28: School enrolment patterns for Whites and the proportion enrolled of the total school population

YEAR	NUMBER ENROLLED	PROPORTION (%)
1965	714 316	25
1970	817 238	19
1975	861 318	16
1980	918 751	17
1985	938 581	15
1990	930 206	13
1992	966 874	12

Source: South Africa. Bureau of Statistics (1968:E13); South Africa. Department of Statistics (1972:E15; 1978b:5.4); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1982:5.6; 1988:5.5; 1993b:5.9).

The period 1965 to 1992 saw a steady increase in the number of White children enrolled at school. Despite this increase Malherbe (1977:256) has shown that the growth of White pupils at schools was much slower than that of the other racial groups. The proportion enrolled shows, on average, a steady decline, reaching 12% of the schooling population in 1992. This must be seen in the light of the corresponding rapid

increases in African pupil enrolments (see p. 118) and the declining natality rates for Whites (DNE 1993b:7).

In analysing the ratio of pupils in school to the number of pupils of school-going age, Pillay (1990:32) has shown that in 1970 and 1980 the percentage was 95.7 and 96.3, respectively. The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI, 1992) has estimated that for the 1990 school-year the participation rate for Whites was 98% (NEPI 1993a:18).

b) Compulsory school attendance and free schooling

Prior to 1967 there was no uniformity in respect of regulations relating to compulsory education for Whites in the four provinces (Natal, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Cape Province). In the Cape Province and Natal, education was compulsory for all White children between the ages of seven and 16 years, or until standard eight was attained.

Education was compulsory for all pupils between seven and 16 years in the Transvaal, irrespective of the standard passed. In the Orange Free State education was compulsory from the age of seven years to the end of the year in which the pupil turned 16 (Malherbe 1977:252).

According to the *National Education Policy Act* (39 of 1967),

national policy regarding the requirements and age limits pertaining to compulsory education was the prerogative of the Minister of Education, Arts and Science (South Africa 1967b:sec. 2d). At a meeting of the National Advisory Education Council in 1969 the following resolution with regard to compulsory education for Whites was adopted and included in their subsequent Report:

School attendance shall be compulsory for every White child in the Republic from the beginning of the school year in which he or she attains the age of seven years ... All pupils shall remain at school until the end of year in which they attain the age of 16 years or until they have passed the school leaving examination of the secondary school, whichever is the earlier (South Africa 1969c:5).

Owing to the above resolution, it became compulsory for every White child in the Republic, as of January 1971 to attend school regularly. These provisions were announced by the National Minister of Education in terms of *Government Notice No. R78*, dated 9 January 1970 (South Africa 1970a:*Government Notice No. R78*).

Prior to the enactment of uniform compulsory education for Whites, education was already free for all White children at both the primary and secondary phases (Malherbe 1977:252). In

order to ensure a uniform policy as espoused by the *National Education Policy Act* (39 of 1967), the National Advisory Education Council adopted the following resolution:

Education (including books and stationery) shall be provided free of charge in schools maintained, managed and controlled by a department of state (including a provincial administration) to pupils whose parents reside in the Republic or ... South African citizens (other than pupils receiving instruction on a part-time basis and apprentices) (South Africa 1969c:5).

The Minister of National Education acting on the resolution of the National Advisory Education Council declared in terms of *Government Notice No. R79* of January 1970, that education for Whites shall be free (South Africa 1970b:*Government Notice No. R79*).

In the latter 1980's there was a change to this policy. The Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly announced that legislation would be proposed to bring about a change to the totally free education received by Whites (Behr 1988:105). The *Education Affairs Act* (70 of 1988) provided for the payment of a compulsory school levy. Further, with the introduction of the Model schools in 1991, education provision was expanded. Three new school models were introduced in addition to the existing state schools (the so-called status quo schools). These were the Model A schools,

whereby former state schools were converted into private schools; Model B schools, whereby the management board of a state school could establish its own admission requirements; and Model C schools, whereby a state school was converted into a state-supported school. In February 1992, it was announced that all status quo schools (state schools) would be classified as Model C schools from August 1992 in order to meet the country's educational needs. As a result 80% of the schools became Model C schools. Such schools received a state subsidy which covered 75% of their operating costs. The balance of the funds were mainly raised through fees paid by parents and donations (SAIRR 1994:695; UNISA 1995:4).

4.2.3.2 Representation across four phases of school education

Table 29 (see p. 157) shows the percentage of White children in the four phases of school education, namely, the junior primary phase, the senior primary phase, the junior secondary phase and the senior secondary phase.

Table 29: Percentage of White children in the four phases of school education

YEAR	JUNIOR PRIMARY	SENIOR PRIMARY	JUNIOR SECONDARY	SENIOR SECONDARY
1967	30	30	25	15
1970	29	27	26	18
1975	28	26	26	20
1980	28	27	25	20
1985	25	26	27	22
1990	27	24	25	24
1992	27	26	24	23

Source: Calculated from South Africa. Department of Statistics (1978b:5.12); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1982:5.14; 1993b:5.12).

In 1967, 60% of White children were in the primary phase compared to 40% in the secondary phase. Since 1975 a more or less equitable distribution of pupils in the four phases of education existed which is close to the ideal, and according to Dostal (1989:3) was comparable to those of the more developed countries. Further, Christie (1991:117) has shown that the percentage of White children in each grade does not change much, all the way through primary education and into secondary education.

4.2.3.3 Pupil progress

Table 30 (see p. 159) shows the progress of White pupils from standard one to standard ten. A rapidly increasing number of White children reached standard ten after nine years of schooling. Of the pupils who were in standard one in 1967, some 60% of them reached standard ten after nine years of schooling. For the nine year period between 1983 and 1992, 82% of pupils who were in standard one in 1983 reached matric in 1992. In comparison to the other racial groups, Christie (1991:118) has shown that a far greater cohort of White children reach standard ten than any other racial group. Table 30 also reveals that the holding power of White schools has increased quite considerably over the years. This was evident from the rapidly declining attrition rates. According to Christie (1991:118) a major contributory factor to the increased holding power of White schools was the existence of compulsory education (see pp. 153-154).

Table 30: White pupil progress - Standard one to standard ten

YEARS	NUMBER IN STD. 1	NUMBER REACHING STD. 10	PERCENTAGE REACHING STD. 10
1967 - 1976	78 521	46 966	60
1970 - 1979	78 934	53 784	68
1973 - 1982	79 372	54 963	69
1976 - 1985	81 996	62 861	77
1979 - 1988	89 078	70 025	79
1981 - 1990	86 677	68 995	80
1983 - 1992	84 203	69 036	82

Source: South Africa. Central Statistical Services

(1988:5.15; 1993b:5.12).

4.2.3.4 Expenditure on education

In the 1960's White education was funded from the Revenue Fund of the provinces. The Revenue Fund comprised the Revenue Account and the Capital Account. The Revenue Account derived income from taxation raised by provincial councils, grants, payments by municipal authorities, and largely from subsidies voted by parliament for use by the provinces. The Capital Account derived income from loans made to the provinces by central government, receipts from the sale of immovable property and other amounts, as the provincial council may by

ordinance make available, from the Revenue Account (Behr 1984:84).

The Revenue Account was used for the financing of recurrent expenditure, such as teachers' salaries and running of the administration. The Capital Account was used to finance non-recurring expenses, such as the acquisition of land and the construction of new schools. In the early 1970's, as a result of the Schumann Commission Report (1964)³³⁾, the provinces received approximately 80% of their income on the Revenue Account from the treasury. This meant that only about 20% of their income was derived from their own sources (Behr 1984:84).

The *Republic of South Africa Constitution Act* (110 of 1983) provided for the transfer of funds from the State Revenue Fund into the respective accounts of the racial groups to finance their own education affairs (South Africa 1983b:sec. 84). Consequently, funds for White education were voted by Parliament in the general budget after the Minister of Education and Culture: Administration, House of Assembly, the Minister of the Budget of the House of Assembly, the

33) The Schumann Commission, under the chairmanship of Prof. C.G.W. Schumann was instituted to look into the financial relations between the central government and the provinces (Behr 1984:84).

Minister of Finance and the Cabinet had deliberated on it (Behr 1988:82).

Table 31 (see below) shows the amount of money expended on White education and the proportion it comprised in relation to the total education spending.

Table 31: Expenditure on White education (in millions) and its percentage of total education expenditure

YEAR	EXPENDITURE	PERCENTAGE
1965	252.3	78.3
1970	366.0	73.6
1975	738.7	70.5
1980	1 360.9	59.6
1985	2 973.7	50.9
1990	4 339.0	32.3
1992	4 795.0	28.9

Source: Unterhalter (1991:51); SAIRR (1993:586).

According to Unterhalter (1991:52) the bulk of state expenditure was on the Whites up to the 1980's. She added that from the mid-1970's there were considerable increases in spending on White education but despite this the proportion of White expenditure has declined.

The per capita expenditures shown in table 32 (see below) reveals how the expenditure per White pupil increased since 1965. The per capita expenditure for Whites increased by 186% between 1965 and 1980. The 1992 figure represents a 360% increase in the per capita spending on the 1980 amount (calculated from table 32). Unterhalter (1991:53) stated that the White per capita spending was the highest compared to the other racial groups.

Table 32: Per capita expenditure on White education

YEAR	AMOUNT (RANDS)
1965	357.00
1970	428.00
1975	605.00
1980	1 021.00
1985	2 746.00
1990	4 087.00
1992	4 694.00

Source: Unterhalter (1991:52); DNE (1993b:63); SAIRR (1995:240).

4.2.3.5 Resources for education

a) Teacher qualifications

In terms of the *National Education Policy Amendment Act* (73 of 1969) the training of White persons as teachers for secondary schools was to be provided by a university only, but technikons and colleges could offer certain courses with the permission of the Minister of Education, Arts and Science. The training of White persons as teachers for primary schools was to be provided at a college of education or a university with the proviso that the college and university work in close co-operation with each other (South Africa 1969b:sec. 1A).

The minimum entrance qualification for teacher training was the senior certificate. Prospective student teachers who intended pursuing an approved degree course at a university had to possess a matriculation exemption pass. The above Act further decreed that the training of teachers for secondary schools extend over a period of not less than four years and for primary school teachers over a period of not less than three years (South Africa 1969b:sec. 1b). Such legislation pertaining to the training of White teachers has resulted in a well-qualified and highly professional teaching corps as shown in table 33 (see p. 164).

Table 33: Qualifications of White teachers

YEAR	PROFESSIONALLY UNQUALIFIED	PROFESSIONALLY QUALIFIED	PROFESSIONALLY QUALIFIED GRADUATES
1965	n/a	n/a	n/a
1970	1 718 (4%)	37 469 (96%)	11 210 (29.9%)
1975	2 281 (5%)	42 284 (95%)	13 032 (30.8%)
1980	1 763 (4%)	45 513 (96%)	14 984 (32.9%)
1985 ³⁴	1 942 (4%)	48 369 (96%)	16 880 (34.9%)
1990	0 (0%)	51 951 (100%)	n/a
1992	n/a	n/a	n/a

Source: South Africa. Department of Statistics (1973:80; 1978a:45); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1985b:129; 1987f:130); DNE (1993a:101).

The large percentage of professionally qualified teachers, together with an increasing number of professionally qualified graduates has been one of the chief contributory factors to the high standards prevalent in White education. In the professionally qualified cohort all teachers possessed at least a matric qualification. Although statistics on the qualifications of teachers for 1992 was not available, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) stated that there were no unqualified teachers, i.e. teachers with

34) These figures are for 1984. The figures for 1985 was not available.

less than standard ten plus three years training employed by the Department of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Assembly (SAIRR 1993:609).

b) Teacher-pupil ratios

White education has always been in the fortunate position of having low teacher-pupil ratios as shown in table 34 (see below). According to the Department of National Education (DNE) these ratios have been low because of the declining natality rates of Whites and an over-supply of teachers (DNE 1993b:48)

Table 34: Average teacher-pupil ratios at White schools

YEAR	TEACHER-PUPIL RATIO
1965	n/a
1970	1 : 20.4
1975	1 : 20.0
1980	1 : 18.6
1985	1 : 18.7
1990	1 : 17.9
1992	1 : 19.0

Source: Blignaut (1981:65); SAIRR (1981:460; 1986:372; 1995:250); DNE (1992a:54).

c) Physical resources

The responsibility for the erection of school buildings was the domain of the provinces. To a lesser extent, the communities themselves and churches provided buildings. The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) noted that accommodation for White children was adequate and there was seldom a shortage of space (HSRC 1981a:10). In White education there was no double sessions or platoon system (SAIRR 1986:385). Due to an over-supply of schools and declining natality rates for Whites many schools in the 1990's were vacant with a large number well below carrying capacity. Consequently, in 1992 the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly announced that 100 schools under his Department had closed down (SAIRR 1994:703).

White schools were extremely well-equipped. In a study carried out by Jarvis (1984:108), he noted that White schools were extremely well-resourced in terms of physical facilities. According to Behr (1988:106) the state was responsible for the supply of basic educational needs, such as furniture and equipment. Moreover, White schools possessed the most up to date audio-visual equipment. The audio-visual apparatus was selected and approved by the provincial education departments and was supplied to schools or

purchased from funds allocated for this purpose (HSRC 1975: 42). White schools also had access to a media service which made audio-visual cassettes, video cassettes, films, slides and records available to schools (Behr 1988:110).

For White children, even prior to the promulgation of the *National Education Policy Act* (39 of 1967), all stationery and textbooks were supplied to them free of charge (HSRC 1970:25; 1975:18). This arrangement has continued into the 1990's with the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI, 1992) estimating that in 1990 an average of eight textbooks were available per primary school pupil and twelve textbooks per secondary school pupil. They further estimated the spending on teaching materials per pupil to be around R500-00 (NEPI 1993a:24).

4.2.3.6 Performance in the senior certificate examinations

White senior certificate results have always remained consistently high as shown in table 35 (see p. 168). The number of White candidates sitting for the senior certificate examination has, since 1965, more than doubled when compared to the 1992 candidates. The large number of candidates gaining the matriculation exemption pass has ensured that the White students dominate when access to university education is considered.

Table 35: White senior certificate pass rates

YEAR	NUMBER OF CANDIDATES	NUMBER PASSED	%	NUMBER PASSED EXEMPTION	%
1965	34 951	28 876	82.6	12 243	35.0
1970	36 433	31 188	85.6	13 088	35.9
1975	43 484	40 806	93.8	20 020	46.0
1980	52 786	50 030	94.8	24 277	46.0
1985	59 991	55 272	92.1	26 243	43.7
1990	68 097	65 255	95.8	27 986	41.1
1992	66 141	64 818	98.0	27 792	42.0

Source: Blignaut (1981:76); Dlamini (1991:9); RIEP (1988:16); South Africa. Administration: House of Assembly, Department of Education and Culture (1991:154); SAIRR (1994:713).

4.2.4 Coloureds

4.2.4.1 Access to school-based education

a) School enrolment

Table 36 (see p. 169) shows the school enrolment pattern in ordinary school education for Coloured children as well as the proportion enrolled compared to the total schooling population.

Table 36: School enrolment patterns for Coloureds and the proportion enrolled of the total school population

YEAR	NUMBER ENROLLED	PROPORTION (%)
1965	390 123	14
1970	512 144	12
1975	633 517	12
1980	749 526	14
1985	798 060	13
1990	839 864	11
1992	861 528	11

Source: South Africa. Bureau of Statistics (1968:E21); South Africa. Department of Statistics (1972:E24; 1978b:5.7); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1982:5.9; 1988:5.7; 1993b:5.20).

There has been a steady increase in the number of Coloured children enrolled at schools. During the 1965 to 1992 period the number of Coloured enrolments more than doubled with the proportion of children enrolled compared to the total schooling population dropping from 14% to 11%. Herman (1984:17), in noting the steady increase in pupil enrolments, has stated that the school population has shown a much higher growth rate than that of the Coloured population in general.

Regarding the ratio of the number of children at school compared to the number of children of school-going age, Pillay (1990:32) has shown that in 1970 and 1980 the school participation rate was 74.6% and 93%, respectively. The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI, 1992) has estimated that the school participation rate for Coloureds in 1990 was 98% (NEPI 1993a:18).

b) Compulsory school attendance and free schooling

School attendance for Coloured children was compulsory in Natal since 1952 for children between the ages of seven and 15 years or until the completion of the eighth standard, and in six board areas³⁵⁾ in the Cape for children between the ages of seven and 14 years. In the Transvaal and Orange Free State there was no compulsory education for Coloured children (Malherbe 1977:253-254).

In keeping with the stipulation of the *Coloured Persons Education Act* (47 of 1963) that the Minister of Coloured Affairs, by government notice, may declare regular school attendance compulsory for all Coloured children, *Government Notice No. R1 055* of June 1972 decreed that school attendance

35) The Cape Province had a system of school boards, one for each of the school districts into which the province was divided. The boards were responsible for the management of schools in their districts (Behr 1984:79).

was compulsory for every Coloured child, irrespective of age or standard attained, who lived within a five kilometre radius of a school and who enrolled at any school at the beginning of that school year until the end of that year. The contravention of this ruling could lead to the prosecution of the parent or guardian of the child (South Africa 1963:sec. 23; South Africa 1972b:Government Notice No. R1 055).

In order to extend the period of compulsory schooling, Government Notice No. R1 709 of September 1973 declared that as of January 1974, education in Natal was compulsory for all Coloured children who reached the age of seven years before 1 July 1974 and before 1 July of every succeeding year until the end of the school year in which the child reached the age of 16 years or passed standard eight. In the Cape Province, Transvaal and Orange Free State education was compulsory for Coloured children who reached the age of seven years between 1 July 1973 and 30 June 1974. Compulsory education was to be progressively phased in as from January 1974 so that by 1980 all Coloured children would be affected (South Africa 1973b:Government Notice No. R1 079). According to the Department of Internal Affairs' *Annual Report* compulsory education was progressively extended to 16 year olds in 1980, or until the eighth standard was successfully concluded

(South Africa. Department of Internal Affairs 1983:28).

Regarding charges for education, Auerbach (1979:11) pointed out that since April 1969 free books and stationery were available to all Coloured children throughout the country. It was further decreed that as of 1 January 1974, that the compulsory education declared for Coloureds was free.

4.2.4.2 Representation across four phases of school education

Table 37 (see p. 173) shows the percentage of Coloured children in the four phases of school education, namely, the junior primary phase, senior primary phase, junior secondary phase and senior secondary phase. According to Behr (1988:214) there was a less consistent distribution among the different phases of school-based education for Coloured pupils. Vos & Brits (1990:110) stated that the majority of Coloured children were concentrated in the primary phases of education. In 1967, only 16% of Coloured children were in post-primary education. However, in 1990 and 1992 there was a vast improvement with more than one third of the children in receipt of secondary education.

Table 37: Percentage of Coloured children in the four phases of school education

YEAR	JUNIOR PRIMARY	SENIOR PRIMARY	JUNIOR SECONDARY	SENIOR SECONDARY
1967	52	32	13	3
1970	50	32	15	3
1975	47	32	17	4
1980	42	32	19	7
1985	35	31	24	10
1990	36	29	23	12
1992	35	30	23	13

Source: Calculated from South Africa. Department of Statistics (1978b:5.21); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1982:5.3; 1993b:5.21).

4.2.4.3 Pupil progress

The progress of Coloured children from standard one through to standard ten as depicted in table 38 (see p. 174) shows the high attrition rates as well as weak holding power of Coloured schools. In the nine years between 1967 and 1976, 94% of the standard one cohort dropped out of school with only 6% reaching standard ten. Such high attrition rates, according to Herman (1984:17), calls into question the holding power of Coloured schools. According to Behr

(1984:246) since the introduction of compulsory schooling for Coloured children there has been a marginal improvement in the holding power of Coloured schools. This was evident in the nine years between 1983 and 1992 were 27% of the standard one cohort reached standard ten.

Table 38: Coloured pupil progress - Standard one to standard ten

YEARS	NUMBER IN STD. 1	NUMBER REACHING STD. 10	PERCENTAGE REACHING STD. 10
1967 - 1976	66 685	3 961	6
1970 - 1979	73 871	8 471	11
1973 - 1982	83 415	10 700	13
1976 - 1985	91 250	16 929	19
1979 - 1988	97 294	22 543	23
1981 - 1990	97 418	23 982	25
1983 - 1992	93 085	25 429	27

Source: South Africa. Central Statistical Services

(1988:5.22; 1993b:5.21).

4.2.4.4 Expenditure on education

The state has, since the inception of the *Coloured Persons Education Act* (47 of 1963), accepted full financial

responsibility for the education of Coloureds, and all primary and secondary education were thus free in all state and state-aided schools (Behr 1984:347). Table 39 (see below) shows the amount spent on Coloured education as well as the proportion it constituted of the total education spending.

Table 39: Expenditure on Coloured education (in millions) and its percentage of total education expenditure

YEAR	EXPENDITURE	PERCENTAGE
1965	30.9	9.6
1970	45.0	9.1
1975	104.9	10.0
1980	247.1	10.8
1985	724.1	12.4
1990	2 157.0	16.1
1992	2 631.0	15.8

Source: Unterhalter (1991:51); SAIRR (1993:586).

Unterhalter (1991:51) has stated that expenditure on Coloured education has shown accelerated increases. Despite this, the Coloured percentage expenditure in relation to the total expenditure decreased in 1970 by 0.5% of the 1965 percentage and has since then increased to 16.1% in 1990. The Coloured

per capita expenditure shown in table 40 (see below) also depicts a steady increase in the amounts expended per pupil. In 1980 there was a 303% increase in the per capita spending compared to the 1965 amount. The 1992 per capita spending represented a 965% increase compared to the 1980 amount. Despite the increases in the per capita spending, Christie (1991:110) and Pillay (1990:31) have shown that the Coloured per capita spending was always lower than that of the Whites and Indians.

Table 40: Per capita expenditure on Coloured education

YEAR	AMOUNT (RANDS)
1965	71.00
1970	87.30
1975	126.00
1980	286.00
1985	892.00
1990	2 406.00
1992	3 959.00

Source: Unterhalter (1991:52); DNE (1993b:63); SAIRR (1995:240).

4.2.4.5 Resources for education

a) Teacher qualifications

The qualifications of Coloured teachers is shown in table 41 (see p. 178). The percentage of qualified Coloured teachers, from a high of 95% in 1970 decreased by 5% in 1975 and subsequently increased to 98% in 1992. A disturbing feature of the qualifications of Coloured teachers was the small number of professionally qualified graduates. Further, many teachers in the professionally qualified cohort did not possess more than a standard eight qualification. In 1970 and 1980, 73.6% (11 427 of 15 536) and 62.5% (15 384 of 24 601) teachers, respectively had a qualification equivalent to standard eight or lower (SAIRR 1972:270; 1981:484). According to Herman (1984:18), Coloured education has suffered because of the lack of suitably qualified teachers. In 1990, the number of teachers with a standard eight or lower qualification dropped drastically to 13.4% (5 615 of 37 539) (DNE 1993a:101).

Table 41: Qualifications of Coloured teachers

YEAR	PROFESSIONALLY UNQUALIFIED	PROFESSIONALLY QUALIFIED	PROFESSIONALLY QUALIFIED GRADUATES
1965	690 (5%)	13 347 (95%)	458 (3.4%)
1970	872 (5%)	15 536 (95%)	587 (3.8%)
1975	2 146 (10%)	20 319 (90%)	668 (3.3%)
1980	2 126 (8%)	24 601 (92%)	1 251 (5.1%)
1985	2 404 (8%)	29 344 (92%)	2 974 (10.1%)
1990	882 (2.3%)	37 539 (98%)	4 676 (13.8%) ³⁶⁾
1992	891 (2%)	35 892 (98%)	n/a

Source: Blignaut (1981:69); SAIRR (1967:255; 1972:270; 1981:484; 1988:439; 1992:210; 1995:250); DNE (1993a:101).

b) Teacher-pupil ratios

The average teacher-pupil ratios at Coloured schools as shown in table 42 (see p. 179) have progressively declined reaching more manageable proportions in the 1980's and early 1990's. According to the Department of National Education (DNE) the relatively small teacher-pupil ratios was mainly due to the decreasing birth rates for Coloureds and the resultant oversupply of teachers (DNE 1993b:48).

36) This figure represents the number of professionally qualified graduates for 1989. The figure for 1990 was not available.

Table 42: Average teacher-pupil ratios at Coloured schools

YEAR	TEACHER-PUPIL RATIO
1965	n/a
1970	1 : 30.7
1975	1 : 27.2
1980	1 : 28.8
1985	1 : 25.4
1990	1 : 22.0
1992	1 : 22.0

Source: Blignaut (1981:65); DNE (1992a:54); SAIRR (1981:460; 1986:372); South Africa. Administration: House of Representatives (1986:118).

c) Physical resources

Since 1969 the provision of school buildings and furniture, including their maintenance, was the responsibility of the state (South Africa. Administration:House of Representatives 1986:21). This important principle in resource provision has its roots in the *Coloured Persons Education Act* (47 of 1963) according to which the establishment, erection and maintenance of schools was the responsibility of the state (South Africa 1963:sec. 3a). The state school building service was, however, not adequate for Coloureds as was

reflected by the number of children involved in double session tuition. The *Race Relations Survey* of 1970 pointed out that 30 531 Coloured pupils were involved in double sessions (SAIRR 1971:221). By 1980 the number of pupils involved in this type of arrangement increased to 60 739 (SAIRR 1981:483). However, by 1988 it was recorded that only 2 969 pupils were involved in double sessions which indicated a commitment by the state to eradicate this type of arrangement (SAIRR 1990:820).

Regarding school equipment, Horrell (1970:109) pointed out that each school was given an annual financial allocation for the purchase of equipment. The amount allocated to a school was dependent on the enrolment and grade of the school. Equipment for subjects, such as science, handwork and needlework were ordered annually by the principals of schools from catalogues. Principals were required, however, to keep within certain financial limits when making requisitions. Basic equipment was supplied to stock laboratories in secondary schools.

Audio-visual equipment was purchased on a R-for-R basis by the schools. In 1983, audio-visual equipment was for the first time supplied free of charge to all schools (South Africa. Administration:House of Representatives 1986:7)

Since 1969 all pupils in primary and secondary schools were supplied with the full range of textbooks, stationery and teaching aids free of charge (Horrell 1970:108; South Africa. Administration:House of Representatives 1986:21). The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI, 1992) has estimated that in 1990 two textbooks were available per primary school pupil and four per secondary school pupil. Further, the spending on teaching materials per pupil was estimated to be R200-00 per pupil (NEPI 1993a:24).

4.2.4.6 Performance in the senior certificate examinations

The performance of Coloured pupils in the senior certificate examinations is shown in table 43 (see p. 182). The number of senior certificate candidates rose steadily from 1 480 in 1965 to 24 430 in 1992. Notwithstanding this increase in the number of candidates, the overall percentage pass has been a cause for concern for some time. In 1965 in excess of half the candidates failed the examination. In 1970, 1975, 1980 and 1985 the pass rate hovered around 60%. The 1992 pass rate, however, marked an improvement in the performance of the candidates.

Table 43: Coloured senior certificate pass rates

YEAR	NUMBER OF CANDIDATES	NUMBER PASSED	%	NUMBER PASSED EXEMPTION	%
1965	1 480	702	47.4	n/a	n/a
1970	2 004	1 307	65.2	n/a	n/a
1975	3 746	3 374	63.3	n/a	n/a
1980	8 389	5 282	63.0	1 416	16.9
1985	11 052	7 115	64.4	1 381	12.5
1990	22 315	17 721	79.4	4 487	20.1
1992	24 430	21 009	86.0	5 130	21.0

Source: South Africa. Administration: House of Representatives (1986:108; 1987:2); RIEP (1987:16; 1990:14); SAIRR (1994:713).

The gap between the number of candidates and the number of matric exemptions which is a primary indicator of quality of education has remained consistently large. Herman (1985:17) ascribed the poor matric results to inadequate educational provision as reflected in the low per capita expenditure, the high teacher-pupil ratios, the lack of physical facilities and the lack of teachers, particularly qualified graduates for secondary schools.

4.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the above historical outline of the imbalances and inequities in school-based education in South Africa it can be seen that wide ranging racial disparities and inequalities have been built into the education system. These racial disparities and inequalities were prevalent in access to school-based education, distribution in the four phases of school-based education, pupil progress through the school system, expenditure on education, resourcing of schools and in the performance of pupils in the senior certificate examinations.

In the next chapter a survey of the imbalances and inequities in post-secondary education, namely, university and technikon education will be explored.

CHAPTER 5

A SURVEY OF THE IMBALANCES AND INEQUITIES IN POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Segregated education in South Africa was, as a matter of state policy, also extended to post-secondary education institutions where the institutions were differentiated according to race. Consequently, there were separate universities and technikons for each of the four racial groups. Universities for the White racial group were further differentiated in terms of language with the creation of universities for the Afrikaans-speaking community and universities for the English-speaking community. All seventeen universities and twelve technikons in South Africa are public institutions which were established by acts of Parliament (Bunting 1992:14).

This chapter surveys the imbalances and inequities prevalent in university and technikon education with regard to access, staffing (academic) and output of these institutions. The

issue of access to university and technikon education was always a "burning issue" in South Africa. The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI, 1992) contended that the most visible contestation around knowledge in South Africa has been about access (NEPI 1992b:7). With regard to universities, since the 1960's White students were prohibited from attending the universities for non-Whites and non-White students were precluded from registering with or attending the universities for Whites other than the University of South Africa (UNISA) and the University of Natal Medical School. Notwithstanding these rules certain exceptions were allowed. A non-White person could be admitted, subject to the approval of the Minister of Education, to a course of study at a university for Whites if such a course was not offered at the particular university which he was entitled to attend (Behr 1988:193).

With the establishment of Colleges for Advanced Technical Education³⁷⁾ since 1968, strict racial segregation with regard to access was, enforced similiar to that of the universities. Only under exceptional circumstances were non-Whites allowed admission to technikons for Whites. In 1977 procedures were outlined for the granting of permission for

37) Colleges for Advanced Technical Education were renamed technikons as from 1979.

the admission to technikons of other races. The procedure outlined was termed the permit system³⁸⁾ and was similar to the procedures applicable to universities (Bot 1988:3).

In 1981 the De Lange Commission recommended that all autonomous tertiary educational institutions be granted the right to decide who should be admitted as students. The government responded in 1983 with the promulgation of two acts, the *Universities Amendment Act* (83 of 1983) and the *Technikons Amendment Act* (84 of 1983) which put an end to the permit system, and in its place allowed universities and technikons the right to admit other races subject to a quota or ceiling with the proviso that the quota or ceiling was not to disturb the established pattern of the population structure of the institution (Behr 1988:197; Bot 1988:7). Behr (1988:197) noted that the government decided not to implement the quota proviso at universities owing to vehement protests by the White English medium universities. Instead the universities were allowed freedom of admission of students. With regard to technikons, Bot (1988:12) pointed out that the quota provision was only abolished in 1987 after

38) The permit system entailed the seeking of ministerial approval in order to attend an institution not designated for a particular race group.

growing resistance from technikon staff and employers. Since 1988 technikons were therefore allowed to set their own admission policies.

Staffing at universities and technikons was as discriminatory as access to university and technikon education. Badat (1991:88) pointed out that for reasons related to the separate development (apartheid) ideology and policy of the National Party and the strong degree of state control, non-White tertiary institutions tended to be staffed mainly by Afrikaner nationalists and White conservatives.

Christie (1991:211) commented that the privilege of qualifications in South Africa was a political issue and was not equally distributed among all groups of people in South Africa. Hence, to determine the extent of the validity of this statement, the output of the universities and technikons in terms of the degrees, diplomas and certificates awarded is investigated.

Against the above introductory remarks a survey of the imbalances and inequities in post-secondary education in South Africa with reference to Africans, Indians, Whites and Coloureds will be given.

**5.2 IMBALANCES AND INEQUITIES IN POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION
WITH REFERENCE TO AFRICANS, INDIANS, WHITES AND COLOURED**

5.2.1 Africans

5.2.1.1 Access to university and technikon education

In order to be able to illustrate the imbalances and inequities regarding access to university and technikon education, the head count enrolment in general and the head count enrolment per hundred thousand of the population will be explored.³⁹⁾

a) University education

As at 1965 African students had access to three universities, namely, the University College of Fort Hare, the University College of the North and the University College of Zululand. On 1 January 1970 these institutions became independent universities and no longer fell under the aegis of UNISA⁴⁰⁾ (South Africa. Department of Statistics 1978b:5.49). Since 1970, when the three African universities became autonomous state universities they were allowed to admit students belonging to other racial groups, other than White, subject to the courses for which a student intended to

39) This procedure will also be followed in the case of the other three racial groups.

40) The non-White universities, when they were first established, administered examinations set by the University of South Africa which also conferred its degrees and awarded its diplomas to successful candidates in order to regulate academic standards at the non-White universities (Behr 1984:218).

study not being offered at the university the student was entitled to attend. Further legislation passed in 1979 enabled the African universities to admit students from all racial groups subject to ministerial approval (Behr 1988:194).

In 1978, the Medical University of South Africa (MEDUNSA) opened its doors which brought the number of universities that catered mainly for Africans to four. In order to provide general university education for Africans residing in the urban areas of South Africa, a new university, called Vista was officially opened in 1983 (South Africa. DET 1983a:107). With the University of Fort Hare becoming the responsibility of the Ciskei government on 1 January 1987, the number of universities which catered mainly for Africans was reduced to four (South Africa. DET 1987:188). These four institutions provided university education mainly for Africans up to 1992.

- Head count enrolments at universities

Table 44 (see p. 190) shows the head count enrolment of African students at universities in South Africa as well as the proportion they comprised of the total university student population.

Table 44: Head count enrolments and proportion of African students at university

YEAR	NUMBER ENROLLED	PROPORTION (%)
1965	2 491	4.0
1970	4 442	5.1
1975	8 892	7.1
1980	18 289	12.0
1985	42 872	20.2
1990	101 872	34.8
1992	120 125	37.7

Source: South Africa. Department of Statistics (1978b:5.8); South Africa. Central Statistical Service (1988:5.11; 1994:5.3-5.4).

The period 1965 to 1992 saw a marked increase in the head count enrolments of African students. From a low of 2 491 in 1965 African student enrolments increased by 634% in 1980 reaching 18 289. The 1992 enrolment of 120 125 represented a 557% increase over the 1980 enrolment. The proportion of African students enrolled at universities has also shown tremendous increases since 1965. From a mere four percent in 1965, African students in 1992 occupied in excess of 37% the places at South African universities. According to Muller, Narsing & Stadler (1988:12), Africans had shown the highest

average growth rate of 14.9% per annum between 1965 and 1985. Between 1986 and 1992 the African average growth rate at universities remained the highest and measured 18.8% per annum (Bunting 1994:50).

- Head count enrolments per hundred thousand of the population for the census years

There was a steady growth in the number of African university students per hundred thousand of the population as reflected in table 45 (see p. 192). In the ten year period between 1970 and 1980 the number of university students per hundred thousand of the population more than trebled. Despite this increase Nkomo (1984:79) has shown that the representation of Africans at university level in South Africa was far lower than that of their counterparts in Kenya, Nigeria and Zambia. Although between 1980 and 1991 the university students per hundred thousand of the population more than quadrupled, Gerwel (1991:123) stated that this was nevertheless amongst the worst in the world.

Table 45: African university students per hundred thousand of the population for the census years

YEAR	ENROLMENT	POPULATION IN '000's	STUDENTS PER 100 000 OF THE POPULATION
1970	4 442	12 525	36
1980	18 289	15 958	115
1985	42 872	18 481	232
1991	110 358	21 871	506

Source: Compiled from South Africa. Department of Statistics (1978b:5.8); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1988:5.11; 1993a:1; 1994:5.4).

b) Technikon education

There were comparatively few facilities catering for advanced technical education for Africans. In 1970 only two institutions catered for Africans (Bot 1988:63). These were the Edendale Technical College (accommodating a division for advanced technical education) near Pietermaritzburg and the Mmadikoti College for Advanced Technical Education in Seshego, near Pietersburg. In 1979 and 1980 two new technikons, the Mangosuthu Technikon in KwaZulu and the Mabopane East Technikon in Soshanguve, were opened which brought the tally of institutions which catered mainly for Africans to four (South Africa. DET 1983b:31-32). By 1990

only the two fully-fledged technikons, Mangosuthu Technikon and Technikon Northern Transvaal (formerly Mabopane East Technikon) offered advanced technical education for Africans (South Africa. DET 1991:192).

With regard to the admission of other racial groups to African technikons, Bot (1988:3; 8) pointed out that since 1977 prospective students of other races had to obtain a permit to study at African technikons. Subsequent to that, the *Technikons (Education and Training) Act* (77 of 1984) stipulated that other races could be admitted subject to a quota (Bot 1988:8).

- Head count enrolments at technikons

African head count enrolments and the proportion of African enrolments at technikons is shown in table 46 (see p. 194).

Table 46: Head count enrolments and the proportion of African students at technikons

YEAR	NUMBER ENROLLED	PROPORTION (%)
1970	176	0.5
1975	373	0.9
1980	545	1.2
1985	1 604	2.7
1990	17 452	18.8
1992	28 699	25.2

Source: South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1988:5.7; 1994:5.3-5.4).

The poor enrolment pattern of Africans for technikon education up to 1985 was largely attributed to the fact that in many areas there was no accessible African technikon. Bot (1988:18) pointed out that Africans had no technikon in or near high population areas, such as Cape Town and Johannesburg. She added that the remote location of African technikons meant that adequate hostel facilities were essential, a requirement which was not always met. The Mangosuthu Technikon in KwaZulu, for example turned away approximately 1 200 applicants each year because, although there were academic facilities for 2 000 students, there was

hostel accommodation for only 480 students. The location of African technikons thus impeded access despite the growing demand for technikon education.

Notwithstanding the problems of accessibility cited above, African head count enrolments and their proportion at technikons have increased quite rapidly since the post-1985 era. Bunting (1994:44) has shown that between 1986 and 1992 the average increase in African student enrolments was 47.6% per annum. This was the highest growth rate compared to the other three racial groups.

- Head count enrolments per hundred thousand of the population for the census years

The participation of Africans in technikon education per hundred thousand of the population as shown in table 47 (see p. 196) was extremely small. In 1970 only one student per hundred thousand of Africans was receiving education at a technikon. In 1980 and 1985 the situation improved only marginally. The 1991 participation rate of 125 per hundred thousand of the population was a tremendous improvement in the participation rate over the previous census years.

Despite this increase, the Department of National Education (DNE) has shown that the number of technikon students per

hundred thousand of the population for Africans was the lowest in the country (DNE 1993b:72).

Table 47: African technikon students per hundred thousand of the population for the census years

YEAR	ENROLMENT	POPULATION IN '000's	STUDENTS PER 100 000 OF THE POPULATION
1970	176	12 525	1
1980	545	15 958	3
1985	1 604	18 481	9
1991	27 259	21 871	125

Source: Compiled from South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1988:5.58; 1993a:1; 1994:5.4).

5.2.1.2 Academic staff at universities and technikons

a) Universities

Access of Africans to teaching posts at universities was severely restricted as is evident from table 48 (see p. 198). In 1965 they comprised only 0.8% of the teaching personnel at universities and occupied only 39 posts. Since then access to teaching posts for Africans have been limited and reached only 6.9% in 1992.

At the historically African universities, African academic staff were severely under-represented. Marcum (1982:4) commented that the faculties at these universities were predominantly White. At the three historically African universities in 1970, 80% of the teaching staff was White and only 20% was African (South Africa. Department of Bantu Education 1971:18). By 1980 this situation did not change much with 68% of the teaching staff being White and 32% African (South Africa. DET 1981:370). In 1990 Whites had access to 63% of the posts at historically African universities while Africans occupied only 35% of the posts. The remaining 2% of posts were occupied by Indians and Coloureds (South Africa. DET 1991:table 8.1). Thus, Africans were seriously discriminated against in terms of access to posts at their "own" universities.

Table 48: Number of African lecturers and the proportion they comprised of the teaching staff at universities

YEAR	NUMBER	PROPORTION (%)
1965	39	0.8
1970	60	0.9
1975	96	1.1
1980	246	2.9
1985	435	4.4
1990	493	5.1
1992	686	6.9

Source: South Africa. Department of Bantu Education (1976:117); SAIRR (1981:538); DNE (1991:30); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1993b:5.10).

b) Technikons

Table 49 (see p. 199) shows the number of African teaching staff and the proportion they comprised of the total teaching staff at technikons.

Table 49: Number of African lecturers and the proportion they comprised of the teaching staff at technikons

YEAR	NUMBER	PROPORTION (%)
1970	4	0.2
1975	4	0.2
1980	7	0.3
1985	8	0.4
1990	28	1.3
1992	29	1.3

Source: South Africa. Department of Bantu Education (1971:41) South Africa. DET (1986:211); DNE (1991:30); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1994:5.10).

Similar to the universities, African lecturers were seriously under-represented at technikons in South Africa. Between 1970 and 1985 African lecturers at technikons occupied under 0.5% of posts at South African technikons. In 1992 they occupied only 29 posts and comprised only 1.3% of the total teaching staff at technikons.

At the historically African technikons, African academic staff were by far in the minority. In 1970 they occupied 28% of the teaching posts and Whites 72% (South Africa.

Department of Bantu Education 1971:41). By 1980 the percentage of African lecturers at historically African technikons actually decreased to 16% with the balance being occupied by Whites (South Africa. DET 1986:211). In 1990, the percentage of African lecturers decreased even further to 13%, while the number of White lecturers increased to 86%. The remaining 1% of posts was occupied by Indians (DNE 1991:30).

5.2.1.3 Output of universities and technikons

a) Universities

Table 50 (see p. 201) shows the output of the universities in terms of the number of degrees and diplomas awarded to African students. The number of African graduates and diplomates was extremely small. Although there was a more than ten-fold increase in the African output of the university system in 1980 compared to 1965, African graduates and diplomates comprised only 5.4% of all graduates and diplomates in that year. Since 1985 there was a rapid increase in the number of degrees and diplomas awarded to Africans. Bunting (1994:79) has shown that between 1986 and 1990 Africans had recorded the highest average growth rate (14.8% per annum) in terms of the number of graduates and diplomates from the university system. Notwithstanding this, the proportion of graduates and diplomates remained small with the proportion of African graduates and diplomates

comprising only 26% of the output of all South African universities in 1992 (see table 50 below).

Table 50: Degrees and diplomas awarded to African students

YEAR	NUMBER	PROPORTION (%)
1965	217	2.4
1970	315	2.7
1975	964	5.3
1980	1 103	5.4
1985	5 059	14.8
1990	9 321	21.0
1992	12 962	26.0

Sources: SAIRR (1966:275); South Africa. Department of Education, Arts and Science (1966:86); SAIRR (1971:243); Pillay (1990:43); SAIRR (1992:225); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1992:5.45; 1994:5.45).

b) Technikons

The number of diplomas and certificates awarded to Africans is shown in table 51 (see p. 202). From a mere 92 diplomas and certificates awarded to Africans in 1970 the number rose

to 1 555 in 1992. Pillay (1990:44) commented that the extremely low number of diplomas and certificates awarded to Africans was indicative of the under-development of non-White education. The proportion of diplomas and certificates awarded to Africans was also extremely small. Bunting (1994:88) has shown that despite this, the African racial group recorded the highest average growth rate (48.6% per annum) in terms of technikon output since 1988.

Table 51: Diplomas and certificates awarded to African students

YEAR	NUMBER	PROPORTION (%)
1970	92	3.8
1974	125	6.7
1979	200	7.7
1986	872	12.0
1990	826	7.2
1992	1 555	11.1

Source: DNO (1982:690-710); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1986b:5.62; 1992:5.53; 1994:5.51).

5.2.2 Indians

5.2.2.1 Access to university and technikon education

a) University education

Only one university, the University of Durban-Westville, catered mainly for Indians. As of 1 January 1971 this institution was declared an independent university in terms of the *University of Durban-Westville Act* (50 of 1969) and consequently no longer fell under the aegis of the University of South Africa (see p. 188) (South Africa. Department of Statistics 1978b:5.49). This independence further enabled the university to admit African and Coloured students, but not White students subject to the courses for which the students intended to enroll not being offered at the university they were entitled to attend. The *University of Durban-Westville Amendment Act* (121 of 1977) dropped the clause precluding White students from attending the university, thus allowing non-Indian students admission, subject to the permit system (see p. 186) (Behr 1988:194).

- Head count enrolments at universities

Table 52 (see p. 205) shows the head count enrolments of Indians at universities in South Africa as well as the proportion they comprised of the university student population. Since 1965 there was a steady increase in the enrolment of Indian students at universities. Despite this the proportion of Indian students enrolled in the South African university system decreased by 1.1 percentage point in 1970 when compared to the 1965 proportion and subsequently increased, reaching 8.2% in 1985. In 1990 the proportion of Indian students dropped by 1.7 percentage point of the 1985 proportion and then increased in 1992, reaching 7.1%. According to Muller, Narsing & Stadler (1988:12) the average Indian student growth rate between 1965 and 1985 was 9.7% per annum which was the lowest for the non-White grouping. Between 1986 and 1992 the average growth rate fell to 3.5% per annum and remained the lowest growth rate compared to the other non-White groups (Bunting 1994:80).

Table 52: Head count enrolments and proportion of Indian students at university

YEAR	NUMBER ENROLLED	PROPORTION (%)
1965	2 614	4.2
1970	2 656	3.1
1975	5 324	4.3
1980	11 551	7.6
1985	17 300	8.2
1990	18 923	6.5
1992	22 500	7.1

Source: South Africa. Bureau of Statistics (1968:E2-3); South Africa. Department of Statistics (1978b:5.7); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1988:5.9; 1994:5.5-5.4).

- Head count enrolments per hundred thousand of the population for the census years

The Indian head count enrolments per hundred thousand of the population as shown in table 53 (see p. 206) increased consistently since 1970. From a mere 407 students per hundred thousand of the population in 1970, Indian head count enrolments reached 2 121 students per hundred thousand of the population in 1991. Muller, Narsing & Stadler (1988:12)

have shown that representation of Indians at university level was only second to that of the Whites. Further, the Department of National Education (DNE) has illustrated that in 1991 the number of Indian students at university per hundred thousand of the population was by far the highest among the non-White grouping and was almost double that of the total South African population in general (DNE 1993b:72).

Table 53: Indian university students per hundred thousand of the population for the census years

YEAR	ENROLMENT	POPULATION IN '000's	STUDENTS PER 100 000 OF THE POPULATION
1970	2 656	652	407
1980	11 551	819	1 410
1985	17 300	902	1 918
1991	21 017	991	2 121

Source: Compiled from South Africa. Department of Statistics (1978b:5.7); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1988:5.9; 1993a:1; 1994:5.4).

b) Technikon education

The *Indians Advanced Technical Education Act* (12 of 1968) provided for the establishment of colleges for advanced

technical education for Indians. The M.L. Sultan Technical College in Durban was deemed to be such a college for advanced technical education under the above Act as from 1 March 1969 (South Africa 1968:sec. 4; South Africa. Department of Indian Affairs 1971:52). In 1979 the *Indians Advanced Technical Education Amendment Act* (40 of 1979) was promulgated, which substituted the name "technikon" for "college for advanced technical education" (South Africa 1979a:sec. 1). As at 1992 this was the only institution since the inception of the *Indians Advanced Technical Education Act* (12 of 1968) that provided technikon education for Indians (Bunting 1994:33).

Since the late 1970's, Indians were granted limited access to the non-Indian technikons subject to the conditions of the permit and quota system (see p. 186). Subsequent to the abolition of the quota system in 1987, Indians were granted freer access to the non-Indian technikons. This was evident from the 19% of Indians studying at the residential technikons for Whites, Coloureds and Africans in 1990 (DNE 1991:17).

- Head count enrolments at technikons

The enrolment of Indians at technikons as shown in table 54

(see below) has declined steadily in the five year periods between 1970 and 1985. However, since 1985 there was a significant increase in Indian student enrolments at technikons. Despite this increase, the average growth rate between 1986 and 1992 was only 11.6% per annum which Bunting (1994:44) has shown to be the lowest growth rate compared to the other racial groups. The proportion of Indian students in the technikon system has shown a steady decline and according to Badat (1991:83) has remained a small proportion of the total technikon enrolment. Bunting (1994:44) has shown that as a proportion of all students at technikons in 1992 Indians were in the minority.

Table 54: Head count enrolments and proportion of Indian students at technikons

YEAR	NUMBER ENROLLED	PROPORTION (%)
1970	6 286	17.3
1975	5 605	12.8
1980	4 198	9.0
1985	3 680	6.2
1990	7 243	7.8
1992	6 847	6.0

Source: South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1988:5.57; 1994:5.3-5.4).

- Head count enrolments per hundred thousand of the population for the census years

Indian enrolments per hundred thousand of the population as shown in table 55 (see below) decreased in the 1980 and 1985 census years when compared to the 1970 census year. For the 1991 census year there was a doubling in the Indian enrolments per hundred thousand of the population in comparison to the 1985 figure. The Department of National Education (DNE) has shown that for 1991, the Indian student enrolment per hundred thousand of the population was more than double that of the South African population in general and was only second to the number of White students per hundred thousand of the population at technikons (DNE 1993b:72).

Table 55: Indian technikon students per hundred thousand of the population for the census years

YEAR	ENROLMENT	POPULATION IN '000's	STUDENTS PER 100 000 OF THE POPULATION
1970	6 286	652	964
1980	4 198	819	513
1985	3 680	902	408
1991	8 087	991	816

Source: Compiled from South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1988:5.57; 1993a:1; 1994:5.3-4).

5.2.2.2 Academic staff at universities and technikons

a) Universities

The growth of Indian lecturers at universities was slow, (see table 56, p. 211) and numbered only 344 in 1992 compared to 25 in 1965. At the historically Indian university (the University of Durban-Westville), Indian lecturers were by far in the minority up to the late 1980's. In 1970 Whites comprised 78% and Indians 22% of the teaching staff (South Africa. Department of Indian Affairs 1971:58). By 1980 the situation improved a little with 63% of the teaching posts being occupied by Whites and 37% being occupied by Indians (South Africa. Department of Indian Affairs 1980:132). Although in 1990 the Indian lecturers were in the majority (51%), the number of White lecturers (46%) was still quite substantial (DNE 1991:30).

Table 56: Number of Indian lecturers and the proportion they comprised of the teaching staff at universities

YEAR	NUMBER	PROPORTION (%)
1965	25	0.5
1970	33	0.5
1975	57	0.6
1980	102	1.2
1985	218	2.2
1990	305	3.2
1992	344	3.4

Source: SAIRR (1967:272; 1970:215; 1981:538; 1986:400); South Africa. Department of Indian Affairs (1976:96); DNE (1991:30); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1993b:5.10).

b) Technikons

Table 57 (see p. 212) shows the number of Indian lecturers and the proportion they comprised of the total teaching staff at technikons.

Table 57: Number of Indian lecturers and the proportion they comprised of the teaching staff at technikons

YEAR	NUMBER	PROPORTION (%)
1970	n/a	n/a
1975	n/a	n/a
1980	n/a	n/a
1986	103	4.9
1990	123	5.5
1992	133	5.8

Source: South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1994:5.10); DNE (1991:29).

The number of Indian lecturers appointed at technikons was extremely small and numbered only 133 by 1992. The proportion they comprised in the technikon system was also small and only reached 5.8% in 1992. At the historically Indian technikon (M. L. Sultan Technikon) the number of lectureships awarded to Whites was quite substantial. Bot (1988:20) has shown that at the Indian technikon (together with the Coloured technikon) at least 35% of the teaching posts were occupied by Whites in 1984. O'Connel (1994:179) pointed out

that in 1992 at least 29% of the teaching posts were occupied by Whites and 71% by Indians.

5.2.2.3 Output of universities and technikons

a) Universities

There was a steady increase in the number of degrees and diplomas awarded to Indian students by South African universities as shown in table 58 (see p. 214). Since 1965 there was more than a five-fold increase in the number of degrees and diplomas awarded to Indian students compared to 1992. The proportion of degrees and diplomas awarded to Indian students dropped in 1970 by more than half of their 1965 proportion and subsequently increased to 5.9% in 1985. Bunting (1994:79) has shown that from 1986 the average annual increase in Indian graduates and diplomates was 2.6% which was the lowest among the non-White grouping.

Table 58: Degrees and diplomas awarded to Indian students

YEAR	NUMBER	PROPORTION (%)
1965	587	6.4
1970	350	3.0
1975	664	3.5
1980	1 121	5.5
1985	2 029	5.9
1990	2 481	5.6
1992	2 797	5.6

Source: SAIRR (1967:268; 1971:243; 1992:225); Pillay (1990:43); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1992:5.45; 1994:5.45).

b) Technikons

The number of Indian awardees of diplomas and certificates is shown in table 59 (see p. 215). From a mere 261 awardees in 1970 this number increased to 953 in 1992. Despite this increase the proportion of diplomas and certificates awarded to Indians actually decreased in 1992 when compared to the 1970 proportion. Pillay (1990:44), on commenting on the low number of diplomas, stated that the output of the technikon system reflected the under-development of non-White education in general.

Table 59: Diplomas and certificates awarded to Indian students

YEAR	NUMBER	PROPORTION (%)
1970	261	10.7
1974	260	14.0
1979	318	12.3
1986	390	5.4
1990	796	7.0
1992	953	6.8

Source: DNO (1982:673-689); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1986b:5.62; 1992:5.51; 1994:5.53).

5.2.3 Whites

5.2.3.1 Access to university and technikon education

a) University education

As at 1965 there were ten universities which catered mainly for Whites. These were the four Afrikaans-medium universities (Orange Free State, Stellenbosch, Potchefstroom and Pretoria); the four English-medium universities (Cape Town, Natal, Rhodes and Witwatersrand); one dual-medium university (Port Elizabeth), and one non-residential university (UNISA). To this was added another Afrikaans-medium university, the Rand Afrikaans University which was established in 1968.

Thus as at 1970 there were ten residential universities which catered mainly for Whites and UNISA which taught by correspondence and admitted students of all racial groups (HSRC 1970:50). These ten residential universities provided university education mainly for Whites up to 1992 (Bunting 1994:30).

- Head count enrolments at universities

Table 60 (see below) shows the head count enrolments for Whites as well as the proportion they comprised of the university student population in South Africa.

Table 60: Head count enrolments and proportion of White students at university

YEAR	NUMBER ENROLLED	PROPORTION (%)
1965	56 486	90.0
1970	78 381	90.2
1975	107 405	85.9
1980	114 744	75.3
1985	138 670	65.5
1990	154 262	52.6
1992	158 367	49.7

Source: South Africa. Department of Statistics (1978b:5.4); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1988:5.5; 1994:5.3-5.4).

Pillay (1990:42) noted that the great majority of students at university were White. This was evident from the extremely high proportion of White students that were enrolled at South African universities. In 1965 and 1970 they occupied 90% of the places at universities. However, since then, Pillay (1990:44) has indicated that their proportion of the student population at universities has shown a steady decline.

Muller, Narsing & Stadler (1988:12) have shown that between 1965 and 1985 the White student growth rate at universities was 5.1% per annum which was the lowest compared to the other three racial groups. Between 1986 and 1992 the average student growth rate declined even further to 1.2% per annum (Bunting 1994:50).

- Head count enrolments per hundred thousand of the population for the census years

The participation of Whites in university education as shown in table 61 (see p. 218) was relatively high. In 1970, 2 029 students per hundred thousand of the population participated in university education. By 1980 this figure had increased to 2 538. In commenting on the 1985 participation rate of 2 849, Muller, Narsing & Stadler (1988:12) noted that the participation of Whites in university education far exceeded that of the United Kingdom. The 1991 participation rate of 3 108 was the second highest in the world. Only the United

States of America exceeded the White student participation in university education (Gerwel 1991:123).

Table 61: White university students per hundred thousand of the population for the census years

YEAR	ENROLMENT	POPULATION IN '000's	STUDENTS PER 100 000 OF THE POPULATION
1970	78 381	3 864	2 029
1980	114 744	4 522	2 538
1985	138 670	4 867	2 849
1991	157 900	5 080	3 108

Source: Compiled from South Africa. Department of Statistics (1978b:5.4); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1988:5.5; 1993a:1; 1994:5.1).

b) Technikon education

The *Advanced Technical Education Act* (40 of 1967) was promulgated with the aim of creating a new type of institution for tertiary education intermediate between a technical college and a university for Whites. In terms of this Act, the Cape Technical College, the Pretoria Technical College, the Natal Technical College and the Witwatersrand Technical College were all deemed to be colleges for advanced technical education as of January 1968 (South Africa

1967a:sec. 4). To these were later added the Technical College of Port Elizabeth and the Vaal Triangle Technical College at Vanderbijlpark. Thus, as at 1970, these six institutions catered mainly for advanced technical education for Whites (HSRC 1975:59).

In 1979, in keeping with the *Advanced Technical Education Amendment Act* (43 of 1979) the name "technikon" was substituted for "college for advanced technical education" (South Africa 1979a:sec. 1). In 1980 the Technikon RSA was opened in Johannesburg and subsequent to that the Technikon Orange Free State started functioning as of January 1981 (Vos & Brits 1990:92). These eight institutions provided advanced technical education mainly for Whites up to 1992 (Bunting 1994:33).

- Head count enrolments at technikons

Table 62 (see p. 220) shows the head count enrolments for Whites at technikons as well as the proportion they comprised at South African technikons.

Table 62: Head count enrolments and proportion of White students at technikons

YEAR	NUMBER ENROLLED	PROPORTION (%)
1970	29 283	80.8
1975	36 287	84.1
1980	40 180	86.0
1985	51 069	86.4
1990	60 085	64.8
1992	68 541	60.2

Source: South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1988:5.7; 1994:5.3-5.4); Bot (1988:63).

The enrolment of Whites at technikons was consistently high with progressive increases in enrolments since 1970.

Simultaneously, this was paralleled by an increase in the proportion of Whites enrolled at technikons up to 1985. In the post-1985 period the proportion of Whites at technikons decreased. Despite this decrease Whites still occupied an overwhelming proportion of places at technikons. Hence, Badat (1991:83) commented that access to technikon education was dominated by the Whites. Bot (1988:18) reasoned that the large proportion of Whites in the technikon system was largely due to the easy accessibility of technikons as there

were technikons for Whites in almost every large urban area.

- Head count enrolments per hundred thousand of the population for the census years

White head count enrolments per hundred thousand of the population as shown in table 63 (see below) was consistently high and has increased progressively since the 1970 census year. From 758 students per hundred thousand of the population in 1970, White head count enrolments per hundred thousand of the population increased to 1 379 in 1991. The Department of National Education (DNE) has shown that for 1991 the White head count enrolment per hundred thousand of the population was the highest in the country (DNE 1993b:72).

Table 63: White technikon students per hundred thousand of the population for the census years

YEAR	ENROLMENT	POPULATION IN '000's	STUDENTS PER 100 000 OF THE POPULATION
1970	29 283	3 864	758
1980	40 180	4 522	889
1985	51 069	4 867	1 049
1991	70 060	5 080	1 379

Source: Compiled from South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1988:5.7; 1993a:1; 1994:5.4).

5.2.3.2 Academic staff at universities and technikons

a) Universities

White academics had access to a significant number and proportion of teaching posts at South African universities (see table 64, p. 223). At the historically African, Coloured and Indian universities, White lecturers occupied a significant number of posts. At the universities for Whites access to teaching posts for non-Whites were minimal. Nkomo (1984:84) noted that White universities possessed virtually exclusively White faculties. Moreover, Africans teaching at White universities were mainly employed in the African languages departments. In 1970 only 19 posts were occupied by non-Whites at universities which catered mainly for Whites, and in 1980 only 68 posts were occupied by non-Whites (South Africa. DNE 1972:103; 1982:315). For 1990 only 280 (3.6%) of teaching posts were occupied by non-Whites (DNE 1991:30).

Table 64: Number of White lecturers and the proportion they comprised of the teaching staff at universities

YEAR	NUMBER	PROPORTION (%)
1965	4 845	98.7
1970	6 467	98.6
1975	8 821	97.9
1980	8 210	95.2
1985	9 101	92.1
1990	8 621	89.2
1992	8 653	86.7

Source: South Africa. Department of Education, Arts and Science (1966:79); South Africa. DNE (1972:103; 1976:222); DNE (1991:30); SAIRR (1981:538; 1986:400); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1993b:5.9).

b) Technikons

Table 65 (see p. 224) shows the number of White lecturers and the proportion they comprised of the total teaching staff at technikons. Similar to the universities, access to teaching posts at technikons was dominated by Whites. Bot (1988:20) as well as Bunting (1992:56) pointed out that an overwhelming majority of the permanent teaching staff at technikons were White.

Table 65: Number of White lecturers and the proportion they comprised of the teaching staff at technikons

YEAR	NUMBER	PROPORTION (%)
1970	1 674	78.6
1975	1 939	95.3
1980	2 226	94.4
1986	1 888	90.5
1990	1 976	89.0
1992	2 053	89.0

Source: South Africa. Central Statistical Services

(1986b:5.67; 1990:5.7; 1994:5.9); DNE (1991:30).

5.2.3.3 Output of universities and technikons

a) Universities

Since 1965 there was quite a significant increase in the number of White graduates and diplomates as shown in table 66 (see p. 225). In 1992 there was just under a four-fold increase compared to 1965. Further, White graduates and diplomates dominated the output of the universities. In 1965 and 1970 they accounted for in excess of 90% of all graduates and diplomates from the university system. Since 1970 there was a progressive decrease in the proportion of White university graduates and diplomates. Despite this decrease

Bunting (1994:79) has argued that the output of the South African university system was predominantly White since they still accounted for over 60% of all graduates and diplomates by 1992.

Table 66: Degrees and diplomas awarded to White students

YEAR	NUMBER	PROPORTION (%)
1965	2 228	90.1
1970	10 743	93.2
1975	16 319	89.4
1980	17 573	85.6
1985	25 597	74.9
1990	29 474	66.4
1992	30 669	61.4

Sources: SAIRR (1968:280; 1971:243; 1992:225);

Pillay (1990:43); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1992:5.44; 1994:5.45).

b) Technikons

The number of diplomas and certificates as well as the proportion of diplomas and certificates awarded to Whites by South African technikons is shown in table 67 (see p. 226).

The proportion of White recipients of diplomas and certificates was extremely high. As at 1992 Whites still accounted for more than three quarters of all recipients of diplomas and certificates from South African technikons. Bunting (1994:88) pointed out that despite the significant growth in the output of non-Whites from the technikon system, the majority of the output continued to be overwhelmingly White.

Table 67: Diplomas and certificates awarded to White students

YEAR	NUMBER	PROPORTION (%)
1970	2 033	83.7
1974	1 410	76.0
1979	1 939	74.9
1986	5 597	72.2
1990	9 111	79.7
1992	10 583	75.3

Source: DNO (1982:339-642); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1986b:5.61; 1992:5.52; 1994:5.50).

5.2.4 Coloureds

5.2.4.1 Access to university and technikon education

a) University education

Only one university, the University College of the Western Cape catered mainly for Coloureds. In 1969 Parliament passed legislation, the *University of the Western Cape Act* (49 of 1969) to convert this institution into an independent state university. As of 1 January 1970 this university no longer fell under the aegis of UNISA (see p. 188) and was subsequently referred to as the University of the Western Cape. Further, the university was allowed to admit persons belonging to other racial groups (other than White) subject to the course the student intended to enroll for not being offered at the students' designated university. Further legislation passed in terms of the *University of the Western Cape Amendment Act* (127 of 1977) enabled the university to admit students from all racial groups subject to ministerial approval (Behr 1988:194).

- Head count enrolments at universities

Coloured enrolments at universities as shown in table 68 (see p. 228) were relatively small in the late 1960's and 1970's. Since then there was a significant increase in their enrolment at universities. The proportion of Coloured

students enrolled at universities was also extremely small. Muller, Narsing & Stadler (1988:12) have indicated that between 1965 and 1985 the average growth rate of Coloureds in the university system was 13% per annum. This was the second fastest growth rate in the country. Between 1986 and 1992 the average Coloured growth rate was 5.6% per annum and remained the second fastest growth rate in the country (Bunting 1995:50).

Table 68: Head count enrolments and proportion of Coloured students at university

YEAR	NUMBER ENROLLED	PROPORTION (%)
1965	1 189	1.9
1970	1 434	1.6
1975	3 433	2.7
1980	7 762	5.1
1985	12 914	6.1
1990	17 944	6.1
1992	17 952	5.6

Source: South Africa. Bureau of Statistics (1968:E2-3); South Africa. Department of Statistics (1978b:5.7); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1988:5.7; 1994:5.3-5.4).

- Head count enrolments per hundred thousand of the population for the census years

The participation of Coloureds in university education is shown in table 69 (see below). In 1970 only 66 individuals per hundred thousand of the population participated in university education. The 1980 and 1985 census years have shown a vast improvement in the participation rates with 280 and 433 per hundred thousand of the population being represented at the university level. Despite the participation rate reaching 584 per hundred thousand of the population in 1991, Gerwel (1991:123) noted that these were among the worst participation rates in the world.

Table 69: Coloured university students per hundred thousand of the population for the census years

YEAR	ENROLMENT	POPULATION IN '000's	STUDENTS PER 100 000 OF THE POPULATION
1970	1 434	2 170	66
1980	7 762	2 695	280
1985	12 914	2 986	433
1991	19 270	3 302	584

Source: Compiled from South Africa. Department of Statistics (1978b:5.7); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1988:5.7; 1993a:1; 1994:5.4).

b) Technikon education

The only institution that provided advanced technical education for Coloureds was the Peninsula Technical College. It was first established in 1967 and subsequently rose in status to a college for advanced technical education (the Peninsula College for Advanced Technical Education) in 1972. Since 1979, in keeping with legislation to change the name of "colleges for advanced technical education" to "technikons", the Peninsula College for Advanced Technical Education became known as the Peninsula Technikon (South Africa. Administration. House of Representatives 1986:75).

- Head count enrolments at technikons

The enrolment of Coloured students at technikons is shown in table 70 (see p. 231). Between 1970 and 1985 the enrolment of Coloureds at technikons was extremely small. Bot (1988:18) argued that this was largely due to the absence of technikons for Coloureds outside Cape Town. Since 1985 Coloured enrolments at technikons have increased quite considerably. Bunting (1994:44) has shown that between 1986 and 1992 Coloured enrolments have increased at an average rate of 19.9% per annum. According to Badat (1991:83) the proportion of Coloured students in receipt of technikon education was also very small. Between 1970 and 1992 the proportion of Coloured enrolments at technikons only increased by 7.2 percentage points:

Table 70: Head count enrolments and proportion of Coloured students at technikons

YEAR	NUMBER ENROLLED	PROPORTION (%)
1970	508	1.4
1975	1 008	2.3
1980	1 783	3.8
1985	2 765	4.7
1990	7 941	8.6
1992	9 783	8.6

Source: South Africa. Central Statistical Services
(1988:5.57; 1994:5.3-5.4).

- Head count enrolments per hundred thousand of the population for the census years

The participation of Coloureds in technikon education is shown in table 71 (see p. 232). In 1970 only 23 Coloureds per hundred thousand of the population participated in technikon education. In 1980 and 1985 there were only marginal improvements to this rate. The 1991 participation rate of 312 students per hundred thousand of the population represented a substantial increase over the previous census years' participation rate. Despite this increase the Department of National Education (DNE) has shown that the 1991

participation rate was far lower than the national average for all population groups in South Africa (DNE 1993b:72).

Table 71: Coloured technikon students per hundred thousand of the population for the census years

YEAR	ENROLMENT	POPULATION IN '000's	STUDENTS PER 100 000 OF THE POPULATION
1970	508	2 170	23
1980	1 783	2 695	66
1985	2 765	2 986	93
1991	10 309	3 302	312

Source: Compiled from South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1988:5.57; 1993a:1; 1994:5.4).

5.2.4.2 Academic staff at universities and technikons

a) Universities

The number of Coloured lecturers as well as their proportion in the university system is shown in table 72 (see p. 233).

In 1965 there were only two Coloured lecturers at universities in South Africa. By 1992 the situation had not improved much as Coloured lecturers had access to only 3% of the posts at universities.

At the historically Coloured university, the access of

Coloured academics to teaching posts was severely restricted. In 1970 Coloureds comprised only 2% of the teaching staff with Whites making up the balance (SAIRR 1971:244; South Africa. Department of Internal Affairs 1982:70). By 1980 Coloureds comprised 25% and Whites 75% of the teaching staff (SAIRR 1981:538). In 1990 Coloureds occupied 43% and Whites 50% of the teaching posts. The remaining 7% of posts were occupied by Africans and Indians (DNE 1991:30).

Table 72: Number of Coloured lecturers and the proportion they comprised of the teaching staff at universities

YEAR	NUMBER	PROPORTION (%)
1965	2	0.0
1970	2	0.0
1975	n/a	n/a
1980	66	0.8
1985	129	1.3
1990	249	2.6
1992	298	3.0

Source: SAIRR (1969:255; 1971:255; 1981:538; 1986:400); DNE (1991:30); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1993b:5.9).

b) Technikons

Table 73 (see below) shows the number and proportion of Coloured lecturers at South African technikons.

Table 73: Number of Coloured lecturers and the proportion they comprised of the teaching staff at technikons

YEAR	NUMBER	PROPORTION (%)
1970	n/a	n/a
1975	n/a	n/a
1980	n/a	n/a
1986	88	4.2
1990	89	4.0
1992	92	4.0

Source: South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1990:5.7; 1994:5.9).

Access of Coloured academics to teaching posts at technikons was severely limited. Even at the historically Coloured technikon (Peninsula Technikon), O'Connell (1994:168) pointed out that at the inception of the technikon the teaching staff was exclusively White. It was only in 1976 that the first Coloured lecturers were appointed. By 1987 Whites formed 41% of the teaching staff and Coloureds 59% (O'Connell 1994:170).

The Department of National Education (DNE) has shown that for 1990 Whites comprised 33%, Indians 9% and Coloureds 58% of the teaching staff at the Peninsula Technikon (DNE 1991:30).

5.2.4.3 Output of universities and technikons

a) Universities

Table 74 (see below) shows the number as well as the proportion of Coloured students who fulfilled the requirements for a degree or diploma at South African universities.

Table 74: Degrees and diplomas awarded to Coloured students

YEAR	NUMBER	PROPORTION (%)
1965	102	1.1
1970	121	1.1
1975	361	2.0
1980	717	3.5
1985	1 482	4.3
1990	3 088	7.0
1992	3 511	7.0

Source: SAIRR (1967:268; 1971:243; 1992:225); Pillay (1990:43); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1992:5.44; 1994:5.44).

Since 1965 there was a rapid increase in the number of Coloured graduates and diplomates as shown in table 74 (see p. 235). From a mere 102 recipients of degrees and diplomas in 1965, Bunting & Hendry (1993:31) noted that there was a rapid increase in the number of Coloured graduates and diplomates since 1985. They added that there was also a corresponding increase in the proportion of Coloured graduates and diplomates.

b) Technikons

There was a progressive increase in the number of Coloured recipients of diplomas and certificates as shown in table 75 (see p. 237). The increase in the output of Coloured recipients of diplomas and certificates was paralleled by a steady increase in the proportion of Coloured students who satisfied the requirements for a diploma or certificate at technikons. Bunting (1994:88) has noted that despite the steady increase in the output of Coloureds from the technikon system, Coloureds recorded the lowest average annual increase (30.5%) in terms of output of diplomas and certificates among the non-White grouping since 1988.

Table 75: Diplomas and certificates awarded to Coloured students

YEAR	NUMBER	PROPORTION (%)
1970	43	1.8
1975	60	3.2
1980	131	5.1
1985	392	5.4
1990	702	6.1
1992	956	6.8

Source: DNO (1982:654-672); South Africa. Central Statistical Services (1986b:5.61; 1992:5.52; 1994:5.50).

5.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the above historical survey of the imbalances and inequities regarding post-secondary education in South Africa, it can be seen that access to, staffing and output of the universities and technikons was unequal. Whilst noting that access to university and technikon education for all population groups improved tremendously over the years it was further evident that some population groups enjoyed greater access than others. The access of staff to academic (teaching) posts at universities and technikons was also

discriminatory. In the main the advantaged population group, namely, the Whites enjoyed greater access to teaching posts at universities and technikons. Further, the output of the universities and technikons was unequal in that the racial proportion of the graduates and diplomates was far from representative of the population profile of South Africa.

In the next chapter the findings of this study will be elucidated, followed by an evaluation of the findings and a conclusion. Some suggestions for the redressing of the imbalances and inequities prevalent in pre-primary, school-based and post-secondary education in South Africa are also provided.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 FINDINGS

The historical-educational investigation into the imbalances and inequities in South African education revealed the following:

6.1.1 Pre-primary education

- a) There was considerable variation in the time frames for the legal empowerment of the different education departments' involvement in pre-primary education. The Indian, White and Coloured education departments were involved in pre-primary education far longer than the African education departments (see pp. 63-64; 75-76; 87-89; 100-101).

- b) The types of provision of pre-primary services for all racial groups was limited, and there was considerable variation among the education departments. The more expensive option of state pre-primary schools was available for White children only. This option has never

existed for non-White children. Further, White children had access to provincially controlled, state-subsidised as well as private pre-primary schools, while African, Indian and Coloured children on the other hand were largely restricted to state-subsidised and private pre-primary schools. Pre-primary classes for five year olds were generally available to White children. This service was only extended to African and Coloured children since 1984, and Indian children since 1985 in the form of the bridging module readiness classes. In addition, the low cost alternative of school readiness classes and the bridging period programme was largely favoured by the Indian and African education departments, respectively (see pp. 64-69; 76-80; 89-92; 101-104).

c) Access to pre-primary education services was unequal. Of the available services, White children dominated access to pre-primary education services. Access for African, Indian and Coloured children was severely limited (see pp. 64-70; 76-81; 89-93; 101-105).

d) The financing of pre-primary education services was to a large extent to the advantage of the White population group. Apart from the more expensive state-funded pre-primary schools for White children, the per capita

subsidies paid by the education departments to registered pre-primary schools was also always higher than those paid to schools catering for the non-White population groups. Among the non-White population grouping the per capita rates paid to Indian and Coloured schools was, however, higher than that paid to pre-primary schools catering for Africans. Moreover, the subsidies paid to schools catering for African children covered only five year olds and hence excluded those children younger than five years old (see pp. 70-72; 81-84; 93-96; 105-108).

e) With regard to the staffing of pre-primary schools and classes, institutions catering for Whites were in a far more favourable position than those catering for the other racial groups. White pre-primary institutions, especially the state-funded pre-primary schools, provincially controlled schools and pre-primary classes were staffed by teachers holding formal qualifications in pre-primary education. At African, Indian (with the exception of the bridging module readiness classes), and Coloured institutions pre-primary teachers were, in the main, formally unqualified in pre-primary education (see pp. 73-74; 84-86; 97-98; 108-110).

f) Teacher-child ratios were always more favourable at White

pre-primary institutions compared to those institutions serving the non-White population. The institutions catering for Africans recorded the highest teacher-child ratios (see pp. 74; 86-87; 99; 110-111).

- g) Formal training opportunities, especially at tertiary level, for prospective pre-primary teachers provided by the ethnic education departments has to a large extent favoured the White racial group. Pre-primary education courses have been in existence for Whites far longer than for any other racial group. Further, the number of centres that offered pre-primary courses far outnumbered those catering for the non-White population. For Africans opportunities for formal training were only introduced in 1978, and since 1988 was progressively phased out. No such training opportunities were available to Indians. For the Coloureds, training was severely limited, and similar to the trend for Africans, these courses were phased out since 1992 (see pp. 74-75; 87; 99-100; 111-112).

6.1.2 School-based education

- a) Participation in school-based education for the different racial groups was uneven. Whites enjoyed the highest participation rate followed by the Indians and Coloureds. Africans recorded the lowest participation rate in school-

based education compared to the other three racial groups (see pp. 118-119; 137-138; 151-153; 168-170).

- b) The implementation of compulsory school attendance was largely unequal. Universal compulsory school attendance was enacted for White children long before that of any other racial group. For Coloureds and Indians universal compulsory schooling was only enacted in 1972 and 1973, respectively. Universal compulsory schooling has never existed for African children (see pp. 119-121; 139; 153-154; 170-172).

- c) Regarding user costs, education was completely free for White children until the introduction of the Models schools in 1991. For Coloureds and Indians, free education has existed since April 1969. The policy of free education provision has, however, never existed for Africans (see pp. 121; 140; 154-156; 172).

- d) In assessing the representation of the four racial groups across the four phases of school education, the distribution for Coloureds, Africans, and to a lesser extent Indians was most uneven. African and Coloured children tended to be concentrated in the junior and senior primary phases with very small percentages of

children occupying places in the junior and senior secondary phases. The distribution for White children showed more evenness than any other racial group (see pp. 121-123; 140-141; 156-157; 172-173).

e) One of the most glaring features of the inequality between the different education subsystems was the differential pattern of progress of pupils from standard one to standard ten. It was evident that far more White children reached standard ten after completing nine years of schooling compared to non-White children. Even among non-White children a huge disparity existed with far greater percentages of Indian children reaching standard ten compared to their Coloured and African counterparts. Further, the attrition rate was the highest among African and Coloured children as compared to Indian children. The lowest attrition rate was recorded amongst White children (see pp. 123-124; 141-142; 158-159; 173-174).

f) State expenditure on education has reflected the gross inequities in non-White and White education. The pattern of state expenditure on education has largely favoured White education, despite White children comprising a minority with regard to pupil enrolments, compared to the non-Whites. Despite the tendency of the state to

increase financial allocations to non-Whites over the past ten years, expenditure on education was not in keeping with the school enrolment ratios of the different races, nor the population profile of the country. A scrutiny of the per capita expenditures further reveals the inequalities in expenditure for the different racial groups. The per capita spending on White children was the highest in South Africa while the per capita expenditure on Coloured and Indian education was lower than the per capita spending on White education. The lowest per capita spending was on African children (see pp. 124-128; 142-145; 159-162; 174-176).

- g) The distribution of qualifications amongst the teachers in South Africa was severely imbalanced. The White education departments possessed the highest cohort of qualified teachers compared to the African, Indian and Coloured education departments. African education was characterised by the highest number of professionally unqualified teachers. In the professionally qualified cohort a substantial percentage of Coloured and African teachers were teaching without a matriculation qualification. Among the White teachers all in the professionally qualified cohort were matriculated. A further major discrepancy existed in the proportion of qualified graduates serving

the various education departments. The White teaching force closely followed by the Indian teaching force comprised the highest percentage of graduates in the professionally qualified cohort. The smallest percentage of graduates was to be found among the African teaching force with the Coloured teachers being only slightly better off than their African counterparts (see pp. 128-130; 145-146; 163-165; 177-178).

- h) The teacher-pupil ratios reflected the same general pattern of inequality between the racial groups as the other educational aspects. The average teacher-pupil ratios at African schools were the largest despite progressive decreases over the years. The teacher-pupil ratios at Coloured and Indian schools were, however, more favourable than those at African schools. White education was characterised by the lowest teacher-pupil ratios in the country (see pp. 130-131; 146-147; 165; 178-179).

- i) There was a severe underprovision of schools for non-Whites, especially for the African, Coloured and to a lesser extent the Indian racial group. This was evident from the large numbers of African children who were involved in the platoon system and double sessions under the African education departments, and Coloured children

who were involved in double sessions. Indian children were also involved in the platoon system. In White education there was always sufficient school accommodation, consequently White children were not subjected to either the platoon system or double sessions (see pp. 131-136; 147-149; 166-167; 179-181).

j) The supply of free textbooks and stationery was the norm at schools catering for Whites. This service was only introduced at schools catering for Coloureds and Indians in 1969, albeit on a limited scale. With the introduction of compulsory education for Coloureds and Indians, the free textbook and stationery service was expanded. At schools catering for Africans a limited loan book service was introduced in 1970 with books being loaned only to indigent pupils. Only as of 1986 was free stationery, and as of 1987 free textbooks provided to all African pupils. With regard to the provision of furniture and equipment, the White schools were well-resourced compared to the African, Indian and Coloured schools (see pp. 131-136; 147-149; 166-167; 179-181).

k) The output of the school system in terms of the percentage of pupils who passed the senior certificate examinations was, to a large extent, to the advantage of the White

senior certificate candidates. The performance of the Indian candidates was closest to that of the White candidates. The worst performers in this examination were the Coloured and African candidates. A similar pattern existed with regard to the matriculation exemption outputs. White education recorded the highest matriculation exemption rates, followed by Indians. The worst rates were once again recorded amongst the Coloureds and Africans (see pp. 136-137; 149-151; 167-168; 181-182)

6.1.3 Post-secondary education

a) Access to university and technikon education in South Africa was clearly unequal. Despite comprising in excess of 80% of the population, non-White students had access to only six residential universities (one for Coloureds, one for Indians and four for Africans) and four technikons (one for Coloureds, one for Indians and two for Africans) compared to the ten residential universities and eight technikons which catered mainly for Whites. Consequently, White South Africans had a greater chance than their non-White counterparts of gaining admission to a university or technikon. Notwithstanding that non-White head count enrolments, especially African enrolments, have increased tremendously, White students still dominated the places occupied at both the universities and technikons.

In terms of the head count enrolments per hundred thousand of the population at universities and technikons, the worst rates were recorded by the African and Coloured racial groups. The White head count enrolments was the highest, closely followed by the Indian racial group (see pp. 188-196; 203-209; 215-221; 227-232).

- b) Equal employment opportunities (for academic staff) quite clearly did not exist in post-secondary education in South Africa. Access to teaching posts at universities and technikons was uneven in the sense that South Africans who were not White were seriously under-represented. An overwhelming majority of teaching posts at universities and technikons were occupied by Whites. Further, at the historically non-White universities the teaching staff was also predominantly White. At no non-White university, with the exception of the University of Durban-Westville since 1990, was there a majority of non-White teaching personnel. Even at the non-White technikons a substantial number of teaching posts were occupied by Whites. At the historically African technikons the proportion of White lecturers far outnumbered that of Africans. At the historically Indian and Coloured technikons a substantial number of teaching posts were occupied by Whites (see pp. 196-200; 210-213; 222-224; 232-235).

c) Major inequities existed in the outputs of the universities and technikons in South Africa. The majority of the graduates and diplomates from the universities and technikons were White. While the number of degrees, diplomas and certificates awarded to non-Whites has certainly increased, the number awarded to Whites has nevertheless outstripped the number awarded to non-Whites. Further, the population distribution of qualifications of the university and technikon system, although showing some improvement, was still far from representative of the demographic realities of South Africa (see pp. 200-202; 213-215; 224-226; 235-237).

6.2 SOME FINDINGS REGARDING THE IMBALANCES AND INEQUITIES IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION EVALUATED IN TERMS OF PEDAGOGIC PRINCIPLES

In order to be able to provide some recommendations regarding the redressing of the imbalances and inequities, some of the above findings regarding the imbalances and inequities that prevailed in South African education from 1965 to 1992 will be evaluated in terms of pedagogic principles.

a) Education is considered to be a basic human right: through education people gain knowledge and skills to survive, to learn, to live dignified lives, and to contribute to the

development of their communities and their nation.

Stemming from this view it can be argued that it is the duty of the state to provide its inhabitants with equal educational opportunities irrespective of race, colour or creed. Unfortunately this concept of equal educational opportunities never existed in South Africa. The disparities in access to pre-primary education, school-based education and post-secondary education as well as the inequitable distribution of educational resources across the four racial groups bears testimony to this fact.

- b) A further basic human right and pedagogic principle should be the commitment of the state to the provision of education of equal standards for all its inhabitants irrespective of race, colour or creed. On this score, education of an equal standard was never available to the different racial groups in South Africa. This was overtly evident from the uneven distribution of non-White children in the four phases of school education when compared to the more uniform distribution of Whites, as well as the high drop-out rates among African and Coloured children.

- c) Educational outcomes are directly related to financial inputs as finance is regarded as the life-blood of any

educational system. Consequently, the greater the sum expended on education the greater the delivery of the education system in meeting the needs of society at large. The racially determined and inequitable expenditure on education in South Africa has resulted in varying levels of development of the education subsystems serving the four racial groups. This has had a direct bearing on the educational development of the four racial groups resulting in the non-White sectors of the population not achieving adequate levels of education.

- d) The provision of adequate physical resources is regarded as the single most important factor in ensuring that learning proceeds at an adequate pace, and education of a satisfactory quality is offered to the clients of education. Ashley (1990:12; 29) postulates that no matter how good the teaching, without adequate physical resources, especially textbooks, equipment and pupil accommodation education becomes significantly impaired. Thus, the poor physical resourcing of primary and secondary institutions for the African, Coloured and Indian sectors of the population has had an adverse effect on the educational development of the majority of children in South Africa.

e) The teacher-pupil ratio is a well-established indicator of the individual opportunities available to every child and, therefore, may be regarded as a measure of the standard of instruction (DNE 1991:41). When the ratios are too large the effectiveness of the teaching is reduced. Even at pre-primary education level low teacher-child ratios are considered to be one of the most important determinants of an effective pre-primary education programme (Reilly & Hofmeyr 1983:78). Thus, in noting the significantly high ratios at pre-primary as well as primary and secondary schools for non-Whites, especially Africans, it can be concluded that the standard of instruction and teacher effectiveness was lower than that compared to their White counterparts.

f) Quality in education is to a large extent dependent on the competence of the teaching force since teachers are regarded as the primary agents in education. As the De Lange Commission (1981) noted:

Without a corps of well-trained and talented teachers any endeavour aimed at a system of education by means of which the potential of a country's inhabitants is to be realised, economic growth promoted, the quality of life of its inhabitants improved and education of equal quality provided for everyone cannot be successful (HSRC 1981b:59).

Thus, from the lack of formally trained teachers involved in pre-primary education at Coloured, Indian and African institutions, and the poorly qualified teachers at primary and secondary schools catering for Coloured and African children, it is obvious that the quality of education offered to these groups was of an inferior standard.

6.3 CONCLUSION

In terms of the hypotheses generated in chapter one (see pp. 20-21) it can be concluded that the provision of racially segregated education in South Africa has resulted in wide ranging imbalances and inequities in education. Further, in terms of the White-non-White racial dichotomy, the non-White racial grouping was by far the more disadvantaged group in terms of education provision in South Africa.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

6.4.1 Pre-primary education

- a) A streamlining of pre-primary education programmes and policies should be a priority of the National Department of Education and Training in order to eliminate programmes and policies which entrenched inequalities rather than eliminated them. It is thus suggested that attention be focussed on two aspects, namely, a school readiness

programme for five year olds and programmes for reaching those children in the three to five year age cohort:

- A school readiness programme for five year olds should be provided by the state in partnership with the community. This option of providing a one year school readiness programme has attracted a great deal of attention from the broader educational community. Regarding the location of this programme, it is suggested that it be located within the current primary school as this would significantly increase and equalise access which is important from an educational redress perspective.
- In catering for those children in the three to five year age cohort it should be noted that models such as the traditional pre-primary school is a rather costly option. Thus, there is a need for community initiative, organisation and participation in a range of interrelated activities which will enable the family and the community, through their own efforts to improve the quality of life and the learning opportunities of young children.

- b) In the financing of the reception year for five year olds it is suggested that the state, in partnership with the parents, finance this option. Programmes for children in the three to five year age cohort should largely be funded by the communities themselves in partnership with the private sector. The state should, however, not completely abdicate its responsibilities in this sphere as there is general consensus that the state should subsidise community run services.
- c) In noting the lack of formally trained teachers in the pre-primary sphere coupled with the erosion of tertiary training opportunities, the creation of new opportunities and the reinstatement of pre-primary training courses at the colleges of education where they have been phased out is of crucial importance in order to equalise the current disparities in access to pre-primary teacher training and to ensure favourable teacher-child ratios.
- d) A major area of control in pre-primary education revolves around the setting and maintenance of standards, especially for programmes catering for three to five year olds as this would be largely in the hands of the communities. Thus, it is recommended that a set of minimum

standards regarding physical provision and resourcing be developed by the National Department of Education and Training together with community participation so as not to compromise the basic quality needed for educational effectiveness.

6.4.2 School-based education

- a) In noting that the provision of education on racial lines is consigned to history, it cannot be taken for granted that access to school-based education will in future be equal since the legacy of the repealed *Group Areas Act* (41 of 1950) will in the short term result in limiting access of racial groups to schools not historically designated for a particular racial group. Hence, in non-White group areas where demand for education outstrips supply it is strongly suggested that the state implements a system of bussing children to schools which are not filled to carrying capacity as a temporary measure. For the long term, the state in keeping with demographic trends, should engage in a vigorous school building programme. These recommendations will have the added advantage of eliminating pupil accommodation problems experienced at schools catering for Africans.

- b) On the question of the period of compulsory education, enforcement should not be seen as a high priority. The primary objective should be to ensure that opportunities for education are freely available and equitable in all respects to all children in South Africa, and a strong culture of learning be developed among children of school-going age.
- c) The concept of totally free education is not seen as a way forward given the need for redress of past inequalities in education. Hence, it is recommended that the parent community should make a direct financial contribution to the cost of educating their children through the payment of compulsory school fees based on a sliding scale on gross parental income. Thus, parents who earn a stipulated minimum wage would pay the lowest amount and those in the higher income brackets would pay more. Those parents who are unemployed or earn below the stipulated minimum wage would be exempted from the payment of school fees. An allied advantage of the payment of school fees is the view that payment for services makes one quality conscious.
- d) The funding of education is rather a more complex and sensitive issue. It is common knowledge that the present

level of state expenditure on education cannot be extended by any substantial sums since education has to compete with other equally needy areas, such as housing, social welfare and health care. It is thus suggested that from the national budgetary allocations to education, the monies be disbursed to the respective provinces based on the total number of school-going children in a particular province as a percentage of the total number of school-going children in the whole of South Africa.

On the provincial level it is recommended that the provinces set aside a percentage of its education budget for redressing historical imbalances in education. The provincial financing of schools could be done on a differential basis taking into account former privileges enjoyed by the school and the financial resources generated through the payment of compulsory school fees by parents (see p. 258). Through funds raised from the payment of school fees, schools located in wealthier neighbourhoods will raise higher sums than those in less privileged neighbourhoods. Thus, the provincial financing of schools need to take this into account. Based on a fixed per capita cost devised by the National Department of Education and Training, the provincial education

departments could then top up the financial reserves of schools where deficits exist.

- e) In order to ensure that the qualifications of teachers, especially African and Coloured teachers, are improved, in-service education and training must be extended to improve the quality and effectiveness of practicing teachers. This could be accomplished by exploiting all available existing distance education programmes and the institution of new ones if the need arises. It is strongly suggested that all teachers be upgraded to a minimum of M+3 as this is regarded as the minimum qualification in order to teach with confidence. The National Ministry of Education and Training should set reasonable time frames for those teachers who are unqualified or under-qualified to achieve this qualification.
- f) A priority of the National Ministry of Education and Training should be the setting of uniform teacher-pupil ratios at all state schools. Evidence has shown that educational quality is not affected by increases in class size from around 15 to 35 pupils per teacher (Donaldson 1992:305). It is therefore suggested that the average teacher-pupil ratios be pegged at 1:35 at primary schools

and at 1:30 at secondary schools. The institution of such teacher-pupil ratios creates the added advantage of expanding enrolment at formerly White schools and simultaneously creates the need for more teachers at non-White schools. The demand for teachers could be met by encouraging and intensifying pre-service teacher education.

- g) The inadequacy of pupil accommodation at formerly African schools needs to be alleviated. This could be accomplished by bussing pupils to under-utilised schools (also see p. 257) and schools where rolls are decreasing, re-opening all schools that have been closed down, extending schools by providing additional classrooms by the erection of temporary pre-fabricated or permanent structures to accommodate increasing enrolments, and through building new schools where necessary.

- h) International experience has shown that the provision of adequate instructional materials, textbooks in particular, is one of the most crucial factors in ensuring that the investment in education is fruitful. Further, teachers become more effective and their moral is raised by the provision of such materials (Ashley 1990:29). Thus, it is

suggested that in order to upgrade education at schools which were previously disadvantaged, greater sums of money should be diverted to these schools for the purchase of instructional materials. Funds for this purpose could be obtained from the suggested provincial education budgets redress fund (see p. 259).

- i) Improvement of the performance of non-White candidates in the senior certificate examinations should be a priority. This rests largely on the improvement of the resourcing of schools. Thus, an improvement in the quality of teachers (see p. 260), the teacher-pupil ratios (see p. 260) and the physical resources (see p. 261) will lead to an improved performance in the senior certificate examinations.

6.4.3 Post-secondary education

- a) Access to post-secondary institutions must be redressed in order to overcome the disadvantages created by apartheid. Thus, to "level the playing field" the National Ministry of Education and Training must set participation rate targets which fall within the constraints set by the available financial resources and the socio-economic needs of the country. The Department of National Education

postulates that a relative number of about ten technikon students and ten university students per 1 000 of the population would optimally suite the manpower requirements of the country (DNE 1991:45). Given the population profile of South Africa and the need for redress, it is suggested that the National Ministry of Education and Training stipulate the participation rate of the various racial groups in keeping with the manpower requirements of the country.

- b) The National Ministry of Education and Training must lay down as a requirement that equal opportunity employment policies (for academic staff) be implemented at technikons and universities. As a first step towards redressing the imbalances in the teaching complement at universities and technikons, affirmative action policies should become part of employment practices provided that minimum requirements for the filling of posts are met by prospective candidates.

- c) Increasing access of the disadvantaged groups to technikon and university education would not necessarily lead to an increased output of these groups from the university and technikon system. Therefore, in order to improve the

output from technikons and universities there is a need for the implementation of student support and development programmes for those students who cannot cope academically and socially with the programmes offered at these institutions.

The above are by no means an exhaustive account on this theme. The imbalances and inequities in South African education is such a comprehensive theme that justice cannot be done to it in one single dissertation. The following themes may, therefore, be researched in order to further expose the imbalances and inequities in South African education and to develop further redress strategies:

- Gender imbalances and inequities in South African education.
- Urban-rural disparities in South African education.

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